

Article

Social Confluence Theory, as Applied to Cases of Disability Status and Korean Identity*

Alex LUBET and Hyangeun KIM

Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to introduce social confluence theory, a concept of identity with broad applications in the social sciences and related applied fields such as education and human development, to Korean scholars. The theory, which first appears in research in disability studies in music by Alex Lubet of the School of Music of the University of Minnesota, USA (Lubet 2010b), will first be demonstrated with examples in which disability intersects with music, characteristic of Lubet's scholarship.

The paper is largely grounded in personal narrative, the author's experiences, in particular Alex Lubet. In keeping with current trends in contemporary American qualitative social thought—the work may not be entirely subsumed within “social science”—it draws upon auto-ethnography in developing its central theme of social confluence theory. This is common in Lubet's field of interdisciplinary disability studies. Rather than exploring a single area of data, this article is open-ended. It begins with an exposition of social confluence theory as it has initially been applied in Lubet's research, using examples from the intersection of disability and music. Because it is the authors' contention that social confluence theory has potentially wide applications, the paper proceeds from its summary of extant applications of the theory, on disability and music, to an exploration of the theory's potential, applying it to complex questions of contemporary Korean identity, in the work of Dr. Hyangeun Kim.

The broadly interdisciplinary field of disability studies had its roots in the emergence of the disability rights movement in the United Kingdom in the 1970's. The field contemplates disability as a sociocultural rather than a medical phenomenon, with affinities and intersections with the study of other minority concerns, such as race/ethnicity/national origin and sexuality/gender. The field thus encompasses many disciplines, with representation across the humanities, the social and behavioral sciences, and professional (even medicalized) disciplines such as education, social work, and occupational therapy. One important theoretical foundation of disability studies is the “social

* Dr. Alex Lubet is the lead author of this paper, and Dr. Hyangeun Kim participated as the second and corresponding author in this research.

model” (Linton 1998), which distinguishes embodied (including mental) “impairment” from socially constructed “disability” and in its most radical iterations regards all the disadvantages associated with what is called “disability” in common parlance (but which social model theorists call “impairment”) with socially discriminatory praxis. But the strict social model has been contested almost from its first appearances. A particularly important recent critique is the “realism” of the late Tobin Siebers (2008). Siebers does not reject the idea of disability as socially constructed identity, but views it as a limited perspective on the challenges of life with a disability. He regards embodied disabling difference as at times inherently challenging, beyond social factors. Social confluence theory incorporates elements of both the social and realist models, accepting both, while elaborating upon them to offer a complex and contingent view of identity, applying it to disability, while proposing also its potential to be used in other realms, such as it is used later in this essay in a discussion of what it means in different circumstances to be “Korean.”

The first publications in disability studies in music were by Alex Lubet, beginning in 2002. Since that time, many others have contributed to the field, including Joseph Straus (2011) and George McKay (2013), who have both produced sole-authored monographs in field on, respectively, classical music and jazz. McKay and others, including Michael Bakan (2015, 139) have cited Lubet’s findings, though to date none explicitly reference social confluence theory.

Social confluence theory originated in the author’s own history of performance-related injuries that affected his mobility, and with his interactions with US laws and policies relevant to such injuries. More recently, the research has been extended to include case histories of mobility-impaired keyboard performers as affects their ability to participate in three music communities: classical music, jazz, and electronic dance music (Lubet 2014a, 2014b). The essential tenet of social confluence theory is that within globalized, information-oriented societies such as South Korea and the United States, the fundamental unit of identity has changed. While previously the basic unit of identity within various cultures and societies has been such structures/constructions as the nation-state, tribe, ethnic group, faith community, extended or nuclear family (South Korea), or individual (United States), it is the identity or status of the individual within the sociocultural encounter of the moment—which we call the social confluence—that is now the fundamental

unit of analysis of human identity in advanced societies.

For example, even within different American legal frameworks, the definitions of disability—and thus the characterization of who is or is not disabled—differ. The overarching Americans with Disabilities Act (ADA) defines disability as “a physical or mental impairment that substantially limits one or more major life activities” (ADA.gov). It assumes that the impairment is permanent (though its manifestations may be intermittent) and pertains to employment, education, and public accommodations. It does not, however, distinguish between partial and total disability. By contrast, Workers Compensation laws (which vary from US state to state) apply only to work-related injuries and illnesses. The criteria for disability, which may be temporary or permanent, total or partial, and include conditions that might be regarded as less severe than those that would invoke coverage under the ADA, such as the loss of a tooth or eyebrow (Minnesota Department of Labor and Industry, n.d.). In yet another contrast, US Social Security Disability Insurance, through which the US federal government pays benefits to people with disabilities, regards disability as either long-term or permanent, but provides payment only if the disability is total with regard to ability to work (Social Security, n.d.).

The first section of this article employs examples from the intersection of music and disability. In the interest of making social confluence theory a potentially valuable instrument of analysis for Korean scholars, these music/disability examples are then followed by cases drawn from contemporary Korean identity. Lubet (2010b, 8) has long posited that examples drawn from the intersection of music and paradigm for the application of social confluence theory to other social interactions. It was the occasion of a research trip to Seoul in Summer 2014 (for study at the National Gugak Center and two lectures at Korea University) that in part determined that a further application of social confluence theory would be its application to contemporary Korean identity. As one of the world’s most technologically-advanced, information-oriented, and well-traveled societies, South Korea (as well as its relations with the North) offers an ideal test for the efficacy of social confluence theory, for both the multiplicity of “Korean identities” and the promise of the application of the theory to the understanding of social problems. Additional reasons for the application of the theory to issues of Korean identity were practical.

The invitation to address the Peace and Democracy Institute of Social Science Korea at Korea University (which has no music department) mandated

a means of demonstrating a theory whose initial application was to music, but whose potentials across the social sciences required further examples. Finally, the study was an opportunity for collaboration between Alex Lubet and longtime colleague, Dr. Hyangeun Kim, Department of Social Welfare, Kosin University. Dr. Kim's research on Korean adoptees in Minnesota and Lubet's research on the treatment of Asian students in American university schools of music (as well as his collaborations with Asian-American artists, including his wife, as a performer and composer) made this project a particularly apt one for scholars with similar interests.

Methodology

This is a qualitative study. The establishment of the existence of social confluence at this early stage in the theory's development and application mandates close description of a small number of occurrences. We recognize the potential for the application of the theory to larger numbers and the utilization of quantitative methods. Issues of identity formation obviously lend themselves to consideration of large populations.

The test cases we have used to apply social confluence theory are of individuals (or, in the case concerning electronic dance music, a group of three disabled individuals engaged in the same project) whose disability status was dependent on and transformed by the sociocultural interaction of the moment, that is the social confluence. The examples for the sections on music and disability are drawn from earlier research by Alex Lubet (2010a, 2010b, 2002). The "discovery" of social confluence theory took place in the context of the author's own performance-related injuries and subsequent return-to-work issues, as described briefly in *Music, Disability, and Society* (2010b, 2-3). The author was in effect an inadvertent or "accidental" participant observer. Many years prior to the formalization of social confluence theory, the return-to-work issues related to the author's injuries were presented as hypothetical problems for physicians (Lubet 2002).

The cases from the intersection of music and disability that are chronicled in detail here concern mobility-impaired keyboard musicians and the extent and nature of their opportunity to participate and creative artists in three music communities: classical music, jazz, and electronic dance music. We term the

rights and responsibilities of participation in these communities “citizenship,” a choice of terms whose implications for research with different populations we hope are obvious. These examples, individual or group case histories, are drawn from earlier research (Lubet 2014a). These cases have been constructed from close readings and close viewings of historical records: a combination of scholarship, journalism, and video recordings of musical performances and documentaries.

Although the case histories from the intersection of music and disability occupy a considerable portion of this paper and we believe them to be of interest in and of themselves, their principal purpose in this context is to demonstrate an application of social confluence theory from a well-established body of research, in order to guide and encourage further applications, in particular questions of Korean identity. Our method in this section of the paper is also qualitative, drawing on a combination of prior research, principally by Hyangeun Kim (2012, 2011) and Peter Hayes and Hyangeun Kim (2007), but also by Alex Lubet (2010b, 134-70). In addition, both authors served as participant observers, as active members of Korean and Asian-American communities, the latter particularly in Minnesota, especially the community of Korean adoptees and their families (principally Hyangeun Kim) and the Pan-Asian arts community, largely associated with the Mu Performing Arts organization (principally Alex Lubet). An observation of great interest and relevance took place at a multicultural Sunday service at the Yeondong Presbyterian Church in Seoul, June 15, 2014, attended by Lubet and Kim together.

It needs be noted that all participant observations for the Korean identity portion of this project were retrospective. That is, the project was conceived after the participation took place. Some participation was chronicled in the aforementioned research, while the remainder was drawn from the authors’ memories.

Having applied social confluence theory to the problem of “citizenship” for disabled musicians and having used the theory to illustrate categories of Korean identity, the final step in our method was to speculate upon further potential applications of the theory in both disability status and Korean identity. The disability problem concerned Asperger’s Syndrome/autism/non-neurotypicality, the implications of these very different labels for a single set of emotional/behavioral/functional/cognitive states and traits, development of

support systems, and advocacy and reinforcement of family/social welfare.

Background of Social Confluence Theory: Developing the Idea from Personal Experiences

Social confluence theory as applied to music is sociological rather than musicological in nature. It concerns the roles of people with disabilities in music making communities, rather than musical compositions. It is thus accessible to scholars across disciplines. It is important to make disability and music research as accessible as possible, in particular because many people with disabilities have been denied access to participation in music and music education and would not be able to read music notation or technical terminology in music. It is a fundamental tenet of the field of disability studies that people with disabilities must be participants in research and teaching and, in general, one should not write about people in ways that they cannot access and that cannot benefit them, as these typically require the ability to read music notation, as well as advanced study in music that has remained difficult or even impossible for many people with disabilities (Lubet 2014b). Lubet (2004) discusses the limits of access to Western-style music education for people with disabilities.

Lubet's interest in disability studies originated after he developed a spinal injury in 1999. The injury led to neurosurgery and some very difficult encounters with American medical law and policy. The law and policy issues proved more challenging and frustrating than the medical problems, which thus led him to research into the sociocultural aspects of disability. Previously, only a professor of music composition and an instrumentalist, Lubet felt that there was important work to be done around these concerns. He had a second, far more serious spinal neurosurgery in 2013, which further inspired his research.

As a rule, Lubet has chosen not to publish this research in music journals because they are not accessible to people with disabilities. But, in addition, the research's primary concern is disability, with music serving as a location from which to view disability issues. Thus, scholars in all fields need to be able to access to this work, unhampered by the inclusion of technical jargon from music. In addition to disability studies journals, Lubet's research in disability

and music has appeared in, among others, journals of law (2010a), cognitive sciences (2012), education (2009a, 2009b, 2011), and medicine (2002). What makes the intersection of music and disability particularly interesting and valuable is the manner in which music is, in many cultures, viewed as a talent, something “more.” By contrast, disability is viewed as a deficiency, something “less,” both these perceptions, of musical talent and disability deficiency, are dominant in the US and, we believe, Korea as well.

One can learn a great deal about a society from its intersection of disability and music. For example, when we think of all the symphony orchestras you have ever seen, including everything from children’s groups to professionals, we know we hardly ever have seen a performer who uses a wheelchair. Many of us are aware of the great Israeli violinist Itzhak Perlman, who walks with crutches and sometimes uses a motorized scooter, but we are not concerned with virtuoso soloists, rather with members of the orchestra. Lubet has seen only one in a career of well over forty years, despite the fact that dependence on a wheelchair or other assistive mobility device only rarely has any impact on a person’s ability to play an instrument. There must be some additional social factor at work to discourage musical participation on the part of people with this particular disability.

Our particular interests currently are in a theory and an application. Social confluence theory is a concept of identity that is well illustrated with examples from disability and music (Lubet 2010). Because the theory is predicated on the idea that identity is shaped and transformed by context and because the injuries that disabled musicians *as musicians* are often not regarded as sufficiently severe to be considered disabilities in more typical activities of daily living, the disability status of musicians serves as a paradigmatic example. Further, the laws and policies that govern injured musicians (in the United States, these include Workers’ Compensation, Social Security, and the Americans with Disabilities Act) all define disability differently. We use social confluence theory to expand the idea of citizenship beyond units of government to include musical institutions and particular musical professions.

Social confluence theory concerns identity and social units of analysis (Lubet 2014a, 123-28). Historically, the principal unit of social identity and analysis has varied according to cultural tradition and historical era and, according to context. It might be the nation-state, tribe, family unit of varying sizes, or the individual. Social confluence theory proposes that, in a globalized,

high technology, information-oriented society, there are no stable identities. Rather, identity changes constantly according to the interaction of the moment, that is, the social confluence. Therefore, one's identity could be more multi-dimensional in an open and post-modern society than in a closed and traditional society.

The idea of social confluence was based on Lubet's personal experience, a music professor from the University of Minnesota in USA, one of the authors of this study (Lubet 2010, 2-3), although it is widely applicable. This happened on a day that included a series of meetings, all concerned with return to work, after the first of two spinal surgeries. In each of these encounters, the author's identity as a person with a disability was different, according to different categories of American law and policy. His attorney, whose concern was the law relating to work injuries, regarded him as a person with a significant permanent partial disability. Lubet's medical doctor, whose concern was the law concerning disability accommodations in the workplace, also argued that Lubet was disabled and thus entitled to such accommodations as adaptive equipment. The university's disability services argued that the doctor's analysis was wrong and that he was not disabled at all. Outside of the realm of official law and policy, injury rendered him incapable of a certain level of professional musical technique on his instrument, guitar. Thus, in that social confluence, of professional classical guitarists, he would be completely disabled, incapable of functioning at a professional level at all. Thus, according to different social confluences, his disability status could have been anything from not disabled at all to completely disabled. It implies that the complexity of disability status might lead to identity confusion, social conflict and tension on an individual level and societal level, as well as contradictions between contrasting laws and policies. However, unfortunately, there is as of yet very little research in this field. More research into the dynamics of this complexity is needed.

The last example of social confluence, professional music making, differs from the others in that it is not an example of official, formalized law or policy. It nonetheless affects one's life in a manner that has at least as much impact as the force of law, government, or policy. As academics, we understand well that our universities and our professional associations, journals, and book publishers all govern our professional lives, largely with formal policies. At times, these can have more impact on our lives than the laws of state. Similarly, for those involved in music and music education at high levels, the rules of participation,

sometimes formal but sometimes simply accepted, govern our lives to a high degree.

Lubet (2014a) looks at the idea of different areas of citizenship, not just formal government but other social confluences, such as different musical practices, and examines what are the rights and responsibilities of participation. It asks the questions, who is permitted to participate, at what level, and with what restrictions. Our particular interest is in different musical practices and the rights and responsibilities afforded within them to people with disabilities. However, our goal is not so much in music and disability per se, as in the intersection of music and disability as a social confluence through which we might think about citizenship in a different and broader way.

In a recent study, Lubet (2014a) compared the experiences of musical keyboard performers with mobility impairments of the hands and arms in three different musical practices, to determine their degree of citizenship. The musical practices discussed were classical music, jazz, and electronic dance music. We learned through this study that, as regards musical citizenship, the nature of the disability and the instrument the person plays matter a great deal in terms of rights and responsibilities, a subject we will treat in our conclusion.

With regards to the idea of citizenship for disabled people within a musical community, the issues are simple, straightforward, and differ little from more conventional ideas of citizenship: Who is permitted to participate? What are the features of the community's cultural and social system that facilitate and/or inhibit participation? The authors of this study treated a third question, whether conditions differ between men and women, elsewhere, but will not here. However, the reader can rest assured that, in every situation examined, gender has made a difference in the way disabled men and women are treated, no different from non-disabled men and women. Besides gender, individual factors such as ethnicity, age, class, education, and music area could be significant working factors. Meanwhile, we also need to consider social factors such as openness and level of understanding and social welfare for the minority groups that could promote and/or restrain participation.

Of course, in the realm of citizenship as it is conventionally understood, restrictions on immigration owing to disability or illness are quite familiar. In the United States, these limitations have been chronicled by historian Douglas Baynton (2001, 45-50). Professions other than music where restrictions based on disability are imposed include physicians, for whom depression is both

common and subject to social prejudice and discrimination through both policy and attitude (Davis et al. 2003, 3161-66).

Analyzing Impacts on Citizenship: Examples from Disability and Music

The first musical community we will consider is that of Western classical music. One thing that is interesting about classical music is that it is so international and that its conventions and practices are so similar almost everywhere in the world, regardless of whether the society as a whole is authoritarian or democratic. Here, we will look into the cases and settings where citizenship might be influenced and considering dynamics that works on disability in the professional music field.

The first musical example is of the great American pianist Leon Fleisher, performing the Cadenza from the *Piano Concerto for the Left Hand in D Major* by French composer Maurice Ravel (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=X0LBezQGLNo>). It was written for the German pianist Paul Wittgenstein, who lost an arm in combat in World War I. Fleisher did not lose an arm or any fingers, but he has the condition called focal dystonia, which is so common among musician's that it is sometimes called musicians' dystonia (Sacks 2010, 289-300). Focal dystonia is task-specific, meaning that the hand will refuse to perform certain functions. For musicians, it is playing their instruments. The condition is thus obviously related to overwork and/or damaging practice habits.

Among classical musicians with hand injuries, with few exceptions, it is only possible for keyboard performers to continue their work despite their disability, and only if the injury is to one hand only. This owes to the way the instrument can be played with one hand. On other instruments, this is only possible with adaptive technologies, for example, a special kind of saxophone, or a prosthetic device for the right arm to hold a violin bow, but these are rare (Woldendorp and van Gils 2012). The adaptation that one-handed pianists use is special compositions, written for one hand only. Although these have existed since the 19th century, when they were often written for veterans injured in war (Lerner 2006, 76), they are not especially common and only a few like the Ravel are well-known. For Leon Fleisher, this meant that after injuring

his right hand, he played the Ravel *Concerto* thousands of times, rather than having a great variety of works to perform. It is also the case that hand-injured classical pianists are never known simply, as “pianists.” Rather, they are referred to as “one-handed pianists,” a label that includes a stigma. Fleisher became so depressed because of his disability and the limitations it imposed on his career that at one time he considered suicide (Reed 1996).

The limits on Fleisher’s “citizenship,” a very small repertoire of pieces he could play and the stigmatizing label of “one-handed pianist” are a result of the conventional practices of classical music. Music is notated in a fixed version that the performer is not expected to change and very few composers want to write pieces for disabled artists, so there is not much to play. Further, if a hand is injured, it is not used at all, even if it might have some function. Thus, as citizens of the social confluence of professional classical pianists, one-handed artists have limited access to music they can play and are stigmatized because of it. In this case, it is obvious that if one is a one-handed pianist, he or she has to struggle with not only low accessibility to classical music performance, owing to a limited repertoire, but also with social prejudice, stigma, and discrimination owing to their disability.

Our next example comes from jazz. It features African-American pianist Horace Parlan, performing with saxophonist-vocalist Archie Shepp (n.d.). The most notable difference between classical pianist Leon Fleisher and jazz pianist Horace Parlan with regard to their disabled hand is that Parlan plays with his, even though it is essentially immobile (Lubet 2010b, 51-58). He uses the two fingers that are locked into a suitable playing position as if they were xylophone mallets. No classical composer would ever write pieces specially tailored to a unique disability. However, jazz operates very differently. Performers are responsible for composing their own individual contributions, according to their own tastes and abilities within the limits of the composition and style. This means that Horace Parlan has relatively few limits to the compositions he could play and has had a long career as both a soloist and an accompanist to many great performers. He is not a “one-handed pianist” nor is he ever referred to as a “disabled pianist.” All indications are that he has had a happy life and a very full career, not limited by having only a small number of compositions to play.

What we have seen thus far is that both classical music and jazz offer access some access to participation, what I call citizenship, to people with

physical disabilities that affect and limit how they play keyboard instruments. The limitations within classical music are significant. Notably, there is only a small choice of pieces available and injured hands may not be used, even if they have limited facility. In jazz, the situation is different. The choice of pieces is not limited and an injured hand may be used. Creativity and flexibility appear to be virtues of jazz in this respect, Lubet was taught are also characteristics of Korean folk music, according to the lecture of Professor Jiyoung Yi of Seoul National University. There are nonetheless significant limitations on who may participate in either of these musical systems. On the professional level, both jazz and classical music require virtuosity and even if the artists we have heard have only one virtuoso hand, they are still virtuosos. This may seem reasonable, but we might also ask ourselves whether the kind of physical ability that resembles athletics should really be a requirement for participation in music. What if a person with severe physical limitations nonetheless has a wonderful musical capacity with his aura sensibility and musical imagination?

In the meantime, in certain styles of music there are possibilities for participation for even people with the most serious physical limitations, even to participate as equals. The answer lies partly in technology and partly in the character of the music itself. Increasingly, in many kinds of music, live instrumental performance is being partly or completely replaced by programming. A particularly interesting example of a musical cultural system, whether one likes the music or not, is electronic dance music, because the musical pieces themselves are programmed and not played live at all. The next example is a documentary on the Mindtunes project, featuring DJ Fresh and Mindtunes (n.d.).

What was achieved compositionally by musicians with significant mobility impairments in the Mindtunes project referenced above is potentially possible in other musical systems as well, including classical music. The accepted paradigm for the training of classical musicians, which begins with performance and requires a performance component nearly throughout, even for those seeking a career in research, however, makes this impossible. One of the more famous examples of such discrimination concerns the great German baritone Thomas Quasthoff, whose arms and legs are severely attenuated, owing to thalidomide use by his mother during her pregnancy. Despite an acknowledged formidable talent (that has led to a storied international career), Quasthoff was denied admission to the Music Academy in Hanover, Germany

(and told by the professor for whom he auditioned that he would be rejected everywhere), because his disability rendered it impossible for him to satisfy the piano requirement (Quasthoff 2008, 87-88). Doubtless, a potential composer with the same limitations would encounter similar obstacles, if not worse (because the piano requirement in the training of a composer is typically quite demanding).

This example gives only an idea of what is possible in a musical system to enable even severely disabled people to participate more completely. It is not perfect. The technology is still experimental and there are still many limits on what a disabled person can do within the culture of electronic dance music. It is true that the musical compositions are recorded rather than performed and that this is a great opportunity for people with disabilities. Even so, the other things a DJ does in a club are not possible for the gentlemen in the video. And even more important, there is an important element of performance in this music, dancing, that cannot be done in conventional ways by many people with disabilities.

There are two fundamental goals of this paper, for which music serves more as a vehicle than the subject matter. The first concerns disability and how different environments, which we call social confluences, make people more or less disabled. For the keyboard artists with mobility disabilities for whom we have provided examples, classical music is the most disabling environment and electronic dance music the least disabling. One thing that is particularly interesting for the authors is that the disability rights movement wishes to have people with disabilities regarded as a single, unified minority group, regardless of their particular disabilities. There are good reasons for this and there have been good laws and policies adopted in individual nations and by the UN on this model (ADA.gov. n.d.; United Nations 2006).

At the same time, what is required to create more equity in life for people differs according to people's disabilities. A parallel study concerning participation in music by blind people would have yielded very different results. Lubet's current research involves blind musicians and the findings are extremely different. It is noted that blindness presents serious barriers to participation in classical music and almost none in jazz, where blind musicians are, at least during performance, not or barely disabled at all, as sight is of little importance in a music that is principally an oral tradition and use of notation and conductors is limited.

There have been several accomplished blind classical pianists such as Bernard D'Ascoli (Bernard D'Ascoli n.d.) and Nobuyuki Tsujii (Nobuyuki Tsujii n.d.), the important blind pianist/composer, Joaquín Rodrigo (1901-1999) and major organist/composers, including Francesco Landini (1325 or 1335-1397) and Louis Vierne (1870-1937). But, as noted in Lubet (2004), classical music has always made exceptions for extraordinary talents with disabilities, while even the merely excellent, such as those who might inhabit professional, or even academic and community orchestras and bands, are rarely found.

Application to Identity Studies: Examples from Minority Groups

Our interest in introducing social confluence theory to Korean audiences (initially through Dr. Hyangeun Kim's arranging venues for Dr. Lubet's lectures at Korea University) was principally to present a social theory to audiences of social scientists and legal scholars. That the examples presented came from intersections of music and disability was only a function of the particular content of Dr. Lubet's research and obviously not intended to imply potential applications of the theory to research in or about Korea.

It is not, however, only because this theory was presented to Korean scholars that we believe that it is particular apt to examination of Korean identity. Korea may be the paradigm example of a globalized and information-oriented nation, its people among the most traveled and widely educated, its culture simultaneously deeply ensconced in myriad traditional values and profoundly Westernized (notably in religion), the latter likely beyond most if not all other Asian countries. A particular intricacy of Korean identity is the Korean experience in the United States, in travel, education, immigration, and international adoption, the last of these a focal point of Dr. Kim's research in both Korea and the US. Notably, the US state with the greatest concentration of Korean adoption is Minnesota, where Dr. Lubet teaches and where Dr. Kim has traveled for research numerous times, most recently as a Fulbright Scholar. It was at Dr. Lubet's suggestion that Dr. Kim extended her research to include a focus on international disability adoption, with an emphasis on Korean adoption. It is thus the rich intricacies of contemporary Korean life, in Korea

and abroad, that make Korean identity a topic that lends itself particularly well to the application of social confluence theory.

In addition to disabilities and music, this research is also concerned with possible applications for the idea of social confluence. It is obviously useful for discussing minority and majority identities. For example, the authors took part in a multicultural Sunday service at the Yeondong Presbyterian Church, June 15, 2014, in Seoul, where the topic of racism as a matter of concern in Korea was discussed. The principal subject of the sermon was Filipino guest workers. The following week the topic of the sermon would be North Korean refugees. Each group was considered a minority in South Korea. Filipinos were considered a racial minority and it seems, because they would be the topic of a multicultural discussion, even North Koreans were being treated as a racial minority. Throughout most of the United States, both groups and Koreans in general would be, for racial purposes, classified as a part of a single group, Asians and Pacific Islanders.

In some US laws and policies, however, Asians as a group are set apart from other non-white racial groups and not afforded minority rights. For example, in 2012, at the University of Minnesota, a committee was formed by the Office of Equity and Diversity whose purpose was to help mentor racial minority faculty whom we call “faculty of color.” Asians were not considered a primary group of interest for this committee because they are far better represented on the faculty and are more successful in gaining academic tenure and promotion. The same success rate often differentiates Asians from other non-white groups in university admissions policies. It is sometimes said that considering Asians as a unified group for this purpose is a problem because certain communities such as Korean-Americans, Vietnamese-Americans, and Japanese-Americans have enjoyed high success in many quality of life indicators, while other groups, particularly those with high populations of more recent immigrants and from poorer countries, such as Hmong-Americans, have had less success and should be served by the same minority policies as other non-white racial minorities. This case implies there would be significant influences on individuals and groups derived from the use of differentiated identities connected with either more favor treatment or with discrimination (Hayes and Kim 2007; Kim 2012).

Our point is not to argue for or against these policies, only to observe that a person who is part of the Korean majority here would be part of an Asian

minority in the US, but might not be considered a minority “person of color” in terms of corrective equity policies. In other words, individual and group (national/ethnic) identity might vary greatly according to social confluence, an environment of factors that might include such factors as location, culture, policy, law, family, and work. Below, we will review previous literature in the field.

Kim Sunbae’s research (2010) on the cultural politics of place names in Korea can be viewed as one of the relevant studies considering the importance of context. According to him, the indicative and distinguishing functions of place names could represent and constitute the identity and ideology of the members of the community. Since the Korean peninsula has a long history and a geopolitical location as a borderland and a buffer zone, it has provided a rich context for cultural diversity and power relations, which has caused social subjects to contest their identity and social capital. Kim examined cases connected with cultural-political transformation behind Korean place names, focusing on identity, ideology, power, and territory. He emphasized that the study of cultural politics best suits an analysis of changing place names. This discipline is interested in the culture wars over the meaning of culture among different social subjects. As culture wars are rooted in ideology, religion, class difference, and the social construction of racial, ethnic, and gender differences (Mitchell 2000), it is about defining what is legitimate in a society; who is an “insider/outsider?” Kim’s research considering cultural politics can be a valuable approach in terms of applications of social confluence on group dynamics and identity development.

Kim Hyeonseon (2005) related identity to memory saying that a group’s identity can be explored from the types of memories preserved by that group. She analyzed the contents and usage of national symbols such as state rituals and symbolic spaces and analyzed the process of reproducing historical memories through national symbols. She observed that state rituals and special places for remembrance are types of historic memory reproduced by the state. She believed the contents of historical memories are produced and changed according to political needs and explained how each regime has used historical memory for legitimizing its ideology and/or policies, and for symbolizing its identity. Nevertheless, she considered that what is represented as Korean national identity, like the Korean people or the state, has been reproduced unchanged through, for example, a national holiday such as “Gaecheonjeol”

(Founding Day of Korea). In addition, she referenced national symbols, which generally reconstruct an image of Korea's past, through which the state reproduces the belief of purity and the eternal character of the nation.

In his research on "Cultural Identity in a Digital Era," Hong Sungmin (2001) observed that new technologies of the information-oriented society have influences not only upon the present economic system but also upon our lifestyles. He forecasted that Koreans' emotion and taste might gradually become accustomed to a new sensibility. According to Hong, the tendency of cultural imperialism that is appearing through digital mass media might break up ethnic identity. Globalization can be seen as a concept that defines an individual's identity from an entirely new perspective. In the past, ethnic identity was rooted in exclusivity of physical space and transmitted experiences from ancestors, but nowadays, restriction of time and space operates relatively less upon cultural identity formation totally. Still, discrimination between culturally advanced countries and culturally underdeveloped countries exists in our changed life styles. We should be aware of that, in a pivot of globalization built up by information-oriented society, being buried in the logic of advanced capitalism, beside benefits from advanced civilization, there is an inclination toward cultural imperialism that can lead to a crisis in one's own country. Hong argues that for a need to focus upon invisibility when we study cultural identity since the logic of a sign (symbol) covers up its propensity for imperialism in the digital era.

Chung Chulhee (2013) investigated the influence of cultural tradition on democracy in South Korea focusing on Confucianism. As a result of a factor analysis on the relevant variables of Confucian values he found three meaningful factors: filial piety, patrilineal consciousness, and familial collectivism. He believed these factors indicated Confucian emphasis on family since filial piety prescribes relations within the family and patrilineal consciousness dictates how family identity is perpetuated and reproduced. According to him, Confucian tradition exerts no effect on support for political democracy but has a negative impact on support for democracy in social relations. He noted that the authoritarian effect of Confucian values weakens in the presence of social forces such as urbanization and Christianity and that Protestant belief diminishes the negative effects of Confucianism. He referred to Singapore, where Asian values have been emphasized in a conservative attempt to preserve a distinct Asian identity in the face of

cultural encroachments from multi-ethnic groups and Westernizing forces. He suggested that Confucianism is adapted to new social trends and that the relationship between tradition and modernity is not one of antithesis, but of mutual accommodation.

In his comparison study on national identity, Kim Byungjo (2002) agreed with Huntington's hypothesis that in the post-Cold War period, the most important criterion for differentiating individuals is not ideology, politics, or economics, but culture. Oftentimes, ethnic conflict is severe and nationalism and racialism are growing tendencies even in an era of globalization. He found that, in Asian countries, there is more acceptance of globalization if there is more development. However, even when a developed Asian country accepts globalization in the market, it maintains its national identity socially, since cultural identity as an Asian nation or ethnicity, differentiated from the West, is clearly present even in the globalized world. He also found that, although there are cultural similarities between adjacent nations, they have different national identities in terms of, for example, politics and attitudes toward militarism. In East Asian countries including Korea, in light of modernization and globalization, it has come to be expected that individuality rather than united behaviors based on the common value of Confucian culture would become the dominant value.

In particular, Korea has been changed rapidly from an agriculture-based society to an industrial, urbanized, and globalized society focusing on traditional values such as collectivism and nationalism that were prevalent to industrial, urbanized, and globalized society, where the growth of information and communication technologies reinforces individuality, diversity, individualism, and liberalism (Hong 2011; Lee 2005). Experiencing this radical transition, there has been coexistence of collectivism or nationalism based on the traditional Confucian values and ideas of individualism or deconstruction promoted in modern/post-modern society and liberal democracy (Lee 2008). Meanwhile, the phenomena of inter/intra personal collision or discord in terms of role conflicts and generational clash derived from being in between of these two contrary if not conflicting values are easily observed and regarded as one of the serious social issues in Korea (Cho 2013).

The research reviewed above implies that the concept of social confluence as concerns the definition of identities can be useful in answering a variety of research questions. It has, for example, been shown that a unified concept of

disability, while useful for problem solving in some law, policy, and cultural environments, is less useful than consideration of separate categories of disability in other environments. It may also be useful in understanding how Koreans may understand themselves and be understood by others in a global context. In particular, we will offer examples from an American context, including the unique situation of Korean people in the US state of Minnesota. One potential research question would be the impact of formal exposure to Korean culture (such as “Korean culture camps,” Korean language study, and conferences in Korea) on identity formation, self-esteem, and perception of quality of life among overseas Korean adoptees. Analogous questions might concern North Korean refugees in South Korea.

If Americans think much about Korea, they tend to think of it as a culturally homogenous country, based on its single, common language and relatively small representation of ethnic minorities. However, in the lectures, one of the authors of this study attended at the National Gugak Center in June 2014, it was shown repeatedly that the culture of Korea is quite regionalized, in a manner not so different from the USA, such that people may at times be known as having come from a particular place. So called (according to Koreans’ common but negative expressions) “regionalism”: that is more specified in Korea as many terms of “regional color” (*jibangsaek*), “regional emotion” (*jijukgamjeong*), or “regional inequity” (*jijukbulpyugdeung*), “regional discrimination” (*jijukchabyul*) could be the most critical component when one’s identity is perceived or understood by themselves and others, prior to their individual traits or characteristics. This is national widely as well known “social evil,” a serious vice that is frequently being said “must be overcome or eliminated.” The over-generalization of regional identity might induce stereotypes, prejudice, and stigma and hinder social inclusion and conflict resolutions (Chung 2004; Chung 2011; Kim 2015; Kwon 2012; Lee 2010).

Korean society has expeditiously moved to become a more multicultural and heterogeneous society, transformed from its earlier status and self-identification as a unitary and homogeneous society, because the population of foreigners has been rising continuously since 1990. In 2014, the total number of immigrants was over 1.5 million, accounting for 3.1% of the total population of South Korea (The Korean Ministry of Security and Public Administration 2014). In light of globalization, a low birth rate, and an aging society, it is presumed that the number of people from the multicultural of

diverse ethnicities, such as marriage immigrants, foreign workers, and North Korean refugees will keep growing. If this tendency were maintained, in 2020, 20 percent of the total population, one family among five families on a national scale, would be from multicultural or multiethnic backgrounds. The increasing rate of foreign population between 2008 and 2013 in Korea was 13.6%, far higher than the average rate of OECD countries, 5.9%, in the same period. Above all, international marriage immigrants are the main factor in the rapid transition to a multicultural society, increasing more than 10% each year (*The Daily News in Religion* 2014).

Given this dynamic, there remains a normative perception if not an ideal of long lasting homogeneous identity, in terms of race, ethnicity, nation, and language that were powerful in the traditionally closed Korean society. Therefore, a uniform, standardized concept of Korean identity rooted in the nation's long history and a diverse and flexible transformed Korean identity rising in the post-modern era coexist. Sometimes, diversification has positive influences and effects on Korean people and Korean society, reinforcing the capacity for multicultural acceptance and generating a dynamic energy for the promotion of a tolerant civil society. However, oftentimes racial exclusivity and discrimination, identity confusion of children of international marriage couples, collision between ethnic subcultures have induced serious social tension and conflict in contemporary Korean society (Kim 2011).

There are diverse studies on minority groups in Korea. We review some of them related to our idea of social confluence here. Jo Hyeyoung (2000) focused on ethnic identity and language among second generation Korean-Americans. To study how immigrant children perceive themselves in their host country, Jo investigated second-generation Korean-American college students' ethnic identity in relation to their views on language. She found that, even though language is generally considered a distinguishing marker of national/ethnic identity and the second generation of Korean-Americans has become native speakers of English as their first language, they did not simply regard themselves as assimilated Americans. She observed that becoming a native English speaker does not necessarily mean the loss of ethnic identity, and that learning Korean, their heritage language, does not necessarily lead to formation of a homogeneous Korean ethnic identity. In her study, she found that the second generation of Korean-Americans was aware of their ethnic origins and current status as ethnic minorities, although their personal ways of coming

to terms with their identity are diverse. She concluded that ethnic identity is something they continuously try to configure.

Lee Junsik (2005) examined the ethnic identity of Korean-Chinese living in China. He suggested a possible way for Koreans living overseas to establish themselves in the regions where they are living now and at the same time not to lose their own identity, even though they have become minorities in their new environments. His suggestion should serve as a possible inspiration for all Korean people to embrace overseas Koreans who have suffered the hardship of the modern and contemporary history of Korea. Such alternatives would also lead to an opening of a new chapter of nationalism in which we could overcome the obsessive myth of a “single race carrying a pure, untainted bloodline,” and find ways to establish nationalism based upon the riches of freedom and equal civil communities.

In his comparison study on nationality between Korea and China, Choe Hyun (2005) examined the various states and phases of nations and peoples in the real world comparing Korea and China. He tried to answer the question of exactly why an ethnic-centered understanding of nationhood was established in Korea, and why a state-centered understanding of nationhood was more prominent in China, by examining a long period beginning from the pre-modern era until the colonial and semi-colonial periods, and finally up until the present day. Korea and China have long shared similar traditions of Confucianism, and both countries started to establish their nation-states when they faced colonization under threat from Western powers during the late 19th century. However, these two countries had different pasts, in terms of racial profiles, and each chose a different concept of nationhood during the period of nation formation. As a result, Choe concludes, although they are both East Asian countries, Korea and China came to harbor almost contradictory versions of nationhood.

In the United States, depending upon the social confluence, a Korean might be thought of simply as Korean or as North Korean or South Korean, but also as Asian or, depending on one's immigration or citizenship status, an Asian-American. In some social confluences, Korean would be considered a minority, in others not. A Korean or Korean-American would invariably be considered a “person of color.” In Minnesota, which has the largest number of Korean adoptees anywhere, with their own version of Korean culture, including their own newspaper and blog, some Koreans might find themselves

referred to, surprisingly, as “non-adoptees.” Every one of these designations has different implications for how one might be expected or required to conduct oneself in different situations.

Here, we review a previous study of Korean adoptees’ identity. Kim Jinyoung (2005) studied adoptees’ self-identity, analyzing their oral data. First, he mentioned that he had an identity crisis of marginalization when he was staying in the US. His personal experience of loss, loneliness, confusion, and self-awareness led him to research the identity development of minority groups such as Asian-American immigrants and Korean adoptees. He found adoptees had difficulties in their identity development since they were confronted with such an obviously different physical and emotional environment. He noted that for an adoptee to become motivated to resolve her or his sense of cultural inconsistency, character development, and emotional maturation are required. Research shows that growth of understanding of both their original family and their adoptive family, based on empathy and understanding from both communities, seemed helpful for adoptees to develop a healthy self-identity. He perceived identity development as a process of self-integration and as a challenge or task not only for adoptees but also for other minority groups including non-adoptee immigrants.

In the first half section of this paper, music, understood as a “talent,” is thus often regarded as something “more.” In contrast, disability is commonly regarded across many cultural traditions as something “less.” This results in a somewhat contradictory location for a disabled musician as at once more and less. At one level therefore, he or she may be able to transcend perceived limitations, but at another level be restricted in opportunities and thus less than a full citizen of the confraternity of professional musicians.

A similar understanding might be used more extensively in the analysis of Korean identity in the USA and in particular among adopted Koreans, both domestic and international. The specific research areas in need of further study in which social confluence theory might be valuable include: The transition (not always entirely successful) from being categorized as an orphan (less) to being part of a family (more) (Jones 2015); Popular perceptions (perhaps stronger in Korea than in the US) of a natural-biological family as “more” and an adoptive family as “less”; The double stigmatization of a disabled adoptive child in Korea. The number of domestic adoptions of non-disabled children in recent years has been static or declining, while there has been little

or no increase in domestic disability adoption because the stigma of disability remains strong. The ratio of domestic to international adoptions has increased, but only because the Korean government has controlled the number of international adoptions. A skewed ratio exists for disabled adoptees—more domestic than international—but with many more going abroad, because of hesitation on the part of Korean families to adopt disabled children (Kim 2011); and the difference, between a native citizen as “more” and an immigrant (particularly a non-citizen, and especially an illegal immigrant) as “less,” as pertains to Asian Americans, including internationally adopted Koreans (and possibly also to migrants in Korea). In a recent occurrence in the United States, Korean adoptee Adam Crasper, aged 39 and married with children, has been threatened with deportation because his negligent adoptive family never applied for citizenship for him (Wozniacka 2015).

An example from Japanese ethnicity is illustrative in different ways. Dr. Shiraishi Iris, Dr. Lubet’s wife, is of Japanese ethnicity and was born and raised in Hawai’i, where there are also many people of Korean ancestry. Japanese in Hawai’i have always regarded themselves as different from those on the US mainland, in large part because they were long the majority in Hawai’i, and are still the largest ethnic group. In other words, Dr. Shiraishi was not a member of a minority group growing up. When she was growing up, she always considered herself not Japanese-American, but Japanese, consistent with the custom for all Asian ethnic groups in Hawai’i at the time. When she came to the mainland USA to study, she began to think of herself more as a Japanese-American. As a member of a minority for the first time, she became seriously interested in Japanese culture, studying the language and music. Eventually, many people of Asian ancestry in the US began to think of themselves as Asian-American. Shiraishi worked for many years for an Asian-American performing arts organization, teaching and performing *taiko*. Although *taiko* is a drumming tradition from Japan, it is widely considered an Asian-American art form in the US. Shiraishi’s successor as leader of this *taiko* group is a Korean-American adoptee and many of the other drummers have been as well. While Asian-American is a term of culture and identity, in the US, Asian and Pacific Islander, the latter meaning an indigenous person of such places as Hawai’i, Tahiti, and Samoa, is a legal category of minority identity, despite Pacific Island cultures being very different from those of Asia.

Our point here is that while social confluence theory is useful in the

study of music and disability, it may have broad application with regard in other situations. It is even applicable to a phenomenon in which music and disability intersect with Korean identity. In the final chapter of his book, *Music, Disability, and Society*, Lubet (2010, 134-70) concerns the treatment of international students studying in American schools of music. Many of these students are from Korea, probably the majority of international students in the University of Minnesota School of Music and many others. A study by Fischhoff et al. (1999) has shown that Asians and Asian-Americans, even if they are American-born and their English is perfect, are subject to prejudice on the basis of a perception of “language disability” (Lubet 2010, 161-65). The result in the case of international students in American schools of music is that they are often treated inhospitably and receive a worse education than they deserve. These students are, of course, exceptional, and have worked hard on to achieve foreign language skills that few American students have, even if their English is less than perfect. Lubet (2010, 145-49) offered suggestions for better and more equitably educating international students, some of these based on programs already in use at a few American schools of music.

Conclusion

Our purpose here has been to introduce social confluence theory and to illustrate the potentials of the theory. First, we introduced the theory with illustrations from the intersection of music and disability, to which it was first applied. Examples of keyboard musicians with mobility impairments in three different musical idioms were used to demonstrate the manner in which disability status is dependent upon their social confluence, that is, the sociocultural context, which may enable or disable musical participation in varying degrees.

Next, we demonstrated social confluence theory’s application to Korean and other Asian self-identities. Our goal here was to show the possibilities for the application of social confluence theory not only to disability status but also, for example, to characterizations of ethnicity. It was demonstrated that a person of Korean heritage might be identified in radically different ways, depending on social confluence, including such categories as “Korean,” “Jeju Islander,” “South Korean,” “Asian,” “Korean-American,” or “non-adoptivee.”

The implications and potentials of social confluence theory for disability studies extend beyond its initial (and ongoing) applications to intersections of disability and music. One of the most obvious applications concerns Autism Spectrum Conditions (Ockelford 2013, 9). For example, the removal of a distinctive Asperger's Syndrome diagnosis from the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, Fifth Edition (DSM-5), while controversial in the medical community as a matter of diagnostic criteria (Kaland 2011), has been controversial within the online autism spectrum community in terms of identity formation (Giles 2014). A further controversy concerns that community's rejection of a disability identity, in favor of one of non-neurotypical difference that includes advantages in certain occupational categories (Lorenz and Heinitz 2014). An investigation into the social confluences that generate different autistic/Asperger's/non-neurotypical identities and the benefits and liabilities of each could prove productive.

Finally, we recommend further application of social confluence theory to social problems that concern complex identities within complex societies. Additional variables on personal and social levels that can be better understood from the perspective of social confluence are possible. For example, although Lubet (2010b) is principally an examination of disability, nearly every example also demonstrates a difference in disability status based on gender. Not only the range of research subjects (which might also include diverse sexualities), but also the research methods should be expanded. While this study relies on qualitative methods, further research needs to employ quantitative methods with larger numbers and develop correspondingly appropriate instruments and data analysis. Finally, we hope to studies focusing on advocacy or social actions based on the results from social confluence approach. For example, research on building up of institutional social support for promotion of human rights and social welfare of those suffering from disability status and identity conflict should be facilitated in the future. As we have shown, there is a rich literature concerning Korean identity that is indicative of the value of this new analytical tool. A far smaller literature of Korean disability studies exists as well, but disability status is also an important issue for an advanced society, particularly a robust democracy and a technological leader.

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Alex LUBET (lubet001@umn.edu) is Morse Alumni/Graduate & Professional Distinguished Teacher of Music at the University of Minnesota (USA), with additional appointments/ teaching responsibilities in American Studies, Jewish Studies, Cognitive Sciences, and the Center for Bioethics. He is the Head of the Division of Creative Studies and Media in the School of Music and of his university's Interdisciplinary Graduate Group in Disability Studies. He is the author of *Music, Disability, and Society*, a contributing editor to several other volumes, and author of dozens of articles, principally in the field of disability studies in music. A multi-instrumentalist and composer, his 2013 CD *Spectral Blues* was chosen as a "Best Album of 2013 (in any genre)" by noted jazz critic Ted Gioia. In 2014, he participated in the International Gugak Workshop in Seoul, as a guest of the Korean government.

Hyangeun KIM (hekim@kosin.ac.kr) is associate professor of social welfare at Kosin University. Her research interests are multicultural, minority groups, immigrants, North Korean refugees, and adoptive family with a focus on education, human development, and family welfare. She is the author of many books including *Current Status and Tasks of Multicultural Education* (2008); *Family Relationship* (2009); *Human Behavior and Social Environment* (2011); *Comprehension of Multicultural Society* (2011); *Interpretation of Multiculture from a Progressive Perspective* (2011); *Issues of Human Development* (2012); *Family Life Education* (in progress); and *Adolescent Welfare* (in progress).

Abstract

This paper presents an exposition of social confluence theory, a concept of identity formation first introduced by Alex Lubet. The theory posits that the fundamental unit of identity in globalized, high technology, information-oriented societies such as the United States and South Korea is no longer a relatively stable unit such as the nation-state, ethnic group, faith community, nuclear or extended family, or individual. Rather, it is the status of the individual or group within the sociocultural or psychosocial encounter of the moment, which we call the *social confluence*. We first demonstrate the application of the theory with examples from the intersection of disability and music. To further illustrate the theory's potential, we apply it to Korean identity, demonstrating the great mutability of that identity across different contexts or social confluences, using examples from South Korea and the United States, including international Korean adoptees, North Korean refugees, and Korean and other Asian-Americans in pan-Asian arts organizations. We conclude by proposing research topics in disability studies and Korean studies for which social confluence theory seems particularly apt, in particular the categorizations of people with Autistic Spectrum Conditions, while proposing extended research applications for the theory, with particular attention toward South Korea.

Keywords: social confluence theory, disability, music, identity, Korean adoptees, minorities

