

RETHINKING MULTIPHASE LEISURE EXPERIENCE:
A HERMENEUTIC PHENOMENOLOGICAL APPROACH TO EXPERIENCES
OF ART MUSEUM VISITATION

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Since Clawson and Knetsch (1966) first proposed the multiphase leisure experience (MLE) model, the phasic nature of leisure experience has been given substantial attention by tourism and leisure scholars who to date have largely focused on the dynamic on-site experience with quantitatively measurable values. However, their traditional goal-oriented, post-positivist approach is limited in its ability at both the practical and theoretical levels to fully reflect the holistic aspect of the model that emphasizes not only the connectivity of phases from anticipation through recollection, but also the equal value between phases.

In this dissertation, I have applied the multiphase leisure experience model from a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective and explored the experience of a visit to the Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA) based on this meaning-based approach in order to investigate the meanings of the multiphase leisure experience for art museum visitors. This approach emphasizes understanding an individual's life experience as a reflection of cultural traditions that are transferred through language.

The methodological framework is based on hermeneutic phenomenology and Gadamer's fusion of horizons. This multidimensional concept enabled me to apply the MLE model to interpreting the meaning of the museum visit as a cultural leisure experience. By engaging in analysis of the symbolic metaphors that emerged from and delivered a node of crucial values, meanings and concerns of each participant, I was able to consider both the individually different experiences and their socio-cultural contexts that assisted in comprehending the evolving meaning of their visits.

Through in-depth interviews and reflexive journals with twelve participants, I sought to understand the meanings of the multiphase leisure experience for art museum visitors beyond the

physical boundaries of the museum. Furthermore, I sought to understand how the verbal interaction between interlocutors influenced the meanings of their visits.

Participants' narratives were interpreted with six symbolic metaphors that led to the identification of a representative image of their visits: *learning* for those who consistently interpreted SeMA as an educational institution and showed interest in exhibits they considered worth learning; *aesthetic* for those whose aesthetic appreciation neglected the external values of exhibits and played a crucial role in constructing the meaning of their visits throughout all the phases; *high-culture* for those who alienated themselves from this cultural institution, considering it exclusively for the wealthy and educated; *everyday-ness* for those who signified their everyday concerns and interests without paying attention to the aesthetic value of the exhibits; *trigger* for those whose experiences at SeMA directly triggered them to visit other art institutions; *diary* for those who focused on telling and creating their own stories in relation to their on-site experiences. Their self-reflective stories at the intra-textual level were analyzed and situated with sociocultural traditions at the inter-textual level. This showed that the meanings of their visits reverberated with contemporary Korean orientations such as collective authority, disinterestedness, post-museum, cultural capital and cultural autobiography.

These multi-layered interpretations enabled me to understand how the initial signification of their visits became recessed, conserved, altered and expanded in the final recollection phase. The findings encourage leisure and tourism scholars to escape from the narrow interpretation of leisure as a frozen, snapshot-like immediate experience and to understand leisure as a contextualized phenomenon that erodes the boundaries between extraordinary and ordinary experiences, off- and on-site activities, work and leisure, and leisure and tourism. My

interpretation of the findings supports the need to consider leisure experience as an evolving set of meanings.

To my parents, Beom-Young Kim and Shin-Youl Lee

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CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

This study aims to explore the meanings of the multiphase leisure experience for art museum visitors. Given the purpose of this research, this chapter describes (a) a research background, (b) multiphase leisure experiences through the concept of live experience and philosophical concomitants of multiphase leisure experience, (c) the research purpose and questions and (d) my story that framed the research viewpoint, research methods, data gathering and interpretation.

1.1 Background

Municipal cultural facilities such as museums and art galleries have long been recognized as main attractions for visitors seeking urban recreation and tourism (Law, 1996). Research relevant to the visitors of these value-laden spaces is mainly based on two well-known approaches. From a socio-cultural perspective, Bourdieu's (1984) pioneering study regarded that the museum space functions as a hegemonic medium through which visitors are semiotically struggling with the objects and images that clarify and intensify the distinction between those who possess cultural capital and those who do not. In this approach, the investigation of the visitors focuses mainly on the measurable outcomes relevant to the possession of cultural capital rather than on the intrinsic attributes of individual visitors. Thus, leisure participants are conceptualized as receivers who consume the message controlled by the managers, curators and marketers, or at best, as dissenters who dispossess the message without any alternative. On the other hand, researchers from a psychological perspective argue that the museum is a space for individuals to spend free time in order to fulfill various desires and needs of individuals (see

Maslow, 1962; Iso-Ahola, 1980). Given this, the focus of museum visitors in leisure studies research is one of personal constructs, such as emotional response, memory, personality and cognitive dissonance. Thus, leisure participants are conceptualized as agents having free will and personal tastes.

While these two approaches provide insight into the research relevant to museum visitors, scholars are still making efforts to address the visitor experience within leisure and tourism frameworks. Their struggle is partially due to the multi-faceted nature of leisure that requires multiple layers of interpretation of visitors' experiences. For example, the social constructivist approach has examined the social attributes of art gallery visitors such as age, income, education and occupation (e.g., Van Eijck, 1997; DiMaggio, 1996) while the individual cognitive approach has been based on the generic and innate characteristics of visitors such as identity and intrinsic motivation (Ryan, 1997).

These two lines of study embrace a commonality in that both depend on indicators of qualities in order to evaluate the personal and social attributes relevant to the museum visit. However, identifying the quality of leisure and tourism experiences with standardized indicators is problematic due to the gap between experience and the expression of that experience. Bruner (1984) emphasized the difference between expression and experience since the former *frames* the latter. Given that such framing occurs even in our daily conversation, expression is not a static but continuously actualized. Accordingly, what researchers deal with in human studies is not experience itself but a framed experience that is instantly transformed into an expression (Dilthey, 1976).

The limitation of only being able to assess the framed experience by its verbal expression gives rise to two distinctive interpretative processes in the study of museum visitors. First,

museum goers interpret their own experiences through their own frames, and second, experiences framed from the visitors' perspective are in turn reframed in the view of the researchers. Simply stated from a psychological perspective, no matter how researchers work to comprehend experiences with operational definitions, their approaches reduce leisure experiences to scale items that indicate the expressions of researchers and the responses of participants to those expressions. Additionally, no matter how researchers attempt to explain the experiences of museum visitors with grand narratives relevant to gender, socio-economic status, ethnicity or race, the approach freezes the evolving leisure experience because they are attempting to capture an experience with their own discrete terms. Therefore, the scales used to measure experiences crystallize the museum visitors' expression into small pieces that may only partially describe their experiences.

The postmodern conditions of contemporary society that are associated with consumption have accelerated the fragmentation of the experiences of museum visitors in the context of leisure and tourism (Goulding, 1999). Because they are incorporated into the infrastructure of a tourist industry, museums are coupled with pleasure management and marketed by adopting commercial values and structures (Lewis, 1989). In an economy framework that interprets leisure in the context of hedonistic behaviors and experiences, public museums in cities position cultural products as commodities, and in turn, the leisure-oriented museum visitors are implicitly and explicitly described as pleasure or fantasy seekers or escapees from daily routines (Miles, 1986).

This hedonism-centered perspective of museum visitors produces disparate connotations of leisure between the leisure and tourism communities and other disciplines. For museum professionals, the leisure experience is a function of intellectual exploration and physical relaxation in a space for knowledge acquisition. The marriage of museum with the tourism and

leisure industry caused some qualms of museum theorists in that museums are in danger of being positioned as places for popular entertainment instead of elite and serious institutions (Watkins, 1994). Zolberg (1994) noted that there is “some fear that museum may become, instead of a serious institution, a place of popular entertainment with no standards of quality to govern the selection of artworks” (p. 5). Thus, the museum visit as a leisure activity is emphasized as “educational” entertainment to distinguish it from other pleasure-oriented activities (see Prince, 1990; Kotler, 1999). This has resulted in their interpretation of leisure experience as situated within two contexts of education and entertainment.

In contrast, for leisure scholars, leisure is a meaningful experience relevant to the visitor’s daily life. In connecting the idea of leisure experience and perceived freedom, Harper (1986) describes it as “an intensification of ordinary experience” (p. 127). Rojek (2000) emphasizes the function of human relationships and argues that “in dealing with leisure we are dealing with human relations in which people believe themselves to be more free than in other parts of other lives” (p.207). By resisting against the idea of the education-entertainment dichotomy in which leisure experiences are discussed within the restricted spatial boundary of the museum, the field of leisure encourages scholars to investigate experiences that are ongoing constructs embedded in our lives.

With respect to the significance of the human relationships and ordinary experience in leisure (Harper, 1986; Rojek, 2000), a new approach is required in order to challenge the fragmentation of the study of visitors to the urban museum. Many empirical studies of outdoor recreation have investigated dynamic, fluctuating, multiphasic leisure experiences (e.g., Borrie & Roggenbuck, 2001; Hull, Stewart, & Yi, 1992; Lee, Datillo, & Howard, 1994; Mckay, Brownlee, & Hallo, 2012; Walker, Hull, & Roggenbuck, 1998). Their efforts illuminate the change of

experience on the perceptual level. However, on the interpretive level, this focus is insufficient to fully investigate the nature of leisure experience due to a lack of interest in exploring the changes in the meanings of a lived experience (Stewart, 1998). In an effort to understand the range of meanings that the lived experience represents, previous phase-related research has investigated how leisure participants construct meanings of the leisure experience in different spatial and temporal situations (e.g., Jordan et al., 2009; Patterson et al., 1998). They disjointedly focus on the meaning of outdoor recreation experiences either in on-site activities (Patterson et al., 1998) or in the moments of recollection after an event (Jordan et al., 2009).

In order to understand leisure experience as an ongoing construction throughout our lives, consideration of the evolution of meaning(s) is required to integrate the fragmented pieces of leisure experience from anticipation through recollection along a time-space continuum. Indeed, in their model of multiphasic leisure experience, Clawson and Knesch (1966) claimed that a leisure experience does not solely consist of an actual on-site activity but rather has five phases that expand and incorporate one another in order to construct the total experience. Although this model is based on nature-based leisure activities, the idea that leisure is a multiphasic experience is not exclusively relevant to outdoor leisure experiences (Lee & Shafer, 2002; Stewart, 1998) because situational contexts, influenced by time and space, but rather affect other leisure-based activities as well. Ashworth and Page (2011) suggested that leisure travel provides “a variety of products and experiences to people who have a wide range of motivations, preferences and cultural perspectives” (p. 3). Jiven and Larkham (2003) pointed out that the concentration of iconic sites, shopping areas, historical heritage sites and cultural attractions (e.g., museums) are crucial components of the physical environment of cities. Consequently, the

application of the five-phase model in culture-oriented leisure settings is useful for comprehensively understanding the complicated nature of leisure experience.

With this in mind, this study suggests the need to investigate the meanings of the multiphase leisure experience for museum visitors. Specifically, this study aims to gain new insight into the meanings of leisure experience for art museum visitors who blur the physical and temporal boundaries between a museum and other spaces. An investigation of the lived experience through the multiphase approach is needed to provide a deeper understanding of how the meaning(s) of leisure experience is constructed and how their expressions change with respect to the relationship between visitors' ordinary daily lives and their museum visits. As investigated, three phenomena in the field of leisure support the need for this study: (a) the ineffectiveness of traditional sociological and psychological perspectives when applied to the commoditization of museums in the postmodern condition; (b) the overdependence on the education-entertainment framework that underestimates the connectivity between the extraordinary and ordinary experiences of the visitors; and (c) the lack of research about changes in the meaning(s) of the lived experience through multiple phases of a single leisure experience.

1.2 Multiphase Leisure Experiences through Lived Experience

The concept of lived experience (Dilthey, 1985; Gadamer, 1975; Husserl, 1970) and the model of multiphase leisure experience (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) serve as the theoretical framework in this study. Clawson and Knetsch (1966) disagreed with the idea that on-site activity is enough to understand the nature of leisure experience. Instead, they suggested five distinct, but not mutually exclusive, phases of an experience as the essential components of leisure experience: (a) planning and anticipation, (b) travel to the destination, (c) on-site activity,

(d) return travel from the destination and (e) recollection. Each phase elicits unique experiences through emergent interactions between a person and that person's situational contexts. These researchers' seminal idea of the phase-oriented nature of experience provides new insight into the investigation of the meanings of leisure by highlighting "an evolving state of mind" (Stewart, 1998, p. 391).

Despite wide acceptance of this valuable insight, the influence of this model still remains at the periphery of leisure and tourism communities in its influence (Stewart, 1998). This trend is not surprising when considering the latent conflict between its holistic view of experience and the postpositive approach to the model that relies on an economic paradigm. Specifically, although the integration of idiosyncratic phases is the main focus of their model, Clawson and Knetsch (1996) used economic variables such as time efficiency, cost, and emotional pleasure for satisfaction in order to illuminate the connectivity among the phases of experience. They suggested that the meaning of leisure experience lies in the achievement of emotional pleasure. This systematic and segment-oriented measurement of the phases is based on reductionism and hedonism, and it reduces the meaning of leisure experience to the sum of psychometric variables.

As a result, this model with fixed numeric variables is rarely considered by researchers who believe that the meanings of leisure experience are hard to grasp with this post-positivist oriented approach. For interpretivists, the formation of meaning is not equal to obtaining a simple change of emotions or cognitive responses, which, at best, always reside at the boundary of personal consciousness without any interaction with the world. They believe that meanings in the world in which people live are deeply associated with a variety of contexts including their personal, social, cultural, and economic conditions. That is, meanings require contexts. Despite the fact that the original idea of this model is based on an economic reductionist paradigm, the

multi-phased leisure experience should be reconsidered in the vein of interpretivism because it is a way to include context in the hybrid realms of leisure and life.

In order to compensate for the insufficient accountability of the multiphase experience model in terms of the dynamic, changing meanings of leisure experiences, a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective of lived experience is crucial in this study. Lived experience refers to the reflective or self-given awareness that resides in the temporality of the consciousness of life without a pre-reflective consciousness of it (Dilthey, 1985). Philosophical debates and the subsequent paradigmatic issues on lived experience (Dilthey, 1985; Gadamer, 1975; Husserl, 1970) point out three properties of the concept. First, lived experience cannot be conceptualized by category or compartmentalized into the real world. Second, it is impossible to directly represent lived experiences since they are actually present in our consciousness and must be mediated by language, which in turn recreates the experience. Third, to understand lived experience is to interpret a historical experience with language in integrative ways. Considering these characteristics, a study investigating the meanings of leisure through lived experience should not consider leisure as a unique experience. Rather, all experiences from the various facets of life are blended with one another. Likewise, meaning-making is not a one-way process for confirming any preexisting, innate meanings of leisure experience. Instead it is an interactive process of constructing meaning(s) in a cyclic relationship among museum exhibits, individual circumstances, social and cultural contexts, the visitor, and even the interviewer of this study.

In the integration of lived experience with multiphase leisure experiences, my approach to the museum visitors is based on the perspective that investigating lived experience must embrace the idiosyncratic and ordinary experiences and meanings that blur the physical boundary of the on-site activity. The five sequential phases proposed by Clawson and Knetsch

(1966) provide spatial and temporal leisure contexts for meaning-making that integrate the experiences inside and outside the museum. The idea of a multi-phased experience for a single leisure activity is also useful in conducting several consecutive interviews to analyze the visitor's experience.

1.3 Philosophical Concomitants of Multiphase Leisure Experience

The previous sections have posed (a) the multifaceted nature of urban museums and the dynamic process of meaning-making by visitors, (b) the effectiveness of the multiphase experience model reconsidered from an interpretivist perspective in order to gain new insight into the meanings of the urban museum experience, and (c) the need for the concept of lived experience in rethinking leisure as multi-phased that reaches beyond objectivism. A close look at my argument reveals that a careful and unambiguous positioning of this study is needed in the transition from positivism to interpretivism. Therefore, I stipulate my philosophical position for this study by contrasting the debate between positivists and interpretivists on whether or not the investigation of experience through the single phase approach is sufficient for capturing the essential qualities of leisure.

Researchers anchored in the realist approach (e.g., logical empiricism) share an assumption that individuals experience a single reality, and the experience is located in the individual's mind (Gunter, 1987). Therefore, leisure experiences and meanings exist as an innate set in the individual's mind regardless of the social and cultural context of their recreation. Furthermore, with respect to museum visits the realist believes that visitors' state of mind can be seized through their experiences within the museum with no consideration of experiences beyond the physical boundary of the building.

For interpretivists however, the mental world is not privileged or fixed but intertwined with the social and cultural values and contexts that recreationists encounter. Thus, leisure experience as a practice of life is contingent on a variety of contexts in specific times and spaces. In this vein, the investigation of a single moment on-site event that includes the thoughts, emotional and cognitive responses and interactions with objects and peoples confined within the museum space may provide only partial understanding of a colorful, multiphase experience. In an effort to escape the fragmented, ossified understanding of the meanings of leisure, openness to the multiple contexts increases our chances of comprehending the multifaceted meanings of museum-related leisure that depend on visitors' contextualized experiences.

The realist and interpretivist perspectives supply two conflicting ideas of the multiphase nature of leisure experience that reveal ontology as a crucial factor in research epistemology and methodology. Unclear positioning of paradigmatic issues in research can produce allegations of imprecision and confusion (Patterson & Williams, 2002). Given this, I need to clarify the notion of ontology in this study. In line with the interpretivist's perspective in which (a) ontology is in a cycling relationship with epistemology and methodology and (b) the researcher is part of the multiple realities and functions as an actor in the meaning-making process within the research text, ontology in this study is conceptualized at two different levels. First, as a metaphysical structure, ontology guides me to investigate leisure as the experience of multiple realities embedded in cultural and social contexts and influencing the leisure experience and its meaning-making. Second, as a practical enactment of reality, ontology shapes my research framework and methodology--leisure as a multiphase experience through the concept of lived experience and hermeneutic phenomenology.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

On the basis of the argument described above, the purpose of this study is to explore the meanings of the leisure experiences of museum visitors that change along integrated multi-stages. My goal is to acquire new insights into the meanings of leisure through a series of interviews with museum visitors. Specifically, I seek to understand how each participant defines leisure in an early stage (i.e., anticipation and planning) and how and to what extent their meanings of leisure change and evolve. This purpose of this research requires two different dimensions of inquiries. First, I will inquire about the lived experiences that are relevant to how visitors at the Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA) construct the meanings of leisure through their multiphasic leisure experience. In order to understand the visitors' meaningful experiences beyond the physical boundaries of the museum, this research will focus on both the subjective definitions of the meaning(s) of leisure as well as the participants' experience of the on-site activity (i.e., their thoughts, feelings and actions) over time and space. Second, in addition to my attention to the participants, my broader interest in leisure as the multiphasic states of mind through lived experiences elicits several research questions relevant to the dynamics between the interviewee and the interviewer. This is because, with respect to the ideas of Bruner (1984) and Gadamer (1989), the interviewee's chance to express the experience and discuss it with the interviewer may provide an arena to reconstruct the meaning(s) of leisure experience. Thus, I hope to elucidate the potential role of interaction between the interviewee and the interviewer because this dialogue can be a way of (re) constructing leisure meanings.

To accomplish this objective, hermeneutic phenomenology will guide this study, and a series of intensive interviews with museum visitors will work under four assumptions. First, the meanings of leisure are (re)constructed through multiphasic stages. Second, meaning-making in

multiphase leisure experiences is based on the linguistic mediation of the lived experience which enables museum visitors to communicate and interpret the meanings of their experiences. Third, both the researcher and the participant are in the process of co-constructing leisure meanings that emerge through moments of linguistic practice in a five-stage interview. Fourth, art museums and their visitors are an appropriate research site and participants to investigate how leisure meanings evolve and change along the spatial and temporal phases.

1.5 Research Questions

The overall purpose of this study is to explore the lived experience of museum visitors throughout the five phases of leisure experience via several in-depth interviews. To address this purpose, this study deploys three inquiries:

- How do visitors change their meanings of leisure or their museum visits throughout the multiple phases of their leisure experience?
- How does the linkage between on- and off-site activities contribute to the evolution of the meaning of their visits?
- How does dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee contribute to the evolution of the visitor's meaning of leisure experience?

The first question investigates the meanings of the multiphase leisure experience in the context of an urban museum in Seoul. It will attempt to examine connections among the five phases. The goal is to achieve a practical concept of the lived experience within the model of multiphase leisure experience.

The second question proposes that the meanings of lived experience contextualized by the multiphase leisure experience model are deeply associated with the ordinary experiences.

Experiences can be personal, undetermined and instant, while meanings through expressions of the experiences require interpretation and integration of context. Meanings in the world are deeply associated with a variety of contexts, including social, personal, economic and cultural conditions in which ordinary experiences serve as the basis for the construction of meaning. A comprehensive understanding of the contributions of ordinary experiences to the special event (e.g., museum visit) may provide an opportunity to illuminate the value of daily experience in the context of the (re)construction of meanings.

The third question investigates the reciprocal influences between the interviewee and the interviewer in the process of co-construction of meanings. As Bruner (1984) indicated, experience and its expression are distinguishable, although not mutually exclusive. The gap produces two dimensions of interpretation: (a) the interviewee's verbal expression of their experience and (b) the interpretation of the expression by the interviewer. In addition, language mediates and delivers lived experiences simultaneously and adds another layer to the experience (Gadamer, 1989). This focus on the linguistic interaction between participants and researcher in the formation and development of leisure meanings widens the horizon of our understanding of leisure meanings.

1.7 My Story

Given that “the researchers’ interpretation cannot be separated from their own background, history, context and prior understanding” (Creswell, 2007, p. 39), it seems desirable to offer a description of my own story to reveal my unique concerns as a researcher. Dupuis (1999) argued the importance of presenting the researcher’s human context saying “a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of what leisure means to different people and how leisure is

experienced in different contexts can only be enriched by a fuller use of self in leisure research, not by the omission of the self” (p .48). Therefore, in an effort to escape the myth of objectivity in the role of researcher and thus to illuminate the mutual interaction between the participants and myself, a narrative of my personal story related to the research topic is necessary to provide readers with the prejudicial character of my self-understanding of this study.

To separate me from paintings is impossible. When my junior high school art teacher recommended that I apply to an art high school, I felt like I had the potential to become an artist. However, my dream was buried with a comment from my parents: “We think that artists get their talent from God. A friend of mine has it. When she drew the figure of the school badge on paper and then placed it on the table, the teachers recognized it as a real one. That’s the gift. Unfortunately, we don’t see such a gift in your drawings.”

I was not shocked that my parents were skeptical of my talent, but I accepted it. Because of this, I came to believe that paintings drawn by legendary artists would give an aesthetic impression to anyone, even to those who have no special talent in art. For me, an art museum was a place where everyone could enjoy art works and experience aesthetic emotions. A desire to understand this emotional experience led me to enter the Department of Art Theory at the Korea National University of Arts. At that time I undoubtedly believed that everyone must be emotionally inspired by great artworks if they feel satisfied by the museum experience. That was the world for me.

Therefore, it is not surprising that I found myself fully resisting criticism from my friend, referred to as JY, for the narrowness of my worldview about why those who have no special interest or knowledge go to art museums. Contrary to my view that people visit museums to feel the emotions inspired by artwork, he believed that they go there due to a desire to be seen as

educated and sophisticated. For him, it is the art museum that advertises itself as an authoritative institution associated with highbrow culture. Thus, in the world of hypocrisy, ordinary people are able to at least pretend to be educated, or at best to deceive themselves that they are aesthetically impressed. Therefore, he censured me for my support of such an inauthentic world. I was eager to persuade him but had no confidence in my arguments. This was because the experiences, thoughts and attitudes of visitors from their own perspective were excluded from the world I belonged to. The deficiency posed the question: do ordinary people tend to correspond to a certain social desirability as JY suggested? It was in that moment that I began fighting my way out of my childhood world.

Working for a master's degree in cultural and social psychology at Korea University, that simple but unanswered question led me to the study of leisure behavior. In my thesis, I focused on the relationships between motivation, positive emotion of on-site experiences and overall satisfaction in the art museum visit. One finding of my survey was that visitors' enjoyment of experiences unrelated to appreciating paintings (e.g., visiting museum cafés) had a huge influence on their satisfaction. This finding encouraged an interest in the influence of tacit familiar stimuli (e.g., visiting a café) on their entire experience of the art museum. The result led to my interest in the process by which ordinary people connect their experiences of viewing paintings with other experiences in their lives that are unrelated to the exhibitions. I believed that a careful exploration of the experiences of museum visits would require researchers to redirect their attention to how people integrate their experience of an art museum with their life experiences beyond the boundary of the museum.

My personal background reveals a point missing from my narrative in spite of my consistent interest in leisure and museum visitors: a lack of different perspectives for how to

approach my research questions. Under the huge influence of Descartes' rational philosophy on psychology in Korea, I believed that quantitative methods would be the only way to understand any phenomenon, regardless of scope of research interest. That was "the world" for me as a researcher.

Encountering dialogues about a variety of paradigmatic issues in the US provided me an opportunity to challenge my stubborn worldview. Immersed in the unfamiliar environment, I came to realize the chasm between questions and methods. My developed question was about the process by which museum visitors interpret their museum experience and create meaning of their experience regardless of their lack of knowledge of artworks. Incompatibly, I had unconsciously limited my way of thinking within the boundary of the quantitative and utilized segmented scales to measure satisfaction, cognitive emotions and motivations. Furthermore, I had adopted psychological models and theories that mainly consider the innate processes of the individual mind while neglecting the social and cultural contexts. When I admitted that numerical data provided only little meaningful information about participants, I could finally extend my questions toward the realm of meanings. The cracking of "the world" opened my eyes for both the role of subjective experience and the inseparable relationship between individuals' experiences and the contexts in which they are situated. This concern for the context of experience encouraged me to understand the nature of leisure as multiphase experience.

The trajectory of my story shows that my initial self-centered interest in paintings could evolve into an effort to understand others' experiences. My continuing concern for museum visitors has stimulated me to consider the connectivity between the exhibit-oriented experience and the ordinary life of visitors. It is my sincere hope that this research will shed light on the

lived experiences of museum visitors and provide new insight into the meanings of leisure and its multiple phases.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The meaning of a word is its use in the language.

Wittgenstein (1952, §43)

The purpose of this research is to explore the meanings of the multiphase leisure experience for museum visitors. The studies using the term “multiphase” in the field of leisure have mainly focused on physical conditions rather than human actors. For example, Hammitt (1980), Stewart and Hull (1992) and McKay, Brownlee and Hallo (2012), who mainly focused on the experiences of *outdoor or nature-based recreation activities*, used the term to describe how individuals’ emotional and cognitive responses changed over time and space. Despite their efforts to understand the phasic nature of leisure experience based on the information-processing approach, their one-sided concentration on the physical variations leads to less consideration of human experiences that go beyond the perceptual response to the physical stimuli. In other words, this research tendency ignores the meanings and interpretation of multiphase leisure experience from the participant’s perspective with limited venues for leisure activities (i.e., nature-oriented leisure settings). Yet to be developed is an understanding of how the human actor constructs the meanings of multiphase leisure experiences in the other realms of leisure-based activities aside from outdoor recreation. This study draws upon hermeneutic phenomenology to explore the meanings of urban museum visitors (i.e., tourists and recreationists).

This literature review provides an integral framework to reconsider the model of multiphase leisure experience with the human actor as central. Four strands of the literature review inform this purpose. First, the philosophical commitments of social constructionism, specifically hermeneutic phenomenology, will be presented as a guide by which to understand

the relationship between experience and meaning. This philosophy-based theoretical foundation will be used to support the idea that the meanings of multiphasic leisure experience are socially constructed through linguistic communications.

Second, museums and museum visitors are examined as the milieu of culture-related leisure experiences. Specifically reviewed are studies relevant to museums as socially constructed spaces for the repository of knowledge and elite cultures as well as for the recreational facilities for the masses. Among the research in this line, two things are noteworthy in the studies of contemporary museum visitors: (a) human actors are central to meaning-making; and (b) they are implicitly and explicitly represented as pleasure seekers if leisure-related aspects are centered in their experiences.

In the third strand, the museum professional's perspective that mainly considers leisure participants as hedonic pleasure seekers is reconsidered in the field of leisure studies. Here, leisure and leisure experience embrace a broad spectrum of human experiences. With respect to various approaches to leisure experience, the model of multiphasic leisure experience is reconsidered with an emphasis on the phase, as a context of leisure experiences, in which the human actors perform.

Finally, the concept of lived experience in multiphase leisure experience is examined as an alternative way to understand the model due to its emphasis on the role of human actor in meaning-making.

2.1 Theoretical Foundations

A comprehensive exploration of the paradigms and theoretical foundations of this study is essential given that this study tries to provide an alternative perspective to the multiphasic leisure experience as defined by Clawson and Knetsch (1966). Unlike the original ideas of this model, which were in accordance with processing-oriented and environment-centered approaches, this study seeks an interaction-oriented and human actor-centered approach. To accomplish this goal, the research logics for this study are based on a broad array of social constructionism (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Lock & Strong, 2010), which is not restricted to a single school, but “concerned with meaning and understanding as the central feature of human activities” (Lock & Strong, 2010, p. 6). Specifically, hermeneutic phenomenology, underpinned by both hermeneutics and phenomenology, is the basic paradigm of this study and the boundaries of the theoretical foundation within which the model of multiphasic leisure experience is reconsidered. Specifically, the theoretical and philosophical commitments that weave the logical structure of this study are presented through the paradigmatic issues and some ideas of hermeneutic phenomenologists (i.e., Heidegger and, mainly, Gadamer).

2.1.1 Hermeneutic Phenomenology and Its Paradigmatic Issues

Hermeneutic phenomenological research studies the descriptions of the meanings of the lived experience of a phenomenon and interprets the phenomenon being described (van Manen, 1990). By gathering information on informants’ experiences from their own perspectives, this type of study specifically aims to grasp the essence of the informants’ experiences with a phenomenon (van Manen, 1990). By placing an emphasis on the importance of personal perspective and interpretation, the investigator collects data on what the participants experienced

as well as how they experienced it. From this data, the researcher describes and interprets the essential meanings of the experiences (Moustakas, 1994).

This succinct exploration of the basic idea of hermeneutic phenomenology reveals that the focus of this approach is on the relationship between experience and its meaning. However, the clarification of the main focus is not enough to provide a valid explanation of why the hermeneutic phenomenological approach is appropriate for this study when considering that various approaches to the human experience and its meanings exist in social constructionism (see Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, 2005; Holstein & Gubrium, 2008). In order to offer compelling reasons for the use of hermeneutic phenomenology, the paradigmatic issues needs to be explored in that ontological, epistemological and methodological concerns show the unique position of research logic (Creswell, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Guba, 1990; Lincoln& Guba, 1985; Patton, 2002). Additionally, clarification of the issues will help to frame the logic of this study.

Ontologically, the hermeneutic phenomenology research focuses on the meanings of the lived experience on the basis of the ontological question of “the nature of reality and ‘Being’ in the world” (Laverty, 2003, p. 14). This approach highlights our being in the world as it is shaped by pre-understanding, historicity, culture and language (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Epistemologically, hermeneutic phenomenological research focuses on the interpretation, context and language of an experience. Both the participants and the investigator are self-interpreting beings in that they live in the real world. In order to reach a rich understanding of the lived experience of humans, it is essential that the process include dialogue between the researcher and participants (Laverty, 2003). Methodologically, the study of the lived experience tries to understand and interpret lived experience and searches for the meaning of those experiences. Since meanings are not given or pre-determined by only one valid interpretation of texts

(Gadamer, 1989), the meanings of stories arise from interpretive interactions between interlocutors or between the text and the reader. This indicates that meanings are highly dependent on the *context* of interpretation instead of the intention of the author. Thus, due to the contingency of the context, the universal methodological sets of conducting research does not exist in this perspective (van Manen, 1990). The lack of pragmatic interest in methodology is revealed in Gadamer's (1989) statement: "My real concern was and is philosophic: not what we do or what we ought to do, but what happens to us over and above our wanting and doing" (p. XXVIII).

This uncertainty of methodology in hermeneutic phenomenology requires a caution when a researcher considers it as the research framework in the empirical study. Despite the ambiguity of methodology, however, the value of hermeneutic phenomenological research cannot be underestimated given that the use of this meaning-based approach calls for researchers to be reflective, insightful, sensitive to language and open to experience (van Manen, 1990). The intertwined relationships among language, understanding and interpretation may drive our concern about how to shape a research logic that is appropriate for the specific topic of a study. This is because the different philosophical orientations which are originated from hermeneutics and phenomenology respectively produced two vast concerns. Specifically, while phenomenology seeks to uncover the universal and absolute essence of human experience, hermeneutics is attentive to relative meanings based on the historicity of experience (Babich, 2014). In this regard, Heidegger (1992a, b) mainly focused on the former with the question of the ontological being itself, while Gadamer (1989) concentrated on the latter with the linguistic interpretation of beings. The different foci between Heidegger (1992a, b) and Gadamer (1989)

produce not only commonalities, but also significant differences in the understanding of human experience and its meanings.

2.1.2 Similarities and Differences Between Two Philosophers

It is Heidegger who first connected these two orientations (i.e., phenomenology and hermeneutics) into hermeneutic phenomenology in search of the meaning of Being, especially the human being (Heidegger, 1992a, b). In his conspicuous concern about ontology of human existence, hermeneutics is considered to be the phenomenological analysis of Dasein, which refers to “the inherently social being who already operates with a pre-theoretical grasp of the a priori structures that makes possible particular modes of being” (Wheeler, 2011). Using the term Dasein, which literally means Being-there (Solomon, 1972), Heidegger (1992a, b) gathered attention to the facts that the human beings are understood and explained in the middle of a world, and that humans are embedded in the daily life (Dreyfus, 1991). For Heidegger, it is human beings who cannot exist in the absence of their ground while each human being has no other ground than oneself.

Gadamer extended Heidegger’s ontological concern of epistemological questions with his own philosophical hermeneutics. Arguing that “Being that can be understood is language” (Gadamer, 1989, p. 474), he drew the issue of dialectic experience into the realms of being, understanding and experience. He argued that, in a hermeneutic sense, experience always comes with “determinate negation” (Gadamer, 1989, p. 353) in that hermeneutic experience enables us to stretch our horizons of understanding and, in turn, we are able to see something differently from the perspective we had before (Palmer, 1969). The following quote clarifies Gadamer’s thoughts of determinate negation and dialectical experience:

...we use the word “experience” in two different senses: the experiences that conform to our expectation and confirm it and the new experiences that occur to us. This latter—“experience” in the genuine sense—is always negative. If a new experience of an object occurs to us, this means that hitherto we have not seen the thing correctly and know it better. The negative of experience has a curiously productive meaning. ... We cannot, therefore, have a new experience of any object at random, but it must be such a nature that we gain better knowledge through it, not only of itself, but of what we thought we knew before—i.e., of a universal. The negation by means of which it achieves this is a determinate negation. We call this kind of experience *dialectical* (Gadamer, 1989, p. 353).

This succinct exploration of the ideas of Heidegger (1992a, b) and Gadamer (1989) reveals that, while they both stick to the question of being, their foci are diverged: being itself for the former and being in dialectical experiences for the latter. The similarity and difference of their attitudes are obviously manifested and echoed in their approaches to horizon.

Gadamer (1989) defines horizon with relevance to the range of vision and situation (i.e., a standpoint):

Every finite present has its limitations. We define the concept of “situation” by saying that it represents a standpoint that limits the possibility of vision. Hence essential part of the concept of situation is the concept of “horizon.” The horizon is the range of vision that includes everything that can be seen from a particular vantage point... A person who has no horizon is a man who does not see far enough and hence overvalues what is nearest to him. On the other hand, “to have an horizon” means not being limited to what is nearby, but to being able to see beyond it...[W]orking out of the hermeneutical situation means the achievement of the right horizon of inquiry for the questions evoked by the encounter with tradition. (Gadamer, 1989, p. 269)

The notion of horizon is easily understood with an example of conducting an interview for social science research. Every researcher has his or her own view of the research objects, and the essential part of the researcher’s viewpoint is the horizon. The horizon of the interviewer (i.e., researcher) is maintained until he or she comes into contact with an interviewee.

Encountering and subsequently communicating with the interviewee means that the interviewer comes to have a new experience. In this situation, the interviewer first attempts to understand the new experience in familiar ways. However, if the person’s efforts fail, the interviewer exposes

oneself to an alternative perspective or alters one's worldview in order to understand the new experience. The interviewee finally comes to realize that he or she has a set of prejudice that unreflectively attunes his or her focus during the communication. By acknowledging the existence of the innate bias and receiving the new information from the interviewee, the interviewer's horizon broadens. Gadamer (1989) referred to this discourse-centered expansion of understanding as a "fusion of horizons" where different views integrate together (see Gadamer, 1989, p 306-307, 374-375). That is, the horizons of interviewee and the interviewer are enlarged and can transform the views for both of them.

Both Heidegger (1992a, b) and Gadamer (1989) consider that a person (e.g., the interviewee and the interviewer) situated in a context has one horizon of understanding which is bound in the person's own history that precedes other ways of understanding (Lock & Strong, 2010). The difference between the two philosophers arises at the moment of the fusion of horizons. "Thinking outside the horizon of his cultural box" is not Heidegger's concern (Lock & Strong, 2010, p. 63). His main interest remains in the realm of the familiarities of our lives in which the contexts that are embedded and already intertwined with our ways of being (Philipse, 2007). For Heidegger, therefore, the focus is not on what it means that a person understands another person, but on what it means that a human being exists in the world in which he or she is thrown.

In contrast, Gadamer focuses on the dynamics of the dialogues of people from different backgrounds (Palmer, 1969). Gadamer (1989) emphasized the importance of language which broadens people's horizons of understanding. For him, language as a medium for dialogic and dialectical interactions leads to the emergence of meaning between speakers from different backgrounds or contexts (Gadamer, 1989). This approach requires researchers to acknowledge

that their initial understanding is based on their own prejudices. Understanding of the structure of meaning and experience is not accomplished from pure and objective descriptions, but from descriptions with interpretations that are rather biased. Gadamer (1989) solidified the importance of accepting that description is value-laden in hermeneutic phenomenology. For him, “to understand is to translate” (Gadamer, 1989, p. 346). He further pointed out that “[I]anguage is the universal medium in which understanding occurs. Understanding occurs in interpreting” (Gadamer, 1989, p. 389). Such statements reveal that understanding and interpretation are in an indissoluble relationship and, thus, a definitive understanding is impossible.

Exploration of the different foci in the two hermeneutic phenomenologists reveals that determining a paradigmatic orientation does not automatically match with a specific philosophical foundation that is suitable for the research topic of this study. With respect to the different perspectives of Gadamer and Heidegger, therefore, what is important for acquiring consistency in my empirical study is to construct a cohesive connection between the research paradigm and philosophical foundation by clarifying my position. Regarding this concern, this study basically shares the views of Gadamer (1989) who emphasized the dialogic interactions between speakers and the dialectical experience, yet is also sensitive to Heidegger’s concern for Being.

2.1.3 Applying Gadamer’s Hermeneutic Phenomenology to the Study of Multiphasic Leisure Experience

Adapting Gadamer’s perspective to this study is appropriate for investigating the meanings of multiphasic leisure experience for two reasons. First, this study focuses on the human experience of museum visitors within their various contexts. At each phase of the visit,

from anticipation to recollection, visitors construct their own interpretations of their experiences, not only from their appreciation of the physical environment, but also from their communication with people from different backgrounds. Drawing upon the idea of the fusion of the horizons, encountering a variety of environmental settings and human factors plays an important role in understanding how experiences that we have taken for granted can be considered in different, unfamiliar ways. This approach supports the necessity of the verbal interviews conducted (a) over several sessions with (b) museum visitors who have different cultural and social backgrounds. The conditions (a) and (b) will provide the opportunity to investigate the evolving meanings of leisure experience through dialogic conversations between the interviewer (i.e., the researcher) and the interviewees.

In addition, Gadamer's arguments at the metaphysical level imply that interactions along the phases do not necessarily mean that the interactions should be understood only within that limited phase or the physical and temporal boundaries of the interview. Rather, his perspective forces researchers to reconsider the venue of interaction beyond such artificial cuttings by placing the human actor as the central focus. Anchoring in his philosophical idea, the range of interactions investigated in this study can be expanded, as long as the interactions occur in socially contextualized situations. Thus, interactions may occur between painting and viewer, text and viewer, interviewee and interviewer or text and researcher.

The second reason that Gadamer's paradigm is appropriate for this study is that the experience and its meanings are investigated through verbal interviews. Gadamer's notion of language as "the fundamental mode of operation of our being-in-the-world and the all-embracing form of the constitution of the world" (Gadamer, 1976, p. 3) strongly supports an appropriateness of this language-centered approach. Gadamer regards language as "*the* means

through which we make the experience of our world and the medium in which we live” (Costache, 2011, p. 51). Thus, for Gadamer (1976, 1989), experience itself is not enough to construct new meanings. Rather, new meanings are created through communications of it in which the speakers are able to go beyond the realms of their familiarities. To have a new meaning through discourse is to gain a shared understanding of different perspectives between the speakers due to the function of language that is “interchangeable” among the speakers.

With this in mind, one theoretical idea of Gadamer is directly applied to this study: new meanings are created through dialogue of experiences that enables people to understand others situated in different contexts of understanding. This statement clarifies that the target experiences I wish to examine are not all the inner experiences that individuals have, but the experiences that are communicable and interactive at a discourse level. Thus, two different levels of interactions need to be considered in this study. One is the participants’ verbal expressions that describe the interactions between them and the immediate experience of the five phases which are defined by Clawson and Knetsch (1966). The other level is the moments of interactions between the participants and me (i.e., the researcher) as we form and develop leisure meanings that widen the horizon of our understandings.

The noticeable dependence on Gadamer in the research paradigm and theoretical foundation for this study supports (a) the validity of investigating the idiosyncratic contexts that the participants encounter and (b) the importance of interactions with people from different backgrounds concerning the meanings of leisure experiences. Not only that, but this paradigm delineates the range and direction of this literature review with regard to (a) urban museum and visitor, (b) the model of multiphase leisure experience and (c) the concept of lived experience. Two main foci that overarch the three sections above are described below. The clarification of

the foci will show that the purpose of the literature review is not to propose a fixed, alternative model of multiphasic leisure experience. Instead, it is attuned to widening the horizons of our understanding about the meanings of multiphasic leisure experience with respect to the meanings of the leisure experiences of museum visitors.

The first focus of this literature review is that museums are meaning-laden constructions in accordance with the perspective of social constructivism. This argues that both natural and social entities are perceived by their symbols and meanings (Berger & Luckmann, 1966; Greider & Garkovich, 1994). Thus, attention is given to the socio-historical process, which has shown how museums are traditionally signified as spaces for education, but have evolved to embrace various meanings, such as recreation- and pleasure-oriented ones. In this regard, museum visitors' interactions are investigated in two dimensions: (a) between the objects and viewer and (b) between the visitor and people with whom the visitor communicates. This approach is based on the meaning-making process of social constructionism in general and of Gadamer's hermeneutic phenomenology specifically: meanings are co-constructed and then negotiated between individuals with regard to their historical, cultural and political dimensions. With respect to this culturally constructed world of meanings, the goal of this literature review of museum and museum visitors is not to conceptualize those terms based on the dichotomy of education and recreation. Rather, the review of the literature is to show that both museums and visitors are situated in a cultural context.

The second focus of this literature review is to reconsider the perspective in the museum studies that places leisure in the realms of pleasure-oriented experiences. Indeed, the concept of leisure or leisure experience in the field of leisure studies varies, depending on the perspectives, from immediate emotional and cognitive responses to leisure stimuli to lived experiences that

require a comprehensive understanding of the life of the leisure participants. These diverse approaches can be considered as words about leisure experiences that show the horizon of my understanding of the leisure experience before I meet the participants. Given this, I will clarify my perspective of leisure as multiphase leisure experience and explain how I gain this perspective through dialogical understanding of the literature. Thus, the review of literature here does not focus on determining essential factors (e.g., perception of freedom) so as to define leisure experience. Instead, the various approaches to leisure experience, no matter to what extent the arguments are mutually exclusive or embrace commonality, are based on the fact: the review is a dialogic process of a text that is historically and culturally constructed.

Succinctly stated, this section has explored hermeneutic phenomenology under the broad umbrella of social constructionism in terms of paradigms and theoretical foundations. In consideration of the differences and similarities in the perspectives of Gadamer and Heidegger, Gadamer's hermeneutic phenomenology is applied to this study due to his focus on changes in the meanings of experiences in any form of linguistic communication. One theoretical idea of Gadamer directly contributes to the construction of my theoretical logic: new meanings are created through dialogue of experiences that enables people to understand others situated in different contexts of understanding. The philosophical commitments also serve as a crucial frame for subsequent sections of the literature review. With respect to the theoretical foundations, studies relevant to urban museums, visitors, leisure experience and lived experience will be reviewed in the following sections.

2.2 Museums and Visitors

The purpose of this research is to gain new insight into the meaning of leisure experience for museum visitors who blur the physical boundaries between museum and other spaces. In this study, the term “museum” is used as a generic term to cover art museums, historical museums and science centers as informal education institutions. With respect to the term “visitor,” although there might be some argument about the selection of the term among *visitor*, *tourist* and *recreationist*, building a strict typology of terms is not the main purpose of this study. Considering the main focus of leisure professionals in which the museum is considered as part of a modern cultural complex of destinations for leisure participants, this study defines art museum visitors as individuals who visit art-oriented galleries and museums. Additionally, this term embraces the two terms, recreationist and tourist.

The focus of this literature review is not on the space of museum itself but on the visitors. According to Graburn (1983), however, the museum also draws the attention of leisure scholars because of its institution-related characteristics. It is therefore necessary to review studies dealing with the unique position of museums along with studies of museum visitors. The review of literature in this section is thus composed to answer two interwoven issues: (1) how do museums differentiate themselves from other recreational activities, and (2) how do museum visitors integrate such differentiation? The first question is explored based on the evolving perspective of the museum from an authoritative educational institution to an urban place for recreational experiences. The second is investigated by focusing on the interactions of the visitor as an active human participant/agent.

2.2.1 Co-existing Concerns about Museum and Visitors

Museums have become one of the most essential leisure and tourism attractions as well as symbols of the postmodern city (Falk & Dierking, 2013; Graburn, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill, 1988). These leisure-oriented places are mapped out across the social, cultural and economic realms because “the construction and subsequent consumption of tourist places is essentially a socio-cultural process” (Williams, 1998, p. 172) and museums are now considered as an important factor in economic development (Capstic, 1985). However, unsatisfied with its classification within the category of leisure places, museums have been continuously making an effort to differentiate themselves from other leisure-related spaces. This concern is reflected in a statement by the Smithsonian Institution, the world’s largest museum and research complex: “Visiting a museum is a leisure activity that competes with other activities such as reading, exercising, watching movies, attending sport events, shopping, and so on” (Smithsonian Institution, 2007).

However, the competitive relationship between the museum and other leisure attractions does not mean that museum visits are mutually exclusive with other leisure activities. This is because museums are strong magnets to urban culture that enable visitors to interface among art, culture, tourism, and recreation, facilitating the connection between the urban museum and other recreational city attractions (Falk & Dierking, 1992, 2013; Mommaas, 2004; Richards, 1999; van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). Huyssen (1995) pointed out that for visitors, the museum is considered as a mass medium, “a hybrid space somewhere between public fair and department store” (p. 15). Thus, it is museum visitors who erode the distinction between what are perceived of as leisure experiences and what museums have traditionally offered. This complex position of the museum visit for leisure experience encourages us to explore two lines of inquiry about the

museum visit: the museum as the place of meaning-making, and the visitor as the active human agent of meaning-making.

Museum as a Discrete Institution of Education

The relationship between museums and visitors, at first, can be understood in the way that the museum has produced and represented itself and the visitor. Museum scholars drawing upon a socio-historical perspective argue that the differentiation is based on the unique position of the public museum in Western society as the disseminator and proponent of highbrow culture. Drawing on Foucault's (1972) idea of the three epistemes (i.e., the Renaissance, the classic and the modern), Hooper-Greenhill (1992) considered the museum as an evolving disciplinary institution constructed with historical particularity. She argued that the museum began to develop as a powerful institution of knowledge and has subsequently held intellectual and institutional power since the Renaissance. Although the focus of this institution has changed over time (e.g., the principles of rarity and novelty in the Renaissance episteme and the principles of taxonomy and classification in the classical episteme), uneducated audiences have always been considered as passive beings easily manipulated. Bourdieu and Darbel (1991) supported this idea by showing that not all people are interested in going to museums. They claimed that the museum is specifically positioned to appeal to a highly educated upper-middle class sector of the class and education structures.

In line with the Foucauldian perspective, museum studies emphasize the function of the contemporary museum as an elitist institution even in our consumption-oriented contemporary society. Drawing upon the works of Bourdieu (1984) and Bourdieu and Darbel (1991) in which museums are referred to as the cultural capital that determines the value of credentials, Bal (1996) argued that people in the museum space of consumption, education and exhibition are

educated and unified, brought into conformity by consuming the knowledge presented. Duncan (1995) considered art museums as important sites for clarifying the operation of power due to their claims for “the status of objective knowledge...[with] its highest values and truths” (p. 8).

The central role of the museum in preserving high culture plays an important role in distinguishing the museum visit from other leisure activities. There has thus been relatively little attention paid to the various experiences of visitors that may be irrelevant to the knowledge and education function of the museum (e.g., Bal, 1996; Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Darbel, 1991; Duncan, 1995). This is based on the tacit assumption that there are two different types of visitors: people in the upper and middle classes, who are able to appreciate the objects displayed as high art, versus people in the lower-middle and middle classes, who are *passive* information receivers under the gaze of high society (Greenhalgh, 1993). Thus, the alienation of the masses from knowledge of the discourse of the museum reinforces the status of the museum as an authoritative educational institution that imposes “the cultural values of an hereditary aristocracy upon the working-class population” (Foley & McPherson, 2000, p. 163).

A Noticeable Emergence of the Masses

Such understanding of the museum that educates passive mass audiences by imbuing the values of the rich and elite is now being questioned due to the rise of the masses as cultural consumers. Edson and Dean (1994) noted that the emergence of the market-oriented value as one of the crucial axes in modern European society has transplanted the position of the public museum; it does not solely function as a representative institution in the preservation of knowledge for education but also as a site where ordinary people do participate, interpret and “buy.” Namely, museum-goers, regardless of whether they are identified as tourists, recreationists, visitors or consumers, contribute to the self-generated income of the institution by

spending on retail, catering and admission fees (Selwood, 2001). In order to increase its total income, the museum has come to respect the needs of the masses. Public sections of museums are considered as leisure-related venues and thus now have to consider various services (Alpers, 1991; Vergo, 1989). As Kotler and Kotler (2000) indicated, this change extends our attention to museum visitors from the small number of those who are educated and rich (e.g., Creek, Field, & Burdge, 1976; Doering & Fronville, 1988; Hood, 1983) to those who are associated with mass culture (e.g., Stephen, 2001).

Among the masses, it is the tourist who has significantly affected this changed approach to the museum: it is not a place for education but for exotic and pleasure experiences. In consideration of the practices of visual consumption in modern urban life, some scholars, including Hinsley (1991), Rydell, (1978) and Lewis (1983), have focused on the association between popular culture and nineteenth century international fairs. Most of them concentrated on the experiences of middle-class tourists who gaze upon exotic “Others” of ethnographic exhibits under the ideas of the Darwinian social evolution (Hinsley 1991; Rydell, 1978).

Despite its significance, several scholars argued that such interpretation is “too totalizing, erasing other meanings” (Witcomb, 2003, p. 19). Lewis (1983) instead, for example, focused on the desire of the tourists who seek to *consume* the exotic, unusual foreign arrangements displayed within the department store-like halls of the exhibit buildings. Tourists gaze on displays of the department stores, of international fairs and of museums on the same dimension of feelings and pleasures (Urry, 1990, 1991). Such practices situate visiting the museum as travelling the world in the sense that tourists in the museum come to move from one display to another for experiencing the exotic (Armstrong, 1992-3). The emergence of the public audience

as important culture consumers has finally constructed a new site of consumption through museums, department stores and other familiar city attractions.

The Museum beyond Education and Knowledge¹

The museum has also responded to the public's new way of looking by changing displays. Unlike Bennett (1995) and Rydell (1978) who argued that the display of international fairs contributed to solidifying the order of Western Imperialism, Armstrong (1992-3) argued that the new way of display corresponds to the active movement of visitors inspired by the rise of popularity of international fairs in the late 19th century. He focuses on the unique ethnographic displays at the Midway Plaisance at Chicago's 1893 World's Columbian Exposition. Unlike the usual display in the ethnographic exhibitions in which ethnic peoples are separately aligned in a one-dimensional racial hierarchy with Europeans at the top of civilization, displays in the Midway mixed European objects with those of non-Europeans. Armstrong (1992-3) argued that this distortion of the Darwinian order provided a space for visitors to experience the exotic, uncontrolled by the Western rationality, while walking on the fair's streets. Finally, visitors were able to become active creators, rather than passive receptors of knowledge, in their own exotic museums by collecting and mixing the images as they strolled. Accordingly, the non-linear spatial arrangement of exhibits converged "the contradictory nature of the fair as educative and yet also somewhat of a curiosity show" (Armstrong, 1992-3, p. 223).

In addition to the openness of the rational museum walls to the irrational movements of visitors, a noticeable increase in the number of public city museums has intensified the position

¹ There have been fierce arguments on the function of museums from the sociological perspective whether the museums' hegemonic, political powers are diluted and subsequently the educational institutions facilitate the mixing of elites and popular (e.g., Bennett, 1995), or museums as educational institutions are privileged spaces for the wealthy and elite (e.g., Crimp, 1985). Such sensitive division among museum professionals is not reflective in this study. This is due to the fact that the aim of this study is not the role of the museum but the practice of the visitor. Thus, I do not build a sharp distinction between education and knowledge in museums.

of the museum as a common urban space for the general public. In a study of the White Chapel art exhibitions in London, Koven (1994) argued that, although the display of the exhibitions is still designed to imbue the values of bourgeois culture that are remote from the lives of the masses, the public bring their own cultural values when visiting the museum. Furthermore, Koven (1994) noted that this influx enables them to subvert the upper middle class-centered logic of the exhibits by dealing with the display of art objects in similar ways to that of merchandise in the department store. The infusion of popular culture in the authoritative institution (i.e., the museum) provides visitors with a number of new vistas of the museum in the city.

2. 2. 2 Museum Visitor and Interaction

As investigated, the experience of museum visit is not solely related to educational aspects. Rather, it is deeply associated with the desire of the masses that situates educational experience within the same dimension as other leisure-related experiences. The visitor as active human actor constructs pleasure-related, exotic, rationale-free narratives in the realms of knowledge and education by effacing the division between the museum and other realms of life. In order to understand this blurring from the visitor's perspective, the interactive experience of the visitor needs to be considered. It is this interactivity that enables the individual to construct a personal interpretation of physical reality (Goffman, 1959, 1974). Scholarly discussions on the interaction vary depending on perspective.

Drawing upon a cognitive psychology, which focuses on the causality between stimulus and response, museum interaction is limited to a mechanistic relationship between exhibits and the viewer (McLean, 1993). Many media devices such as the iPad are used as ancillary tools for

capturing visitors' attention to the exhibits by entertaining them—based on the assumption that pleasure-related stimuli lubricate the learning process by designating what viewers have to learn, how they have to behave and what they have to feel (McLean, 1993). This approach falls within only a narrow meaning of interaction and supports the idea that the meanings of visitors' experiences are insoluble with the message that is controlled and managed by the institution. Zolberg (1994) points out that the experiences of museum-goers are contingent on their education, even in the context of recreation. The subordination of recreational values under those of education reflects a longing to preserve the position of the museum as the representative highbrow culture (Zolberg, 1994). Given this, interactivity as a form of “edutainment” in the leisure-oriented context echoes the idea that museums are the repositories of knowledge, power, control (Foucault, 1972) and socio-economical classification (Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Darbel, 1991).

From a socio-cultural perspective, by contrast, museum interaction is framed as imaginative, conceptual activity with respect to the prior life experiences of the visitor. Anchored in media studies, Hooper-Greenhill (2000) argued that curators have to make an effort to create polysemic exhibitions that provide a space that allows visitors to create their own ways of interactions. Her openness to multiple meanings in exhibition rejects the idea that interaction is unilaterally determined by the message of the institution. Given this, Hooper-Greenhill (2000) claimed that the museum experience needs to be understood in the social context rather than depending on a psychological approach. She noted “individuals share interpretative strategies with others who share the same frame of reference, the same cultural references and the same positions within history” (p.120).

In a similar vein to Hooper-Greenhill (2000), Witcomb (2003) pointed out that interaction in museums enables visitors to “make their own meanings or affect the display in some way” (p. 133). He criticized the traditional approach in which pleasure and recreational experiences take the role of maidservant to education, and which ignores the active role of visitors in the process of producing meaning. By denying fixed meaning and a single inert message in an object, he argued “[t]he museum is, to some extent, an extension of the street life rather than an imposition on it” (Witcomb, 2003, p. 159). He also extended the realms of interaction by recognizing the indirect interactivity that occurs between the visitor and strangers on the street. He considered the museum visit as a text produced by the visitors, anchoring in Fiske’s (1994) semiotic subversion which argues that “a text is the site of struggles for meanings that produce the conflicts of interest between the producers and consumers of the cultural commodity” (p.14). For Witcomb (2003), thus, it is the visitors who reject the idea that the text delivers the same message to all visitors, curators, directors and educators of the museum. Interaction of the human actor (i.e., museum visitor) is able to go beyond the myth of the modernist view that yields the prestigious status of the museum as an authoritative educational institution and that considers its recreational role as an ancillary concern.

Anchoring in urban and regional studies, some museum research focuses on the dynamics of social interaction. In consideration of urban space that provides the venue for a world of social interaction, individual experience contributes to forming sociality (Cheek & Buss, 1981), and sociality influences individual experience (Schneider, 1986). Castells (2002) points out that the circulative and mutual interaction between individual experience and sociality enables individuals to not entirely immerse themselves into the social structure but to maintain their own values to some extent. Therefore, interaction in cities is selective, and sociality is not fixed

within a given physical boundary of city attractions. In line with this, spontaneous social interaction with others inside the urban museum provides individuals with chances to identify their communal and personal interests that are fluid (Goulding, 1999).

Like inner spaces of the institution, diverse spaces outside the museum create venues for interaction. This spatial expansion of interaction relevant to the visitor's museum experience is possible given that the public museum functions as a social hub that connects other city attractions and attracts various types of visitors (van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). In this arena of interaction, the visitors reconstruct the meaning of their leisure experience in consideration of the responses and interpretation of listeners (Osborne, 2012; Falk & Dierking, 1992). Falk (2009) thus argued that "it is fundamentally impossible to understand the museum visitor experience by only viewing it from within the "box" of the museum" (p. 34). He also pointed out that the time visitors spend in the museum space is "only a small fraction of what is needed for understanding [them]" (p.34). This explains why other leisure attractions, such as shopping malls and cafés are not in a competitive relationship with the museum for visitors. Urban museums add meaning to visitors' experience along with cafés, restaurants and shopping malls (Bangnall, 2003; Tien, 2010)

In addition to the expanded spatial dimension, linguistic conversation creates an alternative space for interactivities beyond temporal limitations. Jafari, Taheri, and vom Lehn (2013) focused on the fact that museum visitors do not limit the arena of communication about their museum experience at the site on the same day. Conducting a study on social interaction with open-ended interviews of museum visitors at Kelvingrove Art Gallery and Museum, they found that people extend the cultural experience of their museum visit to the online context. Museum visitors socialize with anonymous others on the net by sharing the feelings and

impressions acquired from their experience both inside and outside the museum. The museum experience and other leisure experiences are connected in cyber space through chatting, commenting, uploading photos and posting essays. Jafari et al.'s (2013) study shows that, for the museum-goers, the museum visit is not situated in a competitive relationship with other leisure activities. The relationship may be symbiotic.

2.2.3 Leisure and the Dichotomy of Education and Entertainment

As investigated, the museum from the socio-historical perspective has traditionally been regarded as a socially constructed place of education with respect to high culture. This modernistic value draws distinctions between high and mass culture, rationality and irrationality, and education and recreation. However, the growing economic power of the masses as cultural consumers pressures the museum to respect their needs. This condition brings changes in two ways. First, the museum sometimes deconstructs the order of rationality in displays of its exhibits in order to enable the visitors to obtain exotic, pleasure-oriented experiences. Second, museum-goers reflect their own desires for obtaining pleasure-oriented, recreation-related experiences with their museum visits.

The interactions of visitors have been explored in order to understand how individuals imbue their desires into the realms of education. Studies based on the cognitive psychological perspective delimit the discourse of interaction to the physical spheres between the exhibit and the visitor. This approach is based on the assumption that the visitor is a passive information receiver of the message that is controlled by the institution. This narrow meaning of interaction reflects the assumption that pleasure experiences facilitate educational experiences.

Despite their significant contributions to determining the relationship between museum and visitor, both the psychological approach and the socio-historical approach are insufficient for leisure scholars because they pay little attention to the relationship among pleasure-oriented experiences, leisure and education. Thus the review of literature concerning museum and visitor so far raises one question: Why does the field of museum studies emphasize the aspect of “edutainment” (e.g., Kotler, 1999; Prince, 1990; Zolberg, 1994) when they consider the museum visit as a leisure activity? This positioning implies that the academic community situates leisure in between the two extreme poles of education and entertainment. The dichotomy between high and low pleasure and the Protestant work ethic are two pillars upon which leisure has seized within the education and entertainment dimensions.

With emergence of mass culture, tourists and recreationists are represented as hedonic-pleasure seekers, given that visitors are not able to appreciate high culture. Culler (1981) pointed out the pervasive condemnation of tourism: although tourists keep pursuing authenticity of objects (e.g., what is significant and unfeigned), they are deemed to fail due to their commercialized existence as “tourists,” a sign of mass production and replication (Benjamin, 1978). In an effort to categorize pleasures based on a reductionist perspective, Mill (1861) suggested a moral stratification between the higher pleasures (e.g., appreciating artworks) and the lower pleasures (e.g., eating and sexual activity) in consumer society. Mill (1861) argued that people who experience both the high and low pleasures will seek for the high one. For him, the masses are considered as ones who fail to indulge in high pleasure due to their unfamiliarity with it. He claimed that the masses come to be familiar with high pleasure through education. Namely, education provides a signpost to obtain “appropriate” pleasure.

In a study of the role of the contemporary public museum in England, Greenhalgh (1993) claimed that the privileged position of education was intensified in relation to the Protestant work ethic which is ingrained even in contemporary Western society. Due to its valuable role of enlightening the naïve masses, education is considered as a kind of work that is “the basis of everything worthwhile; it was the route to God” (Greenbalgh, 1993, p. 87). He pointed out that appreciating art works under the guide of education thus is something valuable and beneficial. Meanwhile, pleasure that is irrelevant to work cannot be located in the same dimension with education. Given this “[R]esolutely and consistently, education and entertainment were understood to be not the same thing [:] [t]he one was inextricably bound up with work, the other with pleasure” (Greenhalgh, 1993, p. 82).

The mutually exclusive marriage between high pleasure and education and low pleasure and entertainment reveals that leisure is an ancillary tool to pave the way for educational experiences that are worthwhile to pursue. This results in leisure-oriented museum visitors implicitly and explicitly described as low pleasure seekers eager to escape from daily routines (Miles, 1986). When applied to museums, these moral standards shape the place as “alternative forms of leisure that would [*educate*] the public” (Foley & McPherson, 2000, p. 162).

However, leisure scholars may reject situating leisure in between the two poles of education and entertainment when considering that doing so reduces the meanings of the leisure experience of museum visitors. The postmodern conditions of contemporary museums that are associated with consumption have accelerated not only the deconstruction of the museum as an authoritative educational institution but also the fragmentation of individual experience (Goulding, 1999). Outlining a schema of the forms of postmodern leisure, including a breakdown between low and high culture in daily life and a loss of distinction between author and consumer,

Rojek (1995) rejected the totalizing schema of modernism in which educational values precede those of entertainment. Instead, Rojek (2000) emphasized the function of human relationships and argued that “in dealing with leisure we are dealing with human relations” (p. 207). In line with this, Urry (1990) also criticized the contradictory division between education and recreation in the venue of leisure. For him, the two dimensions are blurred in the contemporary museum.

Admittedly, in line with the socio-cultural approach, museum visitors can be widely understood through the interactivity between the object and the visitor, the museum and other urban attractions, and the visitor and others. The fact of interaction beyond the temporal and spatial boundaries of the museum validates the view that it is dangerous to consider tourists and recreationists as unreflective pleasure seekers. This is due to the fact that even in the leisure setting, which is considered as the most commoditized cultural production, tourists and recreationists as vigorous human actors can move the modernistic dichotomies between entertainment and education, and irrationality and rationality. They may seek for meanings of their experience in some other phase of their life, even though they are only pursuing hedonic-centered pleasure at the site of museum.

Therefore, it is the field of leisure that encourages scholars to shed light on the fact that the hedonistic recreationist may be a seeker of meaningfulness in some phase of their life beyond the museum site. This view also stimulates them to avoid focusing only on some typological classification of visitors that produces a number of subtypes based on the immediate experience and behavior at the site. Researchers need to adhere to a comprehensive understanding of the museum visitor as an active human actor. The insightful works of MacCannell (1973, 1976) in the field of tourism and leisure also provide a glimpse into the significance of human actor, not only in the field of museum studies.

Reworking Goffman's (1959) idea of front and back stage in the context of tourism, MacCannell (1973, 1976) focused on the limitation of the tourism setting in that it provides only staged authenticity with tourists. MacCannell (1973, 1976) claimed that back stage is a space that is unsigned, pristine and authentic, while on the front stage everything is signed as inauthentic and commoditized in order to correspond to the needs of the tourist. The split of the stages in his analysis of tourism space parallels the dualistic world view of modernism. However, he disagrees with Boorstin's (1964) perspective of tourists as gullible receivers of fabricated information. Instead, MacCannell (1973) illuminates the significant *movement* of tourists: it is not the stage itself that automatically drives people to expand their experiences from the front to the back. It is tourists themselves who "move off the stage...to reveal [it (the front stage)] more and less authentically" (MacCannell, 1973, p. 592) because "all tourists desire [a] deeper involvement with society and culture to some degree; it is a basic component of their motivation to travel" (MacCannell, 1976, p. 35). Finally, MacCannell (1973, 1976) describes tourists as those who have a possibility to achieve authentic experience by effacing the physical binaries between front stage and back stage, everyday life and fabricated events, and tourists and the locals.

His argument provides notable evidence of the importance of the human actor who blurs the fissure between leisure-oriented spaces and other realms of life from a leisure-oriented perspective. The emphasis on the active role of visitors beyond the wall of the museum is echoed by contemporary leisure and tourism scholars who are interested in the voice of museum visitors. Focusing on increasing urbanization and population migration in tourism settings such as museums, art galleries and historical parks, McIntosh and Prentice (1999) argued that contemporary museums as tourism and recreational settings are socially constructed, and

individuals come to enter the museum with their own interests, knowledge, and cultural contexts. Wearing and Wearing (1996) argued that such settings enable tourists as creators to imbue the settings with their own values and meanings in the dynamic social relations. Consequently, the museum as a cultural and recreation attraction provides tourists and recreationists with a context in which they can interpret their experience in ways different from the intention of the educational institution (Beeho & Prentice, 1995).

My review of literature so far has clarified two issues. First, despite admitting the fact that the museum has been traditionally positioned as an authoritative educational institution, museum goers as human actors are able to transcend the socially constructed meaning of the place through interaction both inside and outside the museum. Thus, in order to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the visitor's experience that is not limited to the on-site activities, a human actor-based perspective is required in the field of leisure. Second, the dichotomy between education and entertainment leads to different connotations of the leisure experience for museum professionals and leisure scholars. This means that a clear explanation of leisure experience from the leisure-oriented perspective is needed to gain a deeper understanding of museum visitors. These two concerns are reflected in the next section of the literature review that deals with the fluid debates about leisure experience in the community of leisure.

2.3 Dialogic Understanding of Leisure Experience

Leisure is an enormously nebular and complex polysemic concept. This extremely unrestrained concept has revealed its complexities and dynamics by associating multiple dimensions, including temporal, spatial, cultural, social and personal factors. Consequently, a plethora of conceptualizations of leisure has produced diverse discourses about it. Despite the

various approaches among scholars focusing on the different dimensions of leisure, the efforts to understand leisure and its conceptualization in contemporary society are commonly rooted in Western perspectives. Specifically, under the influence of modernism, which is imbued with fixed and dichotomized categories between industrial and traditional societies, the complex concept of leisure is placed in one of the dichotomized categories, such as work hours and free time or work-related activities or experiences and duty-free activities or experiences. De Grazia (1962), for example, noted that the history of leisure is woven with the expansive or shrinking influence of work to the concept.

The issue of modernism constitutes one dimension of definitions of leisure while the origin of the Western philosophy, beginning with Greece, constitutes another dimension of definitions of leisure in which leisure is considered as the cultivation of the self or a meaningful and non-utilitarian activity. Neulinger (1981) argued that his psychological model of leisure is a translation of leisure as defined by the Greeks into contemporary society and the language of science. Therefore, discourse about the definitions of leisure has not been regarded as conflicted. Rather, every definition contributes new elements and reflects another of the multifaceted aspects of leisure (Iso-Ahola, 1980) as a cultural construct of the Western worldview which instills meanings of leisure based on culture and history (Bammell & Burrus-Bammell, 1996).

Given that leisure is a reflection of Western social and cultural values and contexts, it is not surprising that the various definitional approaches to leisure, such as time, activity and state of mind, have inseparably intertwined with studies of the diverse experiences of leisure participants. Gunter (1979) defined leisure as “a subjective state of individual in his involvement with certain kinds of time, activity, or life style” (p. 8). Iso-Ahola (1979) argued that leisure as a

subjective construct is deeply associated with an individual's characteristics and psychological factors, including time, personal experiences, and social and situational influences.

However, the connectivity between individuals and contexts contradicts the order of modernity, which evaluates everything by the binary, one-dimensional approach of orthodox Western-centric discourses, fitting its subject into a polarized model, such as a work-leisure dichotomy. Due to the huge influence of modernistic values, the early research on leisure and leisure experience was stuck identifying and constituting objective definitions. In this situation, searching for "pure" and "true" leisure became an important agenda. For example, Neulinger's (1974, 1981) attempts to illuminate perceived freedom and intrinsic motivation as essential factors of leisure juxtaposed the modernistic attitude by searching for authenticity in leisure.

Unlike the modernist perspective, however, the judgment of authentic leisure from the postmodern perspective is meaningless. According to Baudrillard (1983), all realities in post-modern society are replaced by signs, and thus the human experience is a simulacrum of reality rather than reality itself. Things no longer have an original function or value, but rather signs and images communicate their meanings to others. Therefore, an objective definition that emphasizes a clear boundary between genuine and fake leisure is useless given that leisure and other facets of life are mixed in our experiences. Postmodern conditions, such as globalization, high technology and market strategies, subvert the order which clearly differentiates between true and false (Neville, 2014). Furthermore, by attenuating the relationship between leisure and collective identities, the fragmented collective social values stimulate leisure researchers to challenge the preexisting meanings of leisure (Glancy, 1993).

Postmodern skepticism toward the objective world redirects scholars' attention from the measurement of predefined, petrified experience to the meanings of lived experience. Unlike the

abstractions of experience in theory and detached observation, lived experience is deeply associated with relationality and meaningfulness in the context of one's life (Wertz et al., 2011). Kivel, Johnson and Scraton (2009) question the notion of a common leisure experience in that lived experiences in daily life are "legitimate sources of knowledge" (p. 477). In line with the meaning-based approach, I cautiously argue that the conceptualization of leisure experience as changing and evolving along multi stages provides new insight into meanings of leisure. It is appropriate to explain how individual leisure participants in particular experiences instill subjective meanings. Hermeneutic phenomenology, engaged in this study as a theoretical and methodological guide, supports this argument.

However, my position different from the perspectives of positivists does not mean that the review of leisure experience should only regard the interpretivist and constructivist approaches, since they are insufficient to highlight the role of the multi-phasic leisure experience in the meaning-making process. This is because scholars working in the field of leisure experience research have anchored their concepts and metaphors for illuminating the nature of leisure in various subfields of sociology, anthropology, psychology, and geography. Their uncountable efforts have resulted in multi-level crossings among the different perspectives. The concept "multi-phasic leisure experience" is the case.

Ever since Clawson and Knetsch (1966) introduced this term in their economic model of leisure experience, the concept of leisure has been explicitly applied to studies based on the (post) positivistic perspective (e.g., Hammitt, 1980; Stewart & Hull, 1992; McKay, Brownlee, & Hallo, 2012). However, "multiphase" is not limited to the modernistic worldview. According to Stewart (1998), this challenging conceptualization of leisure might revolve around "notions of leisure as emerging states of mind, as a sequence of transactions between individuals and their

environments, as personal stories with temporal and spatial qualities, and as a lived experience” (p. 391). Indeed, some studies (e.g., Arnould & Price, 1993; McIntyre & Roggenbuck, 1998; Patterson et al., 1998) investigated dynamic qualities of leisure with diverse temporal and spatial variations. Although these studies did not mainly focus on the phasic nature of leisure experience, their attempts to characterize leisure experience as an evolving entity prompted leisure scholars to consider a flexible application of the Clawsonian model beyond the modernistic view of leisure. In other words, this model needs to be interpreted pragmatically rather than defined strictly in order to understand the evolving leisure experience.

In support of the pragmatic interpretation of leisure, Blackshaw (2010) insists that there are “no ontologically superior concepts” of leisure (p. 46). He also suggests that leisure scholars need to pay more attention to the fact that the language and the action are convoluted and inseparable when figuring out the leisure experience. His claim of the inability to uncover the ‘real’ meaning of leisure in a fixed concept is noteworthy in the sense that meaning of leisure as a socially constructed concept is highly contingent upon the moment of communication. The philosophical idea of family resemblance (Wittgenstein, 1952) supports Blackshaw’s (2010) perspective of leisure.

Wittgenstein (1952) in his late works questioned that meaning can be explained *rationally* or named *correctly*. For him, to understand the meanings of words is to understand how people use language in their own realms of everyday life. Thus, the meaning of things is dependent on our ways of using language to talk about them. Wittgenstein (1952) pointed out, “As if there were only one thing called ‘talking about a thing,’ [w]hereas in fact we do the most various things with our sentences” (27-1). This means that things that are considered as sharing an absolute quality are actually things bound in “particular ways of talking and relating to each

other” (Lock & Strong, 2010, p.159). Wittgenstein (1952) suggested that such connection is through family resemblance, a series of overlapping of similarities among things. Within the group of shared resemblances, things are connected despite the absence of the universal common feature(s). Resemblance is found through conversation in which notions are developed to recognizable patterns, “a complicated network of similarities overlapping and criss-crossing” (Wittgenstein, 2009, p. 66). His nuanced view of how people communicate and understand explains that even though we use the same concept, we are not fixed in the term, but we “travel” the term without boundaries that tether us in the realms of trait-like ideologies, exactness and absoluteness.

Wittgenstein’s notion of family resemblance and its application to the leisure community by Blackshaw (2010) support my hermeneutic phenomenological approach in which it is difficult to describe any leisure experience as a single definite, fixed, essential property. Instead of searching for definitive traits, a meaningful way to comprehend what leisure is like is to focus on communication patterns concerning leisure experience. With this in mind, the review of literature concerning leisure experience in this section focuses on gaining a discursive level of understanding of the model of multi-phasic leisure experience. To accomplish this, the review in this section begins by briefly reviewing paradigmatic approaches to experience that provide a deeper understanding of the phasic nature of leisure experience. On the basis of the dialogical understanding of leisure experience, I next comprehensively explore the literature of multi-phasic leisure experiences.

2.3.1 Approach to Leisure Experience

Individual Cognitivist Approach

Individual cognitivist approaches are based on Descartes' rational philosophy, and thus leisure experience and its meaning exist as an innate set in the individual's mind. According to Gunter (1987), the constructed knowledge about experience and individuals within this perspective reveals two key premises. First, methodologically, the true nature of the leisure experience may be discovered in empirical data. Second, the conceptualization of leisure as an experience assumes that the experience is located in the individual's mind, and that the individual functions as a medium through which experience is produced (Gunter, 1987).

With respect to the premises, researchers who look for common dimensions of the leisure experience rely heavily on postpositive methodologies and mainstream populations (e.g., Mannell, 1979, 1980; Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987; Neulinger, 1974, 1981). Naturally, marginalized and underrepresented individuals and their leisure experiences have been considered less often or completely ignored with less consideration of the context (Coalter, 1997). That is, leisure experiences in their frameworks have been treated as transitory and dynamic constructs regardless of the participants' social and cultural contexts (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; Hammitt, 1980; Iso-Ahola, 1980; Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987).

Consequently, in order to acquire context-free generalized knowledge, leisure experience comes associated with "positivist, operationalist, and reductionist" beliefs (Goodale, 1990, p. 296). The objectivist belief has been supported by some leading scholars arguing that perceived freedom and intrinsic motivation are the causal indicators in determining perceptions of leisure (Iso-Ahola, 1979; Mannell, 1980; Neulinger, 1974, 1981; Tinsley & Tinsley, 1986). Mannell, Nuzanek and Larson (1988) noted that "constructs of perceived freedom and intrinsic motivation

are the pillars upon which a great deal of leisure theory has been constructed” (p.289). Neulinger (1974) initially argued that the perception of leisure becomes greater when a person perceives freedom of choice in participation and when she or he participates in an activity for intrinsic motivation. In his later work, Neulinger (1981) argued that the perception of leisure is determined by the two underlying factors. Specifically, in the dichotomous approach to work and leisure, he hypothesizes six distinctive categories for leisure (pure leisure, leisure-work, leisure-job) and for non-leisure (pure work, work-job, pure-job).

Empirical support for the significance of this (post) positivistic paradigm has been provided based on quantitative methodologies. Iso-Ahola (1979), for example, tested Neulinger’s (1974) theoretical model of leisure through quasi-experimental studies. Exposed by imagined or hypothetical leisure settings with different levels of perceived-freedom (low vs high), motivation (intrinsic vs extrinsic) and work-relation (low vs high), the college participants were asked to rate the degree of leisure of the settings on a scale of 1 to 10. The findings supported the idea that perceived freedom and intrinsic motivation are the critical factors that determine perceptions of leisure. Similarly, assessing a subjective view of leisure, Mannell (1979) conducted an experiment by manipulating levels of freedom of choice and competitive motivation of a leisure experience as independent variables.

The operational definition of leisure that reflects the modern myth of a work-leisure dichotomy leads to a focus on the positive leisure experience. Researchers such as Csikszentmihalyi (1975), Kleiber, Larson, and Csikszentmihalyi (1986), Mannell (1979), Samdahl and Kleiber (1989), Unger (1984), and Unger and Kernan (1983) have operationalized the concept of leisure experience into positive aspects of optimal experiences (e.g., flow). In line with Tinsley and Tinsley (1986) who argued flow as the central element of leisure experience,

for example, Csikszentmihalyi (1975) proposed a flow model in which the meaning of experience is the intense, momentous experience itself. Csikszentmihalyi (1975) defined flow as autotelic, enjoyable, and an intrinsically rewarding experience that can easily be found in play. Such academic efforts to combine qualitative measurements and social psychological concepts for investigating the positive nature of leisure provide a starting point to understand the intricate relationships between leisure experiences and the meaning of leisure experience. However, this operational approach is unable to capture a complete account of the relationships given two facts. First, a social psychological approach presupposes that there can be a universal model of human behavior. Second, concepts are measured by the limited definition of leisure. Therefore, the reduced meaning of leisure experience fails to explain the multifaceted and complex leisure phenomenon given that the reduced linguistic terms and its measurements are not entirely interchangeable with actual experiences (Anderson & Hultsman, 1988).

Social Constructivist Approach

Contrary to the individual cognitivist approach, social constructivists anchoring in critical theories assume an inseparable relationship between individual experiences and the social factors that shape leisure settings. They assume that leisure experiences are embedded in participatory forms of practices at the social and individual levels, and in turn the meaning of experience is contingent upon these social structures (Henderson, 1994; Kelly, 1994; Rojek, 1995). Within this approach, scholars share a premise that the meaning of leisure is not viewed as static and fixed, but rather it is altered, modified and refined by experiences in a given social context (Devine, 2003; Harper, 1981; Hamilton-Smith, 1991; Henderson, 1994; Kelly, 1994; Rojeck, 1995; Samdahl, 1992; Shaw, 1985).

Emphasizing *communities* of individuals that significantly influence individual behaviors, leisure scholars are interested in the influence of ideological, institutional and cultural aspects of leisure experience. They argue that leisure can be identified through leisure experiences in which social identities (e.g., gender, age, ethnicity, class, etc.) are (re) produced. Focusing on the marriage of leisure experience and social structure, Kelly (1994) argued that “leisure actors have learned systems of meaning that reflect the dominant ideologies that serve class interests” (p. 91). More radically, Rojek (1995) argued that subjective, innate values of leisure, such as freedom, choice and self-determination, are a realm of fantasy in which “what we understand about the term [leisure] is socially conditioned...the object of leisure is subsumed by the subject of culture” (p. 1). Therefore, leisure meanings are plural and depend upon social conditions as part of the social world.

Leisure situated in the living world is the focus of researchers as they consider that the various leisure interactions occur at the micro level with friends, families and communities, and at the macro levels where capitalism, modernism, postmodernism and globalization are reflected (Kelly, 1994). Therefore, in the social constructivist perspective, the focus of the conceptualization of the leisure experience is on qualifying “what people [experienced] and what it meant to them” (Kivel, 2000, p. 79). This approach questions the efficacy of positivist methodologies for measuring leisure experience due to their limited ability to fully explain it.

Specifically, the dominant quantitative methods of survey and modeling are based on the assumption of causality between independent and dependent variables. Therefore, these methods do not address the meanings of leisure that are deeply associated with the context of the participant’s experience (Jackson, 1989). Thus, quantitative methods produce “an obsession with method that is divorced from substance” (Burton, 1996, p. 19). Namely, based on the belief of

objective reality, the relationship between the investigator and the object, the participants and their social context are independent of each other.

Social constructivism, on the contrary, illuminates leisure experience within its social and historical contexts, in “the dominant social citizenship paradigm” (Coalter, 1997, p. 258).

Consequently, without being concerned about statistically significant evidence, shared identities in ideological circumstances require context-dependent methods such as interviews, participant observations and ethnography. Leisure meanings are created through leisure experiences that occur as social practices, and they are used to resist social inequality, tension and conflicts within a community.

This perspective is salient in the research of feminist leisure scholars. Applying feminist paradigms to the realms of leisure, they try to understand the relationship between leisure and other spheres of the life of women, LGBT and underprivileged ethnic groups and races whose voices have been historically and socio-culturally marginalized and veiled (Kivel, Johnson, & Scraton, 2009). For researchers who acknowledge that lived experiences in daily life are “legitimate sources of knowledge” (Kivel, Johnson, & Scraton, 2009, p. 477), therefore, the notion of the “common” leisure experience is questionable. Henderson (1990) argued that feminist scholarship “provide[s] a more useful interpretation for understanding the experiences of women, their rights, and the inequality and oppression they have faced” (p.235).

Due to the unequal life experiences of minorities, scholars anchoring in feminism have developed their focus on leisure experience into a political movement. Parry (2003) argued that feminist researchers concerned with a “politics of hope” believe that texts need to criticize the lived experience of a patriarchal reality with a hope for desirable change (p. 54). She pointed out that the essence of discussing leisure meanings in feminist leisure research is “to adequately

represent and give voice to women's leisure experiences" (Parry, 2003, p.50). Furthermore, Nielsen (1990) stated, "without the conscious effort to reinterpret reality from one's own lived experience—that is, without political consciousness—the disadvantaged [women] are likely to accept their society's dominant world view" (p. 11). In this sense, the epistemological framework in feminism studies has identified women's lived experiences as politically "denied, repressed, and subordinated" (Smith, 1990, p. 12).

Despite the noticeable ability of social constructivists to explain individual experiences and social identity within leisure experiences, the issue of the changing meanings of leisure experiences remains relatively unanswered due to the rapid change of contemporary society. Postmodern conditions, such as the fragmentation of collective identity and local culture and the enormous influence of the global media, result in the fundamental dislocation of shared identities (Urry, 1992). These de-centered conditions have attenuated the relationship between leisure and collective, material realities (Rojek, 1995). Thus, instead of experiencing realities, recreationists consume and use the signs in which realities inhabit. This signification process based on consumption degrades the status of humanistic values such as freedom of choice and self-actualization to that of the illusory (Rojek, 1995).

Phenomenological Approach

The search for meaning of people's lived experience is the main idea of phenomenology. The phenomenological perspective corresponds to the desire for a deeper understanding of leisure experience in the leisure and tourism communities. Howe (1991) argued that naturalistic inquiries in a phenomenological paradigm are apt to investigate leisure as "a complex social and cultural construction" (p. 49). He pointed out that while meanings are not the result of thought

but “visceral feelings,” *thematic* meanings might be formulated through “systematic and reasoned inquiry” (p. 52). Likewise, Harper (1981) argued that the conceptualization of leisure as lived experience requires phenomenological methods because this approach is “a way of seeing and describing the basic structure of lived experience” (p. 120). Drawing upon descriptive phenomenology, Howe (1991) argued that phenomenology provides an opportunity to move beyond the widely accepted presumption that “sense-perceivable things” are the only objects that can be “systematically and rigorously studied or known” (p. 121).

Focusing on existential and experiential issues in tourism, Pernecky and Jamal (2010) proposed that a (hermeneutic) phenomenological approach based on an interpretive paradigm is needed in the sense that this valuable perspective, although under-utilized, will provide insight into understanding the lived experience of tourism. They argued that hermeneutic phenomenology can be a “critical instrument into further exploring how experiences may be gendered, classed, sexed, raced, aged and how these pre-givens dictate how we experience tourism” (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1071). Focusing on the potential of hermeneutic modes in tourism studies, Pernecky (2010) argued that research on tourism based on the hermeneutic mode illuminates the importance of investigating “the multitude of meanings which inform our understanding[s] in and of tourism” (p. 1).

The binding of experience and meaning in the field of leisure (e.g., Harper, 1981; Howe, 1991; Pernecky, 2010; Pernecky & Jamal, 2010) has directed researchers’ attention to phenomenology in three ways. One way is to use the term phenomenology with no detailed explanation of its philosophical and theoretical perspectives. In his seminal work on the linkage between authenticity and tourist motivation, Cohen (1979) provided four different modes of motivations by framing tourists’ experiences under the title of *A Phenomenology of Tourist*

Experiences. However, no theoretical or methodological consideration of phenomenology was provided in his study. In an empirical application of Cohen's (1979) typology of tourist experiences to that of Israeli backpackers, Uriely, Yonay and Simchai (2002) also used phenomenology with no philosophical and paradigmatic concerns associated with the term. Similarly, in their study of *Psychological Nature of Leisure and Tourism Experience*, Mannell and Iso-Ahola (1987) used the term in comparison among three perspectives: definitional, post-hoc satisfaction and immediate conscious experiences approaches.

A second way to approach the phenomenological perspective is to use it as methodology. Based on the idea of human geography by Relph (1990), Li (2000) made phenomenological inquiries to explore the relationship between geographical consciousness and the lived experience of Canadian tourists. In accordance with the concern about how place is experienced by humans, Li's (2000) findings revealed the nexus between travel experiences and other realms of living. In an effort to understand recreationists' experiences at heritage sites, Masberg and Silverman (1996) emphasized the significance of a phenomenological perspective in leisure research for understanding meanings and experience from the visitors' perspective. Thus, they used phenomenology as a guiding concept and methodology for developing an alternative way to comprehend the leisure experience.

Although their attempts have advanced from appropriating the term to undertaking phenomenological perspectives, these studies still lack in terms of "clear methodological guidance" (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1057). Indeed, phenomenology presents a broad spectrum in positivist (Husserl), post-positivist (Merleau-Ponty), interpretivist (Heidegger) and constructivist (Gadamer) paradigms (Racher & Robinson, 2003). Given that some of them sharply contrast as research paradigms, therefore, oversimplifying phenomenology into a single

connotation masks the significant differences of each phenomenological perspective in relation to ontological and epistemological concerns.

A third contribution of phenomenology, reflecting the concern of the second, is to investigate the meanings of leisure experience with respect to the significant variations in phenomenological perspectives (e.g., hermeneutic phenomenology and transcendental phenomenology). For example, a meaning-based approach anchoring in hermeneutic phenomenology considers experience as “an axis around which differences in meaning could be understood” rather than “a means of uncovering leisure meanings” (Neville, 2014, p. 5). With respect to this epistemological commitment, the use of phenomenology in the field of leisure is not a novel tool to investigate leisure experience. Rather, it encourages scholars to redirect their attention to leisure meanings based on inter-subjectivity between the object being studied and the investigator (Glancy, 1993; Neville, 2014).

In contrast, despite sharing an interest in the meanings of leisure experience, transcendental phenomenology accounts for the meaning of leisure experience based on Husserl’s argument of the structure of consciousness (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010). That is, the focus of this approach is on the description of the general, essential structures of consciousness (Bernet, Kern & Marbach, 1993). For example, Berdychevsky and Gibson (2015) used transcendental phenomenology in order to comprehend women’s perceptions of sexual risk-taking (SRT) in their tourism experiences and to transform each woman’s experience into the core meaning of the phenomenon. Identifying the five intertwined dimensions (physical/sexual health, social, emotional, mental, and cultural) in women’s SRT phenomenon, their findings questioned the representation of such dynamic and multidimensional leisure as flat standardized notions that fail to find underlying meanings in leisure phenomena.

2.3.2 The Evolutionary Understanding of Leisure Experience

As investigated so far, understanding the nature of the leisure experience has been treated as an essential point for the leisure research community. The development of the three philosophical perspectives shows that the endeavors to characterize leisure experiences have evolved from capturing one-dimensional, universal components to understanding its multi-dimensional nature. Such change has encouraged contemporary scholars not to examine simple determinants of leisure such as perceived freedom of choice, intrinsic motivation and pleasure-related emotions, but to extend their research scope to less tangible aspects such as meaning and quality of the leisure experience in relation to other realms of life.

This openness enables us to reconsider leisure and leisure experience as *evolving states* of experience or mind (Stewart, 1998). If we regard leisure as a single phase of mind, leisure experience and its meanings tend to be limited to the specific time and space in which the experience occurs. This reduction in the leisure scope leads to a separation of the on-site experience from the time before and after participation. Given this, recollection, for example, is not leisure but “of” leisure experience. However, as discussed above, other dimensions of life, such as individual, family, social and cultural contexts, are mutually associated with the individual’s interpretation of the leisure experience. In this condition, recollection is not a moment of reflecting the leisure experience. It is the continuing process of meaning making.

The emphasis on the coalescence between leisure and other aspects of human life means that questions about the nature of leisure have become more deeply associated with the investigation of how leisure as a phenomenon is lived in experience. While the binary perspectives on leisure experiences between individual cognitivists and social constructivists have resulted in concretizing the formation of meanings through leisure experiences, the

phenomenological perspectives that focus on the lived experience of tourists and recreationists offer an opportunity to investigate the *change* of meanings of leisure.

Thus, due to its broad scope which argues that leisure experience should include a series of experiences from anticipation to recollection, the model of the multiphase leisure experience (Clawson & Knetsch, 1996) will be investigated as an alternative perspective on leisure experience through the lived experience of participants. The concept of lived experience in this study is based on the phenomenological perspective, given that it provides an ontological, epistemological and methodological basis for qualitative research of lived experience.

In sum, the discourse of leisure experience reflects the broad interests of leisure and tourism scholars from the abstract, flattened, operational meaning of leisure to multidimensional meanings. The desire to overcome the alienation of leisure experience from everyday life encourages scholars to focus on the phasic nature of leisure with the concept of lived experience (Fishwick & Vining, 1992). Therefore, I will explore the multiphase leisure experience and the concept of lived experience in the next sections respectively.

2.4 The Application of the Concept of Lived Experience to the Multiphase Leisure Experience

The previous section shows that leisure research has anchored in diverse paradigmatic perspectives such as individual cognitivism, social constructivism and phenomenology. Without considering the paradigmatic issues, a careless approach to leisure experience leads to confusion in understanding the empirical research. In fact, the considerable body of diverse semantic labels (e.g., meaning, preference, benefit, satisfaction, intrinsic motivation) referring to leisure experience contributes to the lack of conceptual consensus.

In order to avoid a conceptually puzzling approach to multiphase leisure experience, three different levels of literature review are required: (a) the paradigmatic level, (b) the categorical/theoretical level and (c) the pragmatic level. The previous section has provided the fundamental standpoints for understanding the nature of leisure experience on the paradigmatic level. For level (b), two different categorical/theoretical debates will be explored in this section: the goal-directed approach and the meaning-based approach. Housed in individual cognitivism, the goal-directed approach in this review includes three categories: the expectancy-value approach, the satisfaction/benefit approach and the effectance-based approach². The meaning-based approach here is understood through the concept of lived experience from a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective. For the pragmatic level (c), the literature review retraces the roots of the model of multiphase leisure experience and its application to empirical studies in the field of leisure. Reviews, analyses and critiques of the empirical studies clarify the theoretical and empirical limitations ingrained in the use of goal-directed approaches and illuminate the significance of applying the concept of lived experience to this model.

With respect to these concerns, this section consists of six parts: (1) the model of multiphase leisure experience, (2) the goal-oriented approach, (3) empirical studies of multiphase leisure experience based on the goal-directed approach, (4) summary and critique of the goal-directed approaches, (5) the meaning-based approach, and (6) empirical studies of multiphase leisure experience based on the meaning-based approach.

² Within the cognitive individualism perspective, the value-expectancy, satisfaction and benefit approaches can be classified as the goal-directed approaches while the effectance-based approaches cannot. This is based on the fact that the former is interested in the extrinsic motivation while the latter focuses on the intrinsic, which is inexplicable with the extrinsic rewards and outcomes, such as satisfaction and benefit. However, this division between the two camps underestimates the fact that the different layers between motives do not mean that the latter is not based on the linkage between expectation and outcome: intrinsic motivation (i.e., cognitive curiosity) and intrinsic reward (i.e., enjoyment). With respect to the fact that this study largely draws upon constructivism and interpretivism, I have categorized the two camps into the same dimension, the goal-directed perspective. More explanations are provided in the critique section.

2.4.1 What is Multiphase Leisure Experience?

The term “multiphase/multiphasic leisure experience” refers to a single leisure experience that is comprised of multiple phases (Rossman & Schlatter, 2000; Stewart, 1998). Although this idea has been associated with different foci such as physically discrete phases (e.g., Bauer, 2001; Chon, 1990; Chubb & Chubb, 1981; Gunn, 1989) and psychologically distinctive phases (e.g., Botterill & Crompton, 1996; Cohen, 1979; Driver & Tocher, 1970; Mannell & Iso-Ahola, 1987), there is no contention among scholars that multiphase leisure experience is based on the Clawson and Knetsch’s (1966) seminal work³. Thus, this study draws upon Clawson and Knetsch’s (1966) multiphase leisure experience.

Clawson and Knetsch (1966) proposed a model of multiphase leisure experience in which leisure as states of mind involves five sequential but distinctive phases as part of an economic analysis of outdoor recreation. The first phase, *anticipation*, is related to the participant’s expectation for the target recreation activity. *Travel to destination* is the second phase, and it is related to transportation-related situations and tourism and leisure attractions on the way to the targeted recreation place. The third is the *on-site* phase in which experience is obtained from activities related to facilities, activities, other visitors and staff on the site(s). The fourth stage is *return travel* that enables the site visitors to have a different “frame of mind” even if they select

³ Besides Clawson and Knetsch (1966), a significant number of tourism scholars are also interested in on-site and off-site experience concerning travel trajectories (e.g. Fridgen, 1984; Mitchell et al., 2000; Pearce, 1982; van Raaij & Francken, 1984). Despite respecting their decent efforts, I do not go a step further to integrate the ideas of the researchers who exclude Clawson and Knetsch (1966) in their reference lists for the following reason. As Smith and Godbey (1991) pointed out, the model of Clawson and Knetsch (1966) and other scholars who accounted for the leisure process in different ways seems to have been developed independently. Moreover, although the model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) has been widely utilized in the tourism and recreation literature, little investigation has focused on understanding the phasic nature of the model. Hence, it is hard to say that an explicit consensus point does exist among them on whether each phase is part of the travel experience as a whole or an ancillary stage for explaining the on-site experience. This ambiguity means that it is dangerous to include some research simply because of external similarity. In order to build a systematic and integral approach to the Clawsonian model, this study focuses on research concerning the integrity of phases.

the same route for travel-to and travel-back (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966, p. 34). The final phase is *recollection*. This retrospective phase could last several months or longer and becomes the preliminary point for the anticipation phase of the next visit. Clawson and Knetsch (1966) noted the connectivity among the five phases, showing that recreationists often display a common pattern of increasing positive emotions (e.g., joy) and evaluation (e.g., satisfaction) from anticipation to the on-site phases. They also pointed out that participants might feel a decrease in satisfaction during the fourth phase, while a considerable recovery might occur in the final phase.

The main argument of their seminal work is the integration of the five phases into a single experience. Clawson and Knetsch (1966) claimed that “the third phase may be less than half of the total, whether measured by time involved, expense incurred, or total satisfactions gained” (p. 34). This statement indicates that the total leisure experience does not solely consist of the actual on-site activity. The five phases incorporate with one another as indispensable units of the total experience. Thus, this integrating model provides room to consider leisure experience not as a single frame of mind but as evolving states of mind. This expansive approach to leisure experience has both directly and indirectly attracted researchers’ attention to investigate the phasic nature of leisure experiences (e.g., Borrie & Roggenbuck, 2001; Hammitt, 1980; Hutsman, 1998; Hull & Michael, 1995; Hull, Stewart, & Yi, 1992; Hull et al., 1996; Lee, Datillo, & Howard, 1994; McKay, Brownlee, & Hallo, 2012; McIntyre & Roggenbuck, 1998; Patterson et al., 1998; Stewart, 1998; Vogt & Stewart, 1998; Walker, Hull, & Roggenbuck, 1998).

In a variety of attempts, two conditions significantly affect the ways in which this model is used in empirical research. On the one hand, the model explicitly emphasizes the economic aspects of leisure. This dependence on expectancy value theory and economic-centered concepts illuminates the researchers’ concerns as economists. Specifically, while they account for the

wholeness of leisure experience, the majority of their sub-concepts, such as benefit, time and satisfaction, are rooted in a hedonistic, post-positivistic perspective that reduces experience to causality based on economically valuable gains. In doing so, they provide no apologies for their goal-oriented and hedonistic approach in expanding the venue of leisure experience from the on-site experience to the whole. What they suggest is only that a recreation experience is not simply a function of the outcome of on-site activities.

On the other hand, they “encourage other researchers to develop, challenge, modify, and amplify the ideas and concepts [they] advanced” (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966, viii). The openness of this model has led to two lines of research. First, researchers focusing on expected outcomes approached this model with the expectancy-value and satisfaction/benefit theories and models. These goal-directed frameworks assumed that the package of outcomes would be equal to the leisure experience itself. Another research focus was on the dynamic, immediate leisure experience. Researchers questioning the over-rationalization of the expectancy-value approach applied effectance theories to the Clawsonian model. This process-oriented approach assumed that immediate experiences are inconsequential, and thus, rational expectations based on extrinsic motivation fall short when explaining actual outcomes. Empirical studies measured the improvised, perceived experience in order to understand the phasic nature of leisure experience.

2.4.2 Goal-directed Approach

The goal-directed frameworks are rooted in the psychological concepts of cognitivism and behaviorism. Based on the belief that human behaviors are conditioned by environmental stimuli, behaviorists only observe *external* responses. Their idea that human behavior is a function of “learned” responses and given stimuli has developed with various concepts such as

instrumental conditioning (Thorndike, 1931), positive/ negative reinforcement (Skinner, 1953) and positive/negative punishment (Skinner, 1953). Cognitive psychology shares the behaviorist view that human behavior is controlled through rewards, reinforcement, and some stimuli. Unlike behaviorists, however, the cognitive psychologists pay more attention to the importance of the *internal* mental processes of human behavior (Atkinson, 1957). They see behavior as beyond the simple reinforcement to a given stimulus and argue that cognitive learning is based on information processing within the human mind that is invisible and concerns self-awareness, self-evaluation and learning experiences (Rotter, 1954).

Reflecting some ideas of behaviorism and cognitivism, the goal-directed approach assumes (a) that cognition is a mediator of behavioral response and (b) that the behavioral response is a learned appraisal. In the early work of Bruner (1957), the main ideas of the goal-directed approach are (a) that perceptions function in serving one's motivation and (b) that an individual is motivated to gain a desired goal. In this framework, all humans are goal seekers and the goal is achieved when the actual outcome meets the expectation. Experience can be comprised of and decomposed into a series of cognitive conditions in a specifically given setting.

Expectancy-Value Approach

Drawing on Bruner (1957), Driver and his associates (e.g., Driver & Tocher, 1970; Driver & Brown, 1975; Driver et al., 1987) applied the goal-directed framework to their expectancy-value model (Driver & Tocher, 1970). Based on the assumptions (a) that human beings are rational decision-makers and (b) that human behavior is learned and goal-oriented (Driver et al., 1987), Driver and Tocher (1970) argued that recreation behavior should be

considered as an experience rather than activity itself. In this sense, they were departed from the emphasis of outdoor recreation research that generally framed outdoor recreation as a behavior and largely lacked inquiry into mentalistic states or experiential concerns. They defined recreation as “a psycho-physiological experience measured in terms of recreational responses and/or a mode process of responses” (Driver & Tocher, 1970, p. 10) and stressed that “humans are motivated to re-create” situated leisure experience in the pursuit of a goal-object, (Driver & Tocher, 1970, p. 11). Given that “choice” is instrumental to achieve goals or satisfy needs, preferences and desires, their main interest in recreation experience was the cognitive information process involved in why recreationists choose certain leisure activities. For them, the cognitive model (Driver & Tocher, 1970) functions as a prism through which leisure researchers investigate the phasic nature of leisure experience.

This model proposed leisure experience with a continuum of three cognitive phases: antecedent conditions, intervening conditions and goal objects. Antecedent conditions are conceived as the priming forces that trigger a search for specific goal-objects. These forces include priming external environmental stimuli, physiological drives, heredity, prior learning, maturity (stability) and cognitive style. Intervening conditions are constraining or facilitating factors that change recreationists’ expectations, their persistence/intensity of performance and later antecedent conditions. The goal object is the booster with which the participants decide the direction of their behaviors, since goals “contribute to learning and induce changes in the behavior of the recreationist” (Driver & Tocher, 1970, p. 17).

Noting that this initial model is weak at objectifying the psychological conditions, Driver and his associates (Driver, 1975, 1976; Driver & Brown, 1975) modified their framework by focusing on the principle of cognitive dissonance (see Festinger, 1957) to obtain a structural

understanding of leisure experiences. In the theory of cognitive dissonance, humans have an inner drive to maintain their attitudes and beliefs in harmony and to avoid dissonance among conflicting attitudes, beliefs and/or behaviors in a given situation (Festinger, 1957). Drawing on this problem-solving theory, Driver (1976) adjusted the expectancy-value model (Driver & Tocher, 1970) with nine subsequent cognitive processes⁴.

Of the nine stages, three stages (i.e., perceived problem, evaluation of available alternatives, and choice and expectation) and their relationships manifest Driver's noticeable dependence on cognitive dissonance. In the perceived problem state, a recreationist perceives a discrepancy between the current state and the expected state. Based on the "relative preference," leisure participants in the evaluation stage compare alternative choices in order to select the best option for minimizing the interval between two states (Driver, 1976, p. 171). In the choice phase, recreationists make a choice based on their expectation for the preferred state.

Despite his considerable reliance on the problem-solving model, Driver's (1976) focus, unlike Festinger's (1957), is not on cognitive deficiency but on the valued desires. This turn from a compensatory experience to a rewarding experience means that leisure as experience is motivated by potential psychological and social *benefits* and *satisfaction*. This limited focus on the desired outcomes further reduces the range of leisure experience to the *specific, predictable gains* that are already expressed before participating in the on-site activity. Consequently, relationships among various phases of a leisure experience have no more meaning than to show that need states are equal to measurable desired outcomes. Thus, in the research of Driver and his associates, leisure experience may be juxtaposed with consumption without critical issue within

⁴ (a) potential recreationist with quantifiable characteristics, (b) perceived problem state, (c) evaluation of available alternatives, (d) choice of recreation activity and expectations of realizing desired experiences, (e) planning and preparation, (f) on-site activity, (g) recall, (h) satisfying experience and (i) benefits (Driver, 1976, p. 173)

the boundary of the rational cognitive process for desirable gains. The satisfaction approach/benefit approach reflects this narrow concern.

Satisfaction/Benefit Approach

Both the satisfaction approach and the benefit approach are housed under the goal-oriented framework of the expectancy-value approach (Williams, 1998). Thus, the main idea of these approaches is in the comparison between the expectation and the actual outcome. Different from the expectancy-value approach, both the satisfaction and benefit approaches are management-oriented (see Hendee, 1974). The satisfaction/benefit approach considers leisure resources as products and participants as customers who are influenced by management operations.

Given the reductionist- and economic-oriented framework, the phasic nature of leisure experience has mainly been investigated along two trajectories: (a) to modify and simplify the preexisting expectancy-value models and theories, and (b) to propose new, leisure-oriented theoretical frameworks. Brown et al. (1973) pointed out that a considerable body of leisure research has failed to face the practical, real problems of recreation management and planning. In an effort to provide a more specific explanation to solving real problems, they suggested an alternative model of recreation preferences and behavior that includes three sequential phases, original state, process, and desired states. With this model, Brown et al. (1973) argued that recreation activities are phenomena to satisfy detailed human needs and focused on the association between recreation activities and specific motives. In doing so, their research encouraged leisure scholars to specify planning and management problems on recreation behaviors.

Despite the desire to grasp particular aspects of leisure, however, this model only provides a generic level of understanding. This is due to the fact that their approach was a simple transplanting of the Atkinson (1957) model into the context of leisure without appropriate modifications. The Atkinson (1957) model that Brown et al. (1973) used actually focuses on determining the “generic” level of cognitive process in human behavior. In his model, motive is defined as a disposition attuned to a satisfying outcome, and motivation is a function of motive, expectancy and incentive. Using Atkinson (1957), Brown et al. (1973) provides no explanation for the different aspects in his model that deal with practical issues associated with leisure experiences. Due to the limitation of using generic models in investigating leisure-specific experience, some researchers avoided a simple application of the social-cognitive psychological models to the venue of leisure studies. Instead, they proposed and developed leisure-specific theoretical frameworks.

One early effort to construct a leisure-specific framework was to focus on the physically observable phenomena, such as use levels of the on-site experience. Alldredge (1973) proposed a leisure satisfaction model anchored in the concept of marginal utility. He argued that increasing the number of visitors contributes to the growth of total satisfaction. However, the total satisfaction will decrease when the size of the crowd causes individuals’ dissatisfaction to reach a critical point. This substitution of experience quality to use density resulted in a simplification of the concept of leisure satisfaction and overlooked the multi-staged and process-centered theories and methods.

In contrast, Hendee (1974) rejected the idea that satisfaction correlates with only a single dimension (use density), and argued that a single factor is insufficient to investigate total satisfaction. Instead, he claimed the need to develop a multi-dimensional satisfaction model.

Focusing on the specific demands of recreation experience, Hendee (1974) argued that the purpose of wildlife management is to supply benefits to people. Specifically, recreational resources provide visitors with opportunities to obtain a variety of experiences, and in turn, the satisfaction derived from those experiences may lead to benefits. Drawing on the perspective of game management, Hendee (1974) thus proposed a multi-satisfaction approach with six tenets for hunting as a recreational activity: (1) satisfaction is a direct product; (2) satisfaction differs from benefits; (3) success is only one satisfaction; (4) quality is measured by satisfaction; (5) conditions affecting satisfaction can be managed; and (6) hunting-dependent satisfaction should be stressed.

Hendee's (1974) perspective on leisure satisfaction is notable in the sense that he did not place benefits in the same domain with satisfaction. Unlike Alldredge's (1973) one-dimensional approach, which tends to mix satisfaction with benefit, Hendee's (1974) approach illuminated the dissimilarity between the two and argued that benefit and satisfaction are not interchangeable: the former is specific, immediate reward while the latter involves the general, enduring qualities of experience. Given this, satisfaction is composed of complex components that are sensitive to temporal phases. Thus, the outcome of a leisure activity with regard to satisfaction is relatively hard to measure and define. This implies that outcomes with regard to satisfaction and benefit might be hard to measure in the same temporal dimension.

Consequently, some leisure scholars (e.g., Borrie & Birzell, 2001; Driver, Brown, & Peterson, 1991; Mannell & Stynes, 1991; Schreyer & Driver, 1989) interested in enduring outcomes of leisure experience considered the benefit approach as a refined means of measuring the qualities of leisure experience in a direct way. Borrie and Birzell (2001) and Schreyer and Driver (1989) pointed out that benefits include improved conditions, which are easily measured

and defined. Driver, Brown and Peterson (1991) noted that economic benefits are cognitively tangible and the “monetary worth of the improvements [is] measured by prices that people are willing to pay for the goods, services, and conditions that comprise the improvement” (p. 6). Integrating various studies focusing on the physiological, psychological and sociological benefits, Mannell and Stynes (1991) proposed a system model of leisure benefits which consists of three phases of leisure experience, including (1) input or stimuli, (2) output or consequence and (3) benefits. Pressing the meaning of leisure experience into a modifier of benefits, the scholars expected that the benefit approach would provide a better understanding of practical issues such as resource allocation problems.

Compared to the satisfaction approaches (e.g., Alldredge, 1973), the benefit approaches seemed to go a step further in exploring specific aspects of leisure experience. However, both perspectives are limited in that measurements are intensively focused on the psychological outcomes rooted in market values. In the marketing-oriented perspective, the value of the tangible commodity is determined by comparing the output as economic resources with the utility of the tourism and recreation markets. This reductive approach thus delineated the general cognitive process as a consumptive process in which benefits all determine the value or worth of the leisure experience (Mannell & Stynes, 1991). This extremely economic-value-based approach assumes leisure participants as customers who invest time and money only for expected outcomes, and reflects the comparison Driver and colleagues aspired to in their comparison of recreation “outputs” to other products of natural resource management, such as timber, range forage and water. The reduction of experience to outcome in the benefit approach always ignores the part of leisure experience that is spontaneous and dynamic beyond cognitive

causality. The lack of the “dynamic, immediate” facets of leisure experience in the benefit/satisfaction approach has provoked scholars to consider an alternative perspective.

Effectance-based Approach

Effectance theories challenge the satisfaction/benefit approaches under the assumption that motivation is not driven by an economical, pre-planned goal but by cognitive curiosity. Thus, the main focus is not on the congruity between expectation and actual outcome but on the experience which functions as an intrinsic, innate psychological reward that may result from unpredictable experiences. White (1959), the pioneer of the effectance motivation theory, considered that a person is an active participant rather than a medium between stimuli and reaction. Thus, he suggested that humans have a desire to feel effective in their world, and this need functions as an intrinsic motivation. The fulfillment of such desires produces a feeling of inherent enjoyment.

Subsequent psychologists expanded this idea by developing effectance theories. Harter (1983) applied White’s (1959) concept of inherent enjoyment to the realm of mastery: when a person challenges a task and masters it successfully, the person experiences feelings of enjoyment as well as internal rewards (i.e., a sense of control and competence). Anchoring White (1959), Hunt (1965) developed optimal arousal theory with the concept of *optimal incongruity*, which plays a crucial role in explaining the immediate human experience. Hunt (1965) believed that intrinsic motivation is the result of cognitive information processing and “an optimal standard of incongruity supplies a motivation for behavior change and learning that is inherent within the organism’s information interaction with its circumstances” (p. 227). Thus, he argued

that all humans seek for an optimal amount of incongruity because this invigorates humans to act.

Leisure scholars have utilized effectance theories to investigate leisure experiences that are unusual, dynamic and challenging. The focus on the dynamic nature of leisure experience is different from that of aforementioned goal-directed approaches in two aspects. First, while the former assumes that outcomes of action (benefit and satisfaction) are central to explain the nature of leisure experience, effectance theories illuminate the process of immediate leisure experience that is hard to predict. Second, the turn of research focus from outcome to process questions the validity of the measurement of outcomes under manipulated leisure settings. Thus, this perspective encourages scholars to measure leisure experience in natural environments. These concerns are reflected in the concepts of flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975) and peak experience (Maslow, 1962) which have been widely used in the community of leisure.

Maslow (1962) referred to peak experience as an intense and highly valued experience. He argued that this optimal human experience enables individuals to experience “moments of highest happiness and fulfillment” (Maslow, 1962, p. 69). Csikszentmihalyi (1975) referred to flow as a psychological state of being in autotelic, enjoyable and intrinsically rewarding experiences. Maslow (1962) and Csikszentmihalyi (1975) embrace a commonality in that leisure experience is one of the most appropriate research objects to investigate the positive aspects of an individual’s drive.

Although the two scholars both described peak experience and flow as playful, leisure-related experiences, a clear dissimilarity exists between them. While Csikszentmihalyi described flow as enjoyment inherent in an activity or intrinsic motivation, Maslow described peak experience as non-motivated or meta-motivated (Privette, 1983). Despite the discrepancy

between the two on motivation, Maslow's (1962) interest in the immediate, intense experience significantly affected Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) flow theory. Anchoring in optimal incongruity (Hunt, 1965) and peak experience (Maslow, 1962), Csikszentmihalyi (1975) argued that unrehearsed, dynamic experiences can be understood based on the degree of inconsistency between the challenge level of the activity and the skills required. The optimal level of inconsistency functions as psychological energy to continue the current activity. At the moment when the incongruence dissolves, to some extent leisure participants acquire a feeling of enjoyment. Such an unexpected positive experience meets a significant, intrinsic motive for leisure participants to challenge a more advanced level of leisure activities in which they may experience another optimal level of inconsistency. Given this, Csikszentmihalyi (1975) claimed that the meaning of flow experience is in the *momentous* experience that reveals (a) the nature of the intensity of the experience and (b) the essential components of enjoyment that are purely motivated.

Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) in-depth interviews with chess players, rock climbers, dancers, basketball players and surgeons reflected his interest in how to access flow experience that is immediate. He asked subjects to describe their states of mind during a peak experience that is optimal, intense, and highly valued. In order to assess the participant's conscious experience and psychological state, which is changing moment by moment in the natural environment, Csikszentmihalyi and Larson (1987) developed Experience Sampling Method (ESM). This method requires participants to respond to a consistent set of questions across various time/space spectrum of a single leisure activity. In the case of Csikszentmihalyi and colleagues, participants carried a pager to respond to questions in a booklet when they receive a random signal from the device. Through this method, Csikszentmihalyi and Csikszentmihalyi

(1988) could obtain a “high resolution description of their mental states right as they are happening” (p. 253) and captured several data points within one participant. Their analyses were careful to assess variation within a participant prior to any kind of aggregation across participants. Their framework for immediate experience challenged the expectancy-value frameworks that focused on expected outcomes.

2.4.3 Empirical Research of Multiphasic Leisure Experience Based on the Goal-directed Approach

The application of the model of multiphasic leisure experience (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) to empirical studies has resulted in a diverse use of goal-directed approaches (i.e., expectancy-value, satisfaction/benefit and effectance-based approaches). Leisure researchers interested in the model have considered leisure experience as a package of several phases without debate. Nevertheless, the operation of the model varies depending upon the distinct interpretations of phase.

Early Studies

One early study utilizing the ideas of Clawson and Knetsch (1966) was conducted by Hammitt (1980). In his study of visitors’ leisure experiences on a bog fieldtrip, 33 adjectives in the Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL) were used to measure the participants’ degree of engagement with the trip. Visitors were randomly assigned to five treatment groups and asked to respond to the MACL questionnaires during selected phase(s). In his findings, the degree of positive moods (i.e., involvement and fulfillment) increased (a) from the anticipation phase through the on-site phase and (b) from the travel back phase to the recollection phase and decreased from onsite to travel back phases. The degree of negative moods (i.e., disengagement

and resentment) showed the opposite pattern. Satisfaction and benefit of participants were measured by deducting points for the negative mood factors from those of the two positive mood factors. He concluded that the fluctuation of mood during the five phases revealed the multiphasic nature of the outdoor experience.

Despite his contribution to providing empirical support for the model, Hammitt's (1980) effort led to a confused mixture of the expectancy-value, satisfaction/benefit and effectance-oriented approaches. His semi-experimental survey and its analysis placed benefit, satisfaction and immediate emotional response on the same dimension. The main concepts, satisfaction, mood, benefit and affect, were applied with minor modifications: "an increase in positive moods and/or a decrease in negative moods occurring during a recreational experience was interpreted as a measure of leisure satisfaction and a benefit derived during the recreational engagement" (Hammitt, 1980, p. 112). The simple interchange among the terms reflected his underestimation of the difference between immediate response and outcomes that come after cognitive appraisal of leisure experience.

Stewart and Hull (1992) directly deal with the issue of insensitive measurement of the multiphase leisure experience. To examine the construct validity of satisfaction, they underscored the significance in differentiating satisfaction measurements between the memory-dependent (i.e., return travel and recollection) phases and the on-site phase. They differentiated two types of satisfaction between the three phases: post hoc satisfaction (PHS) in the first two phases focuses on the appraisal of an image of the total recreation experience, while real-time satisfaction (RTS) in the latter phase is based on a measurement of the recreationist's immediate psychological state. In their study of day hikers' satisfaction, they applied two different types of satisfaction scales, Graef, Csikszentmihalyi and McManama Gianino's (1983) satisfaction scale

for RTS and those of Schomaker and Knopf (1982) and Ditton, Graefe and Fedler (1980) for PHS. Results showed that RTS and PHS in the travel back phase were positively related, but the relationship between them in the recollection phase weakened and changed. They concluded that construct validation of satisfaction is debatable since the semantic labeling of satisfaction might connote various meanings along the different phases.

Stewart and Hull's (1992) study illuminated the need for sophisticated terms and approaches to investigate the multiphasic leisure experience. As noted above, the mixed approach elicited a failure to draw clear distinctions among outcome, expectation and experience and thus only obtained a generic, abstract level of understanding of leisure experience (William & Knopf, 1985). Unlike Hammitt (1980), Stewart and Hull's (1992) refined look at the terminology of satisfaction cast doubt on the use of satisfaction in a generic way. They noted, "it is unfortunate that they [PHS and RTS] are identically labeled satisfaction because the conceptual foundation of each appears quite distinct" (Stewart & Hull, 1992, p. 201). Although Stewart and Hull (1992) did not directly investigate the diverse approach to leisure experience on the theoretical level due to their focus on the construct validity of satisfaction on the empirical level, their perspective of satisfaction and the scales they applied actually echoed the concern for specificity in analyzing the leisure experience by distinguishing the satisfaction/benefit approach from the effectance-based approach.

The two early studies (Hammitt, 1980; Stewart & Hall, 1992) unmasked two limitations of the model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) in its applicability to empirical leisure studies. First, there is a lack of conceptual consensus among leisure scholars who consider leisure as a total package of the multi-phased experience. Second, associated with the first, there is no clear criterion on how to approach this complex, broad model. Because of these two limitations, this

insightful model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) has remained at the boundary of leisure communities. Consequently, only a few, isolated empirical studies have applied the model as a major, important research framework. The separation is reflected in the distinct ways of using the model in each community of leisure.

Tourism Studies

In the tourism literature, one way to use the model is to simplify the meaning of phase as a spatial division based on the benefit approach. The downsizing of leisure experience in the continuum of supply and demand leads to its meaning and worth being determined by consummative values. Subsequently, partitioning the phases functions as an ancillary means to measure economic outcomes. For example, Snepenger (1987) integrated Clawson and Knetsch's (1966) model with Cohen's (1972) tourist role typology in order to formulate a model of consumer experience in tourism. He modified the five phases into four stages, planning, travel, trip behavior and evaluation, to explore the novel experiences of Alaska visitors. Variables categorized for each phase were (1) number of weeks planned and information source for the first stage, (2) the types of transportation for the second stage, (3) monetary expenditures and leisure activities for the third stage, and (4) the evaluation of overall satisfaction, the value of the trip compared to money spent and the intention to revisit for the final stage. For a more refined measurement of benefits, Walsh et al. (1990) argued the need to differentiate direct costs or money expenditures from indirect costs (the value of the trip for the money spent) for a systematic evaluation of the economic value. In their study of the public benefits of preserving forest quality, they examined the indirect costs to estimate willingness to pay for the protection of forest quality on the five phases.

However, their modifications do not contribute to the evolution of the multi-phased model in that the segmentation of the leisure experience by economic values and its measurement reduces the leisure experience to a benefit-centered outcome. In addition, the attention to benefits inevitably drove researchers' foci to general and enduring qualities (Hendee, 1974). In this stable-quality-oriented perspective, this model was useful as a method to measure quantified, cost-related, stable variables but simultaneously missed considering other crucial facets of leisure that are fluctuating and undetermined.

Given the inevitable absence of immediate leisure experience, the benefit approach is limited in its ability to fully reflect the major implications of the model: both immediate and retrospective experiences are indispensable elements of the leisure experience over the five phases. This limitation is critical, especially in tourism, because tourism settings are designed primarily to satisfy the diverse, instant and changing needs of tourists rather than to provide stable benefits (Fridgen, 1984; Neal, Sirgy, & Uysal, 1999). Furthermore, the need to investigate immediate leisure experiences is emphasized given that diverse activities significantly affecting the instant responses of visitors coexist in a single tourism experience (Sutherland, 1982).

In response to the call for exploring the diverse, changing tourism experience with this model, the satisfaction approach has emerged as an alternative that focuses on the instant, unstable attitude after an experience (Pearce, 2005). This perspective is juxtaposed with the marketing perspective in which consumer satisfaction is "a context-dependent process consisting of a multi-model blend of motivations, cognition, emotions, and meaning, embedded in sociocultural settings, that transforms during progressive and regressive consumer-product interactions" (Fournier & Mick, 1999, p. 16). According to Pearce's (2005) and Fournier and Mick's (1999) arguments, satisfaction in tourism literature may be understood better by

considering it as a complex experiential construction associated with various desires on multiple levels. Some tourism scholars support this by arguing that tourists' experiences of a particular site are influenced not only by the on-site activities but also by a wider experience in the region (e.g., Hall, 1998). The expansive attention from a site to a region raises a distinct concern relevant to Clawson and Knetsch's (1966) model in that there is room for an exploration of a broader context of life experience beyond economic benefits (Botterill, 1987).

In their study of the role of satisfaction in the tourism/travel service, Neal, Sirgy and Uysal (1999) reflected a wider interest in satisfaction from the recreation/tourism site to the daily lives of visitors. They assumed that satisfaction is constituted from low levels to high levels of satisfaction. Given this assumption, they classified the five phases into two categories: services and trip reflections. Services involve anticipation, travel to destination, on-site activity and return trip phases and are used to capture a lower level of satisfaction (i.e., satisfaction with the leisure travel/tourism services). Trip reflections include experience in the recollection phase in travel/tourism experience and are associated with a higher level of satisfaction. A LISREL analysis showed the multi-linear relationships between lower levels and higher levels of satisfaction.

Neal et al. (1999) seemed to contribute to expanding the research scope of this model by including the anticipation and travel-to-destination phases that are excluded in Stewart and Hull's (1992) satisfaction research. Despite its significance, some ideas of Neal et al. (1999) reduced the meaning of multiphase in two ways. First, at the categorical level, the hierarchal construction between the recollection phase and the other four phases conflicted with the horizontal relationship among the five phases in Clawson and Knetsch (1966). Second, at the empirical level, Neal et al. (1999) analyzed the temporal and spatial dimensions of the model as a

single memorial dimension. In doing so, they measured satisfaction experience along the five phases at a single retrospective moment. Specifically, the researchers asked participants to respond to a survey questionnaire thinking of their most recent leisure trip and measured their experiences along the five phases at a time. Neal et al.'s (1999) compression of the five phases in the retrospective moment precluded any investigation of the underlying qualities of unstable, instant leisure experience.

Contrary to Neal et al. (1999) that are deeply rooted in the cognitive dissonance theory which justifies the congruity between the expectations and outcomes in manipulated settings, Arnould and Price (1993) were skeptical about simplifying the leisure experience as predictable outcomes. Rather, they illuminated the significance of investigating emergent, fluctuating leisure experience based on the optimal congruity theory in which outcomes are undetermined and unpredictable. Arnould and Price (1993) examined the extraordinary experience of river rafting with the assumption that participants are "hedonic consumers" (for details, see Holbrook & Hirschman, 1982) who seek a multisensory, fantasy and emotive experience. They argued (a) that expectations in extraordinary experience are vague, so evaluation of such experience is approachable based on the unique context of the overall story and (b) that their satisfaction approach focuses on process elements, including affect, narrative and ritual, rather than well-defined expectations, such as motivation, beliefs and attitudes. From their analysis of exhaustive quantitative and qualitative data over the course of the raft trip (preparation, on-site, and recollection phases) there emerged three themes of consumer satisfaction: personal growth and self-renewal, *communitas* and harmony with nature.

Emphasizing the phasic nature of leisure experience, Arnould and Price's (1993) study revealed (a) a close linkage among themes and (b) a weak association between expectation and

satisfaction. As for (a), the three themes of the river rafting experience were interrelated and developed beyond the on-site experience. The evolving narratives indicated that an investigation of satisfaction needs to acknowledge the inseparable relationship with *self*, even in the commercialized, hedonic-oriented leisure experience, due to its pivotal role in meaning making. As for (b), the findings illuminated the significance of the alternative perspective anchored in the effectance-based approach. In the customer leisure experience, articulated expectations often times were not able to explain the meaningful satisfaction. Evidence that invalidates the rational causality between expectation and meaningful satisfaction in the venue of leisure travel casts doubt on the overdependence on the cognitive dissonance theory ingrained in the satisfaction approach.

Nature-oriented Recreation Studies

Consistent with Arnould and Price's (1993) insightful findings, nature-based recreation literature has turned leisure researchers' attention more to the temporal moments of a recreation experience. Beyond the cognitive dissonance theory, nature-based recreation researchers have conspicuously applied the effectance-based approach to the model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) in order to understand the nature of leisure experience that is dynamic and multi-phased. Two distinctive aspects of their approach are (a) that the dependence on optimal incongruity theory (Hunt, 1965) was highlighted with the focus on emotive responses and (b) that a variety of methods were developed.

In order to understand the complex, dynamic nature of leisure experience, Lee, Dattilo and Howard (1994) investigated the immediately recalled on-site recreation experience by applying a self-initiated-tape-recording method (SITRM). In-depth interviews 2-3 months later were used to explore the definitional and retrospective phases of leisure experience. In their

findings, the positive and negative feelings that emerged fluctuated and often times coexisted simultaneously in the instantly recalled phase. However, the negative, stressful characteristics of their experience that emerged in the on-site phase tended to fade away during the retrospective phase. This dynamic, complex nature of leisure experience was also found in other studies. Hull, Stewart and Yi (1992), for example, sought to examine the properties of the experience patterns of day hikers. The three qualities that emerged, mood, satisfaction and scenic beauty of the landscape, were measured at 12 points over the hiking course. Findings in the multiple on-site phase showed that the variation of the three qualities drew unique patterns over the environmental attributes of the hiking course.

Lee et al.'s (1994) and Hull et al.'s (1992) emphasis on the emergent state of mind is based on the assumption that the dynamic nature of leisure experience can be captured through *intense emotions*. Hull et al. (1992) argued that outdoor recreationists “set out to consume an extended sequence of relaxing feelings dotted with peaks of excitement” (p. 250). Botterill (1987) insisted that the unpredictability of leisure events touches the essence of tourist and recreationist experiences. In accordance with their arguments, a line of endeavors to capture the unpredictable experience focused on the close linkage between inquiries of on-site experiences and flow (Ryan, 1995) and the ESM-centered methods (Larsen, 2007, see for example, Hull et al., 1992; Jones et al. 2000; Lee et al., 1994).

With regard to the popularity of the use of immediate experience-related concepts (e.g., flow) and measurements within the model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966), it is important to note that a gap always exists between retrospective experience and the immediate response, given that the former always comes with high levels of cognitive judgment. Csikzentmihalyi (1975, 1978) pointed out that an immediate emotional response such as sensual pleasure is not located in the

same dimension of positive emotional experience. Thus, Csikzentmihalyi (1999) argued that although participants might fail to recognize how happy they are in the process of a flow experience, many positive results, such as enjoyment and satisfaction, are produced after their participation since they come to realize an expansion of self and subsequently evaluate it. This means that, under the church of goal-oriented approaches, what researchers are able to observe is “an after-the fact summary judgment” (Peterson, Park & Seligman, 2005, p. 27). Respecting his arguments, the flow experience connotes two distinct dimensions: the outcome of immediate perceptual response and that of retrospective judgement.

Given this, the immediate leisure experience research mainly focusing on emotions need to consider that emotions, in fact, consist of at least two different layers: (a) immediately responsive phenomenon and (b) retrospective experience. While (a) is hard to capture with cognitive judgment, (b) is revealed through a deeper level of cognitive judgment such as language. Thus, the more a leisure researcher uses language-centered methods, it is highly possible that what she or he is able to capture is (b). Qualitative methods are not appropriate for a researcher who is mainly interested in (a) due to the interference of language.

These sophisticated distinctions between emotions raise the question of how to understand concepts relevant to immediate, emotional experience (e.g., flow) when applying them to the idea of multiphase leisure experience. This is because Clawson and Knetsch (1966), unlike Csikszentmihalyi (1975, 1998, 1999), mixed two components of emotions without a clear description of whether the emotions being considered in the model refer to instant pleasure or a retrospective emotional outcome. They simply mentioned that “each phase could be more enjoyable...in both momentary and human terms” (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966, p. 35) and that “the experience at each site contributes to total enjoyment” (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966 p. 34).

These states alluded to the two mixed connotations of enjoyment in the model: while the former emphasize enjoyment as emergent emotional reaction, the latter considers enjoyment as a cognitive result of participation.

Such insensitive attitude to emotions in Clawson and Knetsch (1966) has led to diverse interpretations of the relationship of the multi-phased leisure experience with emotional qualities in the outdoor, nature-based recreation studies. One view is to associate emotion with the real-time on-site experience and considers “mood as the primary measure of the leisure state of short-term visit” (Borrie & Roggenbuck, 2001, p. 205). In the sense that emotions are indicators of the change of phases within the on-site visit, Borrie and Roggenbuck (2001), Hull et al. (1992), Hull and Michael (1995) and McIntyre and Roggenbuck (1998) focused on the fluctuation of mood along the phases by using in-situ assessment, modifying the ESM (Csikszentmihalyi, Larson, & Prescott, 1977). In their study of the adventure experience of novice river surfers in a 3-day river surfing course, Mackenzie, Hodge and Boyes (2013) used in-depth qualitative interviews to explore the multiphasic nature of flow in the on-site phase. A second interpretation links emotions to the anticipation phase. Larsen (2007) noted that positive emotion functions as a reference to the anticipatory holiday phase, while a feeling of engagement is connected to the on-site phase, and meaning is related to the reflection phases. In their analysis of participants’ narratives, Filep and Deery (2010) suggested that positive emotions are associated with happiness elements in the anticipation phase. Their arguments are in line with the perspective of positive psychology in which core positive emotions, including love, interest, joy and contentment maximize happiness in life (Fredericksn, 2001). A third view considers positive emotions as indicators of valuable life outcomes developed by the sequential phases from anticipation through recollection. In line with the positive psychological approach, Mitas et al.

(2012) examined positive emotions, especially joy and interest, before, during and after a leisure travel experience. Their results paralleled Clawson and Knetsch's (1966) claim that recreationists' experiences increase before and during the travel and decrease after the travel.

In the research of nature-based recreation activities, these diverse efforts to account for the emergent nature of recreational experiences have produced two distinctive patterns. First, researchers who investigated direct, instant, intense emotions within the on-site phase only tended to isolate the phases from one another. This means that, although the idea of phase in each study is based on the Clawsonian model, their selective focus on the on-site experience mostly neglected the relationship of leisure with other realms of life. Second, for the researchers who apply some concept of immediate experience, such as flow, into the model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966), motivation is unclear and innate. The vagueness of motivation indicates that the understanding of the five phases cannot be based on rational causality, which is what Clawson and Knetsch (1966) depended on.

2.4.4 Summary and Critique of the Goal-directed Approach in Multiphase Leisure Experience

Summary

Three different goal-oriented approaches, expectancy-value, satisfaction/benefit and effectance-based approaches, provide the theoretical/categorical framework for Clawson and Knetsch's (1966) multiphase leisure experience model. The substantial divergences among them are summarized in Figure 1.

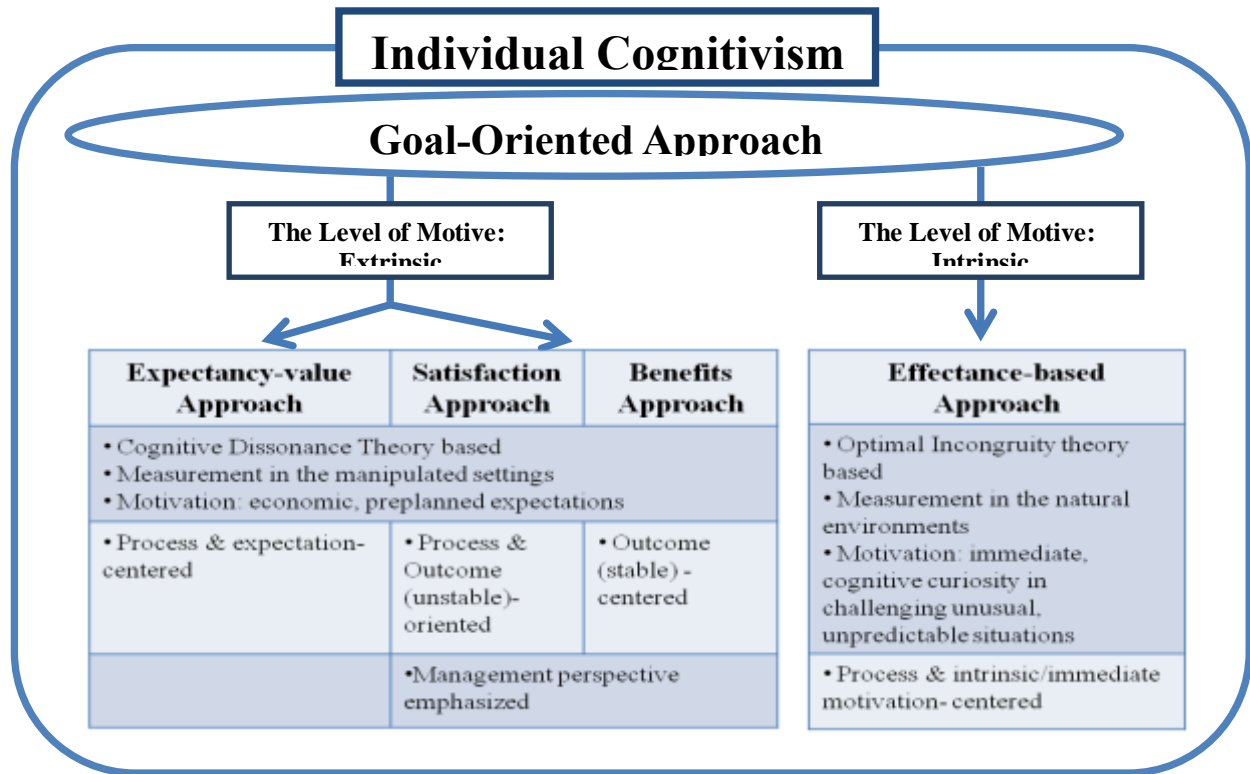


Figure 1. Three Goal-oriented Approaches in Individual Cognitivism

All of the three are housed in a goal-directed perspective that is rooted in individual cognitivism. Both the expectancy-value and satisfaction/benefit approaches are based on the cognitive dissonance theory in which (a) a discrepancy between the expectation and the actual outcome exists, and (b) humans thus are motivated to *eliminate the gap*. Based on the assumption that a desired goal is planned before participation, leisure scholars focused on the positive, expected outcomes of the leisure experience, and thus measured qualities of experience in manipulated settings. The expectancy-value framework (e.g., Driver & Tocher, 1970; Driver, 1976) transplanted the cognitive process models from psychology to the field of leisure with less modification. This tendency resulted in a generic and process/expectation-oriented approach. Compared to the expectancy-value approach, the satisfaction/benefit approach focuses more on specific, beneficial outcomes from the economic perspective. This focus has resulted in two

different strategies: to modify and simplify the expectancy value approach (e.g., Brown et al., 1973) and to propose new, leisure-oriented frameworks (e.g., Alldredge, 1974; Hendee, 1974; Driver et al., 1991). These new frameworks illuminated the need to differentiate satisfaction as instant rewards from benefits as enduring outcomes. The benefit approach reinforced the tendency that frames leisure experience as consummative.

The over-dependence on rational causality (i.e., the direct link between expectation and actual outcome) and economic values (i.e., satisfaction and benefit) neglects to explore the immediate leisure experience. In response to this deficiency in the expectation-value and satisfaction/benefit approaches, the effectance-based approach illuminates the need to focus on cognitive curiosity and intrinsic motivation. This perspective is specifically based on the optimal incongruity theory in which individuals first *seek for a gap* between their expectations and the real experience. Such inconsistency functions as a motor to challenge leisure experience which is unusual, dynamic and unpredictable. Thus, for scholars who understand the phasic nature of leisure experience with this approach, their main interests are in (a) outcomes associated with intrinsic motivations for leisure (e.g., enjoyment) and (b) the cognitive process of recreation. With respect to these foci, immediate experience is assessed through intensity of experience in the natural environment.

At the practical level, the application of the three goal-oriented approaches to the multiphase leisure experience model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) varies depending upon the researchers' focus on specific activities. Early studies, tourism studies and nature-based recreation studies drew unique patterns in applying these three approaches (Figure 2). First, early studies approached the model by considering benefits and outcomes (i.e., emotions and satisfaction) as relatively static. Hammitt (1980) provided empirical support for the Clawsonian

model by using a mixture of the expectancy-value, satisfaction/benefit, and effactance-oriented approaches. In contrast, Stewart and Hall (1992) illuminated the need to upgrade the terms and approaches in the measurement of satisfaction associated with the multi-phased leisure experience.

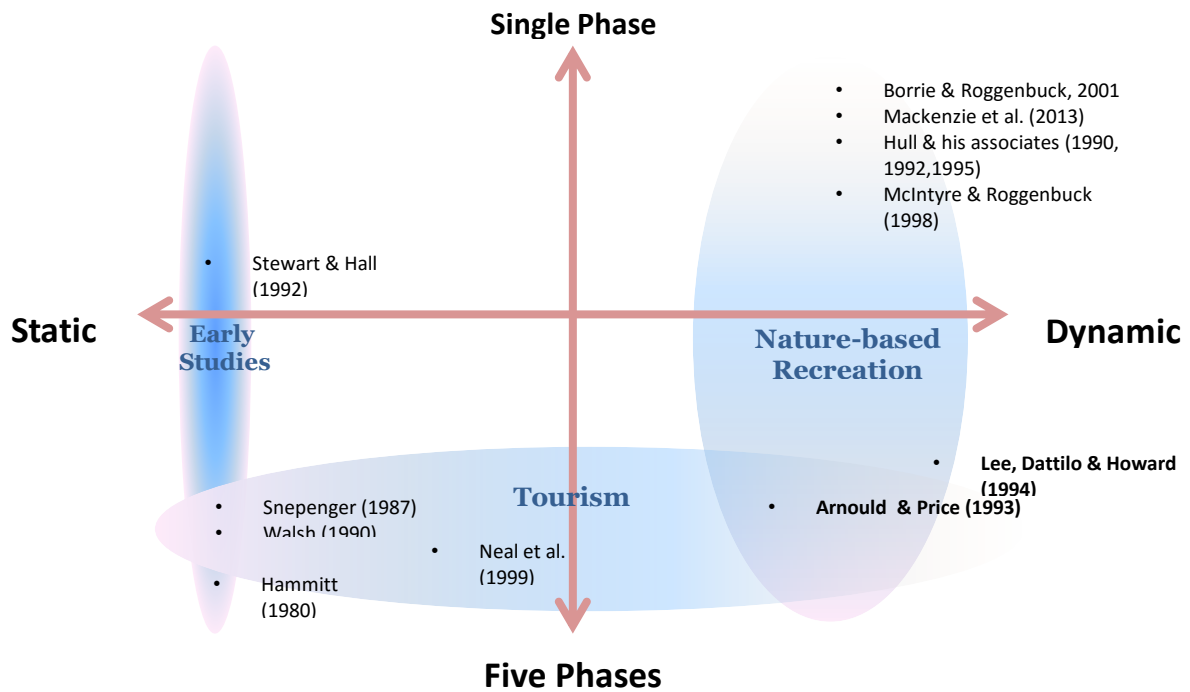


Figure 2. A pattern of empirical research on the multiphase leisure experience

Second, tourism researchers applied the satisfaction/benefit approach in the model. Unlike earlier studies, tourism researchers focused on both the static and dynamic outcomes. The satisfaction approach paid more attention to the instant, unstable attitudes. Compared to the satisfaction approach, the benefit approach focused on the general and enduring qualities of the experience with quantified, cost-related and stable variables. Despite the differences, both the benefit and satisfaction approach in tourism studies are in line with the marketing-oriented perspective in which leisure participants are considered as customers.

Third, researchers interested in nature-based recreation activities turned their attention to the immediate, dynamic nature of leisure experience. Drawing upon the effectance-based approach, which explains recreation desire based on the optimal incongruent theory, scholars were eager to capture the immediate, unpredictable emotional responses to the on-site experience. The fluctuation of emotions the observed support their argument that even the on-site phase consists of multiple phases. Various measurements and immediate experience-related concepts have been considered with respect to the different interpretations of emotion.

Critique

The summary has shown that the goal-directed approaches contributed to illuminating the multi-faceted aspects of leisure experience. However, two questions relevant to the limitations of these approaches arise at the empirical and theoretical levels. First, at the theoretical level, do the goal-directed approaches applied in the model differentiate outcome from experience? Second, does the empirical leisure research of multiphasic leisure experience anchored in the goal-directed approaches provide a better understanding of leisure meanings? Based on the critiques on these two questions, I reviewed empirical studies that are sensitive to the shortage. However, the review showed that their challenge and modification to the Clawsonian model at a practical level is limited in its ability to understand the multifaceted leisure experience in that the studies are largely based on the post-positivistic perspective which underestimates the significance of personal, cultural and social contexts in leisure experiences. The limitation intensified the need to reconsider the model of multiphase leisure in the alternative perspective, the meaning-based approach.

Problem1: The insensitivity to the difference between experience and outcome

The first question points to the lack of distinction between experience and outcome in the goal-directed perspective. By truncating and delineating the whole leisure experience into several limited variables, leisure experience is equivalent to the sum of outcomes relevant to satisfaction and benefits. In this view, leisure participants become consumers who passively accept the worth of their experience-which is imposed by service providers in the recreation and tourism market. Accordingly, the process of experience that might be different depending upon the unique qualities of participants underestimates the economic gains.

The effectance-based approach seemed to challenge the pervasive assumption (that the package of desired outcomes equals the leisure experience) by making the effort to capture the qualities of immediate experience. Indeed, the difference of this approach from other goal-oriented approaches is clarified in its focus on intrinsic rewards (i.e., of enjoyment, fun and satisfying cognitive curiosity). Proponents highlighted the significance of the effectance-based perspective by showing that intrinsic rewards do not necessarily correlate with predictable, economic outcomes. Separating intrinsic motivations from economic value-laden goals enabled researchers to focus more on the process of leisure experience, which cannot be explained with cognitive causality. Given this, the measurement of unpredictable, inconsequential and challengeable leisure experiences in unusual events gave rise to the main interest of this approach.

However, the change in focus from cognitive logic to perceptual sensation does not mean that the effectance-based approach is positioned outside of the goal-directed perspective. Each approach only focuses on a different dimension of motive (i.e., intrinsic motives vs. extrinsic motives). This is because the effectance-based approach still mirrors some basic ideas

of the goal-directed approach: human need and/or desire and its fulfillment are the basis of human experience. Intrinsic motives provide an alternative cause-centered framework. Drawing upon individual cognitivism, this indicates that human experience is not explainable without the assumption of the existence of desire and its fulfillment. At the fundamental level in the effectance-based approach, motivation-outcome still operates as the fundamental framework. It explains why a body of leisure researchers has focused on the positive emotions resulting from the leisure activity: the immediate positive experience (e.g., fun and enjoyment) could function as a sign that the intrinsic motive (e.g., cognitive curiosity) is satisfied.

Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) flow theory exemplified this limitation. Clarifying the irrelevance between the flow and a need for external rewards, he defined flow as an intrinsically rewarding, enjoyable, autotelic experience. For him, leisure participants anticipate an enjoyable outcome in momentous, intense, unpredictable experiences and flow experience is not the intrinsic motivation but the outcome of it. The measurement of flow experience including the ESM, in fact, is not the experience itself but an immediate recollection of it that minimizes memory decay and mood bias (Larson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1983). This indicates that a result of immediate measurement may capture one facet of experience through momentary outcomes but fail to encompass the leisure experience itself that occurs beyond the outcomes.

Situating the satisfaction/benefit and effectance-based approaches within the goal-directed perspective is also supported given the fact that the two distinct camps share the same epistemological and ontological paradigmatic issues of post-positivism. As reviewed in the previous section, individual cognitivism considers (a) that a reality is objective and knowable and (b) that we are able to break the reality into component parts with systematic categorization. Thus, experience that is situated and ingrained in various contexts is reduced to and interchanged

with outcomes that are separated from their contexts. Due to this, the dynamic, transitory nature of leisure experience from this perspective lacks the participants' social and cultural *contexts* no matter what researchers depend on among the various goal-direct approaches (Coalter, 1997).

My first question to point out the insensitivity of the goal-oriented perspective in differentiating outcome from experience does not intend to underestimate the academic contributions of the individual cognitivist frameworks to investigating the phasic nature of leisure experience. Indeed, various measurements and theories anchored in the goal-direct approaches provided a starting point for understanding the multi-faceted, polysemic concept of leisure experience. Based on the assumption that outcome equals to experience, however, an obvious restriction exists: the individual cognitivist approach presupposes a universal model of human experience with no consideration of context. Thus, it fails to dissolve two critical empirical concerns: (a) leisure as a complex phenomenon is inescapably confined by its reduced linguistic terms and (b) the measurement of leisure outcomes is not entirely interchangeable with actual experience.

Problem 2: The Underestimation of the Meaning of Leisure Experience

My critique of the first question illuminated the weakness of the goal-directed approach. Although this perspective contributes to uncover the phasic nature of leisure experience, what this approach underestimated using the post-positivistic methodologies is that contexts revealed through meaningful language are not artificially trimmed by value-free variables. This stimulated me to consider a second question: Does the empirical leisure research of multiphasic leisure experience anchored in the goal-directed approaches provide a better understanding of leisure experience when meaning is imbued with the utterance of or dialogue with participants?

Before answering the second question, I first need to admit that two specific fields of leisure (i.e., tourism and outdoor recreation) made distinctive efforts to explore the multiphase leisure experience. On the one hand, tourism scholars based on the satisfaction/benefit approach tried to expand the temporal and spatial venues of the five phases in order to measure specific economic outcomes. The extensive dependence on economic value in tourism studies entailed participants as customers. This viewpoint is based on the assumption that leisure experiences are chiefly considered as “being dispositional, trait-like, consciously need-driven, determined by antecedent states” regardless of the temporal, spatial and contextual changes or differences (Stewart, 1998, p. 392). Thus, the five phases here are considered no more than a physical division to measure economic gains. The studies of nature-based recreation experience, on the other hand, are anchored in the effectance-based approach which claims that leisure experience is not a static, fixed, one-dimensional experience but dynamic and emergent. The focus on the instant leisure experience mainly drove the nature-based researchers to examine the real-time, context-free emotional responses that are fluctuating and immediate on the site.

Given the distinctive foci between the two fields at the empirical level, each goal-directed approach applied in the multiphase leisure experience model contributed to diversifying and enriching the discourse of the phasic nature of leisure experience. However, the goal-directed perspective, regardless of its foci, is criticized in terms of the lack of explanation of the meaning of leisure experience due to its fundamental dependence on the post-positivistic perspective. This view ignores the significant gap between leisure experience as delimited by the operational approach and what the participant encounters. For example, even “flow” (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975), the well-known, widely applied effectance theory in the leisure community, does not actually refer to the leisure-specific experience: it is positioned beyond

leisure conditions. As Csikszentmihalyi's (1975) argued, leisure is a situation that easily triggers flow experience. The fact that flow is a phenomenon over "generic" human experiences indicates that researchers conceptualizing the leisure experience with the concept should always keep in mind that the flow-specific experience, in fact, excludes social and cultural contexts. That is, flow neglects to refer to the leisure experience, which is fully understood not only through individual innate mental states moment by moment but also within social and cultural contexts.

Indeed, Mannell, Zuznek and Larson (1988) showed that flow may not be a good discriminator when differentiating leisure from non-leisure states. Operationalizing leisure experience as flow, they hypothesized that a higher level of flow experience occurs when a participant is in a high degree of perceived freedom of choice and intrinsic motivation. However, findings showed that individuals experience the highest degree of flow when they had *extrinsic* motivation to perform freely chosen activities. What is manifested is that intrinsic motivation (i.e., cognitive curiosity) is a mere index to refer to the flow-specific experience as a generic human experience. This indicates that, when researchers investigated multiphase leisure with extraordinary experiences (i.e., flow) to illuminate the phasic nature of leisure, what they captured was only the participants' immediate, but generic, experience of the environment.

The naïve transition from experience to leisure experience elucidates the limitations of the goal-oriented approach: without considering meaning of leisure experience, researchers fail to clarify the essential need to explore leisure as multiphase experience. For example, suppose that we were to measure a businessman's sequential phases of a business trip on a weekday, including anticipation, travel to the work place, on-site activity, return travel to home and recollection of the trip, as well as his outdoor recreation experience on the weekend. If each phase of the work-related experience showed a dynamic change, and the pattern of his emotional

and cognitive responses was similar to that of a multiphase leisure experience, the goal-oriented approach fails to find an appropriate answer to the question: why should we need to investigate leisure as multiphase experience if the expanded various phases of sequential experience produce dynamic features for *all* kinds of experiences? Without clarifying the significance of multiphase in the model, it might be enough to confine the research focus only to on-site or other single phase experiences given that “leisure as a state of mind is a truism with which few of us would argue” (Stewart, 1998, p. 391).

Modifications in the Goal-directed Approach and Its Limitations

It should be noted that all leisure scholars anchoring in the goal-directed approaches are not insensitive to the shortage but challenge the restrictions by clarifying the limitations and importing new methodological. For example, Lee, Dattilo and Howard (1994) examined the complex and dynamic nature of leisure experience. The use of the SITRM with in-depth interviews enabled them to investigate the multifaceted leisure experience that goes beyond perceptual and cognitive responses to the leisure settings. Arnould and Price (1993) investigated satisfaction with a commercial river rafting experience from the service provider and the consumer perspectives. They argued the ineffectiveness of the expectancy-value approach to some experience relevant to unusual special events, such as water rafting. Their quantitative survey based on the extensive, rich qualitative data collected over two years supported the argument.

To some extent, Arnould and Price’s (1993) and Lee et al.’s (1994) efforts paved the way to a better understanding of the multiphase leisure experience by applying innovative, diverse research methods, like SITRM, and concepts, such as extraordinary experience. Thus,

some researchers rooted in the postpositivism would argue that a “modified” goal-direct approach is sufficient to understand the complex nature of leisure experiences. It seems an acceptable argument given that the SITMR in Lee et al. (1994) improved the ESM to overcome its limitation (i.e., the signal-constrained and value-free measurement). In addition, Arnould and Price’s (1993) modified the satisfaction approach with effectance theorists (e.g., Csikszentmihalyi, 1975; Maslow, 1974; Privette, 1983) and fruitfully conducted a comprehensive mixed method study to understand the lived meaning of satisfaction.

However, a careful look at their modifications reveals that their practices on leisure experience need to exceed the boundaries of the post-positivistic perspective. Obvious evidence found in Lee et al.’s (1994) is the use of the SITRM. Unlike the ESM, which restricts the range of available responses with forced-choice questions in order to measure immediate momentary experiences, the SITRM asked respondents to record their leisure experiences that are immediately *recalled*. The focus on the recollected conscious experience on-site in the SITRM illuminates one distinctive aspect: what researchers are able to approach is the *reconstruction* of experience through *verbal* expressions that are unable to be controlled.

The linguistic-centered approach raises a question on the validity of the time limitation in Lee et al. (1994). They asked respondents to document “the leisure experience within at least 20 minutes of its occurrence to enhance the accuracy of the recollections” in order to “avoid data contamination via memory decay” (Lee et al., 1994, p. 199). When considering Lee et al.’s dependence on the ESM which is based on post-positivism, their sensitivity to the time limitation is understandable. However, the SITRM, unlike the ESM, is associated with a distinctive concern: the use of a participant’s own language is a highly subjective response, and mood and memory evolvment are not control variables. Given that (a) experience is confined in the

linguistic meanings and (b) information of the recreation experience can be recalled holistically because the moment of utterance comes after the mental processing for some amount of time (Kosslyn, 1983), the immediate, dynamic, multiphasic leisure experience that Lee et al. (1994) examined, in fact, cannot be located on the same dimension of leisure experience that is measureable with the ESM. Thus, it seems useless to delimit response time in the SITRM in order to correspond with the concern of time limitation in the ESM.

Notable evidence is also found by Arnould and Price (1993). Unlike the traditional goal-directed approaches which have implicitly created a dichotomy between leisure activities and other realms of life, their deconstructional approach effaced the boundaries between the satisfaction approach and the meaning-based approach and clarified the significance of the connectivity between those terrains of life. For Arnould and Price (1993), it was emotion which links scattered experience to leisure phenomena. Verbal articulation affected by emotions provided the chance to explore how the meanings of leisure experience evolve in their lived experience from the participant perspective. In the moment of recollection occurring on and off the leisure site, leisure experience is entangled with extraordinary and daily lives. Meanings of the experience evolve over the participant's itinerary from "vague narrative expectations" (Arnould & Price, 1993).

Despite their unique efforts beyond objectivism, Arnould and Price's (1993) limitation should be noted. Their selection of the unpredictable leisure setting (i.e., river rafting) echoes the prevailing idea in the multiphase leisure experience research: the wilderness-related recreation setting is an ideal place where "an extraordinary recreation experience is a powerful stimulus to emotional response" (Gray, 1983, p. 17). Natural environments function as triggers for extraordinary experiences for leisure participants due to their spontaneity (Clawson & Knetsch,

1966). In contrast, very little evidence of spontaneity is found in everyday routines due to the *more planned and structured* leisure settings (e.g., Shaw, 1985). This contrast tendency in each leisure setting resulted in major examinations of leisure phases in the nature-oriented settings with real-time measurements (Borrie & Roggenbuck, 2001). The inclination toward nature-based activities in exploring the phasic nature of leisure experience reduced the research foci of leisure experience onto the unpredictable, extraordinary, and immediate experience (e.g., flow and peak). In this sense, it is not surprising that leisure scholars have paid little attention to the *predictable* settings of cultural attractions to explore various states of leisure experience.

The predisposed concentration on the nature-based leisure experience in empirical studies of the multiphase leisure experience, however, does not mean that the dynamic nature of leisure as states of mind is unable to be investigated through culture-centered leisure activities. Cultural settings also provide distinctive states of leisure experience that situate leisure participants as meaning-makers in interaction with cultural objects as well as people. For example, as mentioned in the review of museum and museum visitors, museums are strong magnets to urban culture that enable visitors to interface among art, culture, tourism and recreation (Falk & Dierking, 1992, 2013; Mommas, 2004; Richards, 1999; van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002). This means that museum visitors encounter numerous cultural symbols that provoke them to behave as active human agents of meaning making with their own interest, knowledge and cultural contexts. Thus, the leisure participant's position as a meaning-maker in the cultural activity inevitably redirects researchers' attention from the measurement of the instant cognitive, perceptual experiences to the understanding of leisure meanings that evolve incessantly along with the various phases.

The lack of empirical studies in the venues of cultural leisure activities becomes more problematic when considering that leisure experience is a highly culture-dependent concept. As mentioned above in the review of literature on the paradigmatic issues of leisure experience, enormous debates concerning the conceptualization of leisure experience have mirrored that leisure is a polysemic, multifaceted construct (Iso-Ahola, 1980) and a cultural construct of the Western worldview which instills meanings of leisure based on culture and history (Bammell & Burrus-Bammell, 1996). This means that specific concepts, such as extraordinary, flow and peak experience, which have been mainly examined to understand the phasic “nature” of leisure experience, might be a mere reflection of the modern myth that it is enough to investigate the essence of leisure without context. Such idea drawing upon post-positivism entails leisure as an experience that is crystallized into fixed pieces in the individual’s mind.

The omission of personal, cultural and social contexts and the concentration on the pure innate mind that determines immediate perceptions of leisure ironically lacked the ability to fully reflect the original idea of the multiphase leisure experience model. Clawson and Knetsch (1966) pointed out that “recollection of one outdoor experience often provides the starting point for anticipation of another, by the same person or by others” (p. 35). Their implication of circulative, interrelated relationships among the phases is inapproachable within the goal-directed perspective for the following reasons. First, for people who have no previous experience in a target activity, it is doubtful that they actually have expectations for their first participation of it. Second, the collected data largely depends on immediate emotional, cognitive variable changes, even in a single recollection phase (see Stewart & Hall, 1992). This means that, at the empirical level, a generally acceptable measurement point is unclear because leisure experience could consistently evolve even within a single phase, and the turning point is unique to each individual.

The Meaning-based Approach and the Limitations of the Goal-directed Approach

One way to investigate the circulative, interrelated relationships among the phases is to situate a model *entirely* in the meaning-based approach. Arnould and Price (1993) showed that the meaning-based perspective is valuable in exploring the connectivity among the themes that emerge from diverse phases. However, its ancillary position in marriage to the satisfaction perspective reduced the range of connectivity in the satisfaction-associated experience. Fortunately, missing slices are found in Abrahams' (1981) insightful work which provides Arnould and Price (1993) a meaning-based perspective of leisure experience. From an anthropological perspective, Abrahams (1981) argued the coexistence of ordinary and extraordinary experiences in cultural performance and words. He argued that the two dimensions are illustrative based on the "patterns of culturally learned and interpreted behavior that makes [individuals] understandable to others" (Abrahams, 1981, p. 45).

In addition to the connectivity between extraordinary and ordinary experience, also being emphasized on experience is its continuity of life. For Abraham (1981), experience is of "ongoingness" in discussion of life by "[containing] ordinary acts, from the casual to the most eventful occurrences. It [experience] embodies both *meanings* and *feelings*, the flowering of individual response that continually gravitates toward typicality, so that afterward we, can find words to talk about what happened" (Abraham, 1981, p. 49-50). His insightful perspectives provoked leisure researchers to consider leisure experience not as an automatically carried authentic concept regardless of context, but "a deeply coded word in our own culture" by linking together the world and the way we live (Abraham, 1981, p. 48). Given this perspective, to understand multiphase leisure experience wholly drawing upon the meaning-based approach is to provide an opportunity to reveal the significance of utterance and participant-centered

vocabulary associated with leisure experience beyond physical boundaries between the extraordinary experience (unusual leisure experiences) and the ordinary experiences (of everyday life experiences).

The limitations of the goal-directed approaches explained above also substantiate the need to apply the meaning-based approach into the multiphasic leisure experience model. As investigated, the goal-oriented perspective paid no attention to the difference between experience and its outcome. The limitation of the insensitivity was clarified in two ways. On the one hand, when researchers focus on the enduring qualities, they tend to focus on the economic outcomes, such as benefits and satisfaction. Here, the meaning of various phases in a single leisure experience is reduced to simple physiological divisions in order to measure such long-lasting qualities efficiently. On the other hand, when researchers focus on the changing qualities, they tend to focus on the perceptive, sensational emotions. This tendency produced an over-focus on on-site outdoor-recreation experiences without considering contexts. Thus, the meaning of the phase is reduced to emphasizing the momentary, fluctuating nature of leisure experience, and the connectivity among the phases is less considered.

Another limitation discussed in the second question is the restrained role of verbal expression in searching for the meaning of leisure experience. As a result of the over-dependence on cognitive information processing, the range of leisure experience as outcome in tourism literature was predetermined by antecedent states. What were measured as leisure experience were generic, quantified variables that assumed the universality of leisure experiences. The turn to immediate leisure experience in the nature-oriented recreation experience studies enabled researchers to capture situation-specific moments by applying new methods, such as the ESM. Rooted in post-positivism, their measurements encouraged researchers to see immediate leisure

experience as units of behavior that are separated from the experience, later distorted by memory decay. The uncertainty about whether what researchers measured was the environment-dependent response or leisure-oriented experience pointed to the need for subsequent investigation of the lived meaning of the leisure experience. In order to overcome this limitation, some researchers (e.g., Arnould & Price, 1993; Lee et al. 1994) modified the effectance-theories by collecting data on the basis of participant-centered verbal expression. However, their modified goal-oriented approaches paradoxically contributed to accentuating the necessity to reconsider the multiphase leisure experience model within the meaning-based approach, given that the meaning-based approach transposes leisure as culturally constructed. This transposition requires a deeper understanding of context beyond the boundaries of on-site experiences. From this perspective, multiphase are essential in exploring the leisure experience.

2.4.5 Meaning-Based Approach

As discussed above, the goal-oriented approach views leisure participants as consumers or pleasure seekers whose perceptual outcomes are attuned to fulfill their expectations. From this perspective, thus, empirical studies delineate multiphase as physical divisions to efficiently measure outcomes that are related to economic values (satisfaction and/or benefits), or at best, as immediate perceptual responses mainly based on positive emotions. Some researchers (e.g., Arnould & Price, 1993; Lee et al. 1994) went a step further to obtain a deeper understanding of the phasic nature of leisure experience by inserting meaning-based methods into the goal-directed approach. However, their obvious dependence on language and verbal expressions, which go beyond the lower level of perceptual judgment, underlines the need to entirely situate the model in the meaning-based approach.

In response to the call, a meaning-based approach here argues (a) that it is capable of addressing and resolving the limitations revealed in the goal-directed approach, and (b) that it provides a better opportunity to explore in-depth multiphase leisure experience. Geertz's (1973) and Bruner's (1990) arguments from two contrasting poles (anthropology and cognitive psychology) support the significance of the meaning-based approach.

From an anthropological perspective, Geertz (1973) argued that an individual's meaning is not only constructed within one's mind but also is based on the shared cultural values which have accumulated over time and been transmitted through social members. For him, cultural experience cannot be understood by the post-positivist approach that divorces values and experience from context. Thus, all the biological, psychological and social components are required in understanding human behavior (Geertz, 1973). In his later work, *Acts of Meaning*, Bruner (1990), one of the pioneers of cognitive psychology, argued the failure of the cognitive revolution by placing and fixing individuals as cognitive information seekers who only make a selection to satisfy their expectations. The fixation of mind in this view precludes understanding mind as a creator of meaning. To overcoming this limitation, Bruner (1990) emphasized the role of language and culture: culture shapes and is shaped by our thoughts, and we express them through language. Thus, he believes that "we shall be able to interpret meanings and meaning-making in a principled manner only in the degree to which we are able to specify the structure and coherence of the larger contexts in which specific meanings are created and transmitted" (Bruner, 1990, p. 64-65).

By focusing on leisure experience, the meaning-based approach with its emphasis on the language- and context-based perspective provides room to investigate how the meanings of leisure are constructed throughout the multi-phased leisure experience. Thus, in order to

understand the model of multiphase leisure experience within the meaning-based approach, the focus leisure participants described here are (a) engaged in a cultural leisure activity, (b) active meaning-makers and (c) able to share their holistic experience with others through language.

Shareness in the Meaning-Based Approach and Leisure Research

Of the three foci, the one that requires further explanation is (c), specifically how to approach “shareness.” Although Geertz’s (1973) and Bruner’s (1990) insightful arguments underlined the importance of language- and context-centered perspectives, their units of analysis (society/culture and individuals) from a macro-level focused less on how each individual, at a micro-level, changes the meaning of experience through interaction. This omission leaves considerable space to use the meaning-based approach in various ways in empirical studies.

Due to its openness in practices, the meaning-based approach has been widely used by leisure scholars to explore leisure experience in various ways. Guided by a feminist epistemology, Parry and Shiner (2004) investigated meanings of leisure for infertile women in their own social and cultural contexts. Glover (2007) applied critical race theory to uncover the hidden voices of African-American children in the youth baseball league in which race as a social construction has a significant influence on them. Johnson and Samdahl (2005) applied a feminist anthropology to examine the intersection of gender and sexuality in leisure experience and explored the lived experience of gay men’s responses to an event for lesbian in a gay bar. Lashua and Fox (2007) used a mixed ethnographic method to explore the Aboriginal-Canadian youths’ musical remixing practices and found that making music remixes encourages the participants to (re)produce their own stories, cultures and identities. Mair (2009) conducted a narrative ethnography of shared leisure experience in curling clubs and demonstrated the need to

situate leisure in the whole social context in which leisure participants lives. Axelsen (2009) conducted an autoethnography of her who are struggling with anorexia nervosa and showed how her leisure experience as a triathlete changed her identity from an anorexic to a healthy triathlete.

Despite its diverse foci in theories and methods, the meaning-based approach in leisure embraces a commonality in referring to experience as “an axis around which differences in meaning could be understood” rather than “a means of uncovering leisure meanings” (Neville, 2014, p. 5). Instead of depending on logical positivism which champions detached observations of experience as a research tool or object, researchers focusing on lived experience anchor in the meaning-based approach that encourages them to become more involved in the participant’s experience. By clarifying this epistemological commitment, leisure scholars in the meaning-based approach pay attention to building a foundation of inter-subjectivity between the object being studied and the investigator (Glancy, 1993; Neville, 2014).

Despite the similarities, ontological foci diverge between *historical-social* reality, which is shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender values, and *local-specific* reality, which is constructed and interpreted through constant interaction between individuals (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Feminism is an example of the former in which lived experience has been treated through epistemological concerns for how researchers translate the oppressed women’s everyday lives. Leisure researchers drawing upon feminism in the U. S. have used interpretivist paradigms to explicitly reveal the leisure experience of women, LGBT and underprivileged ethnic groups and races who have been historically and socioculturally marginalized (Kivel, Johnson, & Scraton, 2009). In contrast, Phenomenology starts off with the latter ontological concern to conceptualize lived experience. By focusing on the inseparable relationship between individuals and their context, Harper (1981) argued that the

conceptualization of leisure as lived experience stimulates leisure researchers to consider a phenomenological approach as “a way of seeing and describing the basic structure of lived experience” (p. 120). Furthermore, this perspective provides an opportunity to move beyond the over-focus on the “sense-perceivable things” as leisure experience (Howe, 1991, p. 121).

Among diverse phenomenological approaches, hermeneutic phenomenology is sensitive to the issue of “shareness” in two ways. On the one hand, this approach shares the common concern of phenomenology. It not only “explore[s] how experiences may be gendered, classed, sexed, raced, aged” (Pernecky & Jamal, 2010, p. 1071) but also reveals how participants with their active voices describe their individual leisure experience (Masberg & Silverman, 1996). In its broad interests, phenomenology emphasizes that each human is situated in his or her own contexts, and that researchers need to expose their own narratives in which meanings of experience are embedded (Heidegger, 1992b). Shareness here is close to understanding leisure participants’ own experiences in their own world in which they are thrown.

On the other hand, one unique interest of hermeneutics is in how humans can understand each other by using language as a medium for dialectical interactions that occurs meaning between speakers from different backgrounds or contexts (Gadamer, 1989). Patterson et al. (1998) in the field of leisure touched this concern by clarifying that human experience is mutually “defined by the transactional relationships among settings, individuals with unique identities, and situational influences” (p. 427). In this sense, what is important is to understand how the dialectical interaction creates meanings of leisure experience. Thus, shareness here is based on communications between people who have different cultural and social backgrounds.

In line with this perspective, this study focuses on the emergent narratives of participants as a sharable interaction to explore their leisure experience. Given this, the meaning-based

approach described here could narrow its focus to the evolving meanings of leisure experience through dialectical conversations. In support for this focus, the concept of lived experience and its application to the multiphase model will be discussed.

Lived Experience

“Lived experience” is a reflective or self-given awareness that resides in the temporality of the consciousness of life without a pre-reflective consciousness of it (Dilthey, 1985). Simply stated, it refers to a human’s immediate consciousness in his and her daily life (Schwandt, 2001; van Manen, 1990). This term originated from the German word *Erlebnis*, which contains the word ‘life’ or ‘to live’ (van Manen, 1990, p. 177). It was initially used to refer to immediate experiences in biographical writings and connoted temporally significant experiences (Wertz et al., 2011). With respect to this origin, therefore, the concept of lived experience is deeply associated with relationality and meaningfulness in the context of one’s life (Wertz et al., 2011). Following philosophical arguments and paradigmatic issues concerning the concept of lived experience clarify further why this concept is considered pivotal to understanding leisure experience in the meaning-based approach.

Philosophical Approach to the Concept of Lived Experience

Husserl (1970) coupled the concept of *lived experience* (*Erlebnis*) with *meaningful lived experience* (*Erfahrung*) in order to illustrate a crucial phenomenological distinction between experienced immanence and transcendent objects (de Warren, 2009). *Erlebnis*, in Husserl (1970), refers to a mental process that one undergoes during an event in everyday life. *Erfahrung* is usually used to discuss our knowledge of the world that is gained in the course of an experience.

While the former indicates an experience of immanent sensations and acts of consciousness and highlights the temporal involvement of one's consciousness in the experience, the latter refers to full-fledged acts of consciousness and the experience of the constituted objectivities.

Unlike Husserl, who mainly focused on the immanence of lived experience at an epistemological level, Gadamer's (1975) argument about lived experience (*Erlebnis*) provided methodological implications for empirical research. Given this, he proposed two dimensions of meaning to the lived experience: the immediacy of experience and the content of what is experienced. In regard to the relationship between the two dimensions, he pointed out that the former "precedes all interpretation, reworking, and communication," and the contents of experiences are approached when we can name or describe them (Gadamer, 1975, p. 61). This indicates that humans are not able to signify an *actual* lived experience with our language because when we try to describe it, the involvement of our language discursively colors the experience. Given that language (i.e., naming or describing the contents of the experience) creates another layer of experience and that we cannot exactly represent the immanent lived experience itself, research on lived experience requires qualitative inquiries for reflection and interpretation of it.

Dilthey (1985) offered a systematic explanation of the relationship between lived experience and human science rather than only focusing on the philosophy of human science. He emphasized that the concept of lived experience plays an essential role in emancipating the methodology of human science from natural science since an experience constitutes "a unity [with meaning] in the present" (Palmer, 1969, p. 107). In his argument, it should be noted that experience does not exist in an isolated moment in time. Because experience is inherently temporal, historical, constantly changing and undetermined, lived experience requires

interpretation based on the historical context of the past, present and future (Dilthey, 1985). Therefore, in order to have a true understanding of lived experience, Dilthey insisted that we must use historical methodologies in which all things are truly understood. In other words, the present experience can only be truly understood in the context of past and future, and thus, it is context-dependent (Palmer, 1969).

The review of the philosophical discussion on lived experience in hermeneutics and phenomenology has revealed the importance of meaning as the essence of human experience. Escaping from Cartesian dualism, which is based on a belief of one objective life world, three philosophers provide a fresh way to look at our many worlds (Lavery, 2003). Despite their shared interest in lived experience, however, Husserl and the other two have different foci on the paradigmatic issues. Admittedly, the vast influence of Husserl on phenomenology makes it is hard to neglect his insights into the concept of lived experience. However, given that Gadamer and Dilthey have provided methodological implications of lived experience for empirical human science studies and offered a systematic explanation of the relationship between lived experience and human science, it seems desirable that the paradigmatic issues of lived experience be explicated by drawing upon the insights of these two scholars. Additionally, considering that my research focus is not on an explication of the philosophical argument of the conceptualization of lived experience but on the application of it in order to understand multiphase leisure experience of museum visitors, I can refrain from an over-complicated describing of the paradigmatic issues.

Paradigmatic Issues on Lived Experience

Research on lived experience focuses on the ontological question of “the nature of reality and ‘Being’ in the world” (Lavery, 2003, p.14). By examining the relationship between an individual and his or her experience, this ontological perspective considers that experience as co-constitutive and inseparable. This approach highlights our being-in-the-world as it is shaped by pre-understanding, historicity, culture and language (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Relying on Heidegger’s analysis of the necessity of ontology, his “being-in-the-world” is echoed by Dilthey’s (1985) and Gadamer’s (1989) approaches to lived experience in which a true understanding of it should be associated with historicity (Dilthey, 1985) and language (Gadamer, 1989).

Epistemologically, research on lived experience focuses on interpretation, context and language. Both the participant and the investigator are self-interpreting beings who live in the real world. Therefore, in order to reach a rich understanding of the concept, it is essential that the process include dialogue between the researcher and participants. The relationship that they co-construct through language denies the detached, dualistic stances between them. For Gadamer (1975), lived experience (Erlebnis) is relevant to all of the subject’s undetermined, plural experiences. Experience undergone (Erfahrung) enables the subjectivity to be pulled into an episode of meaning, and in turn, experience comes to be understood as being integrative, dynamic, contextually determined and singular (Hekman, 1983).

Methodologically, research on lived experience tries to understand and interpret lived experiences and/or searches for their meanings. Therefore, the focus is to capture the life world stories of participants in careful consideration of their contexts and proper research tools. Since meanings are not given or pre-determined by only one valid interpretation of texts (Gadamer,

1975), the meanings of the stories arise from the interpretive interaction between the texts and the readers. Therefore, the use of this meaning-based approach calls for researchers and methodologies they use to be reflective, insightful, sensitive to language and open to experience (van Manen, 1990). This language-centered approach requires researchers not only to discourage setting aside their own biases and assumptions, but also to acknowledge their prejudices since such biases clarify their own position in which their experiences are related to those of the participants being studied.

In this section, I have explained the concept of lived experience based on two aspects: philosophical debates and three paradigm issues. The discussion reveals three properties of the concept: (a) lived experience cannot be conceptualized by category or compartmentalized into the real world; (b) it is impossible to directly represent lived experiences since they are actually recognized through linguistic cognitive process, which in turn creates meaningful lived experience; and finally, (c) to understand lived experience is to interpret a historical experience with language in integrative ways. With respect to these characteristics, understanding leisure phenomenon through lived experience indicates that leisure is not a unique experience. Rather, all experiences, including leisure, from the various facets of life are blended with one another. Therefore, attempts to articulate specific definitions of a lived experience with several sub-elements or components from only the researcher's partial viewpoint contradict the fundamental idea of this holistic concept.

Application of the Concept of Lived Experience in Multiphase Leisure Experience

This review has shown that empirical studies focusing on the multiphase leisure experience largely depend on concepts and methods from post-positivism (e.g., Hammitt, 1980;

Hultsman, 1998; Stewart & Hull, 1992). In the meaning-based approach, which assumes inseparable relationship between humans and their experience, the concept of lived experience emphasizes that humans are not able to “represent” experiences as they were exactly lived, although the experience resides in their temporal consciousness. The denial of this identical representation of experience encourages us to revisit the Clawsonian model through the lens of lived experience to overcome the limitations of the post-positivistic view. Three subsequent issues associated with (a) experience focused, (b) phase and (c) the venues of research sites highlight the significance of reconsidering the model based on the meaning-based approach.

As for (a), language as its medium clarifies the limitations of the goal-oriented perspective that has been used to uncover the immediate nature of leisure experience. For individual cognitivists, the immediate experience of leisure participants is a cognitive reaction that researchers are able to approach. Thus, they underline the separable relationship between experience and context. Therefore, within individual cognitivism, the immediate leisure experience is efficiently researched within the on-site activities with a minimum use of language in measuring the perceptual level.

In contrast, the concept of lived experience, which resides in the temporal consciousness, emphasizes the inseparable relationship between immediate experience and context. The nature of experience that is situated in language and historicity supports this perspective. Language is attuned for describing immediate experience, but it can simultaneously block a direct capture of the experience itself since language as a value-laden communication tool continuously reflects cultural and social values (Gadamer, 1975). With regard to historicity, experience itself is inherently temporal, historical, constantly changing and undetermined (Dilthey, 1985). The existence of experience in the historical contexts of past, present and future

means that experience cannot be understood in an isolated moment in time. This requires investigating current, immediate experience in the context of the past and future (Dilthey, 1985). The emphasis on historical and linguistic dimensions provides an alternative lens for viewing the immediate leisure experience: it should be investigated within its own context, which is revealed through temporal and linguistic dimensions.

Issue (b) for a meaning-based, the significant role of language encourages rethinking the meaning of phase as a dialectical point for the co-construction of meanings. In the goal-directed approach, “phases” in leisure experience function as simple physical divisions to efficiently measure economic gains (benefits and satisfaction) or immediate perceptual and emotive outcomes. The over-focus on physical conditions is problematic because it reduces human experience to simple reactions to the stimuli presented by a given circumstance encountered in the present. This delimits the role of participants as passive information receivers. Thus, their momentary experiences are measured by using standardized words and scales based on the dualism between researchers as analysts and participants as research objects.

In contrast, applying the concept of lived experience to this model rejects the informant’s passive position. In this meaning-based approach to understanding leisure experience it is necessary to situate participants as active narrators for two reasons. First, humans create meaning by connecting different experiences (Bauseister & Vohs, 2002). Second, the interactive discourse between the researcher and the participant can add another layer of meaning to the experience (Gadamer, 1989). This stimulates the erosion of the boundary between the investigator and the informant and relocates their distinct positions to the same position as co-workers or contributors of meaning construction. Language-oriented interactions between the

interviewer and the interviewee over five phases provide stages to co-construct meanings for the participant's leisure experience.

The third issue (c) with a meaning-based approach, the replacement of phases by the moments of interaction between co-workers, enables the researcher to extend the venue of research sites. Unlike the individual cognitivism in which researchers artificially freeze the meaning as a momentary experience in a given leisure setting, the view of lived experience considers meanings as evolving and plural entities. Here, meaning in the world is deeply associated with a variety of contexts, including social, personal, economic and cultural conditions (Gadamer, 1989). Since language is “the all-embracing form of the constitution of the world,” encountering and subsequently communicating with people who have different backgrounds provide an opportunity to recognize contexts (Gadamer, 1976, p.3). In this sense, meanings require contexts and contexts are revealed in conversations.

This focus on the interactive conversations that occur along the phases enables leisure researchers to investigate the culture-oriented leisure experiences that have been less explored with this model. Cultural leisure sites, such as art museums, history museums and science centers include a body of cultural symbols. Thus, it is difficult to measure this type of leisure experience with the standardized variables and limited vocabulary that are attuned to measure a perceptual level of immediate experience. The reinterpretation of phases as moments of interaction between participant and researcher indicates that this model could be widely used, regardless of the properties of the leisure activities. This encourages researchers to go a step beyond the division between ordinary and extraordinary experience, daily lives and special events, and nature-oriented and culture-centered leisure activities (for details, see Abrahams, 1991).

So far, I have explained the significance of applying the concept of lived experience to the model of multiphase leisure experience. In general, the adoption of the concept leads to an unavoidable paradigm shift from individual cognitivism to hermeneutic phenomenology. This change redirects the main research focus on leisure experience from attempting to capture a fragmented and fixed nature of leisure experience to an understanding of the meaning of leisure experience that evolves along phases. In this view, the five phases do not function as simple geological or physical divisions. Instead, they are considered as encountering points to co-construct an evolving meaning of leisure experience through communication between the interviewer and the interviewee. This meaning-centered approach to phases provides leisure-related contexts that are shaped by the speaker's personal, social, economic and cultural conditions. This new role of phase contributes to extending the venues of research sites from nature-oriented leisure to culture-centered leisure activities. Figure 3 below summarizes how the concept of lived experience reshapes the multiphase leisure experience model in order to explore the meaning of leisure experience.

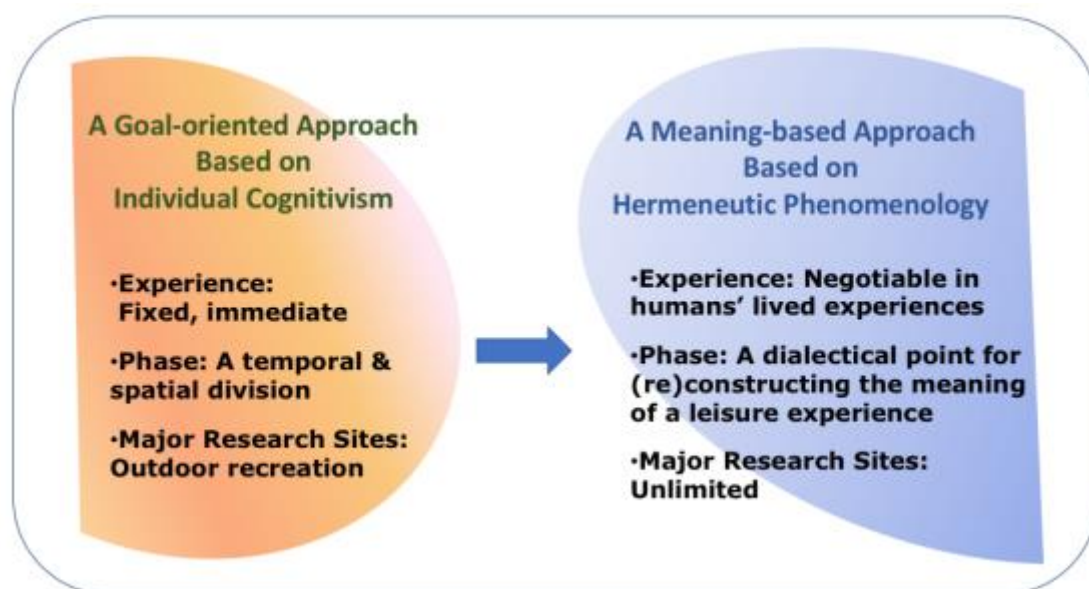


Figure 3. Reconstruction of the Multiphase Leisure Experience Model (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966)

2.4.6 Studies of Multiphase Leisure Experience in the Meaning-based Approach

Hermeneutic phenomenology and its concept of lived experience provide “accounts of experience[ing] space, time, body and human relation[s] as we live them” (van Manen, 1990, p. 16). Stewart (1998) pointed out that a more comprehensive investigation of the evolving leisure experience needs to be conducted to further understand the dynamic leisure phenomena. The addition of this perspective to the Clawsonian model offers an opportunity to comprehend meanings of experience that evolve along the multi-dimensional phases. Unfortunately, no empirical study interested in the culture-oriented leisure activities has used this model as a central framework based on hermeneutic phenomenology. Nevertheless, Patterson et al.’s (1998) and Masberg and Silverman’s (1996) studies provide implications for the alternative view of this model.

In accordance with Stewart’s (1998) argument, Patterson et al. (1998) applied a hermeneutics perspective in order to obtain a deeper understanding of the leisure participant’s emergent experience. They denied satisfaction as a singular outcome and described the nature of the experience by “identify[ing] the boundaries of the environment and the types of experience that visitors [were] obtaining within those boundaries” (Patterson et al., 1998, p. 426). Conducting hermeneutic interviews with canoeists, Patterson et al. (1998) found four dimensions of the wilderness experience: challenge, closeness to nature, decisions not faced in everyday environments, and stories of nature. Their study supports the notion that context is important in shaping the meaning of the leisure experience. They thus pointed out that, although their research focus is not directly on the phasic nature of leisure experience, a considerable change of leisure experience occurred during the landing phase.

Unlike Patterson et al. (1998) who illuminated the importance of the meaning-based approach to the outdoor-centered leisure experience, Masberg and Silverman (1996) emphasized the need for an alternative approach in the realms of culture-related leisure activities. Specifically, they pointed out “a surprising lack of understanding of how visitors define a heritage site and what the activity of visiting a heritage site means to them” (p. 20). Thus, they suggested phenomenology as the alternative conceptual and methodological approach to fill the gap. Using open-ended study questions that asked college students to recollect their leisure experience at heritage sites, they identified four multi-dimensional visitor experiences: activities they engaged in, companions, site properties, and information learned.

Masberg and Silverman’s (1996) study is important in that they applied a phenomenological perspective to the realms of cultural-oriented leisure activities. However, their ignorance of the diverse spectrum of phenomenology led to methodological confusion. Despite the methodological weakness, Masberg and Silverman’s (1996) argument that leisure experience as a holistic unit is more than the sum of its parts should not be underestimated. By championing the importance of the meaning-based approach in the culture-oriented leisure experience they have provided a starting point for leisure researchers to explore further the multiphasic leisure experience and its meanings beyond outdoor or nature-oriented leisure activities.

2.5 Summary

Under the guide of Gadamer’s (1989) hermeneutic phenomenological perspective, the model of multiphase leisure experience (Clawson & Knetsch, 1966) could be reconsidered from the meaning-based perspective. Applying his idea enables an expanded interpretation of the model in two ways.

First, unlike the goal-oriented approach, which is limited in its ability to apply this model to culture-oriented leisure activities, the meaning-approach enables the model to be widely applied to any type of leisure activity and experience. Therefore, I reviewed the literature on museums and visitors. This review revealed two issues: (a) despite admitting the fact that the museum has been traditionally positioned as an authoritative educational institution, museum goers create their unique set of understandings from their visit, and (b) the dichotomy between education and entertainment leads to different connotations of the leisure experience for museum professionals and leisure scholars. These two issues illuminate the need for a deeper understanding of museum visitors' experiences based on the meaning-based approach.

Second, the emphasis on active interaction among people from distinct contexts allows researchers to investigate the changes in meaning of experience through any form of linguistic communication. This insightful shifting of the model from individual cognitivism to hermeneutic phenomenology requires that the literature for this study to be thoroughly reviewed at the paradigmatic level, theoretical level and the practical level. Therefore, I used the three basic paradigmatic lenses (individual cognitivism, social constructivism, and phenomenology) that have largely framed the discourse on leisure experience in the field of leisure studies to review the literature on leisure experience and its conceptualization. This review on the paradigmatic level showed that leisure as a series of experiences could be investigated through the lived experience of participants as an alternative perspective. Given this, I thoroughly investigated the Clawsonian model both at the categorical/theoretical level and at the pragmatic level.

On the one hand, the three different goal-directed approaches (expectancy-value approach, satisfaction/benefit approach and effectance-based approach) that are housed in individual cognitivism provide the theoretical/categorical framework for the model. At the

empirical level, the application of the three goal-directed approaches to the model showed three features. First, it reduced the realms of leisure experience to several limited variables and equated leisure experience with the sum of expected outcomes. Second, studies based on the effectance-based approach focus on perceptual sensations and highlight the internal force of intrinsic motivation or innate desire that triggers humans to seek unpredictable experiences. Third, nature-centered recreation activities and experiences were preferred as research sites and objects because nature environments are efficient at capturing intense emotions.

The meaning-based approach questions the insensitivity of the goal-directed perspective in differentiating outcome from experience. Rethinking the Clawsonian model in the realm of lived experience would provide an opportunity to explore in-depth the multiphase leisure experience. Philosophical debates and three paradigmatic issues concerning the concept of lived experience highlighted the need to approach the meanings of leisure experience that reside in our daily lives. Given this perspective, the model of multiphase leisure experience is reconstructed with respect to three points. First, experiences focused on in the model are lived experiences. Second, phases are expanded from physical divisions to dialectical points for (re)constructing the meaning of a leisure experience. Third, major research sites are not limited to nature-oriented recreation.

CHAPTER 3. METHODOLOGY

As noted in Chapter I, the purpose of this study was to investigate the meanings of the multiphase leisure experience for art museum visitors. Patton (1990) pointed out that “Absolute characteristics of qualitative inquiry provide a direction and framework for developing specific designs and concrete data collection tactics” (p. 59). In accordance with his statement, Chapter II reviewed the literature that relates to the model of leisure multiphase leisure experience and the concept of lived experience under the theoretical framework of hermeneutic phenomenology. This guide emphasized the need to reposition the model from the goal-oriented approach to the meaning-based approach via the concept of lived experience. This chapter describes the research paradigm and methods of this study in line with the hermeneutic phenomenological perspective that frames my interpretations and guides my data collection. The research methods described here follow this organizational order: (a) the research questions, (b) the paradigmatic issues, (c) the research site, (d) research methods and data collection, (e) data analysis and (f) the rigor of the study and (g) summary.

3.1 Research Questions

I seek to address the following questions in this study:

- How do visitors change the meanings of leisure or their museum visits throughout the multiple phases of their leisure experience?
- How does the linkage between on- and off-site activities contribute to the evolution of the meaning of their visits?
- How does dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee contribute to the evolution of the visitor's meaning of leisure experience?

3.2 Research Paradigm

Denzin and Lincoln (1998) assert that no researcher in social and human science is free from the paradigmatic issues, so clarifying the inquirer's position is essential. With respect to this inseparable relationship, I clarified my ontological, epistemological and methodological positions by drawing upon hermeneutic phenomenology, which is housed in constructivism. By situating my study in this perspective, its paradigmatic concerns not only shape my methodological positions, but also inform specific inquiries.

In general, constructivists argue that social reality is constructed by human beings, so no objective or external reality exists (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998). Berger and Luckman's (1966) position on social reality as a human product elucidates this worldview:

Social order is not part of the "nature of things," and it cannot be derived from the "laws of nature."... Both in its genesis (Social order is the result of past human activity) and its existence in any instant of time (Social order exists only and insofar as human activity continues to produce it), it is a human product (Berger & Luckman, 1966, p. 52).

Their negation of the existence of an objective social reality and their focus on consensual constructions of social phenomena delineate the broad boundary of my worldview: the researcher and the reality being studied are interrelated.

Of diverse perspectives under the extensive umbrella of constructivism, Gadamer's hermeneutic phenomenology and his paradigmatic concerns emphasize the interaction of humans through language at both micro and macro levels. His focus provides two specific bases for my study. First, reality is constructed through linguistic interactions between the interviewer the interviewee. Second, this inter-subjectivity widens the horizon of our understanding of the meanings of lived experience.

Anchoring in Gadamer's ideas, this study explores lived experience of museum visitors through my interpretation, values and linguistic interactions with participants. Therefore, my methodological assumptions for this study are: (a) reality is not an outcome of conscious expectation of the participant but a construction of inter-subjective meanings of the participant's leisure experience; (b) language-centered interactions between the interviewee and the interviewer provide space to add new meanings to the museum visitor's leisure experience; and (c) van Manen's (1990, 2014) hermeneutic phenomenological research strategies are appropriate to show that meanings of leisure experience evolve through these interactions.

The methodological framework for this study underlines the importance of identifying a symbolic metaphor by using a hermeneutic circle. The selection of symbolic metaphors as a key aspect of interpretive logic allows me (a) to focus on differences between the narratives of the informants, and (b) to explore how the heterogeneous elements recounted within an informant's narrative are interconnected. The adaptation of this hermeneutic philosophical concept to this study has two implications. First, the identification of symbolic metaphor is the result of a

holistic understanding of informants' experiences through ongoing (re)interpretation from part to whole, and vice versa, of the textual data. Second, given that scientific knowledge is inevitably based on cultural beliefs, values and assumptions, my understanding of the museum visitors is inseparable from my own preconceptions anchored in my own theoretical and cultural knowledge. What should be noted here is that, rather than being treated as distorted “biases,” these preconceptions are considered as a “provisional” perspective (Gadamer, 1976) from which deeper insight into the meaning of a given phenomenon—the evolving meaning of the visit to the Seoul Museum of Art—can be developed.

These three assumptions highlight a fusion of interpretive perspectives between the informant and me. The equivalent value of the dual interpreters in the process of making meaning implies that the common quantitative application of five major phases (i.e., anticipation, travel-to, on-site, travel-back and recollection) as a research method needs to be reinterpreted and refined based on a constructivist or interpretivist perspective. More specific explanations of the modified five phases will be discussed further in section “3.4 Research Method and Data Collection.”

3.3 Research Site

3.3.1 The Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA)

The Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA) is a public museum, located in the Jung District of Seoul, the capital and largest metropolis of South Korea. As the center of culture, politics and economy during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1897) and the Korean Empire (1897-1910), Japanese invasion and occupation (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), the Jung District reflects a unique mosaic of traditional Korean, Western, Japanese and modern architecture (Jun-gu

Culture & Tourism, n. d.). This cultural feature shaped SeMA, surrounded as it is by a variety of recreation and tourism attractions such as the latest shopping malls, cafes, restaurants, government offices, and palaces and other historical buildings.

As a major public museum operated by the Seoul City Council since 1988, SeMA provides a variety of services to visitors, including different types of exhibitions, art education programs for children, free art lectures for citizens and forums for specialists. Since the transfer of the museum from a site in the Kyunghee Palace to its current location in 2002, SeMA building includes approximately 33,432 square feet of indoor galleries and exhibition halls. Moreover, this museum has opened four branches in other districts in Seoul: Jongno District in 2003, Kwanak District in 2004, Mapo District in 2006 and Nowon District in 2013 (Seoul Museum of Art, 2011-2013). With this quantitative expansion, the total number of visitors continues to grow and exceeded over two million people in 2013⁵.

The rapid growth of SeMA is related to the fact that most public art museums in South Korea commenced their own work as art institutions after 2000 (Byun et al., 2014). In the beginning, SeMA housed the Seoul Arts Festival, which aimed to exhibit Korean art works to celebrate the Seoul Olympic Games of 1988. But after its transfer to the current location in 2002, SeMA switched its focus to visitor-centered exhibitions, education and public services (Seoul Museum of Art, 2011-2013). The metamorphosis of the museum from an ancillary tool that showed off the accomplishments of the Korean government to a place to provide cultural services to the public led to a diversification of the content of exhibitions as well to an increase their number. This art institution basically orients toward featuring itself as an international

⁵ The total number of SeMA visitors rose to 2,145,933 in 2013, (Annual Report of SeMA, 2011-2013) while that of visitors to all the public museums in Seoul in 2013 was over 4 million (4,247,752) (Korea Art Management Service, 2014). Considering that Seoul is the city of culture, education in South Korea, the number of museum visitors shows the importance of SeMA.

postmodern museum. Most artworks in those exhibitions were displayed to achieve the vision of SeMA as a place for global networking by hosting international exhibitions (Seoul Museum of Art, 2011-2013).

The exhibition hall of SeMA consists of one permanent exhibition room, one project gallery room and four featured exhibition rooms (Figure 4). During the period of the participants' visits to SeMA (from September 23, 2015 to December 5, 2015), one permanent exhibition was on display with five featured exhibitions (Table 1). Given its flexible schedule with diverse exhibition contents, participants with their idiosyncratic tastes are able to select different exhibitions to appreciate even if they visit SeMA on the same day⁶.



Figure 4. SeMA's Exhibition Hall (Retrieved from <http://sema.seoul.go.kr/global/eindex.jsp>)

⁶ Due to the fluid nature of this cultural place, my study does not try to “control” whether all the participants see the same exhibitions or not. Furthermore, given my major focus on the multi-phased nature of leisure experience in which a recreation experience includes feelings of anticipation, the fact that participants visited on different days is not a matter of control variable. Rather, in this naturalistic and interpretive study, this freedom of choice of dates should be allowed, as much as for the exhibits that they appreciate.

Table 1. Exhibitions held at SeMA during the period of the participants' visits

Type	Title	Genre of exhibition	Period/Location
Permanent	Kyung-ja Chun, Eternal Narcissist	A collection of Chun's autobiographical paintings	Permanent/Chun Kyung-ja Collection Gallery
Featured	The 70th Anniversary of Liberation Day Seoul Museum of Art	Oil Painting, Poster, Stamp, Photography, installation, video etc. related to North Korea	Jul 21 st – Sep 29 th / the 1 st exhibition room
Featured	East Asia Feminism: FANTasia	An exploration of the current state and implications of East Asian women's art from a feminist perspective	Sep 15 th – Nov 8 th / the 2 nd , 3 rd and 4 th exhibition rooms
Featured	Re-Play: 4 Platforms & 17 Events	An experimental project that revitalizes 'unused space' into cultural spaces in local hubs	Oct 20 th – Dec 13 th / the 1 st exhibition room
Featured	DigiFun Art: Urban Scape	A project that shows how mobile devices and their various applications serve as a new artistic tool for artists	Sep 22 th – Dec 13 th / Project Gallery
Featured	Stanley Kubrick	A collection of over a thousand items from the archives of Stanley Kubrick, such as research materials, photographs, scripts, letters, film, props, costumes, cameras, and lenses left by the director	Nov 29 th (2015) – Mar 3 rd / the 2 nd , 3 rd and 4 th exhibition rooms

3.3.2 Rationale for the Selection of SeMA

SeMA was selected as a study site for two reasons. First, as described above, SeMA is an authentic culture-related leisure setting that includes multi-layered cultural meanings and symbols, and second, its surroundings provide rich cultural and historical contexts for visitors. In line with considerations for selecting a culture-oriented leisure setting, which has been mostly neglected with respect to the Clawsonian model, I believe that SeMA is an ideal setting to explore the diverse aspects of the museum visit phenomenon.

Another important reason for selecting SeMA is that I, with my deep interest in museum visitors, have made multiple visits to this place since 2005. When I studied art theory and management at the Korea National University of Arts, this museum was one of the major places for field trips to understand management- and institution-oriented perspectives of the art institution. Furthermore, SeMA was one of the research sites for the quantitative study I

conducted in 2007 entitled “The relationship among museum visit, leisure satisfaction and the participant’s overall experience level.” In order to construct an appropriate survey from a social psychological perspective, that research required me not only to observe visitors at the building but also to glean visitors’ narratives from the blogs of a significant number of visitors to SeMA and other museums who post their own experiences at their sites. My previous experiences mean that, although I now focus on visitors’ leisure-centered perspectives, I do not neglect the traditional function of the museum as an educational institution or its influence on visitors and social discourses. Moreover, since I have lived in Seoul for over 20 years, I can obtain rich background information about SeMA and the Jung District, which is rare in scholarly resources relevant to my research topic.

3. 4 Research Methods and Data Collection

The purpose of this study is to understand the meaning of the museum visit through the visitor’s multiphase leisure experience. The hermeneutic phenomenological perspective guides my understanding of how to investigate and approach the “phase” of the participant’s museum visit. As investigated in Chapter II, the traditional approach to the Clawsonian model was based on a Cartesian perspective, and in turn, the interpretation of the phase was limited as geological or physical divisions to measure numerical values. The relocation of the model in a meaning based approach sheds light on another dimension of the phase: as a point of encounter to co-construct an evolving meaning of the leisure experience through communication between interlocutors. This paradigmatic alteration leads me not only to consider in-depth interviews and reflexive journals for collecting data but also to elaborate on how to reflect this hermeneutic phenomenological view on data collection at a practical level. Thus, this section describes (a) the

phase at the methodological level, (b) in-depth interview, (c) reflexive journal and (d) participants.

3.4.1 The “Phase”

The term *phase* for this study has two connotations at the methodological level. First, juxtaposed with Clawson and Knetsch (1966), a phase is part of the total leisure experience, and five major phases (i.e., anticipation, travel-to, on-site, travel-back and recollection) are the basic units to investigate for this study. Second, the phase refers to a dialogue or conversation between the researcher and the participant through which the meaning of the participant’s museum visit evolves.

Given that the first approach enabled the traditional studies to practically and flexibly modify the Clawsonian model as a major checkpoint for phases of a leisure experience (e.g., Hammitt, 1980; Stewart & Hall, 1992), this study marks the five phases as basic units to consider for data collection. A feature different from the preceding quantitative interpretation of phase is less significance of real-time measurement. My interpretive, meaning-based approach emphasizes the lived experience in which all our consciously captured experiences are situated in the dimensions of history and language. This alternative lens allows me to investigate the visitor’s experience within its own contexts, rather than merely the sensory appraisal of an experience. Thus, this study is not sensitive to collecting data according to any real-time measurements.

The multilayered characteristics of the recollection phase support the need to reinterpret this phase at the methodological level. Clawson and Knetsch (1966) illuminate the qualities of the recollection phase by noting its different durations (i.e., strong and lasting vs. dim and quick to disappear), diverse interaction routes (i.e., communication with others such as friends,

relatives and associates), a possibility to produce contradictory feelings (i.e., recalling a disastrous event at the time produces fun later) and a potential starting point for another leisure experience. Their open elaboration ironically highlights the lack of any major quantitative variables like time, money and satisfaction, which have been traditionally used to measure the phase-ness of the leisure experience for their ability to reflect psychologically perceived changes. As a result, the pioneers' expansive description alludes to its irreplaceable value.

As an effort to reflect their original ideas juxtaposed with my interpretive approach to the model, the second connotation of phase is considered. That is a dialogue between the participant and me—an encountering moment through which the participant is able to evolve the meaning of his or her visit to SeMA. Data collection and the theoretical foundation for this study substantiates this relocation of phase.

In my data collection process, participants have multiple chances to interact with me. At the initial stage, my personal interest and the purpose of this study are given to them even before they decide whether to participate in or not. Several meetings are required during their participation in which their interaction with me stimulate them to remind their on-site activity. These encountering moments with me provide them with a different context in which they interact with a stranger who is interested in and eager to understand the meanings of their museum visits to SeMA.

At a theoretical level, Gadamer's (1975) *fusion of horizons* rationalizes the repositioning of phase within a different context. For him, dialogue between the interlocutors enriches the researcher's awareness given that conversation allows "a new experience [to] enter into the texture of [his or her] own mental experience" (Gadamer, 1981, p. 110). Here, the context of meaning is referred to as *horizon*, and each individual is restricted to a different horizon due to

his or her own cultural and historical context. Due to this situated-ness, understanding another person occurs when an individual's horizon *fuses* with that of the other, and the act of speaking is a vital way to encounter a *fusion of horizons*.

This approach is based on two basic assumptions of hermeneutic phenomenology: (a) the human is unable to directly access to his or her experience and (b) the person cannot report or deliver the meaning as it is embedded in the experience. That is, the primordial and pre-reflective experience is permanently and continuously influenced by theories, social values and norms, and the taken-for-granted biases that shape our common sense in daily life, and in turn, veil the experience as it is lived (van Manen, 2014). Therefore, from a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective, when we consider experience as an object by applying a method, the truth of the lived experience and its meaning will remain in an arena that we cannot reach (Gadamer, 1989). The sensitivity of the phenomenological perspective to this chasm underlines two distinctive aspects of the hermeneutic phenomenological research. First, its research questions encourage researchers to interpretively describe the pre-reflective meaning of lived experience of the participant (van Manen, 1990). Second, “[d]oing phenomenology” as a reflective method refuses a “general” set of strategies (van Manen, 2014, p. 41), and in turn, urges us to strip out the realms of theories, concepts and authoritative or taken-for-granted works that construct our reflective experience and thus to crack them (Gadamer, 1998). Given its deconstructive nature, hermeneutic phenomenology may bring in theory (a) “where the promise of theory fails to remain fulfilled” or (b) “where theory and phenomenology intersect in the understanding of human phenomena” (van Manen, 2014, p. 67).

With respect to Gadamer's (1989, 1998) and van Manen's (2014) arguments and the limitation of the Clawsonian model from the Cartesian approach, a skeptical refusal of the

dogmatic method shapes my research orientation and research questions. At a broader level, my research orientation is attuned to investigate the lived experiences of museum visitors, and the meanings and uniqueness of their visits. My ability to document these aspects of their experience is contingent on their own signification. This condition raises two levels of interpretation to be considered for this study. First, participants interpret the meanings of their own experiences while describing them from their own cultural backgrounds. Second, I interpret their interpretation on the basis of my own cultural context.

Figure 5 represents how the dual process of interpretation between the two interlocutors in the fusion of horizons provides a deeper understanding of the meanings of the museum visit for this study. At the inter-circulative level, participants continuously express their own thoughts and feelings related to their visits to SeMA. Through their textualized narratives, I pay attention to clarifying the personal meanings embedded in their interpretations. At the inner-circulative level, I explore their interpretations through the identification of the symbolic metaphors in the text in which prominent historical and cultural themes are ingrained.

The methodological model described above guides the whole process of my interpretation. In this circulative frame, having several meetings is desirable for two reasons. First, I am less likely to misread their interpretations of their visits by exposing my own interpretation. Second, continuous interaction provokes me to move dialectically between the text as a whole and its individual parts (Koch, 1996). This qualitative approach to the texts leads me to emphasize *differences* among the participants' interpretations situated in their own horizons.

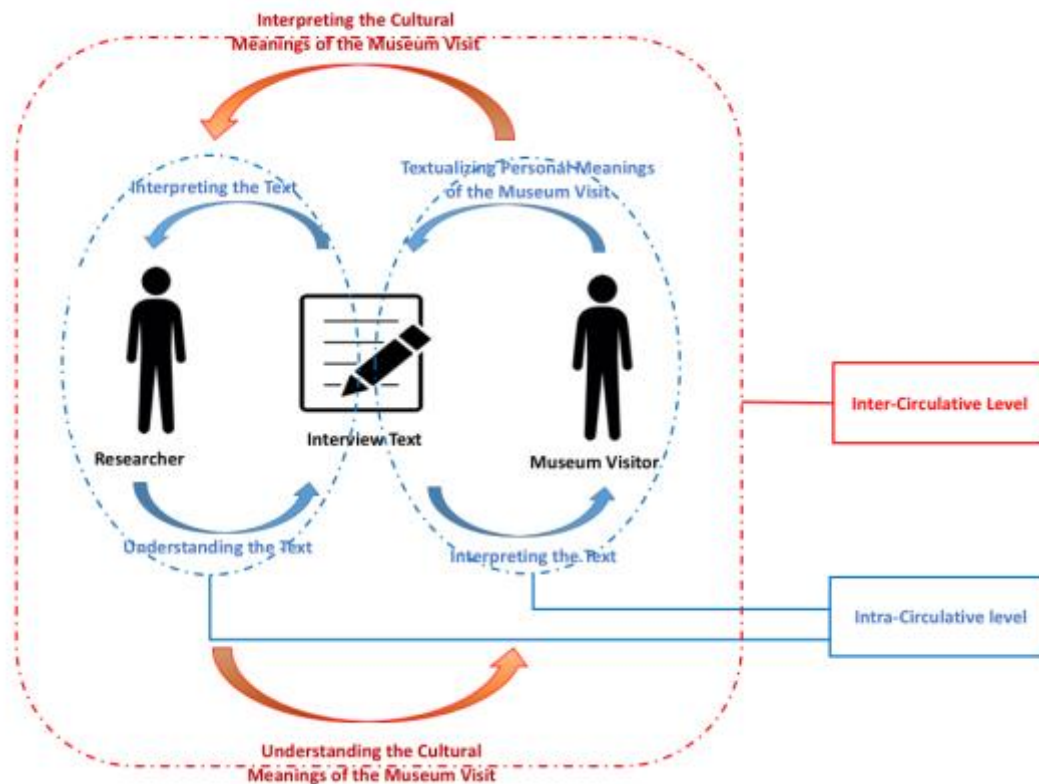


Figure 5. Fusion of Horizons as Methodological Model

At a more specific level, this hermeneutic phenomenological concern was reflected in my research questions with my conceptualizing leisure as multiphase leisure experience: aside from the traditional, physical distinction of phases, an additional emergence of a phase is depending upon the participant's signification of the experience. Gadamer (1976) emphasized the crucial influence of language-oriented interactions among humans for understanding the meanings of their experiences because verbal communications enable us to realize that an experience that we have taken for granted can be considered in different, unfamiliar ways. His argument supports the necessity of interviews conducted (a) over several sessions with (b) museum visitors who have different personal, cultural and social backgrounds.

In practice, I consider the phase as an interview session in relation not only to the physical changes (i.e., time and place) but also to the evolution of the participant's thoughts. This

means that interview rounds include the traditional phases and a point at which the participant significantly perceives an evolved meaning of his or her visit and wants to have an interview. The informant-oriented construction of interview sessions ensures that each participant has individual interview sessions.

To recapitulate, anchoring in the hermeneutic phenomenological perspective at the methodological level, I extend the use of the term *phase* from measuring quantitative values with their locational and temporal variations to interpreting and signifying psychological changes. For data collection, this inclusiveness requires me to a) have several conversational meetings with participants, b) be responsive to their own interpretations and c) have contextualized data for interpreting the meaning of the participant's visit to SeMA. With respect to these concerns, this study uses in-depth interviews as my method for collecting primary data, with reflexive journals as an ancillary means for interpreting the data from the in-depth interview.

3.4.2 In-depth Interview

In-depth interviewing was the most appropriate research tool for this study for practical reasons. First, it provides the opportunity to produce data with clearly structured questions (Cohen et al., 2007). Second, given the emphasis on the role of language-based interaction in this study, interviews are considered pivotal in obtaining insight that reflects the speaker's perceptions and values. Third, interview is an appropriate method for researchers whose study primarily focuses on understanding the depth of meaning of human experience (Gillman, 2000). Of various forms of interview design (see Creswell, 2007; Cohen et al., 2007), the general interview guide approach (Patton, 1990) was used for this study because the outline systemically enhances the comprehensiveness of data.

A one-time, hour long interview was conducted with the curator, while multiple-round interviews were conducted with the museum goers. The purpose of the interview contributed to construct different interview sessions between the curator and the visitors. A one-time interview with the curator was designed to explore the socio-culturally constructed meanings of the museum visit from an institution-oriented perspective. The curator’s narrative described what the museum expected visitors to experience. This interview was expected to expose the cultural traditions at play in the institution’s exhibitions—some of which were echoed in the meanings of the visitors’ narratives. On the other hand, the purpose of the multiple rounds of interview was to explore how the visitors created and evolved their own meanings of their museum visit.

The number of interview sessions is thus responsive to a subject’s interpretation and whether he or she recognizes a significant change in the meaning of their museum visit in the recollection phase. Specifically, the multiple rounds of interviews are conducted with respect to the itinerary of the interviewee’s museum visit (anticipation (1st round), before entering SeMA (2nd round), after finishing the experience at SeMA (3rd round), within a month after the visit (4th round) and again after the fourth round interview (e.g., 5th round) to determine if any participants have further evolved the meaning of their visit (Figure 6).



Figure 6. Multiple Interview stages

The appropriate number of interview rounds was determined as follows. I fully explained to all the participants that (a) there was no set number of sessions for their interview, and (b) a follow-up interview session would be conducted in case that the meanings of their museum visit noticeably changed over time. Next, I called every interviewee a few weeks after the fourth round of interview to check whether the participant recognized any considerable change of meaning after the interview. If an interviewee reported a considerable difference in interpreting the meanings, I set up an appointment with the person for an additional round of the interview. Conversely, I terminated collecting data from a participant (a) if he or she considered his or her visit as a non-leisure activity, and/or (b) if the person portrayed consistent meanings of the museum visit and showed an obvious decrease of interest in sharing his or her experiences with me. In case (a), I asked the participant to provide more details about the reason for his/her reinterpretation of the museum visit as a non-leisure experience before the closure of the interview. For a participant who described consistent meanings of the museum visit but still was highly interested in sharing his or her experiences, I asked the person to contact me if he or she recognized any noticeable change of meanings. As a result, seven of the twelve had four rounds of interview, four had five rounds, and one had six rounds. The amount of time for a single round of interview varied from thirty minutes to one and a half hours, depending upon the development of the participant's narrative.

Semi-structured interview questions were developed (Table 2) and flexibly reconstructed in connection with the participant's responses. Two hermeneutic phenomenological ideas supported the need for such revision. First, a new understanding is based on a fusion of horizons. This sometimes occurs when the meanings conveyed by the participant could be more closely linked to some cultural meanings of which the researcher has less considered. Thus, rather than

holding a predetermined set of questions, the construction of questions needs to fully reflect the narrative of the participants. Second, meanings are fluid; more specifically, meanings are continuously being created, modified and evolved through interaction between persons.

Therefore, interview questions initially created by the researcher were necessarily open to any changes in response to the participant's narrative. The questions for this study evolved to clarify the participant's interpretation of the meanings of the museum visit.

Table 2. Research Questions and Interview Questions

	Interview Questions
A. Background questions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is your name? 2. Where do you live? 3. What year were you born? Where? 4. What kind of work do you do? 5. How is your daily life? Please describe your typical days.
B. General questions	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Do you participate in any particular leisure activities on a regular basis? If so, please describe them. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1-1. Is your current leisure activity different from when you were growing-up? If so, what kind of activity was that? What is different about it? 2. How much time do you spend on culture-related leisure activities per year? <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2-1. Do you think these types of leisure activities relate to your daily leisure activities? Why/ Why not? 3. Have you ever visited this type of museum? If so, please describe the place and time you visited this type of museum. <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3-1. Do you think this relates to your daily leisure activities? Why/ Why not? 4. How important/trivial is leisure to you? Why?

C. Research Questions	Interview Questions
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do visitors change the meanings of leisure and their museum visits throughout the multiple phases of their leisure experience? • How does dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee contribute to the evolution of the visitor’s meaning of leisure experience? 	<p>First and fourth interviews and additional interview rounds:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What kinds of things come to mind when you think of the concept “leisure”? 2. What kinds of things come to mind when you think of the museum visit (as a leisure activity)? <p>Questions will vary depending upon interviewees’ responses to my reflexive journals.</p>

Table 2. Research Questions and Interview Questions (cont.)

<p>• How does the linkage between on- and off-site activities contribute to the evolution of the meaning of their visits?</p>	Round1	Round2	Round3	Round4	Round5
	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What kinds of things come to your mind when you think of SeMA? 2. What kind of experiences do you want to have when you visit SeMA? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How did you come to SeMA? Describe your itinerary to get to SeMA. 2. Can you describe your state of mind as you travelled to SeMA? 3. What does it feel like to go SeMA? 4. What kind of feelings and thoughts came out on the way to SeMA? 5. What kind of feelings and thoughts came out when you thought of SeMA and exhibitions in it? 6. Do you have companion(s)? If so, how was your interactions with them on the way to SeMA? 6. Can you describe the group of people or individuals with whom you got involved on the way to SeMA? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Can you describe your movements inside SeMA? 2. What exhibits/ artworks did you see? 3. Can you describe your experiences when you were seeing art works? 3-1. What does it feel like to see them? 4. What kind of feelings and thoughts came out inside SeMA? 5. What kind of memories came out as you experienced the artworks/ exhibitions? 6. Do you have companion(s)? If so, how was your interaction with them? 7. Can you describe the group of people or individuals with whom you got involved in SeMA? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How is your daily life these days? Please describe your typical day. 2. How did you return home? Describe your itinerary. 3. Can you describe yourself on your way home? 4. How do you feel and think about “going to SeMA/ art museums” now? 5. What kind of feelings and thoughts came out on your way home? 6. Do you remember what kind of feelings and thoughts came out when you experienced SeMA and exhibitions? 7. What kind of feelings and thoughts came out in this round of your interview? 7-1. Have they changed? Why/why not? 8. Did you have companion(s) on your way home? If so, how was the interaction with them? 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How is your daily life these days? Please describe your typical day. 2. Can you recall a time when you visited SeMA? If so, what were you doing (with whom, if any) and how did you feel about your visit? 3. Are there things that bring you positive emotions and thoughts? If so, what kinds of experiences are they? And how? 4. Are there things that bring you negative emotions and thoughts? If so, what kinds of experiences are they? And how? 5. What do you feel like to go SeMA now? 6. Do you remember what kind of feelings and thoughts came out when you thought about SeMA and the exhibitions in it? 7. What kind of feelings and thoughts come out now?

3. 4. 3 Reflexive Journal

Since depth in hermeneutic phenomenology refers to “what gives the phenomenon or lived experience to which we orient ourselves its meaning and its resistance to our fuller understanding,” a high-quality phenomenological text highlights multiple interpretations that researchers as well as participants brings to events (van Manen, 2014, p. 355). A deeper understanding of the cultural and historical contexts of the text and its readers requires researchers to be precisely aware of their own horizons of understanding because “[t]o interpret means precisely to use one’s own preconceptions so that the meaning of the text can really be made to speak for us” (Gadamer, 1975, p. 358). In this perspective, data are created, and the researcher’s position is not to “discover” data that is waiting to be found. But rather, the position of data as creative object contains a danger that, if the context is not well understood, an “authorial narcissism” comes to overpower the text from its generation (Tierney, 2000, p. 546). This colonization of data by authoritative authors functions as a barrier to creating the positions of researchers and participants as democratic meaning creators.

In the fear of alienating participants as Others whose experiences are exoticized and displayed by the researcher, I exposed my analysis process to participants. The disclosure of practices enabled me to not only avoid possessing a power-laden voice but also to encourage participants to respond to my narratives. By allowing the text constructed by the researcher to be influenced by participants, this research is in line with creating unfolding texts that are co-constructed by the participant and me.

As a means to create a reflective and interactive text in which narratives are retold and re-discussed, I wrote a reflexive journal on a regular basis and shared it with participants. A reflexive journal refers to the notes, memos or diary that researchers use to keep records about

their thoughts and feelings during the entire research period (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Maxwell (2005) recommended that researchers write short notes to “convert thought into a form that allows examination and further manipulation” (p. 11). At a practical level, researchers underlined that using a reflexive journal throughout research process promotes a core dialogue for analyzing and understanding (hermeneutic) phenomenological research texts (e.g., Koch, 1994, 1996; Koch & Harrington, 1998; Noble, 2001; Osterman & Kottkamp, 2004; Smith, 1999). It follows that, by sharing their introspective records with participants, researchers help participants to better clarify what they know and how they think about their museum experience (Anfara, Brown, & Mangione, 2002). Therefore, I sent the journal I wrote to participants in each round of the interview. Figure 7 illustrates how I shared a series of writing notes with them during the multiple round interview.

In case of a five-round interview, the interaction with participants through my reflexive journal begins after the first round of each interview. Within a week, I will send the first journal (Journal 1-A) that reflects my thoughts, feelings, emerging ideas and insights on the participants' experiences that I obtained from the interview. I will ask them to provide their feedbacks at least the day before their next interview dates. Reviewing the feedbacks from the participants, a revised journal (Journal 1-B) will not only help me be flexible for the next interview session (Round 2) but also enable revised or new insights to emerge. Due to the short time between the second and third round of interview, Journal 2-A and 3-A will be sent simultaneously to the participants after they return home. With respect to their feedbacks, I will write revised journals (Journal 2-B & 3-B) that would adjust interview questions for the fourth interview (Round 4). The analysis procedures for writing journals associated with round 4 and 5 (Journal 4-A, 4-B, 5-A & 5-B) are the same with those in the first session. Given that the journal functions as the

anchor which enables the researcher further explorations (Lukinsky, 1990), the inter-reflective journal used in this study will assist me to obtain a deeper self-awareness, interact my thoughts and feelings with those of participants, and gain a better insight.

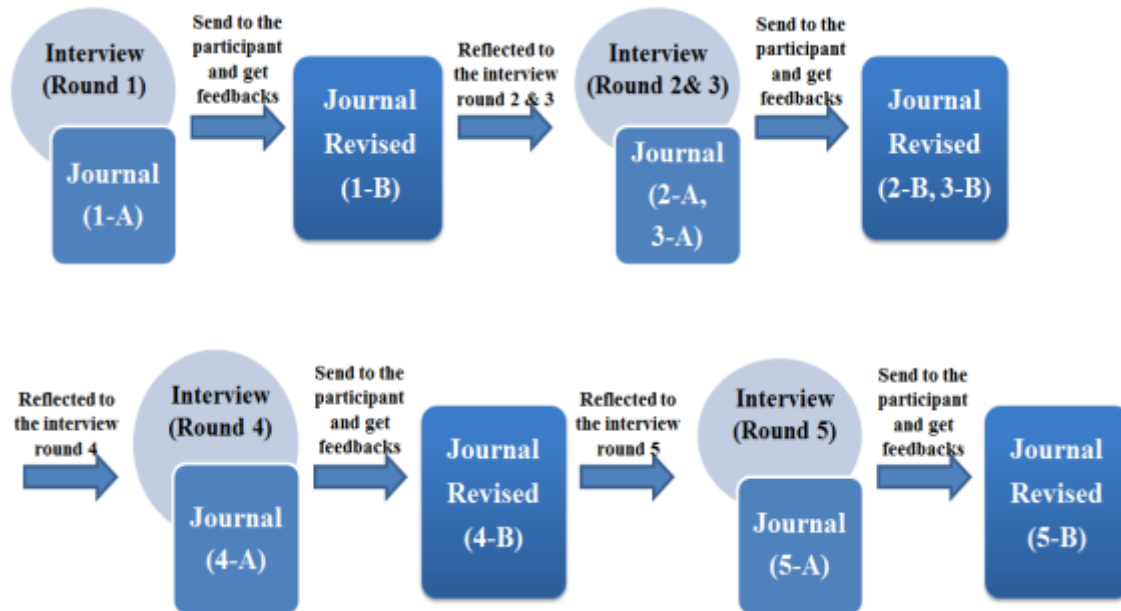


Figure 7. The Procedure of Sharing Reflexive Journals with Participants

3. 4. 4 Participants

Purposeful sampling was used for the study to selectively recruit people who are willing to visit to the research site as a leisure activity and who are heterogeneous in terms of gender, age and residence area (Patton, 2002; Maxwell, 2005). Patton (1990) argued that “[t]he logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth” (p. 169). Thus, it is necessary to clarify the qualities of participants who would provide a rich description of their experiences. In response to the interactive, interpretive nature of this study on the meanings of the lived leisure experience, a museum visitor was defined as a person who went to SeMA. This loose criterion was intended to reflect the nature of the museum (i.e., a variety of exhibitions have been held on different schedules) and the nature of the visitor (i.e., each visitor

has idiosyncratic focal points and patterns for selecting an exhibit that she or he appreciates). The criteria used to select the participants included: (a) people whose age range is 20-40 years; (b) people who have no residential experience in the Jung District; (c) people who can visit SeMA and (d) people who are willing to share their holistic experience with others through language.

At the beginning of the recruitment process, I contacted Koreans, who considered that museum visit is categorized into cultural leisure activities and were interested in visiting SeMA, by word of mouth and through online postings on the websites that include a large size of Korean web communities. Next, I provided potential participants with a short paper in which I describe the purpose of this study, my personal story and the importance of the role of participants who have no hesitation in saying their own experience to me and reviewing my comments and responses. Of the potential participants, only persons who considered my research under the stories and conditions to be interest and were able to participate in the multiple round interview will be employed as participants.

Conditions (a) and (b) were determined by the following reasons. For (a), it is relatively easier to elicit a deeper conversation with participants similar in age range to the interviewer. The reason for (b) is that SeMA, which is located in a non-residential and culturally and historically unique area of Seoul, provides new and colorful experiences for visitors with one-day trip itineraries. The conditions (a) and (d) are especially required for eliminating the gap between the Self (me as the researcher) and the Other (the participant) in the co-construction of meanings (Fine, 1994). Taken together, purposive sampling with respect to these five conditions will allow me to explore the lived leisure experience of museum visitors with the interview questions.

Data were collected from (a) a curator working at SeMA and (b) a group of museum visitors. As for (a), I conducted a face-to-face interview with Ji-Hye Byun. I made a call to the institution to find an informant who could provide me with information on the vision of the museum and the strategies and goals for the exhibitions. I received her email address because she was in charge of promoting the museum to the public.

As for (b), five male and seven female visitors to SeMA were recruited through online postings and word-of-mouth recommendations. A mixture of internet postings and snowball sampling techniques (Patton, 2002) was used for recruiting museum visitors. A primary way was to use major online communities of Korea (i.e., www.clien.net, www.todayhumor.co.kr, www.bestiz.net, mlbpark.donga.com, and www.koreapas.net) by posting a recruitment letter including the purpose of this study, my personal story and the importance of the active role of participants. Seventeen individuals responded to the online posting, but ten persons of the applicants dropped out after receiving the specific information on interview procedure or in the middle of his or her multiple interview. Seven subjects participated in this study. Of the withdrawn applicants, two persons voluntarily introduced me to five potential participants, and all of them were willing to participate. Table 3 shows background data on twelve participants who completely participated in both the visit to SeMA and the multiple interview.

The majority of the participants were in twenties. This bias might be caused by the fact that the youngest age adult groups (i.e., age 20-29) are the biggest online community users in South Korea (KISDI, 2013). Another possible reason is that people in that age band are all college students so their flexible schedules, compared to elder workers, have affordable time to visit to the museum and participate in the multiple interview sessions.

Table 3. Participant Data

Name	Dasom	Goon	Hanhum	JooHwan	Kyu	Lee
Occupation	Undergraduate Student	Undergraduate Student	Undergraduate Student		Master Student	Undergraduate Student
Age/Sex	21/F	23/M	23/M	28/M	28/M	20/M
Social Class	M	M	M	LM	M	M
Education	High School	High School	High School	BA	BA	High School
Residence	Il-san	Northeastern Seoul	Southwestern Seoul	Yong-In	Eastern Seoul	Duck-Jung
Culture- Related Leisure Demographics	Sketching, painting, music	Piano, art appreciation	Music	Movie, Music, Drawing	Music, art appreciation	Film
Past Visit to the SeMA	No	No	No	No	No	No
Companions to the SeMA	Yes (Hanhum & Zoo)	No	Yes (Dasom & Zoo)	No	Yes (The researcher)	No
Informed Consent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of Interviews	4	4	4	5	5	4

Name	Seo	Shin	SR	YC	Young-Woo	Zoo
Occupation	Undergraduate Student	Undergraduate Student			Undergraduate Student	Undergraduate Student
Age/Sex	31/F	22/F	25/F	34/M	27/M	20/F
Social Class	M	M	UM	UM	UM	UM
Education	BA	High School	BA	BA	High School	High School
Residence	Southeastern Seoul	Eastern Seoul	Southern Seoul	Southern Seoul	Western Seoul	Western Seoul
Culture- Related Leisure Demographics	Music, film, Performance art, photography, music	Art appreciation, movie	Art appreciation	Film	Drawing	Art appreciation, film, performance
Past Visit to the SeMA	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes
Companions to the SeMA	No	No	No	Yes (The researcher)	No	Yes (Dasom & Hanhum)
Informed Consent	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Number of Interviews	6	5	4	5	4	5

All the participants signed the informed consent form. All the information in the document was clearly and precisely conveyed to the interviewees. I explained the purpose of the study, the dissemination of the interview text and the protection of their privacy in the recruiting process before conducting the first round of the interviews.

3. 5 Data Analysis

The identification of symbolic metaphors in the interview text guided the analysis of interpretations. The symbolic language used by participants clarified the differences embedded in their interpretations and increased my sensitivity to the symbolic correspondence between the interpretations that seemed separate from each other (Lacan, 1968). The identified symbolic metaphors also entailed the interpretational scope of this study: the interpretations of the meanings by both the researcher and the participants were discussed and analyzed only at the symbolic level (Kövecses, 2009; Thompson, Pollio & Locander, 1994).

The symbolic metaphors that permeated and emerged in the participant's verbal expressions enabled me to analyze the textual data in two different dimensions. First, I focused on finding meanings in connection with the multiphasic nature of the museum visit as a leisure experience. The procedure for this first step was based on the feedback from participants on my interpretation of the meanings of their museum visit. To be specific, I provided the participants with a note after within about two weeks of the interview date. The note was composed of three categories: (a) excerpts from the interview (b) my comments describing how I interpreted the meanings of their experiences based on the excerpts, and (c) some questions asking them to clarify the meaning of their quoted interpretations.

Participants were asked to add any comments they might have to the note. Their comments and opinions were key for findings that displayed the meanings of their museum visits at the individual context. This procedure situated the participants and me in a similar position, given that my findings adequately reflected the participants' interpretations of their museum visits. The symbolic metaphors that emerged through the procedure reflected some of the issues that seemed to pervade their feedback and interviews.

The next level of analysis began once data collection was complete. I went beyond the spatial and temporal boundaries of the participants' narratives in order to analyze the meanings of the museum visit in a socio-cultural context. In the participant's narrative, some particular verbal expressions that seemed to conflict about an event or object were limited in understanding the change at the individual level. Thus, my structural interpretation was necessary to understand the cleavage point of their interpretations over the several sessions of the interview. The procedure started with my realization that participants' major changes of interpretation symbolized the underlining issues that structured their interpretation in a broader dimension. To clarify the structural issues, I focused primarily on the symbolic metaphors that spontaneously emerged in the early sessions of some participants' interviews. Next, I focused on the participants' conflicting interpretations of the same event or object in the subsequent session of the interview. I finally interpreted the shared meaning and its change based on the body of literature that has provided more general and cultural traditions of the meaning of, or as related to, the symbolic metaphors.

The interpretation process continued until the symbolic metaphors that emerged at the individual level appeared to be understood within the whole textual data at the socio-cultural level. Specifically, the *learning* metaphor refers to the meaning of SR and Goon's museum visits

who consistently interpreted SeMA as an educational institution and showed the fixed interest in exhibits they considered worth learning. In the *aesthetic* metaphor, Kyu and Young-Woo neglected the external values of exhibits, and their aesthetic appreciation played a crucial role in constructing the meaning of their visits throughout all the phases. *High-culture* is a third metaphor for Dasom and Lee who alienated themselves from this cultural institution, considering it as exclusively for the wealthy and educated. In the *everyday-ness* metaphor, YC and Shin signified their everyday concerns and interests without paying attention to the aesthetic value of the exhibits. The *trigger* metaphor refers to the meaning of Hanhum's and JooHwan's museum visits in which their experiences at SeMA directly triggered them to visit other cultural institutions. In the *diary* metaphor, Seo and Zoo focused on telling and creating their own stories in relation to their on-site experiences.

Understanding the symbolic meanings of the museum visit in the context of cultural traditions and customs enable me to discern the cogent relationships between participants' verbal expressions of *learning, aesthetic, high-culture, everyday-ness, trigger and diary*. The extant literature serves as a basis of developing my new understanding of the participant's significance of their museum visits. Given that readers' understanding of a text always mirrors their current concerns (Ricoeur, 1981), a fusion of horizons in this study occurs when the participants' signification of their visits is understood in connection with my intellectual background and theoretical interests. The background knowledge that informs my interpretation is based on two strands of literature. The first is a line of research that explores the social psychological forces and sociocultural meanings of the leisure experience and the museum visit. Second, I consider Korean-specific literature that sheds light on the historical and sociocultural uniqueness of Korea. This background knowledge considers given that Korea has embraced some aspects of

Western society while certain cultural traditions still have significant influence on thoughts and behaviors. It is important to place participants' narratives within the multi-layered literature for reflecting social "reality" for those whose research sites or participants are exposed to a continuous cultural blending at the societal level. Through the two streams of my background knowledge, I am able to highlight vital relationships between visitors' self-interpretations and their underlying meanings and beliefs. I hope that my contextualization of the interview texts within the literature will offer a deeper understanding of the expanded cultural viewpoint from which a reader could interpret his or her own museum visit in a plausible way.

As caveats for the analysis process, several general issues deserve comment. First, a universal or predetermined symbolic metaphor that influenced all the interpretations of the meanings of the museum visit was neither assumed nor implied. Thus, I did not posit a homogeneous aspect that was omnipresent in the interview texts beyond temporal, spatial and personal differences. Second, I did not intend to judge whether the meanings of the museum visit were fixed within some specific socio-cultural context. Rather than assuming a one-to-one causality between a specific cultural context and the meaning of the museum visit, I focused on the interlaced relationship between the personal and socio-cultural contexts in which meanings are fluid (Geertz, 1973). Third, even though symbolic metaphors were mainly attuned to be sensitive to the differences of meanings, the patterns of similarity needed to be considered cautiously. This is because symbolic metaphors, like thematic interpretations, to some extent, contain a potential to highlight similarity that mitigates differences between various meanings of an event (Miles & Huberman, 1984). The findings were developed in recognition of these limitations.

3. 6 The Rigor of the Study

The terms “reliability” and “validity” originated from quantitative studies used to test or evaluate researchers’ statistical research. Although qualitative scholars debate whether the two concepts are relevant to qualitative research, participation in these debates goes beyond the boundaries of the questions focused on in this study. Therefore, I clarify my position on this issue by drawing upon Patton (2002) and Lincoln and Guba (1985), who argued that both validity and reliability should be considered in qualitative studies, but in different ways⁷. Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) model of trustworthiness is employed in order to evaluate the rigor of this study.

Trustworthiness

Lincoln and Guba (1985) argued that qualitative studies, regardless of their diverse philosophical foundations, should fulfill trustworthiness: “a study that represents as closely as possible the perspectives of the research participants” (Leitz & Zayas, 2010, p. 191). Additionally, they stated that the four concepts (i.e., credibility, transferability, auditability/dependability and confirmability) function together for the fulfillment of trustworthiness and provide guidelines for the evaluation of qualitative studies.

Credibility, Credibility refers to the degree to which findings in a study represent the meanings that the participants constructed in the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In order to achieve flexibility (Padgett, 2009; Creswell & Miller, 2000), I provide participants with my previous academic and personal experiences that are briefly described in the section of my story.

⁷ They argued that these two concepts are inseparable, and that the trustworthiness of a study depends upon the two. They stated that, “[s]ince there can be no validity without reliability, a demonstration of the former [validity] is sufficient to establish the latter [reliability]” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 316). The ideas of validity and reliability are replaced by that of trustworthiness, which consists of credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability.

The exposure of my personal background shows that I admit the influence of my own biases, which influence the whole research process for this study. With respect to member checking (Creswell & Miller, 2000; Padgett, 2008), I sent my reflective journals to participants and invited their feedback to examine whether their thoughts, responses and reactions are appropriately reflected in the documents. In terms of peer debriefing (Patton, 2002), the board of graduate committee members for this study allowed me to consult them with these concerns. The consulting process enabled me to be critical of my interpretations of data and to reconsider taken-for-granted incidents that in fact provided another horizon of understanding the meanings of SeMA visit as leisure experience.

Transferability. Transferability refers to the degree to which findings contribute to the body of knowledge and can be applied to other contexts and settings (Patton, 2002). The assessment of transferability is deeply associated with credibility rather than generalizability, given that a high degree of the former is determined by thick description (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). This study based on hermeneutic phenomenology especially emphasizes reflective writing on the themes. The transcribed multiple interviews for about six months enabled me to gain the comprehensive description of their experiences. In addition, the reflective journal that shows the interaction between the participant and me helped me gain data that is not only rich in quality but also thorough in depth.

Auditability (Dependability). Auditability or dependability refers to the replicability of a study, and keeping an audit trail and engaging in peer debriefing are two strategies used to increase auditability (Padgett, 2008). In this study, I show part of my manuscript to an American and a Korean in order to obtain their input for accurately conveying the cultural nuances of the Korean participants' narratives to American readers. Along with the board of graduate

committee members and the participants, my interaction with them promotes reflexivity, stimulates the production of new ideas and helps identify potential pitfalls, which, in turn, augments the validity of this study.

Confirmability. Confirmability refers to the degree to which the findings are confirmed or corroborated by others (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Several strategies include member checking, peer debriefing, audit trails and negative case analysis (Padgett, 2008), and “[i]dentifying and analyzing discrepant data and negative cases is a key part of the logic of validity testing in qualitative research” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 112). This study includes not only the cases in which participants deemed their museum visits as valuable leisure experiences but also others’ narratives in which SeMA was interpreted as an inappropriate place for their own leisure experience. My analysis of identifying the contrasting evidence contributes to an extensive investigation of the art museum visit as a multi-phased leisure experience.

3.7 Summary

Given the purpose of this study, I have outlined my research questions, research site, data collection methods and participants, research analysis and research criteria based on the nature of qualitative inquiry. Specifically, anchoring in the hermeneutic phenomenological perspective that guides the research questions and research procedures, I have described how SeMA has been colored by culture-related values and symbols, and how the two research tools (in-depth interview and reflexive journal) will be used to investigate the meanings of the leisure experiences of SeMA visitors. Van Manen’s (1990, 2014) methodological considerations and Gadamer’s fusion of horizons have helped me to delineate this hermeneutic phenomenological

research at the practical level. Finally, I have described criteria that will be used to ensure the trustworthiness of findings of this study.

CHAPTER 4. FINDINGS

The aforementioned methodological framework in Chapter III underlined the importance of the identification of a symbolic metaphor that delivers a node of values, meanings and concerns that emerges from the systematical narrative of each participant. This interpretive logic encouraged me to be more sensitive to the systematic differences expressed and interpreted by distinct participants. The interpretation process of symbolic metaphors by the researcher, thus, was based on two different levels of interpretations: at the intratextual level and at the intertextual level. For the former, the self-interpretations expressed by each museum goer were presented with his or her single narrative text. For the latter, symbolic metaphors that permeated in the narrative of subjects were understood in concert with the sociocultural backgrounds. The findings described here follow this organizational order: (a) an analysis of the curator's narrative and (b) an analysis of each visitor' narrative considering the sociocultural meanings and beliefs. The former provided me with the institution's approach to museum visitors, part of which was echoed in the meanings evoked by the participants' narratives. Through the latter, symbolic metaphors were shown in plausible and systematic ways in which self-interpretations expressed by participants were reinterpreted in the socio-cultural traditions.

4.1 The Museum's Interpretation of Visitors

The vision of the Seoul Museum of Art (SeMA) as a “glocal” (i.e., global-local) museum is clarified with its two objectives: (a) to become an international global art network center, and (b) to be a local museum for Seoul and its citizens, a space open to all regardless of their religion, level of education, gender or socio-economic status. As one strategy to represent itself as a “glocal” museum, this institution has reduced the number of exhibitions to display the well-known, Eurocentric artworks that have been traditionally considered as major objects of art. Visitors are now introduced to new types of exhibits that reflect major issues of Seoul or Korean society or those of other Third World nations.

Byun, a curator of SeMA, specifies the ideal relationship between visitors and postmodern non-Eurocentric artworks from the institution's perspective:

The barrier of art is still high for visitors, and its contents are hard to understand with no effort . . . Art museum is an institution for education, and with its primary goal, we focus on what visitors can learn from the exhibits. The reading texts and educational events help individuals understand the exhibits. (Byun, a curator of SeMA)

We [SeMA] are currently holding an Asian feminism exhibition [FANTasia] in order to avoid sticking to the conventional themes of exhibitions, such as Gogh, Gauguin, Picasso . . . Art from India, Singapore, Thailand, and Korea, China and Japan was gathered for telling about Asian feminism . . . We know that rethinking Koreans from an outsider's perspective or understanding non-Eurocentric artworks is not familiar to visitors to appreciate. Because art museums mainly focus on education, we cannot help thinking about it. So, as you can see, reading materials on feminism and its exhibition are being displayed on the walls surrounding the main hall. By providing them, we expect that visitors could take any messages from exotic artworks that have not been introduced in the textbook. (Byun, a curator of SeMA)

Both sets of excerpts posit that the primary goal of SeMA has traditionally been to educate visitors, and that ideal visitors are those who can “read” the designated relationship between the

explanatory texts⁸ and the exhibits. The institution's focus on education and the symbolic transformation of visitors to readers clarifies two basic assumptions for the exhibition. First, the educational texts intentionally shape visitors' attentions. For SeMA as a public art institution, delivering educational messages to the target audiences through written texts and exhibits appears to be one crucial indicator for determining whether an exhibition is successful. In this context, the *FANTasia* exhibition supported this idea. The overwhelming "reading" materials on the walls (Figure 8) construct the image of the exhibition: viewing artworks in the exhibition is implicitly or explicitly associated with learning.



Figure 8. Explanations of the “East Asia Feminism: FANTasia” Exhibition on the Walls

Second, the artwork itself creates an enhanced level of difficulty for understanding. The value of an object for public display is evaluated and determined by the institution. The exotic nature of the object is one criterion the institution considers in the selection of exhibits, even though the unfamiliarity makes it difficult for visitors to understand. Byun interpreted that the

⁸ In a semiotic perspective, everything can be a text, including paintings and sculptures, if it has linguistic structure or a sign that conveys meanings (Barthes, 1977). Given this perspective, I need to clarify that Byun used the term sparingly in referring to written and auditory materials that explained the contents of artworks in the exhibition.

postmodern and non-Eurocentric exhibits at SeMA would be unfamiliar to most Koreans because public art education for students in Korea has mainly focused on introducing modern and Eurocentric artworks. In this context, the exhibits relating to the concepts of Asian and feminism present a barrier for the visitors because they do not know how to approach exotic objects that are not shown in the textbooks.

What is shared in the two assumptions is the crucial role of education to explore the visitors' experiences. Putting emphasis on education is not a new viewpoint in museum studies. From an institution-centered perspective, Hooper-Greenhill (1994) argued that education has been crucially considered as “a primary function to all museums” (p. 19). Drawing on a visitor-centered perspective, Clifford (1997) focused on the function of the museum as a contact zone in which visitors are in a learning process. No matter which aspect is highlighted—either didactic education or interactive learning—one shared assumption about museumgoers is that their visit is all about learning (Smith, 2015). Therefore, it seems natural that Byun's narrative appeared to be derived from the education-learning framework.

What cannot be fully explained with the framework above, however, are the visitor's experiences that are culturally biased. Byun's signification of SeMA as an “open space” reflects this concern:

Our primary target audiences are Seoul citizens. But this place is open to anyone. In fact, lots of Koreans from other provinces, and even foreigners, are coming here. So, for those various kinds of visitors, we make efforts to manage SeMA as an open space. (Byun, a curator of SeMA)

The museum exists as a leisure space to let museum goers take a rest. Indeed, an artist made the sofa over there to attract visitors with no interest in the exhibits. Many visitors like to use it for chatting and taking a rest. I also noticed that some people even came over to the sofa to take a nap. . . . We are exerting efforts to make this kind of place where any types of visitors are able to get positive experiences with enjoyment . . . Our expectation that visitors have positive, identical responses to the exhibits will give a pressure to them . . . Rather than only sticking to this, we prepare some small events in

which people would feel free from such a pressure . . . Any kind of visitors would come here and their time could be enjoyable and happy . . . (Byun, a curator of SeMA)

These excerpts emphasize that SeMA presents a culturally pleasurable and enjoyable space to all visitors regardless of their learning experience. Such attitudes appear to be in contrast with the aforementioned assumptions in which visitors' experiences need to be situated between the exhibit and the educational text. A careful look at the quotations, however, reveals that the inconsistency is sustainable due to her extended interpretation of visitors from readers who are static within the exhibition spaces to strollers who are ambling around a series of spaces in the museum.

By sliding from one space to another—from an exhibition to hallways, to the cafeteria, to stairways and to sitting areas, visitors are able to avoid “pressure” in which he or she is forced to comply with the educational messages. In Byun's narrative, the sofa symbolized a place in which the metaphorical pressure disappeared. Napping on the sofa is a symbolic action in which visitors' ordinary and habitual behaviors are blended into this extraordinary place. She interpreted that the visitors' common senses and the unreflective habits ingrained in their everyday routines added other cultural layers to the meanings of their museum visit: enjoyment, happiness and pleasure that are free from educational texts.

The escape from the education-learning frame is not limited to blurring the boundaries between the extraordinary and ordinary experiences at the museum. The distinctive attributes of exhibitions also stimulate visitors to emancipate themselves from the frame. Due to the dual objectives signified by SeMA's catchphrase, *glocal*, each exhibition has a unique theme under either a global perspective or a local perspective. The exhibition of DigiFun Art, for example, symbolically transforms the viewer as a listener for sharing the institution's concerns:

In the case of DigiFun Art, objects being display are all drawings on iPad or Galaxy Note. It's a totally different exhibition in rejection of the rigid distinctions between technology and arts. In fact, in this museum, there has been no discussion of paintings on digital devices, such as iPad . . . We come to have several questions through this exhibition. Like, where the museum is heading to, what kinds of challenges we are confronted with, and what kind of cultural stimuli or educational contents we have to provide for visitors. So, this reflects on our ways to go for the future, our concerns about art and cultural education. The exhibition is designed to unveil our concerns without direct explanations for the visitors. (Byun, the curator of SeMA)

The changed viewpoint of the institution toward visitors is manifested in two features.

First, the DigiFun Art exhibition did not display a rich textual explanation for the exhibits (Figure 9). As stated in her narrative about the feminism exhibition, the coexistence of written texts with artworks in the exhibition space implicitly and explicitly situates visitors in between the text and the exhibit for education. The elimination of reading materials symbolically debilitates the force of educational messages to the visitors.



Figure 9. The Exhibition Room for DigiFun Art: Urban Scape

Second, the rising importance of digital devices in the art museum space increases a feeling of closeness to the visitors. The DigiFun exhibition distinguishes itself from the the learning-education frame in terms of familiarity. In fact, most visitors use iPads and Galaxy

Notes in the realm of their everyday life long before considering their device as a tool for art at the art museum. Its remarkable usefulness in school, the work place, and even at home provides a symbolic and psychological closeness between the exhibit and the viewer.

The rising ordinariness and the diminishing educational interest resituate visitors as listeners to the concerns of the institution. Byun described the DigiFun exhibition as a place to expose some crucial issues of SeMA to viewers. In this context, she expected that visitors would seize our problems through appreciating the exhibition. The reposition of visitors was clarified in Byun's narrative that visitors would know the institution's concerns "without direct explanations."

The analysis of Byun's narrative first shows that SeMA postulated an ideal visitor as a reader so as to educate the person or facilitate his or her learning process. This is in line with the traditional perspective of museum studies that treasures learning as the pivotal experience of the visit to public art museums. Her narrative then expands to a broadened focus on the relationships between texts, visitors, exhibits, exhibition rooms, and non-exhibition spaces at SeMA. This expansion creates a new concept of visitors as strollers who blur the boundaries between spaces and as listeners who understand the institution's concerns. In short, the curator's narrative diversely signifies visitors as agents metamorphosing from readers to listeners and to travelers.

Drawing on the analysis of her narrative, Figure 10 shows that (a) each exhibition space is a compartment of the museum through which visitors are able to create their own meanings in variety, and that (b) visitors are able to walk around and through the diverse sections according to their own will. Given this, understanding the meanings of their museum visits requires me to investigate how the visitors to SeMA construct the meanings of their experiences as they cross over from the education-driven messages to their own ordinary experiences. Furthermore, the

significance of everyday life experiences supports the need to explore the museum visit over time in connection with visitors' pre- and post-travel experiences. My interpretation of the curator's narrative functions as an opening gambit to interpret the meanings of the museum visit in the participants' narratives.

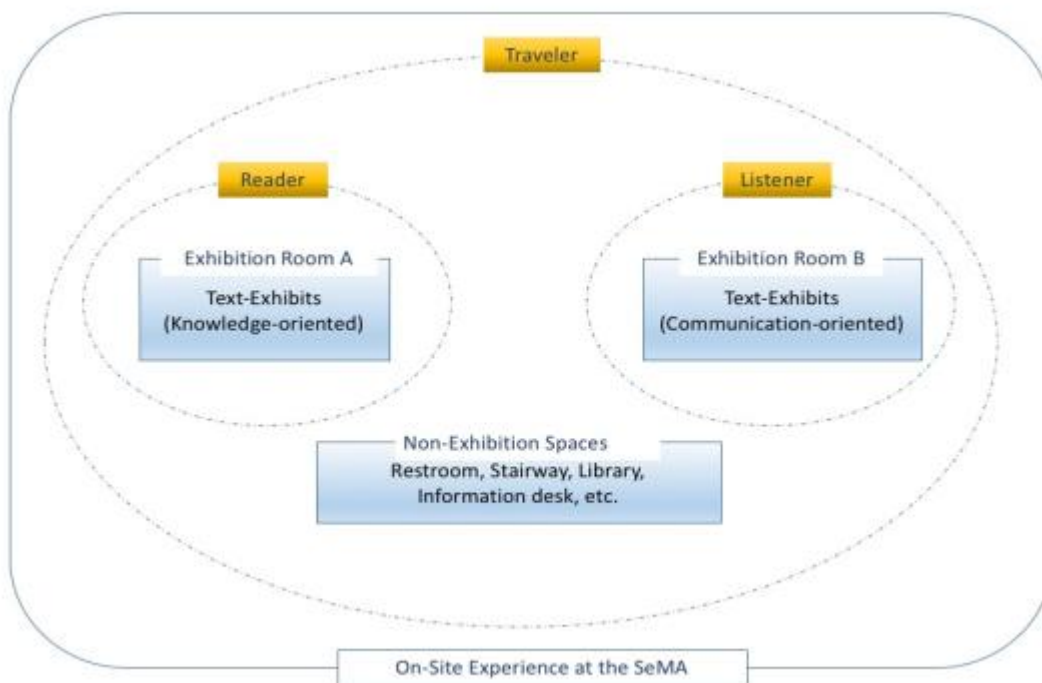


Figure 10. Prospective Attitudes of Visitors in the Curator's Narratives

4.2 How Visitors Interpret the Meanings of Their Museum Visits

4.2.1 The Learning Metaphor

The meanings of SR's and Goon's visits were signified as *learning*, given that their personal narratives were to some considerable extent juxtaposed with education, the basic goal of the institution as noted by the curator of SeMA. Their shared interpretation of the art museum as an educational institution was understood within the sociocultural belief that knowledge provided by the museum is authoritative and that, in Korean society under the dominant influence of Confucianism, its authority is strengthened by the recognition of its values from the

collective. In this context, the different interpretations of the reference group were to be considered as the symbolic diverging point in their meaning-making procedures of their museum visits. The emerging significance of lay people's views and media message in Goon's narrative was elaborated and socio-culturally contextualized in relation to the concepts of word-of-mouth communication and collectivism.

Case 1. SR

Background and profile. SR is a 25-year-old female who lives in the southern part of Seoul. She graduated from a college of art and applied for her master's degree in art. Now she is waiting for the result of the application while participating in an internship program provided by a marketing company. She enjoys visiting art museums. For her, visiting an art museum can be both leisure and work experiences. Throughout the interview, she consistently described the behaviors of other visitors she observed and tried to differentiate herself from them.

SR's Narrative.

SR: We, um, I think people need to learn the background knowledge of an artwork . . . I think getting information about, like, how it was made, is a way to view artwork with more interest. And the brochures, when I get it, it tells some directions. So I think, reading the brochure provided by the museum, can be one way to enjoy an exhibition. [pause] In fact, I always think reading brochures is a necessary part for viewing exhibitions . . . But one thing I am sure is that, to tell the truth, the masses are likely to focus on technical aspects . . . People only come to see the showiness on surface. They can't see the inner side of artwork. Sorry for the fact that masses are missing the far-reaching side.

I: Then have you ever gone to some exhibition if you were unable to gain any information about the exhibits?

SR: No. I... used to view famous artworks in some well-known art museums. No small galleries. So even in the case that I had no background knowledge before the visit, brochures gave me a proper direction. (SR, 3rd interview)

In SR's narrative, learning plays an important role in finding museums to appreciate exhibits. Brochures provide visitors with background information and the historical context of their art exhibits. In this context, SR continuously interpreted brochures as a trustworthy compass with which she was able to identify herself as an ideal reader. Conversely, she described the masses as those who only stick to instant and pleasurable stimuli from exhibits without consideration of the textual information. With this positioning, she symbolically differentiates herself from those who are insensitive or unconcerned with the historical value of the art object. The separation echoes in her image of SeMA:

SR: Well, to tell the truth, it [SeMA] is commercialized. The exhibitions, when I saw before at the museum. Tim, um, what was he called? The film director.

I: Tim Burton?

SR: Yes. I came to the Tim Burton exhibition with my friends. Surely, it was so popular. Although my friends enjoyed it, for me, I thought it was commercialized, to a certain extent, because the objects being exhibited were not real artworks but only things relevant to his films.

I: Could you describe more about your idea of commercialization in the art museum?

SR: Such a thing, the masses like. The exhibition was targeting the masses who are fond of objects being exposed in media. The exhibits were for responding to the taste of the masses. And I think this museum is used to holding this kind of exhibition to increase the number of visitors. So I think it is commercialized. (SR, 1st interview)

SR: I really want to see the feminism exhibition and I'm planning to go to SeMA alone. Because when I wanted to see some artworks more deeply, most of my friends thought that spending time in the exhibition hall was boring . . . Because the topic is related to the sensitive issues of Korean society. For example, misogyny is being widely spread among Korean males. They prejudice against and contempt for women. So they dislike feminism. And even worse, they feel disgusted with it. I've heard it a lot on radio or TV. A lot. In this situation, I think it is so cool that the museum holds the exhibition. . . Thus, I really expect that the exhibition is to tell those men that 'women are not to be despised' through a strong punch in the exhibit. (SR, 1st interview)

In her previous visit to SeMA, the Tim Burton exhibition failed to appeal to her because the features that she interpreted as commercialized were perceived favored by her companions. SR expands her impression of the exhibition to the museum place itself; SeMA only focuses on quantitative expansion by complying with the needs of the masses. In this context, she

interpreted that an authentic art museum displays non-commercialized artworks which might be unattractive or incomprehensible to visitors.

A specific feature of the ideal museum is clarified in her high expectation for the *East Asia Feminism: FANTasia* exhibition. In her narrative, the voices of men in the mass media represented the people who are insensitive to the current culture that subordinates women to men. In this situation, the artworks in the feminism exhibition would divulge the hidden patterns of discrimination in society. This exhibition thus would be able to throw people a “strong punch” that alerts them to the distorted feature of our society.

At this point, the symbolic nexus between SR’s attraction to the feminism exhibit and her antipathy for the taste of the masses can be seen. To be interested in the feminism exhibition is to veer attention to topics that the masses ignore. Her companions’ disinterest in non-commercialized exhibits served to motivate her to visit the feminism exhibition alone. From this cultural standpoint, SR symbolically identified herself as the ideal visitor while both her companions and unspecified Korean males are interpreted as “the masses.” The contrast was clarified in her narrative of different emotional evaluations of the non-commercialized artwork: she esteemed the exhibition as “cool” while the masses would consider it “boring” or even “disgusting.”

Another way of distinguishing herself from the masses was to link viewing artwork to acquiring authoritative knowledge. Her expression of “reading” exemplified this:

SR: There’s an art object in Exhibition Room 3, a porcelain-like object. It was, a thing to read deeply . . . I wanted to keep reading it to find things, something deeper and serious . . .

I: You are saying “reading” instead of “viewing” to express the way of appreciating artworks. Is there any special reason for it?

SR: Well, yes. I think I’ve used the word unconsciously. Because I don’t think viewing an artwork is a one-dimensional behavior, just like picking up a beautiful, fashionable dress or design object in our daily lives. It’s not to find beauty on the surface. So,

instead of viewing, I naturally said 'reading.' Well, because, I think artworks are like books because both require me to get a deeper level of thoughts. (SR, 3rd interview)

SR characterizes feminist artworks as things to be seriously considered, so she situated viewing artworks in contrast to consuming commercialized images. In her narrative, the exhibits were located in a similar position with books rather than clothes or design objects. This distinction was based on her interpretation that authentic artworks are learning-oriented. This feature stirs her to reach “a deeper level of thought” through serious exhibits. By contrast, she interpreted that clothes and design objects were manipulated to stimulate viewers to react to its superficiality without any knowledge of it. In this context, her “reading” behavior symbolized the higher position of the feminist exhibits compared to other types of art objects familiar in everyday life.

Her expressions of “reading” and “viewing” reflect the inextricable relations between power and knowledge in the educational institution. Foucault (1979) argued that knowledge is always entangled with power because it is inherent in discourse and is always being employed in the control of social performance⁹. Therefore, her linguistic discrimination between the two words regulates what is to be included and what is to be excluded as knowledge. Her interpretation of authoritative knowledge becomes sharpened through the differentiation in the feminist exhibits between documentary objects and artworks:

SR: When I found a room for displaying photos and films about on the sexual slavery victims for the Japanese imperial army, I thought 'This is an instrument to attract the masses' attention.' I didn't like such a thing [pause] for making an issue . . . I felt sorry that the documentary exhibits were interpreted as a form of art . . .

I: Could you tell me more about your feelings and thoughts when experiencing the documentary-related objects at SeMA?

SR: Well, the films in the feminism exhibition could give the viewer a strong feeling of sadness. Right at once . . . we can commonly feel such a feeling while watching

⁹ “Power and knowledge directly imply one another . . . there is no power relation without the correlative constitution of a field of knowledge, nor any knowledge that does not presuppose and constitute at the same time power relations.” (Foucault, 1979, p. 27).

dramas, TV shows or movies. But it is only art that enables us to feel a high level of emotions. Not instant and volatile emotions at a moment. Artworks at art museums help us be mature in spirituality with its seriousness. So, it differs from ordinary experiences. So, when I appreciated a qualified artwork, I felt myself spiritually matured. So the documentaries, was not such a thing for me. (SR, 3rd interview)

For SR, the existence of documentaries in the exhibition is interpreted as an adulteration of its authenticity due to their non-authoritative form. In her narrative, art objects provided visitors with a spirituality that was not nurtured by other types of objects. Only limited types of serious formats are able to guide viewers to long lasting and higher level emotions. Other types of objects that are easily available in everyday life only provide people with an instant and shallow level of emotions. Her underestimation of everydayness in form finally led to a symbolic juxtaposition of TV shows, dramas and movies with the feminist documentary exhibits, even though the objects had been displayed in the art museum due to the importance of the topic.

As such, SR's sense of hierarchy between herself and other visitors, art objects and documentaries, and visiting the art museum and experiencing everydayness contributed to the restricting the meaning of her museum visit. Her tendency to specialize the museum visit in accordance with learning authoritative knowledge is symbolically resonant with her different interpretations of the meanings of the museum visit over time:

I: Because you are majoring in fine arts, I am wondering what you think of your visit to SeMA this time. Could it be leisure experience?

SR: I clearly differentiate leisure from study when visiting a museum. Because, if I consider a museum visit for work or study, it's only the case that I participate in the exhibition as an artist. Namely, if I exhibit my own works and present the making process, then, [pause] I consider it as a work experience. On the other hand, if I go visit an art museum to see others' artworks, like this time, I really think it as a leisure experience.

I: So do you now consider the visit to SeMA relevant to my study as leisure activity?

SR: Yes. (SR, 1st interview)

I: How do you feel about the museum visit today?

SR: It was a valuable leisure experience because it gave me a lot of things to think about. Having a feminism exhibition is rare in our country. Art enables me to think more

deeply on the message inherent in the artwork. The feminism exhibition was such a case. I also felt I needed more time to contemplate. (SR, 3rd interview)

I: Do you think of your visit to SeMA as a leisure experience?

SR: . . . Come to think of it, now, I don't think so.

I: Could you describe the reason for the change of your mind?

SR: Well, I was planning to go see the exhibits without any serious thinking. But I took some pictures to memorize the exhibits and wrote down some explanations about the exhibits written on the wall. And more, now I am planning to use them for my work. So it may not be called as leisure. (RS, 4th interview)

In the first interview with SR, conducted before her visit, she expressed a clear distinction between leisure and non-leisure for her museum visit. If her position in the museum is as an observer, she considered the museum visit as leisure activity. If any of her artworks was exhibited in the museum, the museum visit was identified as work. These roles—as a receiver or as a creator of the museum contents—determined her subsequent interpretations of the meanings of her museum visit in the third and fourth rounds of interview.

In the third interview, SR signified her museum visit as leisure. This classification was based on her interpretation that the feminism exhibits guided her to a deeper level of thinking since she was reading the exhibits in the context of learning. However, her initial meaning of the museum visit was reinterpreted in the fourth of interview conducted about a month after her visit. She came to consider the museum visit as work experience, a preparation for her future research. Her museum visit at this point was signified with her notes and pictures of the exhibit, which she considered as data. The shifted attention from the learning experience to its recordings symbolically terminated the evolution of the meanings of her museum visit in the leisure context.

Case 2. Goon

Background and profile. Goon is a 23-year-old male who lives in the northeastern part of Seoul. He is an undergraduate student majoring in international studies. He enjoys playing piano

and watching classical music concerts on YouTube. He started going to art museums last year. He considers visiting art museums as an ancillary tool for his future career because art can be a good topic to socialize with directors. During the interviews, he asked questions about art and its education, such as “Do you really think art is required for everyone to be cultured?” or “Do you think junior high and high school students should learn art as a mandatory course?”

Goon's Narrative.

I: What brought you to participate in this study?

G: Before I went to college, I had only visited some small local museums for school field trips. But when I visited New York, I went to the Met . . . Because it was famous and many people recommended to visit there. It was huge, and had lots of famous things that I'd seen in the textbook. I viewed and tried to get something from them, but couldn't feel anything. Really! . . . As I told you, when I went to the Met, I had no idea. Right, that was my first impressive experience on the museum visit. Now I try to feel and think something from artworks. So I've now registered for a course which requires me to visit some art museums. But the schedule is so packed. Thus, by participating in this study, I expect to have enough time to think about what I feel and think at the museum. (Goon, 1st interview)

The significance of learning is manifested in Goon's narrative of his motivation to participate in this study. For him, the meaning of his museum visit was to gain a chance to appreciate well-known artworks that he has learned about at school. In his visit to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Goon did not know how to appreciate well-known artworks, even those that looked familiar to him. His first experience at a famed museum stimulated him to attend an art-related course in college that led him to visit art museums for assignments. In this context, Goon interpreted the accumulation of knowledge through learning, practice and experience as a trustworthy way to comprehend art exhibits. His attitude is reiterated in his impression of the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition at SeMA:

I didn't know well about her paintings, but I enjoyed the way of displaying her objects arranged with respect to her life experiences . . . Here, the exhibits were arranged in accordance with her biography. I liked it. I could trace her career with the paintings in

the room. And it was also good to get the panels on the walls, that explained how her painting styles have changed in order of time. Text panels helped me understand. After reading it, I could get some feelings for her artworks . . . (Goon, 3rd interview)

His foci on the existence of written texts and the chronologically arranged exhibits are symbolically consistent with his understanding that the explanations provided by the institution imbued exhibits with a unique value of authority. His inclination to the marriage between educational texts and exhibits is in contrast to his indifference toward another type of exhibition that intentionally alienated viewers from the value:

G: All of these [the exhibits in the DigiFun exhibition room] were drawings on iPhone or Galaxy, right? . . . I didn't think these are artworks.

I: Could you tell me more about the reason?

G: Hmm, well, these were not the things I've considered as paintings . . . I thought they were totally different from paintings, because it hasn't used paints . . . I don't think it's cool, gorgeous, or artistic. Just thought 'Hmm, people would draw it just for fun?' I don't know about contemporary arts. I've never learned about it. So I might think it in this way. Anyway, just for fun. That's what I finally thought.

I: Do you have any thoughts or feelings from any specific pieces of the exhibition?

G: Well, just so so? Nothing special or interested? I didn't mean I hated them, but I had no impression on any of the exhibits. These are not worth being at the art museum, overall. But people tend to be influenced by mass media. And it was just my first experience viewing such artworks. So I might get a negative feeling. If [pause] many people look up to such kinds of objects at a museum, I'd be likely to admire those, ha. (Goon, 3rd interview)

For Goon, an artwork reveals its distinctive value with a limited form and mode that the majority of people respect. In this context, art museum exhibits symbolize a collection of authoritative objects whose features hardly overlap with those of commercial products. Thus, he perceived a lot of disrespect for the DigiFun exhibition in which the works were printed images brushed on tablets with little explanation. His choice of “fun” as an expression for the flippant purpose of the digital art exhibition symbolizes the authoritative position of the modern and classical artworks that he learned from a textbook. Goon finally interpreted the use of

technological devices as an act of treachery that degraded the intellectual value of the museum. As a result, he concluded that the exhibits are “not worth being at the art museum.”

However, it is noteworthy that he implied a potential change in his evaluation by meeting the different opinions of others. He noted that encountering a contrasting opinion of “many people” who “look up” to the media art would provide a different criterion to him who had no knowledge of contemporary art. In this context, he understood art-related news reported in the mass media as a source as trustworthy as textbooks. In his current situation experiencing the exhibition by himself, however, he maintained his negative view of the digital art exhibits. Moreover, his underestimation of that one specific exhibition undermined his overall evaluation of SeMA as a place to visit:

Well, on the whole it's hard to say what I've got from the exhibitions. I feel sorry that I didn't get any thoughts or feelings except from the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition. Isn't it common that art museums . . . arrange the objects by one artist arranged in chronological order? But this museum didn't do that. Except Chun's exhibition. Why did you select SeMA as the research site? (Goon, 3rd interview)

In his narrative, the meanings evoked by the learning metaphor were continuously associated with a sense of arrangement. The digital art exhibition was interpreted as having disorganized exhibits while the meaning of arrangement was only entailed to the modern art exhibition. The question of “why did you select SeMA as the research site?” signifies a lower status of SeMA as being disordered. His negative impression was manifested in the recollection of his museum visit:

I: What would you like to think of the visit to SeMA at this point?

G: Well, nothing special. It was just a leisure experience. I go to art museum for studying and taking a rest. But my visit to SeMA now feels like only taking a rest. No study. Yes, certainly, it's a kind of leisure but nothing special. Because, if I got so much interested in the experience, I would have revisited. When I went to the exhibition of Diego Rivera, I really enjoyed it. And I got started with searching for some information about him and got interested in his relationship with Frida Kahlo, so I decided to go to the Frida Kahlo exhibition and actually got there. It happened so naturally. But as for

SeMA, there's nothing that drove me to explore something more and more . . . So now it's just a one-time visit with relaxation. (4th interview, Goon)

Throughout his interviews, Goon repeatedly underestimated the contemporary art exhibits. He understood SeMA as a place undeserving of a re-visit by emphasizing the perceived deficiency of the modern artworks that he wanted to “study.” In this context, he interpreted the reduced value of the museum visit—from learning and relaxation to only relaxation—in the venue of leisure experience. This exclusion was reflected in his understanding of the museum visit in connection with his post-visit experiences:

I: Have you happened to get any thoughts about your experiences at SeMA after the visit?

G: No. I was very busy with school work for a while . . . I searched for some information about Kyung-ja Chun while preparing my final paper for the art course. I had to make a portfolio from the artwork of which I was impressed. I googled for some of artworks and explanation of her in English. But I failed to find anything. She's not that famous at the international level, even though she got such a fame in Korea? There're no reading materials written in English. Even she once lived in New York, though . . .

I: Why did you pick her up as your research subject?

G: Because, through the participation in this study, I realized that I like to view paintings with texts. By the way in the middle of searching, . . . I've watched some news informing that the bereaved are arguing for the right to the paintings she left. Hasn't it been resolved?

I: . . . At the beginning of the interview today, you told me that there's nothing interesting or memorable regarding your visit to SeMA. But to my understanding, you seemed to keep the experience of the museum visit in mind while watching the news or doing school assignments.

G: Well, yes. In those situations, [pause] yes. Cause, it's not a kind of thought that “wow, the paintings were so impressive.” It wasn't, but it's just a kind of thing... that “there are exhibits so I saw them.” I've got to know her. That's all. (4th interview, Goon)

In the fourth interview conducted about a month after his visit, his on-site experiences no longer stood for Goon's learning experience at the cognitive level. In the passage, while Chun's paintings were considered a subject to study, the news of the ongoing disputes among the bereaved enabled him to recognize the artist through family issues rather than the artistic value of her paintings. In addition, he found no reading texts about her written in a foreign language.

This led him to question the reputation of the artist as he expressed that “She’s not that famous at the international level, even though she got such a fame in Korea?”

In this context, the painter’s relatively limited reputation simplified Goon’s experiences of her exhibition to the chance to know the existence of the painter (e.g., “I’ve got to know her. That’s all”). This prevented him from recognizing a continuation of the experience between the Chun’s exhibition and his assignment. The actual learning experience about Chun and her paintings after the visit became divorced from his on-site experience in which he gained some feelings of respect and admiration toward Chun’s works. His meaning of the museum visit as leisure finally dwindled to mere relaxation because of the loss of authoritative knowledge in his post-visit experiences.

An Interpretation of the Sociocultural Traditions of Meaning in the Learning Metaphor

Much of the theoretical and practical understanding of the roles and functions of museums are based on the eighteenth century frame that considers the museum as an educational institution (Hooper-Greenhill, 1999, 2007) or the nineteenth century frame in which museums are used to govern and regulate the representation of citizens through education (Bennett, 1995). In these frames, the recognition of knowledge-oriented experiences ascribed to exhibits was a symbolic criterion to evaluate the significance of the museum visit. That is, interpreting exhibits as knowledgeable objects to learn about is a sign for visitors that they can have significant extraordinary experiences with exhibits. This frame of reference symbolically draws a discriminative line between the superiority of art with its non-instrumental value and the inferiority of the less-artistic object with its utility (Danto, 1984). This education-centered

approach was repetitively shown in both SR's and Goon's interpretations of reading texts. SR pinpointed the importance of the text provided by the museum because of its role as the right guide for her learning. The text informing about the artist's biography and philosophical ideas intrigued Goon on-site to consider the exhibits as valuable to learn.

To place the cultural metaphor of learning in a historical context, it must be noted that the state of the art museum as an educational institution is based on the socially shared belief that knowledge provided by the museum is authoritative. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) provide a compelling account of the role of authoritative knowledge in education through "misrecognition." In a class-structured society, a legitimated knowledge is based on the devaluation of folk knowledge by the upper class. This socially constructed hierarchy is paradoxically pervasive and legitimated as natural order by social members themselves because they take authoritative knowledge for granted, and furthermore, actively and unconsciously engage in the preservation and reproduction of the order (Jordan, 1997). The process is mirrored in the participants' narratives in connection with Korean cultural traditions of learning.

Learning is a vital value to pursue in the perspective of Confucianism, which has long influenced every aspect of Korean society (Lee, 2002). For Confucius, learning is for the acquisition of essentials through which knowledge is transmitted. Ideal learners thus are those who observe and learn from the honored ones whose knowledge is able to provide a model of virtue to pursue for descendants (Confucius, 1979). In this approach, an epistemological assumption presupposes that the honored already know most of the fundamental and important truths, formed by knowledge, and thus learners need to respect the authority of a group of the honored.

These cultural characteristics of learning appear to be relevant to why both SR and Goon made an effort to identify authoritative figures by the opinions of the collective. For SR, the authority comes from a qualified reference group. The collective in her narrative appeared through only serious artworks that include an educational aspect. A few discerning visitors can read and learn the knowledge-oriented message. Her interpretation of learning with the sign of authoritative knowledge produced discriminative positions between the collective and the masses, daily objects and museum exhibits, and traditional artworks (e.g., painting and sculpture) and other art genres (e.g., drama and film).

SR's interpretation is paralleled, to some extent, with Goon's basic approach to the exhibit at SeMA. For Goon, the authoritative nature of exhibits is supported by his degree of familiarity with the artworks from the textbooks he studied. Thus, he interpreted that the value of the DigiFun exhibition was weakened given that drawings on iPads were commonly found in the realm of commercial ads rather than in a textbook. The exhibition of Kyung-ja Chun, on the contrary, was considered as having a value to appreciate since the forms of that exhibit, such as oil painting and sketch, were commonly seen in the textbook.

Despite this similarity, SR and Goon's distinct renderings of the group of people to respect do not situate them in a homogeneous group. SR sought for an authentic art exhibition that enlightens viewers with education. Conversely, she consistently recognized other visitors as those who were blindly fond of commercialized exhibitions in connection with pop culture, such as Hollywood movies. This contrast enabled her to denote other visitors as "the masses." By this labeling, she interpreted that people outside of the art community had no influence on her way of thinking about the art exhibits.

Contrary to SR, Goon alluded to a possible inclusion of the narratives of lay people in his interpretation of authoritative knowledge. In Goon's narrative, his negative interpretation of the digital-centered exhibition might be changed by the admiration of many people or mass media. Furthermore, his positive interpretation of the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition was altered after discovering the current situation that Chun and her paintings had not been identified by others at the international level. With this new information, the discriminative position between lay people and professionals became blurred, and mass media was reinstated as a trustworthy source for interpreting the value of the exhibition.

The emergence of many people and media messages in his narrative required me to consider other conceivable layers of the socio-cultural context to understanding the meanings of the museum visit evoked by the learning metaphor. An unsolved question about Goon is what socio-cultural context enabled him to enlarge the range of the collective from people in the art community to lay people. Word-of-mouth communication and collectivism might explain his changed meaning in terms of information source and persuasive power.

Tourism and museum studies have demonstrated that word-of-mouth-communication increases credibility, social validity and authenticity (Litvin, Goldsmith, & Pan, 2008; Simpson & Siguaw, 2008). Such positive impacts of word-of-mouth are based on the unsolicited nature of information providers (Buttle, 1998). Recommendations from individuals who are not directly involved in the institution are considered a major source for shaping visitors' interpretations because they are free from the bias of the museum narrative that is attuned for selling services (Falk & Dierking, 2013). Tourism researchers have extensively discussed the wide applicability of word-of-mouth communication from face-to-face recommendations with significant others (e.g., Dearden & Harron, 1992) to indirect interactions with anonymous persons through online

communities (e.g., Litvin, Goldsmith & Pan, 2008). In the museum context, interaction with friends and family members is more influential than magazines, radio advertising, newspapers and museum staffs for first time visitors (Adams, 1988). This line of the scholarly work is juxtaposed with the rise of news media and online searching in Goon's narrative.

Despite its compelling account, his uncritical acceptance of sources from mass media and mass opinion inspired me to consider another layer relevant to persuasive power. Indeed, while the body of literature pays attention to the closeness of the information provider, Goon's narrative focused on the majority-ness. His dependence on *many* people and *mass* media in the interpretation of the meanings for his museum visit manifested his internal belief that authority stemmed from collectivity.

A cultural link between authority and collectiveness can be traced to a pervasive narrative of collectivism in terms of social conventions and customs (Gelfand, Triandis & Chan, 1996)¹⁰. Collectivism is a cultural framework that reflects culturally shaped attributes such as social beliefs, norms, values and self-definitions that are transmitted through generations (Triandis, 1996). Korea is traditionally considered as one of the typical collectivist countries (Hofstede, 1980). Although the specific nature varies among the countries (Cho & Yoon, 2001), Korean scholars tacitly agree that Korean traditions have been built upon interdependence among social

¹⁰ It should be noted that the frame of collectivism-individualism, despite its usefulness, has been criticized due to its homogeneity through which Western and East Asian tend to be treated as singular entities. A considerable body of research in a variety of disciplines has pointed to the existence of heterogeneity within each of the two camps (e.g., Zhang et al., 2005). Furthermore, the concept of collectivism is created as a counterpart of individualism to "Othering" East Asians in Western accounts of Asian cultures. Thus, it seems appropriate to question, at this moment, in applying the frame to this study that aims to understand the participants' behaviors in the hermeneutic phenomenological perspective (for details, see Heidegger, 1962). Anchoring in Geertz (1973), therefore, I need to clarify that sensitivity to mean differences among distinctive cultural groups does not hinder us in recognizing diversity among individuals. Rather, the mean differences provided by the cultural frame can contribute to the understanding of individuals by providing a cultural background that respects the differences between different groups and within the in-group members of a cultural camp. Therefore, the frame of collectivism-individualism here is not used as an ontological term and thus is applied as a fluid background which is (re)interpreted by individuals through their own language.

members that fosters individual respect for the collective authority (Kim & Choi, 1994).

Therefore, individuals in this cultural context are likely to give priority to the collective opinions when it differs from their own.

Collectivism provides a frame of reference for understanding two distinctive sources of authority (i.e., the institution and the collective) in the learning metaphor. For SR, authority is based on the message provided by the art institution. Her consistent evaluation of the exhibits over time was echoed in her symbolic interpretation of the visitors she observed as “the masses.” For Goon, the authority comes from the institution but is also based on the responses of the collective in his post-visit experience. This extended range of authority source enables him to reinterpret the meanings of the museum visit with respect to others’ opinions that he found in mass media and foreign websites.

4.2.2 The Aesthetic Metaphor

The aesthetic metaphor is proposed as a second symbol to represent the node of meanings of some participants’ experiences. The narratives of Kyu and Young-Woo are cases that illustrate a key aspect of this metaphor. One major feature that appreciating their aesthetic values plays a crucial role in constructing the meaning of their visits support this categorization. The meaning of their museum visits evoked by the aesthetic metaphor was interpreted within the sociocultural and traditional contexts of aesthetic experience including the philosophic notion of disinterestedness and the dominant, abstractive way of appreciating artworks in traditional Korean society.

Case 3. Kyu

Background and profile. Kyu is a 28-year-old man who lives in the eastern part of Seoul. He is a graduate student majoring in medical radiation science. He enjoys a broad range of art-related leisure activities including watching movies, visiting various types of museums, playing piano and going to classical concerts. Of these activities, listening to classical music is his primary passion, and he went to classical music concerts around 50 times in 2015 while visiting art museums twice. Throughout his interview, Kyu explained how it is difficult and important to find persons with whom he can share his arts-related leisure experiences. He asked me to be a companion for his visit, so we walked around the exhibition spaces together.

Kyu's Narrative.

The reason for going to the museum, I mean, the motivation, is to get pleasure. Yes, for visual pleasure. As I go to music concerts for pleasing my ears, I go to the art museum for pleasing my eyes, I think. (Kyu, 1st Interview)

In Kyu's narrative, "pleasure" exemplifies the meaning of aesthetic appreciation and symbolizes ocularcentrism in the realm of the art museum. For him, this museum visit is interpreted as a chance to experience a variety of color stimuli. In his onsite experiences, he elaborated on the meaning of visual pleasure concerning artworks and their evaluation:

Could I first say what I want to do [before the interviewer asks questions]? . . . I came to the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition three times. Of her paintings, White Night was really good at colors. In the case of A Jamaican Woman Acrobat, I didn't like the figure of the person but the blue, sky-like background was really good. I wanted to tear that part off the painting and take it . . . Among the digital art exhibits, I liked the colors of Beacon Hotel South Beach by Jeremy Sutton. So variegated. I liked the colors, [and] enjoyed the feeling of the colors . . . And on the first floor, the thing like mole burrows. The texture of the cozy carpet covering the burrows was so fluffy so I wanted to roll around there . . . I'm not sure whether or not I consider it [his experience at the exhibit] as appreciation. That is because, it's hard to say whether I enjoyed the rolling or the exhibit itself. . . Just delimiting it [appreciation] as seeing, I was satisfied watching the iPads. I really enjoyed the vivid colors. It dazzled my eyes. (Kyu, 3rd interview)

For Kyu, the painting, regardless of its subject matter or media, serves as the standard from which he enjoys visually perceived pleasure. His liberal description of his on-site experiences showed positive feelings about the exhibits that broadly ranged from traditional oil paintings to tablet drawings and installation artworks. His refined approach to the “rolling” experience, however, expressed ambivalence toward the experimental exhibit: although Kyu enjoyed new types of artworks, including digital paintings and installation objects, he was unwilling to include the latter in the “ideal” category. In his narrative, a similarity between the meanings evoked by “color,” “volume” and “texture” of the paintings can be discerned from his disinterest in the tactile experience of the installation exhibit. That is, the former signifies his appreciation of the field of vision while the latter highlights the sensation of touch. In this context, his expression, “just delimiting it [appreciation] as seeing” offers a metaphoric expression of his resolution of the ambiguity: the emotional feelings from the somatic exhibit are not an aesthetic experience.

However, his pleasure from appreciating the visual stimuli of the exhibits is not a mere sensual satisfaction of daily practices such as eating and sleeping. His reference to classical music composers connected to the art objects clarifies this:

I: What feelings or thoughts came to your mind when you visited the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition?

K: As I told you before, when I previewed the images [on the official website of SeMA], I connected them with Piazzola while listening to his tango music. But when I came to see it, the real colors and tones of her paintings were different from the images of the music . . . Well, they [women in the paintings] looked more static, unlike the pictures [that he saw on the Internet]. I'd seen the paintings with such dynamic music, but in reality, they looked more matched with Bach. (Kyu, 3rd interview)

In the passage, Kyu approached “the real colors and tones” of Chun’s paintings by linking them to tango music and pictures of the paintings on the internet. Within this

understanding, his expectation to see dynamic colors in specific artworks was signified in connection with the expression of “Piazzola.” “Bach” was used to express his perceived image of the real artworks in which the static features of the characters were different from his expectation. His synesthetic experience in the form of “classical” art and music alludes to the dual nature of his aesthetic experience. It is not only connected to spontaneous and sensual feelings but also based on a cultural norm that imposes an aesthetic value to his act of viewing.

Kyu’s attitude about his interaction with others concerning his culture-related leisure activities more clearly shows that his aesthetic experience is partly subsumed within a cultural norm:

I: Have you ever talked to somebody about your experiences in art museums?

K: No, I haven’t. Based on my experiences, there’s very few who can talk about this kind of topic . . . When I tried to do it, a majority of people felt difficulty to bring this kind of talk . . . I try to make things easy and explain in a very direct and sensational way to inspire their interest, although it looks a little bit vulgar. Like this, ‘This was written when [the name of a composer] got dumped by a woman . . .’ Honestly . . . I think the level of this kind of story is too low . . .

I: What do you mean by “the level of this kind of story is too low?” Could you tell me more about it?

K: Oh, um, the meaning is . . . When I was in high school, one [of Kyu’s classmates] prepared to enter the college of music at [the name of a prestigious university] . . . when I talked about something with him, he clarified that “oh, that’s a Neapolitan chord” . . . In that case, I think I can get a deeper level of talking . . . Oh, I talked about music again. [chuckle] . . . I tend to put music and art on the same page. (Kyu, 2nd interview)

For Kyu, the meaning of sharing his aesthetic experience with others is associated with the degree to which he is able to focus on the internal context of the artwork. Within the narrative, he interpreted that, with a majority of people, he only had to communicate arts in a “vulgar,” “sensational” way. By contrast, he exemplified the interaction with his high school classmate as the central and ideal way. “Neapolitan chord” symbolized a “deeper level of

talking” with those like Kyu whose focus is also on the internal elements of artworks, such as shape and color.

His intolerance of understanding an artwork in connection with its background information, which corresponds to the interest of novices, was coupled with a focus on the internal quality of the artwork. This may be juxtaposed with the concept of disinterestedness. Judgment of the quality (e.g., beauty or aesthetic perceptions) of the arts is universally valid if the judgment is unbiased by personal concerns, as Kant argued, or the result of pure contemplation, as Schopenhauer pointed out (Stolnitz, 1961). Kyu’s discriminative perspective on the two ways of communication symbolically alludes to his predilection for the quality of artworks. His evolving evaluation of the visit over time along with his description of the influence of the interviews exemplifies this:

I: When you think of your visit to SeMA, what kinds of thoughts or feelings come to your mind?

K: Well, I am sorry, but today’s experience wasn’t that impressive. It wasn’t a minus one. But it’s not that good compared to past visits this year. I prefer the previous ones. Thus, as for the degree of satisfaction, [pause] I wasn’t satisfied that much. It’s just so so. (Kyu, 3rd interview)

K: I felt like seeing [it] twice . . . By depicting the [on-site] experiences, I felt like seeing the exhibition twice. Not only that, when I was answering the [interview] questions, it prompted me to recognize the event or feeling I’d forgotten, because [the questions] were very extensive. Isn’t it? So I felt like visiting twice with a double-wide view. All in all, I said “feeling like seeing [it] twice.” (Kyu, 4th interview)

K: The visit [to SeMA] was the best. Nothing compares if I can get such experiences frequently. Because, I visited a fine place with a good person and had a good conversation all about the paintings. All things were balanced. So I said it’s the best. (Kyu, 5th interview).

At the third interview with Kyu right after the on-site event, his experiences at SeMA were first interpreted mainly through his appreciation of the artworks. At that time, the exhibitions were considered as being less interesting than those he had visited before. This initial

impression, however, altered when he included the subsequent interview sessions as part of the visit to SeMA. His expression of “feeling like seeing [it] twice” at the fourth interview reflects the expanded meanings evoked by conversation in the subsequent interview sessions. In this context, the interview questions are recognized as encouraging him to broaden the range of his aesthetic appreciation by inducing him to retrieve memories that had unconsciously diminished. He finally reevaluated this visit as “the best” with the interview “all about the paintings” at the fifth interview conducted about a month after the fourth round interview.

A symbolic nexus can be seen between his pleasure seeking experiences and conversations with others. That is, the latter is an ancillary tool to maximize the former. Given this subordinate position of others, the symbolic value of the aesthetic experience becomes strengthened as he has more interview sessions. This coalition leads him to an evolved interpretation of the meaning of the visit in the leisure context:

I: Do you think of the visit to SeMA as leisure experience?

K: Of course.

I: What made you feel like that?

K: I enjoyed vivid colors. (Kyu, 3rd interview)

I: How do you feel about your visit to SeMA at this point?

K: I happened to get to know a person who's got a deeper level of knowledge of the arts, just like you. I could talk to him about my experience [at SeMA] as we did . . . I think the museum visit is different from other types of cultural leisure experiences. Some exhibits were hard to appreciate by myself. Sharing my experience with others could solve this difficulty. I once thought “paintings are the things just to see.” Now I think it depends on how to interpret seeing. The sharing experience helped me appreciate some points that I have forgotten or neglected if I didn't interact. (Kyu, the final feedback email after the 5th interview).

At the third interview, Kyu signified his museum visits as being for visual pleasure. After the fifth interview, this narrow conceptualization of the museum visit, however, was reinterpreted as an activity requiring communication when he chatted with an acquaintance in a similar way as he did with me. In this situation, the meaning of the act of “seeing” evolves from

perceptual stimuli to contemplation. The visit to SeMA symbolically ended his former limited approach to the museum visit as a visually pleasing experience occurring only on-site. This visit has launched a broader notion of the museum visit as leisure experience by including interaction with others beyond the physical boundary of the museum building.

Case 4. Young-Woo

Background and profile. Young-Woo is a 27-year-old male and lives in the western part of Seoul. He is an undergraduate student majoring in architecture. One of his elder sisters majored in art. He enjoys drawing and reading texts in online communities. During the interviews, he expressed a consistent interest in other participants in this study. He wondered specifically if the other participants saw the exhibits in the “same” way he did.

Young-Woo’s Narrative.

When I was a child, I went to the Met. It was huge, but hard to find something interesting. I saw a Renaissance-related exhibition there and it wasn’t that attractive. Things that imitate nature are not my concern, I think. Such an expression that depicted a natural landscape seemed just a matter of skill. Not of art. I also don’t understand people who argue that an object made of unusual materials or an object sophisticatedly painted with innumerable dots as art. It’s just a craft so I don’t buy it as art. Are they saying like that because of the unique method? I don’t understand it. Contrary to this, the work of Kyung-ja Chun had its own unique essence. So it looked special enough. (Young-Woo, 4th interview)

In this passage, the artistic essence in the paintings of Kyung-ja Chun exemplifies the meaning of “art-ness” and symbolizes its aesthetic value, which is incapable of capturing with a sole reliance on technique. Within the narrative, material-centered and skill-oriented artworks were criticized for their lack of essence. Young-Woo’s unfavorable interpretation of them

reverberates in his appreciation of the DigiFun Art exhibition in which all of the pieces were drawn by technological devices, such as iPads:

The things I saw on the third floor, the case of the digital art exhibits, uses tools that are incapable of reflecting the essence of each artist. So, they didn't look that interesting. But, I think oil colors or traditional sculpting materials are the things reflecting the essence of an artist. . . Feeling the aesthetic essence of a person [artist] is interesting to me. (Young-Woo, 3rd interview)

In Young-Woo's narrative, the meanings evoked by the digital art exhibits proffer a contrast to those evoked by the conventional arts. His unwillingness to accept the new type of artwork was not confined to a matter of external expression since he interpreted "oil-color" and "traditional sculpting materials" as prerequisite elements to feel the essence of artworks. His pencil sketch on paper of some of the paintings of Kyung-ja Chun appears as a symbolic reflection of this belief:

Y: While viewing them, I wanted to draw some of them. [He showed me a notebook on which some parts of Chun's paintings were sketched]

I: Is there any special reason for drawing in the exhibition room?

Y: Because, I wanted to have it, something like her essence. Drawing enabled me to imitate and steal it. I did [draw] it because of that. In case I like a small part of a painting, sketching is easy. But if I like most part [of a painting], it's hard to sketch its essence . . . Its essence couldn't be preserved [in his sketch]. (Young-Woo, 3rd interview)

At this point, the symbolic nexus between the aesthetic experience and his penchant for the traditional forms can be seen. He did not take a photo of the exhibit that impressed him; instead, he drew part of the painting with a pencil. This act of "imitating" by using a traditional drawing tool enables him to symbolically possess the "essence." In his subjective position in using the traditional tool, technique plays a role in his aesthetic. From this viewpoint, his focal point in the museum visit was on the interaction between himself and the exhibit. In this context, the historical and cultural frame of an object or painter is secondary to the internal aesthetic quality of the work.

The subordinate position of the text presenting the cultural and historical context of the exhibits is further clarified in his on-site experience in the *Re-Play: 4 Platforms & 17 Events* exhibition:

The thing, an architecture made of gypsum. I don't know the meaning of it . . . Not sure whether it could be an artwork. [pause] No. I didn't get any impression of art from it. When seeing the title, I questioned, 'is it an artwork?' . . . I felt it telling me, "I am not an artwork." The explanation on the panel seemed to describe. . . that the object has an artistic value . . . (Young-Woo, 3rd interview)

In this passage, Young-Woo's attempt to understand the meaning of the object was unsuccessful due to the discrepancy between the exhibit and its explanation. He perceived a symbolic contradiction between the status of the object as an "architect" and the message of the explanation panel, which appeared to describe the object as an "artwork." In this context, "I am not an artwork" is a metaphoric expression that the intrinsic quality of the exhibit, rather than its textual explanation, serves as the major criterion for him in appreciating the exhibit. He finally interpreted the architectural objects as an intrusion of foreign materials into the space of the art museum.

His conspicuous focus on the intrinsic aesthetic worth of exhibits shapes his way of interacting with others:

I: What expectations do you have for the visit to SeMA?

Y: Um, if I put a focus on myself, I am certain about how I approach artworks and how I feel about them. So these kinds of things are not my concern. I am wondering about how others appreciate artworks. Plus, I expect to see artworks.

I: Could you explain more about what you are "certain"?

Y: I have my own personal frame of thinking . . . Um, I first try to get emotional feelings by expanding my view to the whole of an exhibit. Then I pay more attention to some specific part, like gazing at its detailed proportion. For this, I have my own frame. (Young-Woo, 1st interview)

In his narrative, Young-Woo counted self-reflective experiences as being less interesting due to his confidence that he already knew himself well. His main interest was instead in how

other individuals see the exhibits, and that required interaction with other viewers on the site or with the interviewer who has listened to other participants' experiences. Despite this interpretation of others as an attraction driving him to visit SeMA and participate in this study, his actual on-site experience was only related to practicing his fixed frame of viewing:

Y: [Leaving another exhibition space], I considered going back to the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition. Because it was the most interesting among the exhibitions . . . At first, I analyzed the elements in the composition of each painting. I then overviewed them in the second chance . . .

I: Have you happened to communicate with any visitors at SeMA?

Y: No. Because it is highly possible to confirm a gap between me and another, I am afraid of that. I prefer to listen to music through earphones.

I: Does that mean you've listened to music while appreciating exhibits?

Y: Yes. It's not literally 'listen to music.' It helped me set up a mind set for viewing [the exhibits] by blocking noises. (Young-Woo, 3rd interview)

In the third interview conducted after his visit, Young-Woo expressed how the frame works with his act of viewing, which excludes any interaction with other visitors. His stops at the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition were focused on gazing at the “composition of each painting” and overviewing the whole painting. This interpretation process only requires his intrapersonal awareness of the objects, and he interpreted a potential interaction with other viewers as an obstacle to his aesthetic experience. In this context, his practice of “listen[ing] to music” serves as a symbolic barricade for preventing him from listening to noises but also chatting with those whose different opinions “confirm a gap” between him and them.

The trivial role of others is resonant with the meaning of the visit to SeMA in his final round interview:

Y: I went through a process that allows me to construct the image of Kyung-ja Chun, just like a character in comics. Is there anyone who has gone through this kind of process? Not exactly for Chun, though. If any?

I: Um, No. But there are different types of visitors who [I succinctly depicted some narratives of other participants who welcomed me to share their own experiences with other participants] . . . Could you tell me what thoughts come to your mind about the experiences of other participants?

Y: Interesting. But their different experiences can't change my way of thinking, I think. I already, um, settled down in my own way of thinking . . .

I: Could you tell me the meaning of your visit to SeMA at this point?

Y: Well, although many things could come out, the most impressive thing is that 'I saw artworks.' Nothing compares to the moment I appreciated Kyung-ja Chun's artworks. That is, the situation in which I viewed them listening to music through earphones. It felt like I did what I wanted to do. Considering this, it [the visit] is just like other leisure activities. (Young-Woo, 4th interview)

What is clear at this point is that his interest in the experiences of other visitors is attuned to identifying similarities with his own framework for appreciating artworks. In Young-Woo's narrative, he asked whether other subjects appreciated the exhibit in the same way he did—seeking for the essence of the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition. Listening to the narratives of other participants who show no interest in envisioning an artist through his or her exhibits, however, leads him to interpret this indirect interaction to be less valuable because “their different experiences can't change my way of thinking.”

Conversely, his selective attention to Chun's artworks suits his ongoing way of viewing, signifying this visit as an intrapersonal aesthetic experience. In Young-Woo's narrative, the most memorable moment for him was when he gazed at paintings that enabled him to feel the essence of the author while listening to music. Such lived experience corresponds to his fixed way of viewing that is geared to finding an artistic atmosphere in the painting. Identifying the essence of the exhibition and overcoming perceived constraints through listening to music, ignoring others, and planning for a dynamic viewing experience enabled him to interpret this event as leisure and lasted up to the final interview session. Finally, the meanings evoked by his concern for how other visitors appreciate artworks became excluded from his interpretation of this visit as leisure experience.

An interpretation of the Sociocultural Traditions of Meaning in the Aesthetic Metaphor

Despite a plethora of cultural attractions, the art museum as a cultural institution maintains its unique position as a shrine for aesthetic contemplation (Duncan, 1995). Thus, the objects displayed in museums always contain the possibility of encouraging visitors to encounter aesthetic experiences (Lankford, 2002). In this cultural context, for museum goers, appreciating the aesthetic value of an object or event is considered a deeply meaningful experience. This aesthetic experience-based approach echoes in the narratives of Kyu and Young-Woo who framed SeMA as a flagship institution of aesthetic appreciation. Specifically, paintings of Kyung-ja Chun enabled Young-Woo to feel aura, the essence of the artist in an intimate way. For Kyu, experiencing visual pleasures derived from paintings serves as a crucial factor to interpret the value of his on-site experiences.

Despite their shared concern about the internal qualities of the exhibits, a careful exploration of the meanings evoked by the aesthetic experience metaphor reveals a diverged fold between their perspectives: Kyu focused on visual pleasure and Young-Woo sought essence. The distinction of these two seems natural given that the term aesthetics or the idea of aesthetic experience is too slippery to pertain to any embodied experience, so myriad definitions exist (Charters, 2006). Thus, in order to carefully place the metaphor in a cultural context and escape from convoluted theoretical and philosophical arguments, the first thing to do is to delineate the scope to be discussed.

With respect to the nature of this study, what is considered here are the qualitative perceptions and interpretations of the experience that are colored by a given cultural context. Excluded are the participants' arcane and spontaneous aesthetic responses to exhibits. Given this

selective focus, a shared attitude between Kyu and Young-Woo that enables their narratives to situate in the same metaphor alludes to a crucial cultural context: their aesthetically qualitative senses have no connection to the applicability of their on-site activity beyond the museum context.

This way of viewing appears to be in line with the philosophical idea of disinterestedness (Kant, 1952) in which such a detached way of appreciating artworks is a key aspect of the universal and idealized aesthetic experience for aesthetic judgment. When we are having an aesthetic experience of an object, it is not our concern whether the experience situates outside the territory of normal beliefs and practical affairs, or we confirm the existence of the object to possess it (Neville, 1974)¹¹. Kant instead claims that judgement of beauty or aesthetic perceptions are subjectively grounded in such a culturally specific value system, disinterestedness (Ameriks, 1982; Sharman, 1997). This Kantian appreciation appears relevant to how both Kyu and Young-Woo signify the meaning of their museum visit.

For Kyu, the on-site experience of the museum visit is understood through his own subjective pleasure from focusing on the sensual contents. Although he associated classical music and its composers with some paintings, this link was only employed to construct a visual image of the exhibits. He never understood the art museum visit in relation to his life experiences. Kyu's interpretation is juxtaposed, to some extent, with Young-Woo's evaluation of the exhibitions at SeMA. For Young-Woo, the value of an exhibition or an exhibit is determined

¹¹ It should be noted that, on a meta-theoretical and philosophical level, Kant's argument on disinterestedness for aesthetic judgment is limited to form (e.g., shape), not sensible content (e.g., color) because the latter is objective by association with the aggregable and interest (Kant, 1952). However, Ameriks (1982) points out that Kant's argument on judgements of beauty is, to some extent, objective as much as judgements of the secondary qualities (i.e., color). Such sophisticated divisions and its debates go beyond the focus and scope of this study at an empirical level. Thus, the interpretation of disinterestedness here does not delve into the subdivisions of vision even though it might produce some philosophically crude understanding of his idea. What I draw based on his intense reading of aesthetic experience is the basic proposition: humans consider an object to be beautiful by detaching themselves from any practical concern of it.

by the degree to which he is able to feel the essence of the object. He underestimated the technology-oriented exhibits and considered them as adulterations, given that the skill-related aspects are unable to contain the internal aesthetic qualities of artworks. In this context, the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition that mainly consisted of oil paintings enabled him to entirely concentrate on their undamaged aesthetic contents.

Despite the shared focus on the endogenous elements of the exhibits regardless of any practical concerns beyond the museum context, Kyu's disinterested appreciation paradoxically serves as a tool for discriminating others to communicate. He never talked about his previous museum visits with others based on the assumption that it is too difficult to find a person who catches up to his level, as he has experienced with most of his companions to classical concerts. What he was disappointed with them was that they approached classical music based on the gossip-like information about the pieces, and he interpreted them as those in a lower level. Quasi-contrarily, this visit satisfied him with the interview questions through which he was able to focus on his own appreciation irrelevant to the background information about the exhibits.

His interpretation of the way of appreciating an artwork based on its background information as a "low" level of viewing implies that the symbolic value of disinterested appreciation could be reinterpreted in the cultural meanings ascribed to the implicit signs of class. Bourdieu (1984) claims that taste is not universal and disinterested appreciation is the product of an elite class in which social members have sufficient disposable time and money. For those who are not accustomed to having such resources, aesthetic appreciation is enabled with an alternative aesthetic system, instead of disinterestedness. Beyond Bourdieu's focus on class in modern French society, taste is a symbol of social distinction in many societies with different

criteria (Goffman, 1959). Veblen (1994 [1899]), for example, argues that conspicuous consumption constructs the notion of the beautiful in the leisure class.

The culture-oriented approach to aesthetic experience so far alludes that an aesthetic system ingrained in a specific cultural background gives rise to “a way of experiencing” (Geertz, 1973, p. 99). Thus, placing the cultural metaphor of “essence” within a Korean-specific historical tradition might provide another conceivable socio-cultural layer that explains the meaning evoked by Young-Woo’s aesthetic experience. *Muninhwa* provides a frame of reference for understanding his obsession with essence.

Muninwha (Scholar’s Painting in English) refers to the most dominant traditional Korean painting genre which focuses on expressing the meanings and symbols of an object under the spirituality of *Sunbi* (a group of cultured scholars of good character) rather than on describing the external features of an object in a sophisticated and exact way (Son, 2005). In this cultural context, viewers are not required to focus on the form and shape of an objects represented in the painting but to exceed them to reach its nature and spirit (Yi & Kim, 2005). This traditional perspective that “convey[s] sophisticated philosophy rather than realistic images of the visual world” has been firmly rooted in Korean modern art and functions as the adhesive of the traditional artistic spirit to the westernized modern Korean paintings (Shin, 2007, p. 369).

In this context, Young-Woo’s aesthetic experience with his consistent emphasis on the “essence” of the exhibits appears to be in line with the traditional way of appreciating artworks in Korea. Young-Woo contrasted his appreciation of the Renaissance artworks in the Met with that of the *Kyung-ja Chun* paintings in SeMA and devalued the former due to its mimetic perspective. The characteristic of the exhibits at the Met that imitates nature drove him to consider the paintings as a matter of skill. On the contrary, the paintings of Chun were revered as

having an indispensable quality. He described the essence of Chun's works as his primary concern while its form, shape and proportion were used as secondary tools before he grasped the essence. His narrative style mirrors a Korean cultural tradition of painting in which the viewers are required to gaze beyond the form of the object represented in the painting.

4.2.3 The High-culture Metaphor

High-culture is proposed as a third symbol to mirror the nexus of the meanings of some participants' experiences. This symbolic metaphor is illustrated throughout the dialogues with Dasom and Lee. These two participants were selected for their interpretation of the art museum as a place for appreciating high-culture art. This commonality was contextualized within Bourdieu's theory of cultural and social reproduction. The emerging significance of the group dynamics in Dasom's narrative was elaborated and socioculturally contextualized in relation to the three-person association and authority-oriented collectivism in the peer group dynamics.

Case 5. Dasom

Background and profile. Dasom is a 21-year-old woman who grew up in DaeJeon, a city remote from Seoul, and how now lives in Ilsan, a suburb of Seoul. She went to the Korean Military Academy at the age of 20 but dropped out after a few weeks. Now she is an undergraduate student in the college of human sciences. She has no experience visiting any art museum but once went to a small gallery at a department store to do an assignment for school. She visited SeMA with other participants, Hanhum and Zoo.

Dasom's narrative.

I: Have you ever been to any type of art museum?

D: Just a gallery. A gallery in a department store. When I was a high school student, I visited there to get a leaflet for doing an assignment. Three years ago. After that, I haven't. (Dasom, 1st interview)

D: . . . You know, I've only visited a kind of gallery once . . . Um, it [SeMA] feels like a real museum.

I: A real museum?

D: Something like, like the features of the building, and its design, look, classy and posh. So it looks like a real museum. It seems that there are only artworks inside the building. Aren't there? Not sure. You know, I've only visited a department store art gallery . . . (Dasom, 2nd interview)

In Dasom's narrative, her first impression of SeMA is clarified in her interpretation of a "real" museum: it should look "classy and posh." The exterior of the building influenced by Renaissance architecture draws a sharp contrast to an art gallery in a department store that is sited among a mixture advertisements and merchandise. Her ideal image of the "real" is more clarified in her disappointment when she interpreted that the inside of the building is similar to that of a "business building":

D: [I've] imagined that the front gate would be decorated with artistic objects, not such, such things [indicating the information desk near the gate]. It looked like an entrance [pause] of a business building.

I: A business building?

D: Yes . . . I expected to see something cool if I entered the exhibition halls, but . . . It looked so common. I felt that the museum has nothing more than the gallery. I don't know, maybe that's because I've seen some foreign museums. In there, a splendid and spacious hall gave enough space between all the paintings . . . And the lobby [of SeMA] was too simple. There were just paintings and paintings. I expected to meet some medieval metal armor statues in the lobby, or in front of the rooms. But no such things were seen.

I: Oh, have you ever visited any foreign museums?

D: No. Images. I've watched some documentary TV programs which showed famous museums, with a very long and continuing aisle with good-looking paintings. Tables or decorated panels are also located near the paintings to tell not only the artist's name but also explain other detailed information. But in this museum, I only found painters' names and titles of works written on the small labels beside the exhibits. (Dasom, 3rd interview)

In this passage, Dasom characterizes SeMA as “so common” in comparing SeMA to other world famous museums. Medieval metal armor, colorful paintings displayed in the aisles, and explanatory panels and tables were considered as vital elements that evince the value of the institution. In contrast, the simple and modern features of the inner spaces of SeMA were interpreted as a lack of the quintessential values of an authentic art museum. In this context, her expression of “business building” symbolized the undervalued position of this institution compared to those of the classical European style.

Her underestimation of SeMA was intensified with her appreciation of the feminism exhibition:

D: When entering the exhibition room alone, I couldn't understand the artworks [pause] . . . What I first saw were bones! And plus, tools, you know, like saws. I didn't understand why the artist made it. [pause] I just left the room shortly . . . I went back upstairs to see the feminism exhibition again and ran into Hanhum and Zoo . . . There was a short film showing the process of drawing. [pause] Zoo began interpreting it, “This represents an act of coitus” and blah-blah-blah. Thanks to her explanation, I managed to get the meaning of it . . . I talked with them [Hanhum and Zoo] in the room, about whether or not women are really suppressed nowadays. Well, not that much. Is it true that women are repressed? I thought authors here have a delusion of persecution. I don't think, excluding Africa or India, the human rights of women are violated that much. But the author was Japanese. Although it didn't seem that her rights were unprotected, she did her work like that.

I: Why did you think about the Japanese artist in that way?

D: Women can do what women want to do nowadays. Women no longer live in the patriarchal society as much as the previous generations did. Such a thing like ‘I make money so you should do the household’ doesn't exist . . . So I thought the artworks didn't catch up with the real features of contemporary society. When we [Hanhum, Zoo and herself] talked about it in the room, we [Hanhum and herself] said “what kind of suppression nowadays, huh?” and I laughed. (Dasom, 3rd interview)

In this passage, her effort to “understand” the feminism exhibition by herself ended in failure. The non-traditional features of its artworks stimulated Dasom to leave the exhibition space. In contrast, later interaction with her companions in the same room not only enabled her to stay in the exhibition room longer but also helped her explore the exhibits. Dasom interpreted

that Zoo's explanation of the film depicting the process of drawing as a symbolic act of intercourse led her to "get the meaning of it." Unlike her passive listening role while Zoo was talking in their dyadic interaction, Dasom clearly expressed her opinion towards the paintings she gazed at when all three members were talking about the exhibition. She argued that the description of Korean and Japanese women as being suppressed resulted from the artists' misrecognition of the "real feature of contemporary society" in which women in developed Asian countries can "do what [they] want to do." This interpretation led her to conclude the feminism artists as having "a delusion of persecution."

In the case of the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition, which consists of conventional, classical artworks, Dasom's failure to understand the exhibit in connection with its textual information intensified her sarcastic attitude to the museum visit. Her expression of "bluffing" in the recollection phase exemplifies this:

D: . . . I felt all the explanations were a kind of bluffing.

I: Oh, really?

D: Yes. I felt like a painter drew it first and then an explanation was added to justify it.

I: I am wondering why you read the explanations in order to understand if you considered them as bluffing.

D: . . . I respected it because it's the only thing I could believe . . . I first read it and then saw [the paintings]. But, I felt 'what the hell is the note saying?' [pause] Feeling like, it's just empty rhetoric. I am not sure whether the artist really considered all the ideas described on the labels. Could it be possible that the artist draws as exactly as the label explains? (Dasom, 4th interview)

Dasom characterizes the explanatory labels as both a trustworthy source to understand artworks and as flowery language for exaggerating their value. In her narrative, this oxymoron enabled her first to "respect" and read the labels but subsequently to criticize their content by pointing out their hyperbolic features. In this context, "bluffing" symbolizes the negative

function of the labels in reality: Reading the “empty rhetoric¹²” rather served as an obstacle for understanding the exhibits.

From Dasom’s narratives so far, what can be seen is a symbolic nexus between her aversion to the exhibitions and her resistance to the surreptitious nature of high culture. The explanation provided by the institution only contributes to distancing the psychological gap between the viewer and the unfamiliar exhibits. In this cultural context, Dasom’s reading of the textual information created a suspicion that the explanation of the artwork on the label is irrelevant to the content of the exhibits. This marginalized experience led to her cynical responses.

Her observation of other visitors confirms her interpretation of SeMA as a space appropriated for ceremonial affectation:

D: . . . I saw something, something hypocritical. A pack of well-dressed grown-ups got into the room. About twelve men and women had taken a picture of themselves together right in front of the exhibition room of Kyung-ja Chun. I wondered what they were doing. Of them, only one woman got into the room with me. She took pictures of some paintings and went out in a second not appreciating them. She might come here because Chun is famous. I don’t think they’re doing wrong. I know it’s her own style. But taking pictures without seeing, hmm, well . . . Watching them, I just thought fame goes beyond all other values. (Dasom, 3rd interview)

In this passage, the hypocrisy of SeMA as a high culture institution is obvious to Dasom: most people are not concerned for the contents of this cultural space. A group of visitors in good-looking suits only taking pictures of themselves outside the exhibition room was described as the

¹² The Kyung-ja Chun exhibition includes labels explaining the exhibits. The below is an example of the text of the labels what she pointed out.

*“Page 22 in My Sorrowful Legend, collar on paper, 43.5*36cm, 1977. This famous self-portrait was painted when the artist was 54 years old, but it depicted a past herself as a 22-year-old woman. The artist liked the expression of “my sorrowful legend” in the title, and said “putting flowers and snakes on a head is an expression of a feeling of resentment.” The snakes around her head represent the guardians that had protected her during the painful period of her life. The dark blue shade in and around her eyes reflects the sad memories of the painter’s younger days.”*

only other visitors who caught her attention. Their skipping over the exhibits enabled her to conclude, “fame goes beyond all other values.” In this context, “suit” symbolizes the people’s attitude that this museum is a place for high culture. For Dasom, “taking photos” near the famous exhibition is a symbolic action in which the artworks and the exhibition are used as a hypocritical tool to embellish the adults as sophisticated beings.

Throughout her narratives, the obvious gaps between Dasom’s ideal museum and SeMA reverberated in her descriptions of the ordinary features inside the museum building, the feminism artworks and artists, the hyperbolic tone of explanation on labels and the hypocritical visitors. Despite these unexpected features in her on-site experience, an ongoing effort to understand the exhibitions affected her evolving interpretations of the meaning of visiting SeMA in the context of leisure:

I: What kind of things come to your mind when you think of leisure?

D: For me, it’s like healing and taking a rest.

I: . . . Do you think this visit could be leisure experience?

D: Yes, because Seoul and SeMA aren’t familiar to me. So, I wonder whose paintings are there. And, I’m excited to visit a place that I haven’t known. (Dasom, 1st interview)

D: Just too tired. Leaving the East Asian [feminism] exhibition, I wanted to find an answer to some questions. But I couldn’t. Before the visit, I thought this would be a kind of new experience. I just became too tired. At the beginning I felt it’s a kind of leisure activity like hanging out with friends, though. (Dasom, 3rd interview)

I: what do you think of the museum visit now?

D: Well, a cultural activity?

I: Could you explain more about what ‘cultural activity’ means?

D: It’s not a leisure activity. Other people might consider it leisure. Anyway, for me, leisure is to take a rest. To appreciate paintings is not just to see but to think. I didn’t know about that. So it feels like a cultural activity . . . I still don’t understand why the exhibits were expressed in that scary way. I was so addicted to understanding and finding the reason. I couldn’t get it, though. But Zoo did it. Without hesitation, she explained to me what she inferred from the objects . . . It seemed she’s so accustomed to viewing artworks. So I bought her explanation. But other objects that I saw by myself, hmm, I was incapable of understanding any of them. It requires artistic and intellectual awareness. (Dasom, 4th interview)

In the passages above, the meanings of the museum visit showed two turning points. First, Dasom considered this event an opportunity to visit an unfamiliar place in the first interview, but reinterpreted it as a casual outing with friends in the third interview. Unlike the first evolution within the context of leisure activity, the second change appearing in the fourth interview session shows that she categorized it as a cultural activity in a non-leisure context.

The final classification is based on the contrast between Dasom and Zoo in terms of the ability to understand the unfathomable exhibits. Despite her serious thinking about the objects over the ensuing hours, Dasom failed to obtain a better understanding of them. This infertile effort sparked her to contrast herself with Zoo, who on the site not only interpreted the meaning of the exhibits by herself but also explained it to Dasom “without hesitation.” Through this contradiction, Dasom realized that “artistic and intellectual awareness” is required in appreciating artworks, and in turn altered her interpretation of the visit from leisure activity to culture activity.

This changed interpretation motivated her to approach the term “leisure” with a more sophisticated attitude:

I: . . . You told me that “I came to think of the word leisure differently.” Could you explain more about it?

D: Well, I, I used to regard leisure as a rest. But, not only that, an activity that a person prefers could be leisure, I think. Because, Zoo, when I saw her, she seemed to really like and enjoy the museum. So, I thought that could be her leisure activity. So, leisure is like free time, only when individuals use it to do what they like. For me, the museum visit was not a leisure activity, because it was not a place that allowed me to take a rest that I like. So it’s not a leisure activity. It’s just like a sightseeing tour in Seoul (Dasom, a telephone interview conducted based on her 4th feedback)

Dasom’s initial conceptualization of leisure as taking a rest was reinterpreted in the final telephone interview given her retrieved memory of Zoo who “enjoy[ed]” viewing the exhibits. By positioning herself differently than Zoo, she added another layer to her conceptualization of

leisure: taking a rest could be a leisure activity not because of its peculiarity but because of her psychological predisposition toward it; therefore, leisure is an activity that an individual is fond of.

Her intense thoughts about her on-site activity at SeMA in the recollection phase led her to evolve the meanings of the visit from leisure to non-leisure experience. Her subjective conceptualization of leisure altered from an activity-centered approach to a mind-oriented approach. In these modifications, the position of the museum as a high-culture art institution remains and symbolically appears in her voice that voluntarily differentiates herself from Zoo, other visitors, the artworks she appreciated and the museum space itself.

Case 6. Lee

Background and profile. Lee is a 20-year-old man living in Duck-Jung, a small town outside of northern Seoul. He is an undergraduate student majoring in human sciences. His mother, who works at the Kyunggi Provincial Office of Education, told him that a school on a tight budget chooses museums as appropriate field trip destinations. Lee had only visited art museums on school field trips and viewed those experiences as unappealing because the museum visits were “cheap school events.” He expected that his voluntary visit to SeMA would provide him with a different experience.

Lee's Narrative.

I: Have you ever been to any type of art museum?

L: Three times when I was a junior high student and, two times in high school? I had to go there for doing assignments. (Lee, 1st interview)

L: Well, there're several ways to play at low cost. For example, going to a game center, or hanging out with friends for a drink. But when I went there [SeMA], I could choose

what to see and how long to stay by myself. So I think it's a high cultural activity. Um, did I explain it properly?

I: Well, I would appreciate it if you explain more about the reason. It can help me understand your thinking.

L: Okay. The reason for referring to visiting museums to high cultural activity is, well, you know, when watching soap dramas, the rich go to places like museums while the poor go see a movie. And the environments, the walking environments [between the museum and the theater] are different. Or else, isn't a painting at the museum expensive? Its price goes over 100 million Won.¹³ Such differences made me feel the museum visit as a high cultural leisure activity. And the matter of tight budget. Schools under a tight budget encourage their students to visit museums in order to provide them with an opportunity to access high culture. Because they are familiar with movies but usually don't go to a museum. It's hard to make a time to go there. So [schools] induce them to experience it (Lee, 4th interview)

In this passage, Lee describes how the art museum as a high cultural institution was alienated from his interest and life style as an ordinary person with his pre-established conceptions in the mixture of the current visit. He pointed out that the media describes art museums as rich-friendly spaces that are commonly considered as ideal field trip destinations by school administrators and teachers, and his past going to museums corresponded to the use of art museums as educational tools. Unlike the past mandatory visits, the visit to SeMA provided him with a different context in which he was able to experience the cultural space by his own will. In this juxtaposition, the significance of his past visits is found in their role as vital criteria to judge whether the current event was meaningful or not:

L: . . . The museums I visited were, in weird places. It's hard to retrieve specific memories. I've got no impression there.

I: If you haven't got any impression from the previous visits, I am wondering why you have decided to participate in this study?

L: It wasn't my voluntary activity at that time. The school required me to arrive there at XX and leave at XX. I had to follow the regulations . . . So Group 1 should be there from XX to XX o'clock, Group 2 from XX to XX, sort of like this. Plus, some famous paintings were designated as mandatory to see. I had to jump across the broad spaces of the building to see them. But this time, I can do what I want when I want to do it. And I can get out when I want to do (Lee, 1st interview)

¹³ 1 Dollar ≈ 1142 Won as of June 21th, 2017

Lee's expression of "no impression" symbolically reveals his antipathy toward visits appropriated by his school. In his narrative, all the exhibitions he had experienced before failed to appeal to him because of the serious intrusion by teachers who forced him to see particular high-valued artworks for a limited amount of time. In this context, he interpreted that a genuine experience was guaranteed not by the contents of the exhibitions but by the freedom of visitors. The meaning evoked by the current, self-chosen visit is more clearly articulated in his changed use of leaflets:

. . . In the museum were some abstract paintings that looked bizarre. I couldn't get it . . . Of all the exhibits, some pieces were shown in the textbook, but I wasn't sure when I'd learned them. I didn't know how to appreciate them. So just considering it as homework, I took pictures of myself in front of the museum building and collected brochures and leaflets to describe the paintings for my homework. That's all. (Lee, 1st interview)

In his previous visits to art museums, reading leaflets and brochures was considered as tools to do his assignment. Their symbolic function is manifested in their juxtaposition with his picture taken outside the building that he used as evidence of his participation in the school field trip. Conversely, the brochures in SeMA serve as a medium for interaction between the authors of the exhibits and himself:

L: People get brochures in the museum, you know. When I got a brochure, I first read passages like the biography of artists. And then I checked out where the paintings I was interested in are located. I circled them . . . Scanning all of the circled images in the brochure, I decided what to see among them. I then went see the real paintings.

I: So does it mean that you read brochures first before you entered the exhibition rooms?

L: Yes. I'd like to get information on the artists' thoughts and intentions of the paintings.

If I only saw the paintings, well, it was highly possible that my understanding didn't follow [the artists'] intentions. I think it's a negotiation process between them and me. This is what I've felt from this visit. I needed to know the authors' thoughts first. I next needed to recognize my thought. And finally see the paintings. (Lee, 3rd interview)

In this passage, the act of circling the images of the exhibits represented in the brochure symbolizes his changed situational context; now he has the right to select the paintings he wants to see. Lee described that this practice of reading through the images and written texts in the

brochure not only guided him to understand the real artworks, but also laid the foundation of “negotiation” between an exhibit, the artist, the information text and his own thoughts. What is noticeable in his negotiation process is that his reading the text provided by the institution reduced the range of his viewing. Specifically, he selected the exhibits to appreciate among the exhibits shown in the reading materials, and indeed, did not appreciate other exhibits that were not explained in the leaflets.

Another way of signifying the meaning of the visit to SeMA is to compare himself to other student visitors based on his past experience. His expression of “poor them” exemplifies this:

I: What things came to your mind on your way to SeMA?

L: As you can see, a lot of student visitors are outside the building. Poor them.

I: Why do you feel sorry for them?

L: They must have been thinking that it's a mandatory school activity. It would be better to go to an amusement park. I think they'd like it better. There're few students inside the building, right? It'd be better for them to be out of the building. Because they will leave soon and go somewhere to hang out. They'll just skim specific things about which they have to write for an assignment. And then, they'll go out with pamphlets . . . (Lee, 2nd interview)

In this passage, Lee symbolically co-situates the student audience's visit to SeMA with his previous attendances at art museums. With his speculation of a scanty population of student visitors inside the museum from his own past experience, he contrasted SeMA with an amusement park and considered the latter as a better place for students who are attuned to pleasure-oriented leisure activities. In this context, the changed position of his current visit, being free from school-related concerns, significantly contributes to forming the meaning of his current experience as leisure:

I: Do you consider your previous art museum visits as leisure?

L: Um, no.

I: Could you tell me the reason?

L: Leisure is like doing an easy and common thing. So what I have been doing for leisure is going to the movies or watching TV. I kind of have a stereotype of visiting museum that is dull. I a little bit expected that something interesting at SeMA might change it. (Lee, 1st interview)

I: What do you think of the meaning of your visit to SeMA?

L: It's a kind of chance to broaden the range of my leisure activities. Because I did a leisure activity that I haven't done before. Also it was fun, to some extent . . . The foregoing experiences were boring and nothing interesting. So this visit, was more like a departure from my previous thoughts, I think. (Lee, 3rd interview)

I: Have you ever talked about your experiences at SeMA with anyone?

L: On that day, when I came back home, my mother asked me where I was. I told her I went there. She asked about what I'd seen. I told her I saw a feminism exhibition. She didn't get the meaning of feminism. I wasn't able to explain it to her. So we googled it on the Internet and talked about my experiences reviewing the pamphlet . . . [She said] "it sounds boring." She questioned me why I visited there . . .

I: . . . What do you think of the meaning of your museum visit now?

L: I could go where and when I wanted to go. And a unique leisure experience? It was a kind of luxurious leisure. It was not bad. I just tried it once instead of watching movies. (Lee, 4th interview)

In the first interview, Lee expressed a clear distance between his leisure activities and his previous museum visits under the criteria of being “easy” and “common.” While routine leisure activities were understood as “interesting” experiences, going to art institutions was rendered as a “dull” event. In the third interview, however, this negative labeling of the cultural institution was diluted because the context of his visit—he went of his own free will—was so different. The “fun” experience in the space enabled him to signify the experience at SeMA as leisure and encouraged him to share his experiences with significant others.

He nevertheless failed to extend his on-site experience in the context of a poor interaction with his mother in the final interview: Although she responded to him in a more positive way by searching for a definition of the term feminism, she finally conjectured that “it sounds boring.” This restricted communication corresponds to his stereotypical image of art museums as high

cultural institutions. In this situation, the meaning of the visit was reinterpreted from a “fun” to a “unique” experience. The expression of “luxurious leisure” underscores his ongoing latent interpretation of museum visits: although he came to consider the recent experience as leisure, this also alienated him from his daily life as the preceding events did. The expression of “just tried it once” symbolizes his more recent interpretation of the meaning of his visit: it is a leisure activity given its unrestrained context, but this luxurious event can never be involved in his routines.

An interpretation of the Sociocultural Contexts of Meaning Aroused the High-culture Metaphor

A broad consensus exists in the literature about the relationship between the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics and attendances at museums as out-of-home highbrow leisure: museum visitors are more educated and higher income adults compared to non-visitors (Davis, 2005; Hooper-Greenhill, 1994; Parades, 2016). This exploration of highbrow leisure consumption is widely based on Bourdieu’s theory of cultural and social reproduction. Bourdieu (1984) argued that taste is not universal or disinterested appreciation but rather the product of an elite class who have sufficient disposable time and money. In this cultural-capital framework, ways to consume aesthetic high-culture leisure can be diversified depending upon the fractions within the dominant social class. The highly educated tend to prefer avant-garde and experimental forms, while canonical art forms may be attractive to owners of capital. In this context, Lee’s and Dasom’s descriptions of being marginalized at SeMA reflect the role of cultural capital that functions as an alienator of those who have not inculcated in highbrow art forms during childhood. For Lee who only attended art museums on

school field trips, SeMA was interpreted as a place for the rich in the recollection phase. For Dasom, going to SeMA was her first museum visit, and she interpreted that this institution “bluffs” the value of its exhibits via information texts whose pedantic descriptions made her confused.

In order to contextualize their narratives in this wide socio-cultural framework, it should be noted that Lee and Dasom’s own descriptions of their visits need to be understood as a reflection of their social “orientations,” rather than of their actual status in social hierarchies. This limited approach is based on two facts. First, given that the relationship between socioeconomic status and cultural capital could be weaker in different socio-cultural contexts (Bennett et al., 2013), SeMA as a 21st century art museum for the Korean citizens may serve different roles in the relationship compared to the 20th century cultural institutions for the cultivated bourgeois. Second, increasing accessibility to and familiarity with the art institution in contemporary society reflect its laxly-bounded status as an example of cultural capital (DiMaggio, 1996). Given this, contextualizing Lee’s and Dasom’s museum visits with the highbrow metaphor is not to clarify their perceived social positions but to understand how they interpreted the museum as a bastion of high-culture. This manner- and orientation-centered approach is mirrored in the participants’ narratives of the ideal art museum, which depends on their visual consumption of its reproductions on television (i.e., a documentary program in Dasom’s narrative and soap operas in Lee’s narrative).

Scholars in media research argue that television viewing can have long-term effects for the audience (Gerbner, 1969; Shrum et al., 1998) and viewer’s social perceptions may be shaped by the images of social reality in media that are stored in their memory (Potter, 1991). This cultivation process does not require viewers to “involve in a formal exhaustive analysis of the

information at hand” and individuals relying on such heuristic information processing can recall specific memories easily (Sherman & Corty, 1984, p.193). Given the role of television viewing as a natural prime, viewers are able to build generalized beliefs about social and cultural phenomena even in the case that they are unfamiliar with the events.

This frame of reference appears to be relevant to why both Dasom and Lee perceived and compared SeMA with the images they had seen on the television programs. What Dasom anticipated was a European classical museum with colorful paintings and an exotic atmosphere as shown in a documentary television program. She however found on the site was that the features of the experimental exhibition (i.e., Feminism FANTasia), the conventional but visually unspectacular exhibition (i.e., Kyung-ja Chun) and the business building-like interior of SeMA did not fit her expectation. In this context, her stereotype of the ideal museum, cultivated through television viewing, lends feasibility to her antipathetic interpretation of the unfamiliar features of the institution.

This media information-based interpretation is further clarified in Lee’s narratives. Before the visit, his perception of art museums was based on his previous visits to cultural institutions for school field trips. His main focus on the visit to SeMA thus was to experience it beyond this mandatory context. The meaning of his on-site experience in reality, however, was irrelevant to freedom of choice but deemed a luxurious, extraordinary event by his matching this event to images projected in the mass media. His disinterest in a future revisit resulted from the identification of SeMA as an exclusive cultural space for the wealthy, as shown in soap operas, that is irrelevant to his regular leisure activities. Such his interpretation led to reduce the meaning of his visit to reaffirmation of his stereotype of art museums.

The difference between the two narrators is that, for Lee, the meaning of the visit revolved only within the mass media-oriented interpretation in the recollection phase while the meaning of Dasom's visit evolved beyond media-representations. The different patterns of changing meanings are attributed to their distinctive ways of interacting significant others.

Lee went to the institution alone but shared his experience with his mother afterwards. Her negative response to his on-site experience contributes to alienating him from the museum by supporting Lee's interpretation of SeMA as a place distant from himself, whose sociodemographic profile is inconsistent with those who consider museum visits as ordinary experiences. This later signification of his visit via communication with his mother is in line with Bourdieu's interpretation of art museums that exclude the majority of people who do not possess cultivated taste. Contrary to Lee, Dasom accompanied two friends and had opportunities to share her understanding of the museum visit with them. While Hanhum appeared to agree with her opinion that the feminist artists failed to reflect the real facets of contemporary society, Zoo explained the meaning of the feminism exhibit in accordance with the artist's intention. This heterogeneous interaction with others provides Dasom with an opportunity to perceive a difference between cultural activity and leisure experience. The evolving meaning of Dasom's museum visit via the interaction among the three might be understood in light of the three-person association and authority-oriented collectivism in the peer group dynamics.

The communities of sociology and communication studies have argued that an addition of a third person to two individuals in a group changes the dynamics of the interaction (Hill & McGrath, 2008). Unlike dyad relationships in which no one can be the majority, members of triads are able to form a coalition by an effort of two individuals to achieve a mutually shared goal despite the resistance of the third (Coe & Prendergast, 1985). At the feminism exhibition,

Dasom interpreted that Hanhum and she were in agreement compared to Zoo who provided an explanation of the exhibit from the artist's perspective. Her hostile expression in front of Zoo of a "delusion of persecution," referring to the artists, exemplified the implicit construction of coalition between her and Hanhum.

A noticeable point in the triad interaction is that how Dasom's differentiation from Zoo, who seemed accustomed to this highbrow institution, contributed to deepening her understanding of leisure. This might be better understood with the cultural-historical characteristics of Korea, in which authority-oriented collectivism uniquely functions in "peer" group interaction. Confucianism, which ideologically supports the patriarchal family system and expands its order to the whole social structure, emphasized the interdependent relationships between individuals (Dien, 1999). The perception of self in regard to the reciprocal relationship with others is considered desirable, and an individual conforms to others or the norms only when he or she is forced to do something from above (Park et al., 2003). In a peer-group context in which the boundaries between above and below are vague, however, the value of in-group harmony by relying on authority figures is degraded, so individuals in the group are not culturally constrained to pursue conformity among different opinions (Dien, 1999). In this cultural context, Dasom did not expect or force Zoo to comply with the majority's opinion, even though she had formed a tacit coalition with Hanhum. Her respect for the different behaviors and attitudes of Zoo in their peer group, who seemed to be fond of the visit unlike Dasom and Hanhum, would lead her to consider preference as another crucial criterion for interpreting an event as leisure experience.

4.2.4 The Everyday-ness Metaphor

Everyday-ness is a fourth symbol that metaphorically expresses the linkage of the meanings of the visit to SeMA illustrated throughout the narratives of YC and Shin. Their narratives were chosen due to their obvious interest in reflecting their everyday concerns over the evolving meanings of their visits. YC situated his museum visit with going to the movies, his routine leisure activities. In this context, SeMA was deemed as an appropriate dating place to revisit with his girlfriend. Shin interpreted her visit as an ancillary means for career exploration and interaction with significant others. Through her consecutive visits to SeMA, she perceived that the museum and its surroundings provided her with resident-like experiences. The meaning of their museum visits evoked by the everydayness metaphor was interpreted with the sociocultural contexts in relation to the terms of *post-museum*, *strategy*, *tactic* and *dwelling* and the production of space.

Case 7. YC

Background and profile. YC is a 34-year-old male who lives in the southern part of Seoul. He is a bank clerk but has been off work for six months after a stroke. He said he now lives a second life after the stroke. He enjoys chatting and watching soccer games on TV. He visited art museums only when traveling overseas, so he never went to any art museum located in South Korea. For him, Korean art museums are always in comparison with those in Europe that he had already visited. He asked me to be a companion for his visit so we walked around the exhibition spaces together.

YC's narrative.

Y: . . . In my case, my job pushes me to keep concentrating while working. I can't hold the tension all day long. Art museums are good places to heal and allow me to space out by gazing at exhibits . . . In Prado Museum, I was standing in front of a painting by Picasso for one, no, two hours . . . I visit some art museums whenever I go to Europe. Usually, once a year. I never tried it in Korea.

I: Could you tell me the reason for not going to any Korean art museums?

Y: They're not spaces for contemplation. It's said that there're too many children and students. They go there for assignments. (YC, 1st interview)

Y: When you go abroad, you know, you can feel an exotic atmosphere . . . That's because I could be more emotional at European museums, maybe . . . it was my first visit to an art museum in Korea . . . I could talk. Talked with you about my visit. Isn't it pretty much like watching a movie and chatting with friends? I tend to go see the movies with friends and don't like to be there alone. Because I like to talk about the movie I saw . . . Like going to the movies, I talked to you about how I felt and what I liked. So, now, to me, Korean art museums don't look that strange anymore. (YC, 5th interview)

Before his visit to SeMA, YC had only visited art museums located in Europe. In this context, his image of SeMA in the first interview was naively mingled with that of other Korean art museums, which he interpreted as educational institutions appropriate only for students who use the places for assignments. With this pre-established attitude, he called into question SeMA's appropriateness for him as an adult in contrast to European museums in which he could escape from high work pressure through aesthetic contemplation.

However, his actual visit led him to consider SeMA as a leisure space for adults, with the focus of his on-site experience shifting from internal contemplation to communication with companions. This new categorization is clearly expressed in the final interview, "Isn't it pretty much like watching a movie and chatting with friends?"

The new symbolic status of SeMA as a common leisure space for communication nevertheless shared a commonality with his pre-established conceptions of the Korean art museum as lacking attractiveness as an "art" museum:

Y: Korean museums are, [pause] they're too shallow. And fragmented. I think the cultural level of South Korea is not that high. (YC, 1st interview)

Y: [On discovering a panel provided by Hyundai Card which co-hosts the Stanley Kubrick exhibition] Oh, Hyundai Card. Then it deserves to be viewed. You know, Hyundai has supported and hosted many qualified arts events, like the Paul McCartney concert, to this barren land.

I: Do you refer to South Korea as a barren land?

Y: Yes. Compared to Europe, the US or Japan, Korea is barren in terms of arts and culture. So, this [Hyundai Card] is doing a good job to broaden the range of savoring art in our country. It [the exhibition] would be good (YC, 2nd interview)

In YC's first interview, domestic art institutions were described as "fragmented" and "shallow." His interpretation was resonant in his expression of "barren," which accentuated the value of the Stanley Kubrick exhibition. During the second interview with YC right before his on-site experience, his expectations for the exhibition were raised when he discovered that it is hosted not by SeMA but by "Hyundai Card," a company recognized for importing world famous art events to South Korea. In this context, he interpreted the exhibition as uncommon, hard to see in this culturally and artistically "barren" country.

His discriminative interpretation of Korea and other developed countries in their "arts and culture" was reflected in his interpretations of foreign and domestic visitors:

I saw many foreigners and some Koreans who went around alone. And couples chatting and ambling around. They [couples] looked like they were enjoying the space. Seeing them, I thought it would be a good idea to come here with my girlfriend. While foreigners tended to view the exhibits, they [solo visitors] didn't . . . I saw them taking photos of all the exhibits. It looked like they came here to do research. Professors might ask them to write a paper about the Stanley Kubrick exhibition . . . Even though some good exhibits are displayed, they have no eyes to appreciate . . . Only foreigners seemed to focus on the exhibit itself. They didn't take photos in such a way, but just gazed at the exhibit . . . There seemed no one [Koreans] who came here just because they really liked Stanley Kubrick. (YC, 3rd interview)

Observing other visitors to SeMA, he categorized them into three groups: foreigners who looked like Westerners, Korean individuals and Korean couples. He inferred that the individuals appropriated the exhibition for their papers. His observation of the Koreans taking pictures of

“all” the exhibits served as evidence that they were “research[ing]” the objects for assignments. Contrary to his aversion to the individual visitors, YC interpreted the foreigners as being purely interested in the exhibition for its own sake. The evidence for this was their indifference to saving data by taking pictures. In this context, YC, who is neither a foreigner nor a student, symbolically identified himself with the third group, Korean couples, who were “chatting and ambling” around the exhibition space. Their way of experiencing this museum appealed to him because he interpreted their interaction with companions as a way of “enjoying the space.”

With his identification of the couples as ideal visitors, SeMA became recognized as a place for communication with companions. This changing interpretation was reflected in his appreciation of the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition:

Y: I first saw them in the news. But the real ones here I encountered didn't seem to match the aesthetic and economic values of her paintings as shown in the news. Maybe that's because I didn't major in fine arts . . . I have no idea how to analyze the colors and configuration of paintings. But still, it's attractive. I think it would be good to visit again.

I: Could you tell me the reason for your intention to revisit, even though you didn't seem to enjoy her paintings now?

Y: We talked. We talked like, 'This looked like something, that looked like something.' I think such interaction built a bond of sympathy between us, even though we don't know well each other. I felt a freshness in this new way of communication. Thus, I'd like to be here with my girlfriend. She would tell me lots of things . . . I would have fun from her explanations. (YC, 3rd interview)

YC characterized the Kyung-ja Chung exhibition as aesthetically unimpressive to be as famous and expensive as shown in the news. Despite his underestimation of Chun's paintings, the exhibition itself was considered attractive, given that it provided him with a communication-friendly environment. In this context, he expected a future revisit in which a dialogue with his girlfriend would provide them a venue for a “bond of sympathy.”

In YC's mind, the rise of communication appeared to have an inverse relationship with the aesthetic and cultural value of exhibits. This view was sharpened through his self-reflective appreciation of the Stanley Kubrick exhibition:

Um, I think one of Kubrick's main keywords was fear . . . Most of the sections were too dark. While walking around Full Metal Jacket [a subsection of the exhibition], I recollected my military life. In the Army, I'd indeed thought I could and should kill an enemy. [pause] That me is the cruelest me in my life . . . I really beat the shit out of a dog. I [pause] didn't feel a guilty about it at that time. But after being discharged from military service, something like that pops up in my mind. One by one . . . Viewing the short clip of blood flooding in the Shining [a subsection of the exhibition], [pause] I recalled the moment of my near death [He talked about his experience in the ICU] . . . I thought a lot about fear. My fears. I felt the fears I'd got through, and this discomforted me in the hall (YC, 3rd interview)

In this passage, YC pointed to “fear” as a keyword for understanding the exhibition. Instead of leading him to appreciate the intrinsic value of the objects, this interpretation intensively drove him to reflect on his past experiences with a feeling of “discomfort.” For example, the subsections of *Full Metal Jacket* and *The Shining* recalled his own “fearful” lived experiences in the military barracks and in the ICU, which still bother him intermittently. In this context, the exhibits were entirely used as instruments by means with which he shared his past life experiences, regardless of their cultural and aesthetic features.

YC's reflection on his past experiences as the major way of viewing was in line with his altered focus of the visit in the context of leisure:

Y: It [the visit to SeMA] is a leisure activity for healing . . . It led me to escape from my routines . . . I had to make an effort, effort to find a time to go there. More efforts are needed for this uncommon visit, compared to things in my daily life. It was good because I've got something fresh, unusual. (YC, 3rd interview)

Y: . . . Now, I am living in a life which is in a blurred line between leisure and everyday life. But when I work, work is clearly separated from leisure, right? . . . I thought, at the previous interviews, I told you about my visit in the habitual way, as if I am not off work. Unintentionally.

I: Does it mean that “now” you rethink your visit to SeMA in a different context in which work and leisure are not separated?

Y: Yes, that's it.

I: Could you elaborate more about your changed understanding of the visit?

Y: Because I've been off work for quite a long time . . . Well, it [the visit] could be a kind of leisure, but it's a little bit different from what I used to think leisure would be like. At the site, I thought I was using spare time to do what I'd planned, as if I am at work. But, now, I don't think that way anymore, and leisure is being mellowed out with my daily life. I mean, every day is a leisure day . . . what I've got was not appreciating the Stanley Kubrick [exhibition] after a busy day, but enjoying a conversation that made me relaxed and comfortable without time constraint. That experience made the event leisure. Just like going to the movies. (YC, 5th interview)

In the third round interview, YC expressed a conflicting relationship between leisure and work and between the visit and his daily life. This was based on his interpretation that the visit to SeMA as a leisure event enabled him to avoid the pressure of work in his daily routine. In these work-leisure and ordinary-extraordinary dichotomies, time constraint was the crucial factor for him to recognize his visit to SeMA as a special activity by signifying the investment of time as “effort” to escape from his solid daily routine of working from home.

In the final round interview, the meaning of the visit had changed as he realized that his off-work status provided him with another layer of the leisure context in which “every day is a leisure day.” The absence of a time constraint blurred the dichotomies and led him to reinterpret the meaning of his visit to SeMA. From an extraordinary leisure context (i.e., escaping from his work routines) his interpretation shifted to his everyday life context (i.e., enjoying communication). The final signification of this event with casual conversation was symbolically juxtaposed with going to the movies, his major and common leisure activity.

Case 8. Shin

Background and profile. Shin is a 22-year-old female. She grew up in Ulsan and moved to the eastern part of Seoul three years ago. She is an undergraduate student majoring in Chinese literature and went to China last summer as an exchange student. There she had her first visit to

an art museum. She enjoys reading books, watching movies and writing her online diary. She wanted to have additional interview sessions on the dates she visited another art museum and SeMA again. The fourth round interview was conducted right after she re-visited SeMA to see the Stanley Kubrick exhibition, which was held after her first visit, and the fifth round interview was conducted on the day of her visit to the Whan-Ki Kim exhibition at the Gallery Hyundai.

Shin's narrative.

S: The best thing was the exhibition on the first floor, for which I had no expectations though. It was not an artwork. It was a report on a panel . . . The title [of the report] is, um, I don't remember it exactly but it's about unused spaces in the city . . . What I read was that how unnoticeable, unused spaces in the city could be changed into culturally enjoyable ones. It was connected to my concerns about my daily spaces.

I: Could you elaborate on the feelings and thoughts that came to your mind when reading the report?

S: While I was reading it, some images popped up, like, the roads I walked on. When I go back to my hometown, I have to walk further than here in Seoul to go to somewhere. On my way home, I have to pass by some abandoned spaces. Whenever they draw my attention, I'd like to replace them with some art installations. Reading the report reminded me of feelings and ideas that I'd forgotten while living in Seoul. (Shin, 3rd interview)

For Shin, one significant overlap between her everyday life and the museum visit was revealed in her reading of a report in the *Re-Paly* exhibition. She considered the report as the most impressive object in the whole museum, because reading the contents, which deal with how unused spots in the city could be re-created as cultural spaces, enabled her to expansively think about how the environment of her hometown could be improved. In this context, Shin interpreted the report as key to helping her recognize her unconscious but ongoing interest in her “daily spaces.” The signification of this visit in relation to her everyday life was further manifested in her recollection of the reading experience:

. . . It [the report] 's not simply an exhibit but a medium to find a new me interested in the practical application of artistic ideas into my real life. Reading was so curious and fun. Reading the report, I really thought that the field I am really interested in might be

related to urban development. So, such an experience provoked me to think about some solutions to improve the surroundings of my hometown . . . I think that exciting experience helped me clarify my interest in as future career. (Shin, 4th interview)

After the visit, the meaning of the reading evolved from a new way of appreciating an exhibit to an opportunity to clarify her job interest. In Shin's narrative at the fourth interview, the report was not portrayed with its specific contents but rather how her reading experience on the site encouraged her to search for possible "solutions to improve the surroundings of [her] hometown." The rise of her community-based concern beyond the physical boundary of the institution led her to consider working for "urban development" after graduation.

Beside the meanings of this visit relevant to her living area and future career, the meaning evoked by the everyday-ness metaphor was revealed in her mounting desire to share her on-site experience:

S: I once talked to my mother and friends about the exhibitions I'd appreciated, but they didn't take it seriously. . . Actually, there's no one with whom I can share my experiences. I need courage to share it with others . . . I usually go to art museums alone and don't talk to them about museums or paintings these days . . . (Shin, 1st interview)

I: You asked me to conduct the fourth interview on the day of your second visit to SeMA and today's interview [the fifth round of her interview] on the date you went to Gallery Hyundai. What did you intend by the interview schedules?

S: So I could tell you, share my own experiences with you. I realized that our conversation refreshed my memories . . . I don't know why, but the memories sometimes led me to retrieve the previous visit [the first visit to SeMA]. I came to get more deep thoughts and feelings about the past visit. So I tried to set up the interview dates according to my subsequent visits . . . (Shin, 5th interview)

In the first interview, Shin expressed a lack of communication with significant others regarding her museum visits. Her failure to share her previous museum visits with those who "did not take it [her experiences at art museums] seriously" now discouraged her from interacting with others, and in turn, going to art institutions became her personal, self-cycling leisure activity. In this context, Shin intentionally asked me to conduct the fourth round interview

on the date she revisited SeMA exhibition and the fifth when she went to Gallery Hyundai. In the final round interview, she interpreted that these subsequent interview sessions were chances to refine her emotions and thoughts about the visits to SeMA by “telling about” and “sharing” her own experiences.

Her use of the interview sessions for sharing symbolically situated my position as a “serious” listener rather than a researcher distinct from her “friends” and “parents” who do not pay much attention to her story. My passive role as listener, however, was unable to fulfill her desire to communicate. This lack was revealed when she tried again to “talk to her friend,” and in her expectation for a future visit to SeMA with her mother:

S: . . . After the [first] interview, I came to think it's not that bad to talk about it with my people. I know, it's still hard to bring it [the visit to SeMA] up to her [a close friend of Shin's], but, I put some effort into that. . . It's not that deep compared to our conversation [in the interviews]. I only chatted a little bit about it, eating some cakes at a cafe. But it was good to express what I liked to her and get her response, 'I now get to know about what you like.' (Shin, 2nd interview)

As shown in the passage, the first interview inspired her to share her on-site experience with her close friend. Shin introduced the topic into the realm of her casual leisure activity in an ordinary leisure space as they “chatted” and “ate” at a café. The interlocutor’s positive reaction to Shin’s narrative counterbalanced the absence of seriousness in this interaction context. Her positive reaction to her friend’s saying, “I now get to know about what you like,” signified the ultimate role of her visit in the interaction; Shin’s on-site experience and the quality of exhibits depicted in her narrative serve as an auxiliary means of showing significant others a deeper side of herself.

Her interpretation of the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition in connection with her mother echoes her enduring desire to communicate with significant others via a museum visit:

S: . . . I came to think 'it would be better if I could come here with my mom.' Because it seemed the artist [Kyung-ja Chun] reached a deeper interpretation of life when turning into a middle-aged woman. If I came here with my mom, there might be something she could see that I didn't catch . . . Because the artist drew a deeper level of paintings at the same age as my mom. So I thought of my mom while viewing the paintings. (Shin, 3rd interview)

S: . . . Today I went to the Whanki Kim exhibition because I heard that it's almost the last chance for the public to meet his paintings. Most visitors in the hall looked older than 40. Yes, this exhibition appeared to be held for elders as the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition did . . . I think these two are not usual in terms of targeting elders. The only two cases I saw many older ones . . . Seeing the elders in the exhibition hall, I came to think of my parents . . . I would like to come again with my mom to the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition . . . (Shin, 5th interview)

In the third interview right after Shin's visits to SeMA, Shin expressed appreciation of Chun's paintings and the artist's life transition, and she considered her-fifty-year-old mother as an ideal companion because the painter's masterpieces on display were drawn in her fifties. She assumed that this age-based similarity between Chun and her mother would provoke her mother to narrate her own interpretations of the artist's paintings. Thus, she expected that, in this new way of visiting, she would be symbolically positioned as a listener to her mother's narrative.

Additionally, her attendance at Gallery Hyundai reinforced her interpretation that SeMA would be an appropriate place to travel to with her mother. At the final interview conducted on the day she went to Gallery Hyundai, she expressed her main impression of the gallery as being for older visitors similar to her mother's age. This observation led her to remember that at SeMA many middle- and old-aged individuals were at the Kyung-ja Chun exhibition. The association of the two different exhibitions by her observation of other visitors intensified her image of SeMA as an ideal place to introduce her mother.

Not only her increasing desire to share her visiting experience with significant others, her act of the consecutive visits to SeMA also induced her to interpret the meaning of her visit in its everyday-ness:

S: This was under Hyundai Card Culture Project. Bumping into their placards in the museum, I realized that I'd already come here in 2012 for the Tim Burton exhibition, held by Hyundai Card! [laugh] What a coincidence! I totally forgot about it. (Shin, 4th interview)

S: . . . This [the visit to SeMA] feels more common.

I: What do you mean by "more common?"

S: At first, I told you that I'd never visited here, right? That's because, um, I only had an impression of the exhibitions. In my memory, there weren't the physical features of SeMA. But now, I have come to recognize the space as well, like, the scenery and atmosphere of the museum. So I have a feeling of closeness. And it made my visit there more natural. You know, if you search for directions to SeMA on Naver Maps [one of the most popular portal website in South Korea], the shortest cut would direct you to go to Gate 10 at City Hall station, right? I also followed the direction. But, this time, I used Gate 7 without searching on the website and could enjoy different scenery while walking. Because I've already got its location, so I could choose where to go by myself. It made me feel like a resident near the museum. I mean, it felt like part of my daily life, as an ordinary leisure activity. You know what I mean? (Shin, 5th interview)

In the fourth interview, Shin realized that she had once visited SeMA before participating in this study. Discovering placards of Hyundai Card Company as a collaborator for the Stanley Kubrick exhibition revived her memory that this museum was the place she had already attended years ago to appreciate another exhibition co-hosted by the same company. Through this recognition, she became aware that her basic approach to SeMA had only been attuned to the contents of exhibits.

Aside from the awareness of her past tendency, her sequential visits to the same place within a few weeks accelerated her contextualization of SeMA as a familiar spot. In the fifth interview, her experience of strolling the surroundings without help from Naver Maps was interpreted as a "resident"-like experience. This experience presented her with a "feeling of closeness," and her past and future visits to SeMA as "ordinary" leisure activities.

As such, the reading of a research report in connection with her living environment, her multifaceted efforts to find ways to communicate with significant others, and the continuing

visits contributed to contextualizing her on-site experiences in relation to her everyday life. This connection was reflected in the evolving meaning of her first visit over the course of her trip:

S: In a word, it [this visit] is a stimulant. Because I could reflect by myself while appreciating the exhibitions. I could finally get the meaning of my past experience that I'd forgotten through reading the report. (Shin, 3rd interview)

I: What do you think about your first visit to SeMA now?

S: Well, it's, it's a kind of leisure experience, which, um, which is close to my daily life. Because I didn't know well about SeMA, you know, even though I've already visited before I've got the interview. But now I know it well and feel it very familiar. . . It was also good to find a proper place to bring my mom. I can guide her [laugh] and we can get to know well each other. (Shin, 5th interview)

In the third interview, Shin signified her museum visit as a “stimulant” based on her focus on the interaction between herself and exhibitions. Her limited approach was changed in the final interview conducted about one and a half months after the third interview. She turned her attention to the function of the museum for communication with significant others and expected to “guide” her mother to this “familiar” place. The meaning of her first visit evoked by the everyday-ness metaphor finally evolved as a cue for an anticipation of the next visit.

An interpretation of the Sociocultural Traditions of Meaning in the Everydayness

Metaphor

The meaning of the art museum visit concerning everydayness has rarely been discussed in the tourism and leisure literature, given that traditional research has positioned visitors in tourist settings as those who seek for more extraordinary experiences different from their mundane daily lives (e.g., Cohen, 1979; MacCannell, 1976). This modernistic dualism between everyday life and the venue of tourism is problematized by contemporary tourism and leisure scholars who argue that everyday practices are ingrained in, infused with, and habitually performed in tourism experiences (e.g., Crouch, 1999; McCabe, 2002; Rojek, 1993; Uriely,

2005; Urry, 2002). In line with this postmodern perspective are the evolving meanings of the visit to SeMA in YC's and Shin's narratives. For YC, SeMA was first perceived as a unique place for student education but was finally co-situated with the movie theater, his daily-basis leisure site, as a communication hub between himself and his companion. Shin first focused on appreciating the internal quality of exhibits, but turned her attention to seek for the significance of her on-site activities in connection with her daily concerns, such as career exploration and interaction with significant others.

The noticeable influence of daily life experience on the signification of this cultural event in their narratives may be understood with the concept of *post-museum*. Hooper-Greenhill (2000a) suggested post-museum as a challenge to the modernistic epistemological identity of the public museum as a bureaucratic institution. Contrary to a simple linear communication frame between the visitor as a passive receiver and the curator as a dogmatic information giver, this alternative perspective considers communication as an integral part of culture by respecting multiple subjectivities. The exhibition, which reflects the curator's perspective, in turn is tantamount to that of the visitor's own voice in terms of means and way of communication. The vision of SeMA manifests its orientation as a post-museum by encouraging visitors to recognize this institution as a place for communication for all people (Seoul Museum of Art, 2011-2013).

In this socio-cultural context, YC's and Shin's narratives exemplify the multifaceted communication in two ways. First, their visit brought their everyday life into the realm of SeMA. Without any interest in the aesthetic values of the exhibitions, YC at the site appreciated them in connection to his lived experiences in the Army and in the ICU, and in the recollection phase, interpreted visit in comparison with going to the movies, his routine leisure activity. The reading of the report at SeMA helped Shin remember her interest in improving the living environment of

her town. Second, their intention to revisit with significant others brings the museum into the everyday life. SeMA was interpreted as an ideal place for social communication with a family member (in Shin's case) or girlfriend (in YC's case), and in turn, both participants positively considered a future visit with their significant others.

The everyday-ness metaphor reflected in their narratives, however, de-exoticizes the meanings of their museum visits at different levels. In the case of YC, the meaning of his museum visit evoked by everyday-ness is based on his devaluation of SeMA compared to European art museums in terms of aesthetic values. In this context, YC interpreted his museum visit like going to the theater as an alternative way to experience this institution, given its lack of extraordinary features. In contrast, the meaning evoked by the everyday-ness metaphor in Shin's narrative is not subordinated to the extraordinary elements of SeMA, and its evolution relies on the practices of her several visits. Shin first perceived the museum as an extraordinary place with her focus on visually consuming the exhibits. Her consecutive visit to SeMA, however, changed her focal point from exhibits to the whole museum space by leading her to retrieve a memory of being there years ago. In the final visit, her own discovery of a shortcut to SeMA without referring to a map unintentionally enabled her to perceived herself as a "resident."

Unlike YC, whose narratives are fully interpreted within the concept of post-museum in that the evolving meaning of his visit occurred at the cognitive level, Shin's resident-like strolling experience at the practical and empirical level requires me to consider other layers of the socio-cultural context to understand the meaning of her visit as evoked by the everyday-ness metaphor. The concepts of "strategy," "tactic" and "dwelling" might explain this with their emphasis on corporeal practices.

Everyday life theorists have acknowledged the projection of everyday life, which is irrelevant to the aesthetic content of exhibitions, into art museums as cultural and social spaces via humans' lived experiences. According to de Certeau (1984), strategy refers to the operational, ocularcentric schema for powerful structures and organizations, while tactics refers to the usage of practice by the weak who have no authority. For de Certeau, walking is a practice that enables pedestrians to be temporarily free from vision-oriented surveillance and to create meanings of their own. In line with de Certeau's concept of tactics, Lefebvre (1991) argued that socially lived places are generated and modified through practices, which are deeply interwoven with everyday performances of ordinary people. In the tourism context, tourists' embodied habits travel with them in new environments (Larsen, 2008; Molz, 2012). Given this, while it is strategic that SeMA was marked on the NaverMap as a city attraction, it is tactical that Shin used shortcuts not suggested by the map. Her act of "walking around" the museum without any help from a map provided her with an alternative way of experiencing SeMA that could not be accommodated by the vision-oriented schema of the institution.

Although these practice-centered concepts adequately explain how Shin has the power to create connectivity between her onsite activities and those off the site, her self-reference as "resident" may require another cultural context, dwelling, to understand the linkage between home and less ordinary practices. Anchoring in Heidegger's existential perspective, Pons (2003) argued that tourism is a way of dwelling through which tourists can involve themselves in the symbolic "everyday embodied practices" (p. 47). According to his interpretation, tourists are those who travel with their everyday routines and social relations to exotic places, and in turn they are symbolically at home even when away from the home (Edensor, 2001; Larsen, 2008). In

this context, the sharp contrast between traveling and dwelling based on geographical locations becomes eroded (Franklin & Crang, 2001).

A travel destination *with* everyday routines is evident in the process of Shin's self-perception as "resident." Her several visits stimulated her to recognize SeMA and its surroundings with familiarity. This closeness harmonizes with her everyday concerns, such as job searching and communication with significant others, and implants them into the realms of museum.

4.2.5 The Trigger Metaphor

Hanhum's and JooHwan's narratives were signified as *trigger*, given that their transformative experience at SeMA directly triggered them to visit other art museums. The educational or learning-oriented messages attached to the exhibits initially drew their attention. However, the unexpected, various features of SeMA as a leisure space, instead of an educational organization, provided them with a reason to visit other art institutions. Throughout the recollection phase, the meaning of their visits was signified based on their interest in the physical condition of the exhibition and the museum. This changed focus can be understood in the socio-cultural and historical contexts of Korean art museums.

Case 9. Hanhum

Background and profile. Hanhum is a 23-year-old male who lives in the southwestern part of Seoul. He once dreamed of being a pop singer but is now studying psychology in college. He enjoys playing online games with friends and often goes to pop music concerts. Before his visit to SeMA, he never went to any art museums, but he had a keen criterion for the term *leisure*

and explained the difference between a leisure activity and a one-time participation in an event. The on-site experience at SeMA led him to reinterpret his pre-established conceptualization of leisure.

Hanhum's narrative.

H: [Before the visit] I imagined I'd run out of SeMA filled with artworks in no more than 10 minutes because I knew nothing about art . . . [At SeMA] I came to find myself gazing at all the paintings for a while. I even came back to some of them to appreciate over and over.

I: Could you tell me the reason for your gazing at the exhibits?

H: Um, [pause]. Sorry, I can't. You know, this is my first art museum visit, and I didn't know what they meant. Just being there was not that bad. Rather comfortable . . . It's a shame I couldn't clearly understand the reason for my longer stay . . . (Hanhum, 3rd interview)

H: I went to another art museum with my friend.

I: Oh, really? Where?

H: A contemporary art museum near An-Kuk station [the National Museum of Modern and Contemporary Art Museum, MMCA].

I: Could you tell me why you visited there?

H: My first impression of SeMA triggered me to do it. You know, I finally got that going to art museum was not a boring thing. Rather, being at SeMA was good, although I couldn't tell what I was looking at . . . The exhibits certainly attracted me to gaze at . . . I thought I could figure out the reason if I had a second chance to visit an art museum . . . (Hanhum, 4th interview)

In Hanhum's narrative, his attendance at SeMA was signified as a triggering event in two aspects. First, on the site, the exhibits sparked his initial interest in viewing artworks and held his attention much longer than he expected. The artworks in this museum functioned as a direct force and motivation for him to stay in the exhibition space, even though he had assumed they were a major obstacle that would alienate him as a "know nothing" novice visitor. His nebulous description of the exhibits (i.e., "I don't know what they meant") revealed his inability to recognize the major reason for his unpredicted interest. In this context, his overall impression of the on-site experience at SeMA as "it's a shame" reflected a paradox that emerged from his act

of viewing: his lack of knowledge about the exhibit not only produced a feeling of ambiguity but also stimulated him to go to another art museum.

Second, after this visit, recalling his impression of the on-site experience induced him to visit another art museum. Specifically, the extra time he spent in front of the incomprehensible exhibits at SeMA prompted him to visit another art museum. His expression of “second chance” signified the relationship between his attendance at SeMA and at MMCA. That is, the former “triggered” the latter, and the latter provided him with a chance to explore the reason for his unexpected interest in the exhibits at SeMA.

The symbolic position of Hanhum’s attendance at SeMA as a triggering event is further clarified in its role as a frame of reference. Specifically, his on-site experience at MMCA was perceived and interpreted in comparison to that at SeMA:

H: All things were difficult, just difficult. In the feminism exhibition, what I actually faced there were things daubed in red, full of blood colors . . . I first guessed that it expressed madness, but the explanation on the panel didn’t tell like that. I didn’t get what those meant . . . And it didn’t look good. I usually thought a painting drawn well was, would look like a picture. A neat or beautiful picture. No paintings there looked like that. (Hanhum, 3rd interview)

H: All things there [at MMCA] were easy to understand . . . Yes, they were easy, easy to understand.

I: You are repetitively saying “easy to understand.” What do you mean by this?

H: Well, um, most exhibits were looking good at first sight. And, um, their contents didn’t look very profound compared to those at SeMA. They [the exhibits at SeMA] were difficult to get but very deep. Just passing by, I though they [the exhibits at MMCA] were well drawn and pretty compared to the things at SeMA . . . (Hanhum, 4th interview)

At SeMA, Hanhum perceived the exhibits as “difficult.” This impression was supported and intensified not only by the features of the exhibits but also by his failure to understand an artwork by himself. When he encountered incomprehensible “things daubed in red,” his tried to understand them. This attempt, however, was discouraged by the discrepancy between his

impression of “madness” for an exhibit and the explanation provided by the institution. Except for this incongruity, he was unimpressed by the exhibits that were neither “neat” nor “beautiful.”

Hanhum’s on-site experience at SeMA led his first impression of MMCA as “easy.” He perceived the exhibits at MMCA as relatively “pretty” objects, which relieved his tension in the exhibition space. In this situation, he described viewing the artworks as “pass[ing] by” instead of “gazing.”

Despite the contribution of the picturesque exhibits to his perception of the second art institution as a comfort zone, their lack of “profound[ness]” reminded him of the thoughtful art objects at SeMA. Remembering SeMA as a frame of reference in the space of MMCA offered him a chance to think dialectically about the meaning of artworks displayed in art museums:

I got to know that easy things could also be exhibits displayed in an art museum . . . Whether difficult or easy, museum objects were just things to be viewed . . . (Hanhum, 4th interview)

His approach to the exhibits ranged from cognitive evaluations (i.e., easy and difficult) to “just” objects for viewing, signifying that his concern about “know[ing] about art” no longer served as the only lens through which to apprehend his museum visit. This is further manifested with another triggering factor, “comfortable atmosphere”:

H: . . . I’m still not interested in art itself, and won’t read a book of art history and sort of things. But, I’d like to try another art museum, if I’m available.

I: What kinds of experiences made you consider a future visit?

H: You know, I don’t know why, but I was standing in front of each exhibit although they were hard to understand . . . And because, because of the comfortable atmosphere. . . It wasn’t that heavy.

I: What do you mean by “It wasn’t that heavy?” This seems to contradict what you’ve kept saying about the perceived difficulty of exhibits.

H: I got nervous before being here, because I imagined I would mostly watch some professionals busy discussing the content. But it was indeed a comfortable and burden-free place for common people to hang around . . . There’s no one in a hurry. No one running across the space or focused on discussion of the exhibits. They were just walking around very slowly and quietly. Watching them, I felt that people came here to take a rest. The way they used the museum was so fresh. (Hanhum, 3rd interview)

Before going to SeMA, Hanhum assumed that its atmosphere would drive him to feel “heavy” and “nervous” because he predicted that this building would only be visited by people with knowledge. His observation of other visitors, however, betrayed his expectation. They were strolling around and within the museum space without serious discussion of art. For Hanhum, this behavioral pattern represented their focus not on the exhibits, but on “tak[ing] a rest,” which shaped the symbolic position of the museum as a “comfortable and burden-free place.” His perception of the exhibition space as divorced from its contents (i.e., exhibits or exhibitions) enabled him to differentiate the artworks in books from those located in the comfortable space. Given this, he was willing to “try another art museum” which would possibly provide him with a similar mood. His visit to MMCA led him to expansively consider comfort as the pervading mood of art museums:

. . . It [the visit to MMCA] was good. You know, the place felt comfortable, as did SeMA. I think that kind of relaxed mood is the most attractive thing for me to go there. (Hanhum, 4th interview)

Throughout Hanhum’s narratives thus far, a symbolic nexus can be seen between exhibits and the atmosphere of the museum building. As the latter plays a pivotal role in his identification of art museums as attractive leisure places, the former served as accessories to which he does not need to pay much attention. Indeed, the augmentation of the significance of the relaxed environment over his visit to the two art institutions reversed his attitude about the need for knowledge in appreciation:

H: Yes, the objects [at MMCA] were easy to view. My glance swept about the exhibition halls . . . I kept comparing the experiences at SeMA and MMAC. Both were great for me to enjoy their quietness . . . at SeMA, my first intention to get a better understanding of the artworks deprived me of such comfortable feelings. My concern to know about knowledge trapped my foot . . . That kind of attempt made me confused and stay before the paintings . . . But, you know, no one can 100% understand others. How could I think that I would understand them in such a short time . . . Thus, it was so natural that my direction to appreciate ended up infertile. Now I think, a better way to do is not to

think of understanding with words or knowledge. Yes, I'd love to go to SeMA again and just amble without such concerns. (Hanhum, 4th interview)

At SeMA, Hanhum lingered unintentionally in front of exhibits which seemed to require viewers to have a background knowledge of art in order to understand them, and his inability to understand the artworks at the site triggered him to visit MMCA. The exhibits of the contemporary art institution were perceived as “easy” things to take a “glance.” In this comparison, it was the tranquility of the two museums, their shared feature, that led him to reinterpret his ongoing efforts to understand his on-site experiences with “words and knowledge” as “deprive[ing]” him of its comfort. Contrariwise, he emphasized “ambl[ing] around,” a corporeal movement in the unique space, as a better way to enjoy his visits, regardless of the content of the exhibitions. His perceived “confus[ion]” in viewing the exhibits was finally reinterpreted as “infertile.”

Throughout all the interview sessions, Hanhum maintained that his attendance at SeMA triggered him to visit MMCA. The symbolic connection between the consecutive visits by the trigger metaphor was manifested in the role of his on-site experience at SeMA as a frame of reference for that at MMCA. That is, his on-site experience in the latter was depicted only in its similarity (e.g., the relaxing atmosphere) to and its difference (e.g., difficult exhibits vs. easy exhibits) from the former. This comparison unexpectedly contributed to expanding and refining the meaning of his visits: The significance of his on-site experience is on the function of objects, the atmosphere and his own response, not solely on the cognitive understanding of the exhibits.

This evolving meaning evoked by the trigger metaphor resonated with his reinterpretation of his visit to SeMA from a “new trial” to a “leisure activity”:

H: For me, it [his visit to SeMA] is not a leisure activity. It's just, just a new trial.

I: Could you tell me the reason for the distinction between “leisure activity” and “new trial?”

H: Because, a first visit, in any case, could only be an attempt. Because people at the beginning have difficulty being emotional. Far busy to figure out what's going on there . . . If I go to a museum, I would become an observer. Nothing there would draw my attention. Then, if it really has me, very rare though, I will get some strong feelings. Or, I would come again by my will. After having the experience, I could tell which one was good. It then could be a leisure activity. (Hanhum, 1st interview)

H: Yes, it [his visit to SeMA] was a leisure activity. Not my routine, though. If a friend of mine asks me to go again, I love to.

I: How come you considered it as a leisure activity? I remember that you've talked about how a new attempt can't be a leisure activity when we first met.

H: At SeMA, I got frustrated when I tried to understand the paintings. Too many thoughts suffocated me, and understanding them seemed to be impossible. That wasn't a proper mode of appreciation for me indeed . . . However, it [inside of the museum building] was a comfortable place in which I could be relaxed. Yes, that's it, that feeling. It was good . . . Months ago, I anticipated only some intense feelings for my leisure activity. Now I know how silly that thought was. Such a mild feeling was also a thing that gave me a leisure experience . . . Just being relaxed and feeling the atmosphere [at SeMA]. That kind of thing reminds me of the visit as my leisure experience. (Hanhum, 4th interview)

In the first interview, Hanhum built a sharp contrast between a “new trial” and a “leisure activity,” given that the former is limited in its ability to make him “be emotional.” For him, either an extreme emotional impression of his on-site experience or his voluntary revisit was a prerequisite for his going to SeMA as a leisure activity. In this context, his “first” visit to SeMA could only be an “attempt,” based on his prediction that his position on the site as a newcomer would limit the range of his experience to observation without feelings.

In the fourth interview conducted after his visit to MMCA, Hanhum reinterpreted his first attendance at SeMA as a “leisure activity.” This repositioning occurred when he realized that his previous focus on “intense” feelings as a prerequisite for leisure disregarded the significant influence of the feeling of comfort at his on-site experience. It was in fact the “mild” but coherent emotional state over consecutive visits that reduced his burden of appreciating artworks with knowledge. With this unexpected experience, Hanhum interpreted that having “suffocating thoughts” in the exhibition space, which made him “frustrated,” was an “improper mode of

appreciation,” because it hindered him from “being relaxed.” His emphasis on “feeling the atmosphere” identified his visit to SeMA as a leisure activity and terminated his interest in a cognitive understanding of art exhibits, a primary trigger point that provoked him to visit another museum.

Case 10. JooHwan

Background and profile. JooWhan is a 28-year-old male living in Yong-In, a city near Seoul. Before moving to Yong-In, he had been in DaeGu, a major city in southern Korea, and had never lived in Seoul. He was a system engineer, but now he is an applicant for the South Korean Civil Service. He enjoys riding a bicycle and participating in voluntary activities for under privileged teenagers. His previous visits to museums were always related to his volunteer activity: he went to a museum to take care of the teenagers. He never visited them by himself, even though his current residence is only a ten-minute walk from two large museums. After participating in this study, however, visiting an art museum became a leisure activity independent from volunteering.

JooHwan’s narrative.

J: . . . Came to think about, about my life those days, [pause] my life, [pause] I haven’t taken a rest these days. I’m planning to go to an art museum.

I: Why did you want to visit a museum?

J: Because it was a good leisure place to go for myself. Having such a good image of it triggered me. And the note [a feedback note provided by the interviewer, including part of the transcript of his third round interview conducted immediately after his on-site experience at SeMA]. That triggered me too. What I found in the note was a me talking about how much I got a good vibe from there . . . I came to find myself who was busy but depressed these days. I in fact have lots of things to do, but I’ve spent most of my time at home helplessly . . . But that me, just stopping at home, was not the real me. Doing some leisure activity, like visiting a museum, would get me energetic. (JooHwan, 4th interview)

In this passage, JooHwan described how his visit to SeMA triggered him to search for another art museum in two ways. First, he perceived this institution as an appropriate leisure place to visit “for myself.” Second, reading part of the feedback note reminded him of his vivid on-site experiences at SeMA and triggered him to visit another art museum. In this narrative, he interpreted his current life as “helpless” and found himself being “busy but depressed.” His denial of this feature as the “real me” led him to interpret his home-oriented life pattern as metaphorically “stopping.” In this context, his visit to SeMA symbolically signified a galvanizer to escape from his current torpor.

The contrast between his insipid daily life and a potential museum visit evoked by the trigger metaphor was based on his signification of his visit to SeMA as an independent, self-interested leisure activity for the first time:

I: Have you ever been to an art museum?

J: Um, yes, several times . . . I went to a kind of photography exhibition several times with orphanage kids.

I: Do you remember any impressions of those visits?

J: Um, no. I was so busy with keeping my eyes on the kids.

I: . . . Aside from the volunteer work, have you been to a museum?

J: No. It's not an easy thing to try by myself. I don't think it suits me. (JooHwan, 1st interview)

J: . . . Um, I went to art museums only when I was with the orphanage kids, so it was a kind of volunteering . . . [After visiting SeMA,] I've got to know that it could be a good place for myself. Viewing artworks was fresh and interesting . . . I'd like to, if I get a chance . . . When I get bored, I'd like to go with friends or also by myself. Not for others, but for me. (JooHwan, 4th interview)

Before the visit to SeMA, going to an art museum was perceived as a subset of his volunteer work, his major leisure activity. In his first interview, this subordinate position manifested with his inability to recollect the contents of exhibitions from his past visits and with his major focus on taking care of underprivileged children. On the other hand, SeMA provided him with a different context of experience in which his major focus was divorced from

volunteering. This symbolic alteration of visiting an art museum as an independent leisure activity encouraged him to consider an autonomous visit for his own sake. His expressions of “by myself” and “for me” clarified the alternative driving force behind his visit to SeMA: this cultural space was capable of reflecting his own interest. It resonated with his major way of appreciating the features of exhibits by connecting them with his remarkable life experiences:

It was so fun. Of the exhibits, the funniest things were the objects, the objects in the first exhibition room. They looked like some structures using empty space in various ways. There was an installation that consisted of some rectangle-shaped meshed screens rotating around a vertical pole . . . I rotated neighboring screens to meet them together, but couldn't. They always had some gap. I first thought something went wrong with them . . . After getting that the gap was intended, I was embarrassed because, I'd been so accustomed to think spaces as a waste. When I worked at a semiconductor company months ago, and there, if a chip was designed with many empty spots, it was said that the design was wasting space . . . I always had to be sensitive to the empty spaces. But here, having such emptiness wasn't a kind of waste. Something desirable, rather. Facing this opposite way of thinking was fun. It was unexpected, though. (JooHwan, 3rd interview)

In this passage, JooHwan described how viewing the exhibits in *the Re-Play exhibition* triggered him to recollect his past work experiences. As an engineer working at a semiconductor company, his basic understanding of space was anchored in efficiency, and in turn, an empty space was interpreted as a “waste.” This habitual thinking first led him to unconsciously try to eliminate a “gap” between the objects of an exhibit. By rotating them, however, he immediately realized that the gap was intentionally designed. This corporeal experience provided him with an unexpected opportunity to reinterpret the meaning of emptiness from “wrong” to “desirable.” At this point, his past work experience served as an indispensable basis for having “unexpected” “fun” in his consequent evaluation of the on-site experience.

What can be seen from his narratives so far is that his attendance to SeMA induced him to re-contextualize the meaning and practice of the art museum visit. Before the visit, JooHwan characterized art museums as a place to bring the teenagers he took care of and interpreted his

symbolic position on-site as a caretaker. This visit, however, altered his focus from caring for others to appreciating exhibits by reflecting on his past significant experiences. Furthermore, in the recollection phase, having unexpected fun with the exhibits was interpreted as a situation opposite to his daily routines at home. In this context, the meaning of this visit has finally evolved as a trigger to recover his resilience to life's regular setbacks.

This function yielded periodic attendance at art exhibitions for his own sake after going to SeMA:

. . . I went to the Monet exhibition at WMK [the War Memorial of Korea] with two friends who liked cartoons or movies . . . I asked them to join, and we really enjoyed the splendid colors on large monitors and panels. But it would be better if the digital paintings were real paintings, like those at SeMA. I felt sorry not viewing such traditional paintings there because they would feel me more vivid colors than digital screens. It looked less attractive . . . I am planning to go to another art museum near Seoul City Hall as a reward, if I really did study hard [chuckle]. (JooHwan, A first email three months after his visit to SeMA)

I went alone to the Kwang-Seok Kim [a Korean folk rock singer] exhibition at Hong-ik Art Center. I felt it a new type of art museum although I am not sure whether it [the art center] is actually classified as an art museum. But there's nothing I needed to worry about, because I've already got accustomed to going to art museums. I didn't get nervous even though it was my first time being alone . . . That visit [to SeMA] was a vantage point from which I came to perceive art museums as my playground . . . Now I feel I can play within the space. (JooHwan, The last email four and a half months after his visit to SeMA)

One noticeable phenomenon discovered in his self-determined visits was that his overall impression of SeMA served as criteria for his self-directed museum going. Even though the colorful digital paintings caught his eyes, JooHwan perceived the exhibition at WMK “less attractive” compared to that of SeMA due to its absence of traditional paintings. Despite the devaluation, he anticipated visiting another art institution as a means of “reward” for his hard work.

The meaning of “reward” is clarified in his subsequent visit to the Kwang-Seok Kim exhibition. In the narrative, he expansively classifies the art center into the category of art

museum by discovering that both places presented him with a comfortable atmosphere. In this context, the expressions of “playground” and “now I can play within the space” signified the symbolic role of SeMA as the vantage point from which his visit began to be perceived as his own personal reward activity separated from his routine work.

His final interpretation of SeMA as playground appears to be consistent with the literature concerning extraordinary leisure experiences such as the novelty of on-site experiences (e.g., Bello & Etzel, 1985; Fakeye & Crompton, 1991). A salient point, however, is that JooHwan’s narratives evoked by the trigger metaphor shed more light on his behavioral and psychological *changes* that emerged through his post-travel practices. This post-visit-oriented approach is echoed in the meaning of this visit in the leisure context:

I: What is your visit to SeMA like?

J: It’s a playing out of my routines when I have some spare time. But for me, leisure is not identical to spare time. One prerequisite for leisure is to have enough energy. For me, leisure should be physical activities. In case of the visit, it was a physical activity that allowed me to take a rest from my work. I could be relaxed while moving. (JooHwan, 5th interview)

Now I feel the museum visit as a kind of major leisure activity. I came to think of going to any art museum whenever I want to. It is not a burden at all. Yes, it certainly has broadened my available options for using my time more valuably. (JooHwan, The last email four and a half months after his visit to SeMA)

As pointed out in the previous passages, the museum visits before attending SeMA had been subordinated under JooHwan’s major leisure activity, volunteering. This association was disbanded after the visit to SeMA that was interpreted as an independent leisure experience. In this context, his expressions of “relaxed while moving” and “playing” at the final interview symbolically revealed that his “visit as leisure” interpretation was maintained, not because of his one-time impression but because of his performance in the playground-like space. In his last email, he expressed that this major activity enabled him to perceive a burden-free moment and

that his recognition of leisure time shifted from using some “spare time” to creating an option for “using [his] time more valuably.” This statement indicates that the meaning of this visit finally has evolved with his expansive recognition of its value to the temporal dimension.

An Interpretation of the Sociocultural Traditions of Meaning in the Trigger Metaphor

From a managerial and administrative perspective, the transforming experience that museums can offer serves as a crucial indicator of exhibition excellence (The National Association for Museum Exhibitions, 2012). A significant body of research in museum education has demonstrated that introductory and didactic labels, panels and catalogues in art museums are expected to stimulate visitors’ “transformative experience” (Lord, 2007, p.19). Despite their diverged foci, the terms “transforming” and “transformative” constantly refer to a distinctive feature of the museum visit as a triggering phase in which the on-site experience provokes visitors to abandon their old ways of thinking in knowledge, professional skills, attitudes, beliefs, values and emotions (Soren, 2009).

This framing of museum activities and performances on-site as triggers for transformational experiences echoes in both Hanhum’s and JooHwan’s interpretations of the exhibits. For Hanhum, who had never visited an art museum, his experiences at SeMA not only led him to visit another art museum but also changed his way of thinking about art museums as exclusive places for those with knowledge. JooHwan’s visit to SeMA deviated from his typical use of the art museum for his volunteer work and encouraged him to visit other art institutions for his own independent leisure activities. The common feature in both cases is that, before their serial visits, the artworks that they appreciated were interpreted as direct triggers to visit another museum. The significant influence of the exhibits on their behavioral development seems to

correspond to the basic assumption about the role of public art museums: they are educationally responsible for “help[ing] visitors experience their collections” (Stephen & Eisner, 1990, p. 217).

However, their retrospective narratives reveal that the attractiveness of the objects at SeMA was neither educational nor did it provoke curiosity for further knowledge. Hanhum noted that he would not read books or other knowledgeable materials related to the exhibits at SeMA, but he would continue visiting art museums to enjoy tranquil moments viewing exhibits. JooHwan noted the unique quality of the exhibitions based on the viewing context: he could entirely focus on his own appreciation of the artworks, unlike previous visits in which he had to take care of teenagers.

Their focus on the physical viewing conditions may not be too surprising in terms of persuasion via a peripheral route. According to Petty and Cacioppo (1979), individuals are persuaded either by a central or a peripheral route, depending upon context. That is, when an individual is highly motivated, the person is persuaded by the content of the message itself. In contrast, an unmotivated person is not moved by the message but is persuaded by salient cues. In the cases of Hanhum and JooHwan, who both lack knowledge or interest in art, therefore, the educational messages provided by SeMA in its exhibits appear merely persuasive in prompting their additional visits to other art institutions.

Their alienation from the internal value of the exhibits in the trigger metaphor seems closely related to the historical and socio-cultural tradition of South Korea. Compared to those of the United States, programs of Korean art museums have been traditionally mandated by the government, and the major mission given to them is preserving cultural heritage (Lee, 2005). In addition, programs are not sufficiently affiliated with school curriculums, and most of them are designed for female adults or younger children as their target audience (Rhee, 2013). In this

context, the two novice male participants were limited in their openness to be motivated by the exhibitions at SeMA, which relatively disregards artworks appropriate for male adults without knowledge.

Despite the exclusive cultural tradition, it is the leisure-like qualities of the museum that consistently triggered their consecutive visits. JooHwan conclusively recollected his on-site experience at SeMA as symbolic play with the exhibits, and Hanhum in his final interview recognized his visit as savoring the unique exhibition space. The final signification of their visits reflects the tourism and leisure literature that emphasizes the extraordinary nature of the leisure experience, including novelty (Bello & Etzel, 1995; Fakeye & Crompton, 1991), escape from daily routines (Cohen & Taylor, 1978) and flow (Csikszentmihalyi, 1975).

These shared characteristics, however, lack in understanding the different domains of their subsequent visits as triggered events. In the case of JooHwan, his choices varied from a painter's exhibition at a major history museum with his friends to a singer's exhibition at a small art center by himself. In contrast, the context of Hanhum's visit to MMCA was similar to that of SeMA in that he went to a contemporary art museum with his friend(s). What restrained the range of "hooks" (Csikszentmihalyi & Hermanson, 1995) that motivated Hanhum to challenge his habitual thinking and behavior?

One obvious feature of Hanhum's narrative is that his feelings of comfort or discomfort entirely occupy the largest portion of his own interpretation of his visit to SeMA. Given this, Hanhum's limited transformative experience during and after the event appears closely related to a cultural "threshold fear"—the idea that the feeling of discomfort is a psychological barrier to non-museum visitors that discourages them from visiting museums (Fleming, 1999). This is reflected in Hanhum's expectation for leaving SeMA within minutes. He based this on the

assumption that art museums only provide knowledge-requiring exhibits for museum professionals. His speculation was juxtaposed with a scholarly interpretation of the museum space as not only provoking reverence and awe, but often also producing fear and confusion (Falk & Dierking, 2000).

Hanhum's emphasis on the "comfortable" atmosphere of the exhibition space over the difficult exhibits, however, symbolically refers to the disappearance of his primary fear. His attitude reflects the findings of the museum research that novices tend to pay primary attention to other comfortable cues rather than view the exhibits (Csikszentmihalyi & Hermanson, 1995; Hein, 1998). Additionally, his consistent and repeated expression of comfort at SeMA over his subsequent visits to two contemporary art museums signifies the increase of comfort as the fundamental factor motivating him to attend another art institution.

To place the cultural meanings of Hanhum's feeling of discomfort with the feminist exhibits in a historical context, it should be noted that art museums as educational institutions deliberately provoke visitors' discomfort with the serious themes of an exhibition (Tyson, 2008). In Korea, which has a relatively short history of discourse of sexual normalcy, major feminist exhibitions are to some extent related to the subject of race due to the influx of foreign female workers from other parts of Asia since the 1990s (Koh, 2013). Reflecting this culturally embryonic phenomenon in art exhibitions drives viewers, who are encountering a marginalized issue in a serious mode for the first time, to feel discomfort (Wagner, Eckler, & Leighton, 2013).

The quintessential role of discomfort in a leisure-related place raises a question of how it had little effect on the meaning of Hanhum's visit. Indeed, his narrative tended to disrespect the uncomfortable feelings while reinforcing the obvious influence of the comfortable atmosphere as a major trigger to his voluntary visit to another museum. The leisure professionals' perspective

on the feeling of comfort allows us to understand the significance of feeling comfortable in his visit to SeMA.

In the venue of leisure, the feeling of comfort is associated with a feeling of secure relaxation in an unfamiliar situation (Jackson & Csikszentmihalyi, 1999). Leisure research at the practical level has found a cultural link between psychological security and comfortable feelings in various leisure activities, including the museum visit (e.g., Philipp, 1995). This line of scholarly work is reflected by the similar conditions at SeMA and MMCA in Hanhum's narrative (i.e., visiting a contemporary art exhibition with his friend(s)). For him, this limited range of transformative experience enhanced his perceived feelings of security in this unfamiliar leisure activity.

4.2.6 The Diary Metaphor

Seo's and Zoo's narratives were signified by "diary," given their use of the term and their focus on telling their own stories in relation to their on-site experiences. Their self-reflective stories were understood based on the crucial role of the art museum that enables visitors to explore their selfhood and subjectivity while challenging dominant discourses. Their narratives that portrayed the intimacies of their ordinary life and museum visits was elaborated in relation to the notions of authorship and women's relational subjectivities, as discussed in a feminist's perspective of the diaries of the underprivileged. At a practical level, however, their different patterns emerged when integrating their appreciation of the exhibits with their lived experiences. Seo's appreciation of the exhibits was intensively signified by her fluid roles as the main actor of her story. This fluidity emphasizes the inter-subjectivity of her self-identification and was contextualized in "Mu-A," the Buddhist's ideal form of self.

Case 11. Seo

Background and profile. Seo is a 31-year-old female living in the far southeastern part of Seoul. Although she had majored in creative writing in her early twenties, her father's death in her mid-twenties changed her life plan and led her to study counseling psychology. She enjoys a broad range of regular leisure activities, such as diving, riding a bicycle, boxing, dancing and watching non-commercial movies. She used to visit SeMA a few years ago when her work place was near the museum. Before this visit, SeMA was perceived as a dark and old-fashioned place for elders.

Seo's narrative.

Appreciating artworks at an art museum is . . . a kind of intrapersonal activity. Because, it doesn't matter whether you have a companion or not. I and an object, like a film or a painting, have a one-to-one relationship. I think, it's interesting to find myself . . . Guessing the title of an exhibit, for example, I got excited when the title of an object was similar to what I thought. Even if they were different, it'd be okay if the guessing process was fun. This is like writing a diary, like keeping a record about the things that allow me to perceive some differences in my life . . . Because I've been to many places [cultural institutions], now it's uncommon to find a thing that is fun enough to give meaning to my life. When I found something impressive on which I could reflect myself, I wrote down my feelings about it in my diary (Seo, 1st interview)

In Seo's narrative, viewing artwork was a projection of herself onto an art object she gazed at. Based on this "one-to-one relationship" between the exhibit and herself, she used the term *diary* in two ways. First, diary refers to her symbolic play with artworks on a metaphorical level by guessing and imaging their titles. Second, it refers to an index telling whether the event that she participated in offered her a special meaning on a performance level. "Writ[ing] down" her feelings about the impressive exhibit in her "diary" was a sign that her visit was "meaningful to [her] life." In this context, having "fun" served as a pivotal role in bridging her metaphorical play with her practical self-reflection.

For Seo who was aware of SeMA before participating in this study, this museum was first interpreted as an inappropriate place for “fun”:

The company I used to work for is near here [SeMA]. I often used it for meeting persons but didn't go there for exhibitions . . . Because it's an old public art museum . . . Although it's famous to older generations, I don't think it's attractive to young people . . . It looked old-fashioned and dark. Young people like me would doubt that they could view something interesting and fun there . . . (Seo, 1st interview)

Due to its location near her previous workplace, Seo had often visited SeMA, not for its exhibits but as a meeting place. This limited usage of the museum was based on her stereotype of the “old public art museum” where exhibits were attuned to the tastes of the elderly. Thus, SeMA as an “old-fashioned” institution failed to guarantee her an “interesting and fun” viewing experience.

Her reaction to the *East Asia Feminism: FANTasia* exhibition upheld this pre-established attitude:

Things I saw at first in the lobby were words like 'feminism' and 'FANTasia' [as shown in Figure 8, the lobby was surrounded by written texts of East Asia Feminism: FANTasia exhibition]. Seeing them, I've got questions, like 'of the visitors, how many are familiar with the terms?' . . . 'Feminism? Why here?' . . . It seemed too radical for most visitors to SeMA. Could it be a popular topic for elders? I'm okay though . . . (Seo, 2nd interview)

When encountering the unexpected terms “feminism” and “FANTasia” on the lobby walls, Seo interpreted them as “too radical” for the elderly, the major target visitors of the museum. Her expression of “Feminism? Why here?” not only reflected the symbolic position of SeMA as being outdated but also implied her increased interest in its unpredicted contents.

The first part of the exhibition, however, was insufficient to fulfill her emergent expectation:

S: The feminism exhibition was displayed over the second and third floors. Things on the second were like depicting women's sex organs . . . It looked too sexual and provocative . . . A debate I'd had in a seminar on feminism flashed across my mind. Some argued . . . 'why you [feminists] exaggerate female sex organs in a disgusting way for your own protests?' Spotting the exhibits on the second, I finally understood why they were in that manner and had uncomfortable feelings about feminists.

I: Why did you keep moving on to the third floor if you got such a negative impression of the exhibits?

S: Because of the seminar. It had already informed me about the sexual aspects of feminism. If I didn't go there, I wouldn't go upstairs. Because, you know, those features are not unique in art. Rather common. We can even see very similar things in the protests of feminists or homosexuals in the square. (Seo, 3rd interview)

At the first exhibition room on the second floor, Seo perceived the exhibits as “sexual and provocative” given the abundance of images of female “sex organs.” This interpretation was anchored in her experience of a feminism seminar in which attendees blamed feminists for “exaggerate[ing] female sex organs in a disgusting way” for their demonstration.

An ambivalence seemed to exist in this appreciation beyond the museum context. On one side, this visit enabled her to build a symbolic consensus between herself and the critics. Specifically, her sympathy for their “uncomfortable” feelings signified that Seo and the dissenters had become metaphorically situated in the same position through her act of viewing. On the other, this expansion ironically revealed a psychological distance between her and the exhibits. Indeed, what drew her to explore further was not the objects on the second floor but her participation in the seminar. In this context, her expression “Those features are not unique in art. Rather common.” signified her opinion of them as inadequate to be considered as artworks.

What manifests at this point is her symbolic position as a bystander. Although the feminism exhibition was perceived as a new theme worth appreciating in this “old-fashioned” space, her way of experiencing the event was limited to confirming others’ opinions, or at best, matching the exhibits with objects or performances that appeared in feminist or homosexual protests. This passive approach alienated the contents of exhibits from her own life experience, which would have enhanced her fun through appreciation.

In contrast, the exhibits on the third floor were interpreted as “artworks” and prompted her to be an active “story teller:”

S: On the third, objects were different. They looked more like art pieces. Authors used those to express their own thoughts and feelings . . . I finally could see them as artists who just tried to express themselves through feminism. I became comfortable with them . . . There's a painting [Restrains-Boundaries] depicting a woman carrying a funeral spray on her back and going her way alone . . . That was the most impressive piece at SeMA . . . I felt like I were that woman, and then a story came to my mind.

I: A story?

S: Yes . . . When my father passed away, [pause] that time was the hardest time in my life . . . What I hated the most were reactions of my people. They tried to comfort me by saying 'you'll forget him soon . . .' To forget, what heartless words! . . . They didn't know about my father or my relationship with him. No one knew . . . Appreciating the painting reminded me of that time, with some questions, like 'How soon will my people get used to my death?' . . . I finally felt a kind of loneliness while projecting myself into her. Tears in her eyes touched me. I felt like I was crying while caring my casket. (Seo, 3rd interview)

In this passage, Seo interpreted that the authors of the objects on the third floor applied feminism as a medium to “express their own thoughts and feelings.” Their ancillary position led her to interpret “authors” as “artists” and gave her room to find her own critical life experience reflected in this most impressive exhibit, *Restrains-Boundaries*.

Appreciating the painting, she paid attention to the depicted woman “carrying a funeral spray on her back and going her way alone” and sympathized with her. This reading reminded her of the reactions of her significant others to her father’s death when “heartless” condolences intensified her lonely situation that “no one knew.” In this context, “tears” of the figure served as a channel through which Seo projected herself into the painting as a being “crying while caring my casket.”

Here, a symbolic nexus can be seen between exhibits depicting a slice of life and those overwhelmed by feminism itself. The former serves as a full factor, while the latter functions as a push factor. In Seo’s case, while exhibits exaggerating parts of women’s bodies failed to draw her attention, others representing life experiences led her to tell her own “story” by projecting herself.

In the recollection phase, her symbolic transposition from a pessimistic observer to an active storyteller was reaffirmed in her interpretation of “boring” subjects:

To tell the truth, I had no expectation for this visit . . . I thought I'd get nothing new because it [SeMA] is an outdated place for the elderly, and thus it must be boring . . . But it was rather me who was in a boring perspective . . . I realized that I've been accustomed to viewing exhibits only on a surface level . . . After realizing the habitual manner, they [the exhibits] looked different and unfamiliar. I put down this fresh experience in my diary . . . (4th interview)

In this passage, Seo admitted that she used to perceive SeMA as an “outdated place for the elderly.” However, her new perception of the museum as a “different and unfamiliar” space formed after she realized that her pre-established image of the “boring” museum resulted not from its qualities but from her own prejudice. The crucial role of her subjectivity led her to write down “this fresh experience in [her] diary.”

The evolving meaning of Seo’s visit to SeMA for self-reflection was further clarified in her interpretation of the interview as a “mirror”:

S: . . . While being interviewed, I now feel like I was looking in a mirror.

I: A mirror?

S: Yes. I could tell about myself. You know, no one has ever asked me such detailed questions. While answering them, I could reach a past me, which I was unable to perceive on the day [of her visit] . . . Yes, describing my experiences, I felt like looking back at the past me. (4th interview)

Her metaphorical reference to the interview corresponds to the main feature of the diary metaphor in that both “reflect on [her]self” via lived experience. In particular, Seo interpreted the interview questions as an inducement to encounter the “past me” that she had not consciously perceived on the day of her visit.

This growing tendency to signify this visit as an opportunity to discover a covert part of herself echoed in her alternative way of interacting with significant others:

. . . Although I thought I was open-minded, this visit made me realize that I had in fact only wanted to view what I liked. That limited the depth and breadth of my experiences. My focus doesn't need to be limited to my interest though. Neither to be deep . . . I came

to talk with my friend about the painting, like “. . . the woman carrying a colorful floral standing spray was very impressive and stirred me to think of my father’s death . . . When I watched an independent short film a few days ago, the image of the flowers popped into my mind during a scene showing the desk for birth and death certificates in the community service center . . .” To my surprise, my friend later searched the internet [laugh] and sent me a text message, “hey, I’m sorry, but the thing that you were so impressed with might not be for a funeral. But for a celebration¹⁴. . .” Oh my, I had been insensitive to the different colors of the flowers before she told me about it. [laugh] Well, that was fun. (Seo, 5th interview)

At the fifth interview conducted about two months after her visit, she ruminated that her own interest predetermined her way of “viewing,” and this resulted in reducing “the depth and breadth of [her] experiences.” This undesirable consequence encouraged her to embrace various foci neither “deep” nor “limited to [her] interest.”

The use of her appreciation of *Restraints-Boundaries* for interacting with her friend manifested this attitude change in two ways. First, she widely blended her appreciation of the painting with that of an independent film. Due to this juxtaposition, her narrative focus shifted from her own life experience (i.e., her father’s death) to a more sharable and general conversation topic (i.e., birth and death). Second, she positively reacted to counter information delivered by the interlocutor. Via SMS message, Seo’s friend raised a possibility that the image considered as flowers for a “funeral” might in fact be flowers for a “celebration.” Her expression of “to my surprise” and her laughs while describing this episode signified her willingness to accept the friend’s unexpected reaction, which then placed her on-site experience within a fact-check context. Finally, her lenient attitude elicited a feeling of “fun.”

Her self-reflective recognition evoked by the diary metaphor so far displayed how the meaning of her visit to SeMA integrated and dispersed into her life experiences beyond the

¹⁴ A cultural difference with regards to the use of floral standing sprays should be noted. In South Korea, only white or yellow flowers, mostly chrysanthemums, are used for funerals.

museum context. This was echoed in her subsequent interpretation of the visit as a leisure activity:

I don't like some kinds of leisure activities, like relaxing at home . . . Being here was great because it [SeMA] was an ideal leisure space to feel, think and imagine something different from my daily routine. (Seo, 3rd interview)

Um, I, I came to think this visit was a kind of leisure activity for making stories. My own stories. All things got started from myself. My feelings, situations and thoughts . . . You know, my memory about my father's death linked me to that most impressive painting. I recalled the painting while watching the movie . . . (Seo, 5th interview)

It was a meaningful leisure experience because it removed my prejudice against the museum . . . [Before the 6th interview] I've visited SeMA to view the painting again, but it was removed. Most rooms were under construction . . . I'm considering going to other museums which I was not interested in before. I'm wondering what would I feel from the visits. (Seo, 6th interview)

In the third interview, SeMA appealed to Seo as a desirable leisure space because it enabled her to “feel, think and imagine something new.” Given its quality of being away from her “daily routine,” her visit to this museum was signified as opposite to “relaxing at home.”

This restricted signification of her visit based on a binary approach, however, was reinterpreted as self-reflective leisure activity. In the fifth interview, Seo realized the importance of her own active role in meaning-making, in which her on-site experiences integrated with her personal life experiences, such as her father's death and watching a movie. This integration led her to signify her visit as material with which to make her own “stories.” In the sixth interview, her integrated thinking had brought behavioral changes: she signified the visit as a removal of “[her] prejudice against the museum.” This contextualization drove her to plan to visit other art museums, which she had neglected before, despite her failure to re-view the impressive painting in her second visit to SeMA.

Case 12. Zoo

Background and profile. Zoo is a 20-year-old female living in the western part of Seoul. Since she is an undergraduate student but also a trainee at a Korean entertainment company, her life is busy with work on dancing and acting before and after her university classes. Visiting art museums was one of her favorite leisure activities years ago. She visited SeMA several times in junior high school when she wanted to be a painter. She has not gone there for a while after dreaming of becoming an actor or singer. This is her first time to visit this museum with her peers (i.e., Dasom and Hanhum).

Zoo's narrative.

Z: I like to go to unknown exhibitions rather than famous ones . . .

I: Could you tell me the reason?

Z: I think famous artists intentionally insert some key features into their pieces to maintain their fame in a difficult way. It's hard for ordinary people to get them . . . But the focus of unknown paintings is on frankly showing their own story. I feel like they're saying 'yes, I am drawing, this is my diary, and it's my story.' Viewing their works is like reading their diaries through which I can understand what they're talking about and how they're feeling about their life . . . (Zoo, 1st interview)

For Zoo, diary exemplified the meaning of self-reflection and symbolized a looking-glass through which she could find empathy for others' thoughts and feelings. In her narrative, famous artists and their works were disfavored in that their major concern of "maintain[ing] their fame in a difficult way" alienated "ordinary people." In contrast, she treasured those by anonymous artists which focused on expressing "their own story," and metaphorically interpreted her interaction with the pieces as "reading their diaries." Her inclination to appreciate unknown artworks for the intrapersonal interaction between herself and them resonated through her differentiation from her companions:

Dasom said 'I don't understand why people painted like this. It looks like a drawing by a psychopath' . . . When we just went out of the building, there was a bronze sculpture.

While I enjoyed its unique beautiful atmosphere, they [Dasom and Hanhum] screamed and said it looked horrible . . . Yes, they seemed to have no interaction with exhibits . . . What they expected to meet are famous artworks easily seen in the textbook . . . like the Mona Lisa, easy to figure out without seriousness . . . I was a bit upset because I felt they weren't ready to understand important things, like how the artist felt while drawing . . . (Zoo, 3rd interview)

In this passage, Zoo criticized her companions for their way of experiencing SeMA “without seriousness.” What she observed was that Dasom pejoratively described an incomprehensible exhibit as a “drawing by a psychopath.” Moreover, a sculpture that appeared to contribute to forming the “beautiful atmosphere” of the museum caused their “horrible” scream. Their repulsed reactions were interpreted as a reflection of their taste, opposite to hers, for viewing “famous artworks” such as the *Mona Lisa*. In this context, Zoo described them as “[un]ready” for interacting with artworks beyond the textbooks.

Her discriminatory attitude was more clarified with her interpretation of her chat with them as a disturbance of her on-site activity:

Z: It was a perfect place to view exhibits, although I didn't get the meaning of feminism or the major theme of Kyung-ja Chun well . . . I kept thinking 'I will come here again! I will! I won't bring anybody with me!' It was a real shame that I couldn't get the pieces deeply . . . They [her companions] kept asking me to explain while I was focusing on the exhibits. I don't think I really appreciated them.

I: Does it mean that your visit was not an experience of appreciating exhibits?

Z: Not at all. It was just a kind of skimming. I couldn't get a chance to enjoy interacting with the artists through their pieces. (Zoo, 3rd interview)

For Zoo, it was a “real shame” when the exhibitions, despite of her interest in them, were only superficially appreciated. The continuing questions cast by her companions made it impossible for her to “get the pieces deeply,” and in turn, her signification of the visit as “skimming” intensified her desire to go to SeMA alone. In this context, “interact[ion] with the artists” served as the fundamental criterion for a successful visit and encouraged her to revisit.

Throughout her narrative regarding her on-site experiences, the symbolic nexus between her interaction with exhibits and that with her companions can be seen: the latter is an

impediment to the former. That is, delivering information about artworks or artists to other viewers impeded her focus on the objects. From this cultural point, she interpreted that the questions by her peers situated her only as an information provider.

A second visit offered her a reversed viewing context in which she became an information listener:

Z: . . . I went to SeMA last Friday.

I: Oh, you did?

Z: Yes. After the [second] visit, I felt the last one [the first visit] was nothing. Now it rather felt like an assignment for the interview . . . I bumped into a group of visitors from a company. They were sauntering around with a professional guide. I started following after them to listen to what the guide was saying. They noticed me shortly and let me get along together . . . The guide explained some noticeable exhibits . . . All the pieces were nothing new, but they looked pretty rad . . . It was not frivolous. (Zoo, 4th interview)

In this passage, Zoo describes how her coincidental companions on the second visit influenced her impression of the exhibits. She followed and joined a visitor group after discovering that they were being escorted by a “professional” guide. The guide’s detailed explanation about several exhibits symbolically enabled her to be a listener. In this context, she evaluated her current on-site experience as “pretty rad[ical]” even though she was viewing the same objects again. Her preference for the second visit reduced the meaning of the former to “nothing” but “an assignment for the interview,” and appreciating exhibits with listening was signified as “not frivolous.”

A careful look at her narrative, however, reveals that the negative connotation of the meaning of her first visit was bound only to her on-site experience. Her favorable description of the off-site experience supports this:

I: If you are still feeling like the first visit was an “assignment,” do you think it is now a non-leisure activity?

Z: Um, no. If I had only gone with them [Dasom and Hanhum] to the museum, I might think ‘I’ll never ever come here again.’ But, after the visit we hung around and went to

a restaurant. Chatting and eating there was fun. I liked it . . . When going there again, I couldn't enjoy such things. Bumping into a group of employees and their guide made me pleased though . . . What I realized was, there's no wrong way to experience SeMA. Now I no longer feel sorry for them with their unpleasant feelings. They just had their own way of enjoying it, although different from mine. (Zoo, 4th interview)

In her narrative, Zoo compared the roles of companions on her two consecutive visits. On the second visit, her coincidental companions provided her with an ideal environment for appreciating artworks but had no effect on expanding her experience off the site. On the first visit, the interaction with her friends was blamed for disturbing her appreciation but ironically led her to stay around SeMA and have “fun.” These experiences inspired her to reinterpret that their “unpleasant feelings” about the exhibits were their own way of “enjoying” SeMA, and she finally comprehended that an opinion opposite to hers was not “wrong.”

This extended interpretation influenced her understanding of “interaction”:

During the former [3rd] interview, I found myself thinking of visiting an art museum as a difficult cultural activity. I used to only consider interaction as a thing that occurred between myself and the artworks. But these days, um, I have come to think that talking with others could also be a kind of interaction, like talking with anyone about whether they agree with my opinion or not . . . Now I think that the unpleasant happenings with my friends was a chance to reduce my prejudice. Yes, all things can be interaction. Even with somebody who didn't know about SeMA (Zoo, 4th interview)

Zoo described her altered focus from appreciating the quality of exhibits to interacting with others regardless of whether they “agree with [her] opinions” or not. At this point, the “unpleasant” experiences with her companions on the first visit were interpreted as a contributor to “reduce[ing] [her] prejudice.” Her communication with a non-visitor beyond the museum wall reverberated with this realization at a practical level:

Well, we were preparing a performance . . . We wanted to make a song singing about some social issues . . . Throughout the feminism exhibition, I was shocked by some unfair circumstances that have threatened women's lives. I wanted to express this in our song. I talked about the feminism exhibition, and she seemed to understand what I wanted to say. We got started writing lyrics by using what I've seen and been touched in the museum. It was cool and exciting. (Zoo, 5th interview)

In this passage, Zoo as a trainee at YG, a major South Korean entertainment company, proposed creating a song about gender inequality with another female trainee when they were teamed for a group performance. In this context, she considered the process of writing lyrics as “cool and exciting,” given that her appreciation of the feminism exhibits at SeMA served as a basis for the creative activity.

The extended meaning of her visits beyond appreciation of the art itself, however, was diminished when she incidentally watched a documentary TV program:

. . . But, when I once watched ‘We Want to Know the Truth,’ it showed how members of SoraNet exploited women and images of their bodies for sex offenses, like gang rape. I really got shocked because it looked terrible beyond imagination . . . How could our song and voice affect such a cruel world? The song we made for the performance ended up with lyrics like ‘there’s nothing we can change’ . . . Come to think of things, things at the museum, they were shocking only to me. It seemed hard to think that the museum artworks would change my world. (Zoo, 5th interview)

In the program, what she observed was how members of *Soranet*, a notorious illegal porn website in South Korea, have made women scapegoats for sex-related crimes. For Zoo, the sexual activity reported on in the program were “terrible beyond imagination,” and watching it led her to interpret that “artworks” were too weak to influence “such a cruel world.” In this context, the lyrics of her song “there’s nothing we can change” symbolized her devaluation of the feminism exhibits, which seemingly called for social justice but would be only negligibly influential in the real society.

The impact of the documentary reduced the meaning of her visits to SeMA to simply appreciating artworks at an interpersonal level. Her expression “they were shocking only to me” implied that the final meaning of her visits traced back to the interaction between herself and the exhibits as initially revealed in the diary metaphor. This reduced focus was further clarified by her evolving interpretation of SeMA as a leisure space:

Well...it's, it's a place to get something new? . . . I came to understand how others enjoy visiting a museum. I once had some uncomfortable feelings with them [Dasom and Hanhum], but I now feel it was fun . . . And I could understand feminism, a very difficult social term, on the second visit. This leisure place presented me with various experiences and made me energetic. (Zoo, 4th interview)

Well, I might have been like the kind of person who sees the art museum as a serious place, but now, I have come to think of it in a more casual manner . . . Like a leisure space where I can go without plans? I'll go there when I'm free and need to contemplate myself. (Zoo, 5th interview)

At the fourth interview, conducted after her second visit, Zoo recognized SeMA as a leisure place to “make [her] energetic” and stimulate her rising interest in others. This was reflected in her preceding interpretation of the feminism exhibits and her companions: the pieces were signified as a medium to understand the “social” term, and her “uncomfortable” feelings toward her companions on the site were now considered “fun.” At the final interview conducted after composing the song, however, Zoo interpreted SeMA as a place for spontaneous leisure activities “without plans” and with a restricted focus on “contemplat[ing] myself.” This final placement symbolized that her two consecutive visits had converged and terminated in her self-oriented focus.

An Interpretation of the Sociocultural Traditions of Meaning in the Diary Metaphor

The cultural meaning of the diary metaphor echoes one of the crucial roles of the art museum that allows visitors to explore their selfhood and subjectivity while challenging dominant discourses (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000a). Museum studies point out that exhibits provide viewers with images that are textualized within diverse cultural, political and philosophical domains (Melville & Readings, 1995), and it is through images that their act of viewing contributes to the constitution of their personal identities (Dissanayake, 1998). In this scholarly approach, an interdependent, but not entirely overlapping, relationship exists between self and

image. Although the social and cultural context affects the constitution of the self of an individual,¹⁵ his or her personal context reflects the construction of the image of the person's own self.

Seo's and Zoo's use of the term diary highlights this paradoxical nature of self-image. In their narratives about their museum visits, the social and cultural contexts in which they are situated entailed the range of their selfhood. Simultaneously, the personal, private life experiences that were integrated in their on-site experience seemed, to some extent, to resist the dominant discourse. For example, while Zoo acknowledged and admitted the culturally imposed self of women as frail beings, the exhibits at SeMA gave her power to struggle with this positioning in her realms of life (i.e., composing a resistance song as a trainee at an entertainment company). This case mirrors the main focus of studies on the diary and other types of private writings¹⁶: Diaries provide ordinary people with room for revealing their lives and innermost thoughts that are different from those of the privileged (Heilbrun, 1998). Anchored in this conceptualization and central in the narratives of the two Korean female visitors is that their metaphorical act of writing in the diary offers them an opportunity to discover part of their complex selfhood that is unavailable in Western- and male-oriented discourses.

Regarding women's subjectivity, feminist theorists have argued that women form identities as shaped, or negotiated at best, within the constraints imposed by hegemonic

¹⁵ In general, self is conceptualized based on two main perspectives. First, focusing on the autonomy of selfhood, this is deemed as the center of power, of behavior, of attitude, and of consciousness. Second, challenging this approach, the concept of self is a socially constituted and culturally identified variable. The latter emphasizes the crucial influence of discourse and cultural contexts. This study adopts the second perspective in order to consider self as a cogent point for cultural description.

¹⁶ The notion of the diary in this study was approached as relating to the concepts of narrative and autobiography. This is based on the tendency of diary studies in which a small number of researchers directly deal with the diary as data, and their works instead render a strong connection between writing in the diary or journal and authoring an autobiography (For details, see Schiwy, 1996).

masculinity (Chodorow, 1978). In their relational position in the patriarchal system, women's private narratives in their diaries make room for displaying those parts of their everyday lives that are inconsistent with dominant male-oriented discourses (Heilbrun, 1988). The free description and interpretation of their own experience in their diaries indicates that women own their authorship entirely (Schiwy, 1996). In this cultural context, ordinary women's texts are meaningful for revealing the authorship of women that has been neglected in the masculine notion of subjectivity in which subject positions have always been taken by men (Miller, 1988).

These characteristics seem relevant to Seo's and Zoo's signification of their visits with the everyday intimacies of their lives that are deemed trivial and negligible in the masculine discourse. Seo was willing to integrate her viewing of artworks not only with her critical life experience (i.e., the loss of her father) but also with a slice of her ordinary life (i.e., watching a movie or chatting with her friend). For Zoo, the meaning of her visit was related not only to her serious act of viewing exhibits inside the art museum but also to ordinary experiences like chatting and eating with her friends off the sites.

Despite their shared respect for the ordinary, the cultural patterns by which their appreciation of exhibits was integrated into their lived experiences at the performative and practical level diverged. Zoo signified the feminism exhibition as a powerful challenge to the absurdity of the male-centric social order in Korea. In composing her own song, her appreciation of the exhibits evolved as a means for not only legitimating her interpretation of her own experience but also announcing the rights of Korean women. The meaning of Zoo's visit evoked by the diary metaphor appears to be consistent with one major theme of the literature on women's leisure. Leisure researchers have argued that leisure activities, including writing in the diary, provide women with space for the construction of new femininities in which they have a

feeling of power (Wearing, 1992) by considering their participation as “a form of political practice” (Shaw, 2001, p. 186). This literature is echoed in her disappointment in the weak power of the exhibition as reflected in the lyrics “there’s nothing we can change.” For Zoo, who is both the writer and main actor of her own story, her realization of the abundance of cruel sex crimes against women in the real society decreased the performative value of the artworks.

This approach, however, is limited in its ability to understand Seo’s narrative due to its insensitivity to the East Asian cultural context. For Seo, who sympathized with the suppressed woman figured in the most impressive exhibit, the significance of her visit became intensified when her on-site experience served as a means to rubricate a conversation with her friend. If a Western scholar compared Zoo’s and Seo’s narratives at the performative level, Seo’s role as an actor who consistently employs her appreciation of the painting in the personal and private sphere might be seen as reaffirming the dominant discourse in which women are described as “passive” (e.g., Wearing, Wearing, & Kelly, 1994).

Counter-intuitively, in the cultural context of Korea, Seo’s case could never be entirely interpreted as a passive action due to the Korean traditional approach to the self with its inter-subjective nature. The traditional conceptualization of self from a Buddhist perspective emphasizes the deep integration of an individual’s narrative with the lives of others, and this relationship requires them as co-agents in the constitution of the self (Wallace, 2001). In this cultural perspective, women are not always submissively positioned as the object of men’s gaze; both men and women are equivalent entities.

This cultural interpretation of self is reflected in Seo’s interpretation of the women in the most memorable painting and in its application to a daily conversation with her friend. At SeMA, her emotional impression climaxed when she deeply appreciated the crying woman, and her

symbolic rendering of herself as “crying while carrying my casket” signifies the emotional relationship between herself and the figure beyond their existential differences. This aesthetic self-absorption appears closely related to the conceptualization of the ideal self in Buddhism, “Mu-A” (i.e., “no-self” in English). In this cultural view, subject and object are inseparable, but rather the object that the subject is consciously aware of takes part of the subject’s self (Ho, 1995). This inter-relational notion of self refuses the existence of an objectified Other and deprives the male, masculine Subject of the privilege (Miller, 1998).

The rationale for this cultural self-construal, in which there is no absolute subject or object¹⁷, reverberates with the significance of Seo’s fluid roles in her narrative. When she was in the exhibition space, her subjective position to appreciate the exhibits was the major frame for her experience. When sharing her on-site experience with her friend, she laughed when her friend suggested that her reading of the funeral context could be a misinterpretation. In this episode, Seo’s symbolic position transformed to that of listener. The subsequent interviews also positioned her as a metaphoric gazer in which she became aware of a hidden part of herself by answering the interview questions. Her interpretation of the interviews as a symbolic mirror rejected me and my interview questions as ‘objectified others,’ but rather places them as subjects that constitute her integral self. As such, her inter-subjective approach finally places her overall narrative beyond the Western scholars’ labeling of “passive.”

¹⁷ At this point, I should point out the mistaken assumption of Westerners with respect to the relationship between the social and individual selves of East Asians. Commonly noted is the subordination of the latter to the former. This interpretation, however, is entirely based on the Western frame of reference in which the two could be independent. In contrast, in the paradigm of social and individual selves in traditional East Asian society, the wholeness of the self presumes the mutual encroachment of the two, and in turn, the social self does not always uni-directionally suppress and predetermine the scope of the individual self. Cross-cultural studies need to consider this gap in understanding the composition of the cultural self. (For more detailed information about critiques of the culturally universalized approach to self from a sociocultural perspective, see Rosenberger, 1994)

4. 3. Overview of the Findings

The analysis of Byun's narrative shows SeMA's twofold concerns about visitors. First, in line with the traditional perspective that considers learning as the pivotal experience of museum visitors, this institution focuses on facilitating visitors' learning experiences through the exhibit contents. Second, in accordance with their own vision as a "glocal" museum, SeMA positions itself as an open space in which visitors are able to have an experience regardless of its educational messages. This inclusive perspective interprets visitors as those who freely amble around this cultural space, beyond the boundaries between texts, exhibits, and exhibition and non-exhibition rooms in their meaning-making process.

The narratives of twelve participants were interpreted and identified with six symbolic metaphors that emerged from and delivered a node of values, meanings and concerns of each participant. The meaning of SR's and Good's visits was signified as *learning*. They consistently interpreted SeMA as an educational institution, and their major interest at the site was in exhibits they considered worth learning. The *aesthetic* metaphor represented the node of meanings of the museum visit in the narratives of Kyu and Young-Woo. Their aesthetic appreciation neglected the external values of exhibits and played a crucial role in constructing the meaning of their visits throughout all the phases. *High-culture* was the nexus of meanings in the narratives of Dasom's and Lee's visits. Both participants alienated themselves from this cultural institution, considering it as exclusively for the wealthy and educated. *Everyday-ness* was a fourth symbolic metaphor that reflected the meaning of YC's and Shin's museum visits. Their visits signified their everyday concerns and interests without paying attention to the aesthetic value of the exhibits. The meanings of Hanhum's and JooHwan's visits were signified as *trigger*, given that their experiences at SeMA directly triggered them to visit other cultural institutions. Seo's and Zoo's

narratives were signified as *Diary*, given their focus on telling their own stories in relation to their on-site experiences. Their self-reflective stories were understood based on the crucial roles of the museum that enabled them to explore their selfhood and subjectivity, part of which challenged dominant discourses of Korean society.

Aside from the intra-textual analysis, sociocultural traditions assisted in comprehending the evolving meaning of participants' visits and the differences and similarities among their interpretations. The meanings evoked by the *learning* metaphor investigated the notions of Confucianism, authority, collectivism and word-of-mouth communication. Narratives reflecting the *aesthetic* metaphor were shaped by disinterestedness, Muninwha and the dominant way of appreciating artworks in traditional Korean society. Those narratives of the *high-culture* metaphor elaborated cultural capital, cultural reproduction, three-person association and authority-oriented collectivism in the peer group dynamics. The meanings evoked by the *everyday-ness* metaphor used notions of post-museum, strategies and tactics, dwelling and the social production of space. In the *trigger* metaphor, narratives situated the ELM of persuasion, the transformative function of the art museum, threshold fear, the history of Korean art museums, and the leisure-oriented approach to the feeling of comfort. The narratives in the *diary* metaphor contextualized autobiography, self as socio-cultural construal, women's subjectivity and Mu-A.

The findings reveal that some of the participants' narratives (those reflecting the learning and aesthetic metaphors) were in line with the first concern of the museum, appealing to visitors through the exhibits. Its second concern for being "open space" appeared to be responsive to the narratives of high-culture, everyday-ness and trigger metaphors. The importance of the subject's

storytelling in the recollection phase, as shown in the diary metaphor, exceeded the institution's concerns.

CHAPTER 5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The multiphasic leisure experience model has been discussed mainly within the post-positivist's perspective. This reductionist viewpoint is limited in its ability to explain the multi-phased leisure experience that consists of not only on-site activity but also the psychological evolution from anticipation through recollection. In this dissertation, I propose to reconsider the model from a hermeneutic phenomenological perspective in order to understand and explore the holistic nature of the leisure experience. This discussion of my three research questions provides insight into a leisure and tourism community in which scholarly debates on how to approach the fluid and elusive terms *leisure experience* have continued.

5.1. How Do Visitors Change the Meanings of Leisure and Their Museum Visits Throughout the Multiple Phases of Their Leisure Experience?

Findings show that the evolution of the meaning of the museum visit occurred in four directions. First, while several participants signified their visits in various ways in earlier phases, most of their previous interpretations disappeared in the final phase. Second, certain subjects showed tenacious hold on one factor throughout their meaning-making process, as shown in the narratives in the aesthetic metaphor. Third, some participants' alteration of narratives indicates that the later meaning of their visit was irrelevant to that of the earlier. This was observed regardless of whether they had specific or vague expectations for their on-site activities. Fourth, some informants added a new and unexpected perspective to the final significance of their visits while maintaining their earlier interpretations.

Specific features of the four patterns imply that participants' positive or negative evaluations of their on-site experiences delimited the category of change. As shown in the findings, for participants employing the learning metaphor and the high-culture metaphor, the meaning of their visits in the recollection phase was reduced or altered with their underestimation of the attractions. This negative interpretation moved some of them to deny their visits as a leisure experience in their final interviews. In contrast, positive evaluations of the attractions contributed to maintaining the significance of their aesthetic experiences, intensifying the leisure aspects of the experience, extending the meaning of the visit to everyday concerns, and prompting the co-construction of a story between the participant and others on- and off-the site. Additionally, the emergence and disappearance of leisure in the meaning of the museum visit of some informants implies that on-site experience and leisure experience are not always interchangeable. This divorce was reflected in their refined conceptualization of leisure based on their recollection of the on-site experience.

The findings support the extant literature of multiphase leisure experience in three aspects. First, for those whose major interest was in the aesthetic appreciation of artworks, the meaning of their visit was determined by an emergent state of mind within the museum. This crucial role of their immediate experiences and responses at the site is consistent with previous literature that has approached the dynamic nature of leisure experience through intense emotions (e.g., Borrie & Roggenbuck, 2001; Csikszentmihalyi, 1998, 1999; Hull et al, 1992; Hull & Michael, 1995; Larsen, 2007; Lee et al., 1994; Jones et al., 2000; McIntyre and Roggenbuck; 1998; Ryan, 1995). Second, the binary alteration of the meaning of the visit is to some extent in line with the findings of previous researchers who point to the emergence of positive and negative feelings in the definitional and retrospective phases (Lee et al., 1994) and the

fluctuating nature of leisure experience in the recollection phase (Stewart & Hull, 1992). Third, the reduction of the meaning of the museum visit is in response to the expectancy-value approach (e.g., Driver, 1975, 1976; Driver & Brown, 1975), given that the participants in this category curtailed the final meaning of their visits to avoid dissonance among conflicting attitudes, beliefs and behaviors in the given situation (Festinger, 1957).

However, the findings do not entirely fit within the traditional approaches. For example, although both Zoo and Goon appeared to reduce the meanings of their visits, a careful review of Zoo's narratives reveals that, in the middle of the recollection phase, she actively signified her visit by applying her on-site experience to her other realms of life. Indeed, her revisit to SeMA and the creation of a song based on messages from the feminism exhibits elated her and augmented the symbolic position of SeMA as a place for enlightening viewers. Her practices seem consistent with Arnould and Price (1993) who criticized the dichotomized approach between leisure activities and other realms of life. This expansive aspect in the evolving meaning of the museum visit is discussed under the following research question.

5.2. How Does the Linkage Between On- and Off-Site Activities Contribute to the Evolution of the Meaning of Their Visits?

Findings showed a considerable link between on- and off-site experiences in their construction of meaning. This connectivity appears to support Clawson's and Knestch's (1966) argument for conceptualizing leisure experience as a package from the anticipation phase to the recollection phase. Off-site experiences connected to the visit to SeMA were based on an ocular-centric experience (i.e., the media) and two behavioral experiences—interaction with significant others and a visit to another art museum.

In most cases, participants' contact with the media (i.e., TV and the internet) served to shrink the significance of the exhibits and the institution in their own life. Media influence on their evaluations imply a relationship between personal appreciation and the media message; the personal value of the on-site experience is confirmed or negated by the factual and life-based information obtained off the site. As the museum literature points out, in museums for which educating the public is the major goal, the message of exhibits is often controlled by elites (Bennett, 1995; Bourdieu, 1984; Bourdieu & Darbel, 1991; Rydell, 1984), and in turn, the values imbued in the exhibits are remote from the lives of the masses (Koven, 1994). Therefore, it seems plausible that, for participants as ordinary people, information from the mass media functions as a reasonable source that is congruent with the order and norms of their everyday life beyond those of the institution reverberating within the museum space.

Visiting another art museum or revisiting SeMA brought noticeable changes to the meaning of participants' visits. Their physical movement expanded the meaning of their (first) visits to SeMA: from contemplation and hanging out with companions to the discovery of a place to learn about social issues; from visiting a special place to view exhibits to having a resident-like experience; from recognizing the museum visit as an independent leisure activity to enjoying the experience of a symbolic playground; and from trying a new experience to discovering a comfortable leisure place. These findings support the extant literature, which argues that the public art museum is a social hub that connects with other city attractions, including other museums (van Aalst & Boogaarts, 2002), and that museum visitors are moving agents whose on-site experiences are unrestricted to its specific time and space (Falk, 2009). Participants' consecutive visits echo the significance of the tourist's movement through which the physical boundaries between tourist attractions disappear and are reconstructed (MacCannell,

1973). The findings suggest that visiting as a practice of having a touristic experience led participants to cognitively connect the different cultural spots, and in turn, their on-site experience is expanded from the first to the second SeMA visit, or from a visit to SeMA to attendance at another art museum.

With respect to meeting with others, findings from Lee's narrative show that his chatting with his mother at home served to alienate the museum visit from his everyday life. In contrast, other participants' narratives revealed that conversation with others about their on-site experience contributed to reducing the psychological distance between them and their visits by minimizing the unpleasant on-site experience and providing opportunities to recognize the on-site experience in their everyday lives. The dynamic influence of interaction confirms findings in previous studies in which the on-site experience is recollected and shared with others without temporal and spatial restrictions to the site or the day of their visits (Falk & Dierking, 1992; Jafari, Taheri & von Lehn, 2013; Osborne, 2012).

One arguable finding for the role of dialogue is that several participants paralleled answering my research questions with their discussions with significant others. They signified the interview sessions conducted both on- and off-site as symbolic connectors through which the meaning of their visits was clarified. This noticeable phenomenon is further discussed through the following research question.

5.3. How Does Dialogue Between the Interviewer and the Interviewee Contribute to the Evolution of the Visitor's Meaning of Leisure Experience?

Two roles for the interviewer emerged in findings: a vicarious agent and a symbolic mirror. During the interviews, some participants considered me as a temporary friend or a

museum professional. This interpretation was based on their pre-established way of enjoying their “major” leisure activities. For those whose major leisure activities do not include museum visits, the conversational dialogue with me enabled them to find a similarity between this visit and their ordinary leisure experiences in terms of chatting with companions. For those who are accustomed to visiting art museums, they considered the interview as a chance to share their passion for and interest in artworks with the interviewer as an expert. This significance highlighted the uniqueness of this visit compared to their previous art museum visits.

Second, some participants interpreted that the interviewer through dialogue served as a symbolic mirror. The questions by the interviewer led them to reflect their past experiences at the site and inspired them to reconsider their visits to SeMA from a new and unexpected viewpoint. For example, in the anticipation phase Seo presumed that her visit would be boring based on her outdated image of the museum. However, the conversation surrounding the interview questions led her to realize that her subjective judgment of “boring” was not based on the contents of exhibits but rather on her prejudice against the museum. In the later recollection phase, her attendance at SeMA was signified for creating her own story that was co-constructed with those who shared her on-site experience.

The findings concerning the two roles of the interviewer reveal two aspects. First, there is a hodgepodge of extraordinary and ordinary facets hidden in a single leisure experience. Second, verbal interaction functions to unveil this complex nature of the leisure experience in a given context. The significance of the language- and context-centered approach is juxtaposed with Geertz (1973), Bruner (1993) and Abraham (1981), who emphasize the need to understand human experiences through language by which our experiences in our own culture are signified, codified and symbolically delivered.

Additionally, the findings show how consecutive dialogue between interlocutors contributed to the evolving meaning of the participant' visit. The sequential interview sessions led them to perceive the differences between the interviewer and themselves and between their prior and subsequent interpretations of their visits. These features echo with the hermeneutic phenomenological interest in the lived experience (Gadamer, 1989) and with leisure scholars' efforts to understand the participant's leisure experience with its contextuality (e.g., Glover, 2007; Johnson & Samdahl, 2005; Patty & Shinew, 2004) and verbal expressions (Arnould & Price, 1993; Lee et al., 1994) and to build a foundation of inter-subjectivity between the participant and the investigator (Glancy, 1993; Neville, 2014).

5. 4. Theoretical and Practical Implications

In line with many previous studies concerning the Clawsonian model, this research supports the need to understand the leisure experience in terms of its multi-phasic nature. Employing the hermeneutic phenomenological perspective to this model encourages the leisure and tourism community to jump out of the post-positivistic paradigm that has been widely held as theoretical, philosophical and methodological beliefs for decades. Specifically, my interpretation of the model from an interpretivist perspective supports the need to understand leisure and leisure experience as *evolving states of mind*, as Stewart (1998) points out. The current findings provoke researchers to escape from the narrow interpretation of leisure as a frozen, snapshot-like immediate experience and to understand leisure as a contextualized phenomenon that erodes the boundaries between extraordinary and ordinary experiences, off- and on-site activities, work and leisure, and leisure and tourism.

Methodologically, the findings imply the significant role of interviews that consist of several sessions. The current findings show that, for those who have had fewer opportunities to visit an art museum or who have never thought about the meaning of leisure-related experience, answering interview questions can provide them with room to reflect on their own life and its connectivity to their museum visit, all while rethinking the meaning of leisure. Scholars employing longitudinal in-depth interviews over a period of time should keep in mind the impact of the interaction between themselves and the interviewee and its increasing significance. My own readings and interpretations of symbolic metaphors with respect to the interrelationship between the interview manuscript and the extant literature were attuned to contextualize the meaning of participants' visits within the current Korean-centered cultural context. Given that Korea has embraced some aspects of Western society while certain cultural traditions still have significant influence on their cultural thoughts and behaviors, it is important to place participants' narratives within the multi-layered literature for reflecting social "reality" for those whose research sites or participants are exposed to a continuous cultural blending at the societal level. A careful approach to the conditions of non-Western society would help both indigenous and exogenous researchers in terms of broadening their horizons of understanding. For example, as shown in Seo's case, the usual connotation of "passive" voice for non-Westerners might be caused by the Western-centered frame of reference for Othering.

A practical implication of this research is that a related project pursuing deeper issues could use the findings evoked by the six symbolic metaphors as a starting point, given that they show how and when the meaning of the museum visit changed. Second, Korean museum practitioners could use the current study findings, part of which revealed that not all the on-site experience could be interpreted as leisure activity. For museum professionals who struggle to

find an ideal balancing point between leisure-related and education-centered services, the narratives of several participants who differentiate learning from other activities at SeMA would provide insights for the management of their institutions. Lastly, this study provides tourism policy makers and developers with a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of leisure and tourism experiences and encourages them to consider the connectivity of tourist attractions, not only with respect to their geographical dimensions but also their cultural-psychological dimensions.

5. 5. Limitations and Future Directions

This study inherently involves two primary limitations. First, the meaning of the museum visit and its sociocultural traditions discussed so far highlighted only part of the interrelationships that were captured by the researcher. Given the unavoidable gap between the participants and the researcher, my interpretation of their narratives and their contextualization with the extant literature might be incongruent with their own self-interpretations. Thus, the findings should be carefully approached given that the interpretation represented in this study also reflects part of the museum visit. Second, the relocation of the multiphase leisure experience model from the traditional post-positivist approach to the relatively new interpretivist approach inevitably leaves considerable deficiencies to be investigated further. For example, while I situated the participants' narratives within symbolic metaphors, other researchers might consider a thematic approach if they deem that focusing on similarities among participants would be a better way to understand the evolving meaning of their leisure experiences. Thus, my selection of the hermeneutic phenomenology with a symbolic metaphor analysis needs to be carefully reviewed.

The limitations mentioned above underline where to focus future research. The interpretation of symbolic metaphors could to be re-investigated from alternative perspectives such as post-structuralism, critical theory or postmodern critics. Another research direction would be to study the meaning of the visit to a Korean art museum by another Korean or non-Korean researcher. That researcher might build a more refined methodology to more efficiently explore the gap between the interviewer and the interviewee. In addition, future study needs to include diverse individuals with various demographic attributes (e.g., age and residence) as participants.

Another important direction for future research would be to focus on linguistic aspects of the meanings of the visit. For example, while most of the participants said that they had ‘fun’ in their on-site experiences, different patterns emerged. Those who once used this word to describe their instant emotional reactions to the on-site activity never applied it in the recollection phase to their overall final evaluation of their visits, and vice versa. Certain participants used “fun” for derogatively describing their on-site experiences as flippant, while others used the term for heightening the unique value of their activities at the museum. These linguistically distinctive orientations call special attention to culture-based differences in speaking patterns with respect to the flow experience in leisure. According to Csikszentmihalyi (1975), who defines flow as a function of the relationship between challenge and ability in a given situation, flow experiences are perceived by the degree of fun of an event and hinge on how the person interpreted the situation. One implication of the attributes of flow is that even the most immediate experience could be the object of interpretation if it is basically expressed and noticed by a certain word (e.g., fun) that has multiple cultural connotations. Thus, future research could pursue a deeper

investigation of the relationship between immediate leisure experiences and their linguistic labelling within the Korean society.

5.6. Conclusion

The narratives of the participants portrayed their museum visits through symbolic metaphors as determined not only by external constraints but also by their self-interpretations of the circumstances. The liberating process in their self-interpretations enabled me to interpret an individual's museum visit as distinguished from that of other participants, even though some of the on-site activities were viewed as "traditional" behaviors to which museum professionals expected visitors to pay primary attention.

The intertwined relationship between personal interpretations and cultural traditions in the participants' beliefs and actions highlights the hermeneutic situation of our leisure experience as a social phenomenon of everyday life. That is, our experiences are shaped and recorded by language in which our cultural, social and historical traditions reside. The six metaphors are not a simple medium to express the participants' thoughts and feelings about their museum visits. They are a living organism moving with the flow of life in that "the meaning of a word is its use in the language" (Wittgenstein, 1952, §43).

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APPENDIX A: IRB APPROVAL LETTER

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
AT URBANA-CHAMPAIGN

Office of the Vice Chancellor for Research

Office for the Protection of Research Subjects
528 East Green Street
Suite 203
Champaign, IL 61820



08/31/2015

Kimberly Shinew
Recreation, Sport and Tourism
104 Huff Hall
1206 S Fourth St
M/C 584

RE: *Rethinking Multiphase Leisure Experience: An Hermeneutic Phenomenological Approach to the Lived Experience of Art Museum Visitors*
IRB Protocol Number: 16053

EXPIRATION DATE: 08/30/2018

Dear Dr. Shinew:

Thank you for submitting the completed IRB application form for your project entitled *Rethinking Multiphase Leisure Experience: An Hermeneutic Phenomenological Approach to the Lived Experience of Art Museum Visitors*. Your project was assigned Institutional Review Board (IRB) Protocol Number 16053 and reviewed. It has been determined that the research activities described in this application meet the criteria for exemption at 45CFR46.101(b)(2).

This determination of exemption only applies to the research study as submitted. Please note that additional modifications to your project need to be submitted to the IRB for review and exemption determination or approval before the modifications are initiated.

We appreciate your conscientious adherence to the requirements of human subjects research. If you have any questions about the IRB process, or if you need assistance at any time, please feel free to contact me at the OPRS office, or visit our website at <http://oprs.research.illinois.edu>.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Rose St. Clair".

Rose St. Clair, BA
Assistant Human Subjects Research Specialist, Office for the Protection of Research Subjects

c: Sohye Kim

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