

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

Multicultural Education in the Republic of Korea: How Elementary School Teachers
Interpret Multicultural Education and Its Practical Use in Classrooms

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Education.

by

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2013

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Multicultural Education in the Republic of Korea: How Elementary School Teachers Interpret
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by

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Doctor of Philosophy in Education

University of California, Los Angeles, 2013

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The Republic of Korea (hereafter, Korea) has historically affirmed that the country is ethnically homogeneous and this belief is often expressed in the nation's government compiled and issued textbooks. However, this dogmatic view does not correspond to the trends of globalization with mass global migration. International organizations also urged the Korean government to alter its emphasis on mono-ethnicity and revise this notion in the curriculum. Given both the external recommendations and the internal demographic transformation, the government eventually revised curriculum and initiated multicultural education. This study examines how Korean elementary school teachers recognize multicultural contents in textbooks and how they analyze and communicate them in class. In order to investigate this, three research questions were raised:

a. What multicultural content is in elementary school textbooks? b. How do elementary school

teachers consider the subject of multicultural education? c. How do teachers communicate multiculturalism to their students at the elementary school level? To answer these questions, I analyzed fifth grade Korean Language and sixth grade Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks utilizing Christine I. Bennett's "Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum." Interviews were also conducted with fifth and sixth grade teachers to explore how they recognize and communicate multicultural content in class.

The study had two major findings. First, most interviewed teachers thought that multicultural education material should relate to multicultural family issues. These teachers perceived the term multiculturalism and multicultural education as referring to multicultural families, that is, foreign workers and marriage immigrant families. This was due to how the government initiated multicultural education and defined these families. Second, teachers interviewed had difficulties communicating multicultural materials with their students regardless of whether multicultural family students were in the class or not. If these students were in class, teachers did not want to draw special attention to them. On the contrary, if these students were not in class, teachers articulated their lack of experience with multicultural education or direct contact with multicultural families. These findings shed light on a gap between the Korean government's intentions regarding multicultural education and teachers' perceptions on multicultural materials and its practical use in instruction.

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Dedication

I would like to thank my dissertation committee members, research participants, friends, and family for their personal and professional contributions and support.

I am grateful to have Edith Omwami and Carlos Torres as co-chairs and co-advisors. I will never forget their encouragement, invaluable advice, and feedback. I also appreciate committee members, Val Rust, John Hawkins, and Kyeyoung Park for their invaluable feedback and guidance. I consider myself fortunate to have had the opportunity to work with such a wonderful group of scholars.

I would like to express gratitude to all interviewees involved in this study for sharing their opinions, thoughts, and experiences. I am also thankful to my former teachers and professors—Hye-Won Kang, Yun-Seon Choi, Byeong-Chan Kim, Ki-Seok Kim— and my dearest friends—Melissa Goodnight, Sook Youn Lee, and Jeong-Hee Lee— for their encouragement, help, and support.

I would like to say a special word of thanks to my beloved family—Seon-Ja, Seok-Geun, Byong-Hoon, Jung-Hun. They are the impetus for my life. Their dedication, kind words, support, warmth, and unconditional love sustained me through this academic journey. Thank you for having faith in me even during those times when I almost lost faith in myself. I love you all so much.

Table of Contents

LIST OF TABLES	IX
LIST OF FIGURES	IX
LIST OF ACRONYMS	X
VITA	XII
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION.....	1
1. BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY.....	1
2. THE PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	8
3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS	10
CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	12
CHAPTER 3: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHOD	25
1. OPERATIONAL RESEARCH TERMS.....	25
1) <i>Multicultural Education</i>	25
2) <i>Multicultural Families and Multicultural Family Students</i>	27
2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK	28
1) <i>The Hidden Curriculum</i>	28
2) <i>Cultural Reproduction Theory</i>	29
3) <i>Criteria of Textbook Content Analysis</i>	30
3. METHODS	34
1) <i>Textbook Analysis</i>	35
2) <i>Interviews</i>	38
CHAPTER 4: ANALYSIS OF KOREAN LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL STUDIES	
TEXTBOOKS	42

1. KOREAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOK FIFTH GRADE	43
1) <i>The First Semester of the Hearing·Speaking·Writing Textbook</i>	43
2) <i>The First Semester of the Reading Textbook</i>	45
3) <i>The Second Semester of the Hearing·Speaking·Writing Textbook</i>	49
4) <i>The Second Semester of the Reading Textbook</i>	50
2. KOREAN LANGUAGE TEXTBOOK SIXTH GRADE	56
1) <i>The First Semester of the Hearing·Speaking·Writing Textbook</i>	56
2) <i>The First Semester of the Reading Textbook</i>	59
3) <i>The Second Semester of the Hearing·Speaking·Writing Textbook</i>	65
4) <i>The Second Semester of the Reading Textbook</i>	66
3. SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOK SIXTH GRADE	74
1) <i>The First Semester of the Social Studies Textbook</i>	74
2) <i>The Second Semester of the Social Studies Textbook</i>	78

CHAPTER 5: HOW KOREAN ELEMENTARY SCHOOL TEACHERS ELUCIDATE AND IMPLEMENT MULTICULTURAL MATERIALS..... 89

1. TEACHERS' RECOGNITION OF MULTICULTURALISM AND MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION	90
1) <i>Foreign Workers and Marriage Immigrants</i>	90
2) <i>Impact of Multiculturalism on Education</i>	98
3) <i>Respecting Diversity via Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education</i>	100
4) <i>Indifference to, or Irrelevance of, Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education</i>	101
2. TEACHERS' INTERPRETATION AND RECOGNITION OF MULTICULTURAL CONTENT IN TEXTBOOKS AND THEIR PRACTICAL USE IN CLASS	103
1) <i>Fifth Grade Teachers: Korean Language</i>	103

Issues Relating to Racial Discrimination, Prejudice, and Civil Rights (Human Rights)	104
Issue of Diversity	112
Lesson on Respecting Differences via Allegories	117
2) <i>Sixth Grade Teachers: Korean Language</i>	120
Issues Relating to Racial Discrimination and Human Rights (Civil Rights)	121
Lesson on Ethnic Difference and Inclusiveness	122
Lessons on Respecting Different Cultures and Diversity	131
3) <i>Sixth Grade Teachers: Social Studies</i>	134
Issues on Discrimination, Human Rights (Civil Rights) and Foreign Workers	134
Lesson on Diversity of Nations and Cultures	138
Topic on Globalization	142
CHAPTER 6: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS	144
APPENDICES	151
<i>Appendix A: Number of Multicultural Students</i>	151
<i>Appendix B: Multicultural Family Student Population Growth</i>	152
<i>Appendix C: Number of Multicultural Students Who Have A Non-Korean National Mother Among Marriage Immigrant Family Students</i>	153
<i>Appendix D: Number of Multicultural Students By Geographic Area</i>	154
BIBLIOGRAPHY	155

List of Tables

Table 3-1. Subjects for Content Analysis	37
--	----

List of Figures

Figure 1-1. The Number of Multicultural Students	5
Figure 4-1. Chapter Two Cover Page: Robinson Crusoe	44
Figure 4-2. The Balloon Seller and the Black Boy	51
Figure 4-3. Dr. Albert Schweizer with a Black Baby	55
Figure 4-4. Chapter Six Cover Page: A Child Addresses the UN	58
Figure 4-5. Martin Luther King's Speech	59
Figure 4-6. Selling Shoes to the Natives.....	62
Figure 4-7. Si-gyeong Ju & Martin Luther King in "Playground" Page	66
Figure 4-8. The Protagonist Korean Girl and Her Stepmother	67
Figure 4-9. Various Languages in the "Playground" Page	72

List of Acronyms

CHRE of NHRC: The Center for Human Rights Education of the National Human Rights Commission of the Republic of Korea

Korea: The Republic of Korea

MOE and HRD: Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development

MEST: Ministry of Education, Science and Technology

UN CERD: United Nations Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination

UN CRC: United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child

5-1-KL-HSW: The First Semester of the Korean Language *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook in Fifth Grade

5-1-KL-R: The First Semester of the Korean Language *Reading* Textbook in Fifth Grade

5-2-KL-HSW: The Second Semester of the Korean Language *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook in Fifth Grade

5-2-KL-R: The Second Semester of the Korean Language *Reading* Textbook in Fifth Grade

6-1-KL-HSW: The First Semester of the Korean Language *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook in Sixth Grade

6-1-KL-R: The First Semester of the Korean Language *Reading* Textbook in Sixth Grade

6-2-KL-HSW: The Second Semester of the Korean Language *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook in Sixth Grade

6-2-KL-R: The Second Semester of the Korean Language *Reading* Textbook in Sixth Grade

6-1-SS: The First Semester of the Social Studies Textbook in Sixth Grade

6-1-SSW: The First Semester of the Social Studies Workbook in Sixth Grade

6-2-SS: The Second Semester of the Social Studies Textbook in Sixth Grade

6-2-SSW: The Second Semester of the Social Studies Workbook in Sixth Grade

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1. Background of the Study

The Republic of Korea (hereafter, Korea) has historically considered itself a mono-ethnic society. This belief in being an ethnically homogenous country, or *Dhan Il Min Jock* in Korean, is often expressed in the nation's government compiled and issued textbooks. However, this dogma does not correspond to the trends and principles tied to the age of globalization. Globalization has blurred state borders, facilitated mass global migration, and gave rise to questions of multiculturalism and multicultural education while coping with increasing cultural and social diversity (Spring, 2008). This global trend also affects the Korean society and has brought manifold changes in many aspects of diversity, including education. As the nation has entered into a new global and multicultural phase, the Korean government has been confronted with the question of how the country should approach the challenge of teaching a multicultural perspective. At the school level, educators have to contend with the question of how best teachers should then comprehend this view and cultural shifts, and then incorporate these recent dynamics into their curriculum.

The school curriculum in Korea previously emphasized two aspects: preparing students for adapting to globalization and inculcating them with national pride such as Korean culture and a single-ethnic identity (Ministry of Education, 1997). However, the emphasis on ethnicity can drive Korean students to exhibit ethnocentrism and provide them few opportunities to consider non-Korean ethnicities and races who live in the territory. It can additionally prompt students to

have prejudices towards certain groups and discriminate against them. In the same vein, although international organizations have acknowledged that Korea traditionally has been a mono-ethnic society, they are more recently concerned that the nation is no longer homogenous and yet there is limited public awareness regarding issues of race, diversity and difference in the country (Piper & Iredale, 2003; United Nations Committee on Elimination of Racial Discrimination (hereafter, UN CERD), 2003, 2007a; United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (hereafter, UN CRC), 2003). In this regard, international consortiums have urged Korea to protect human rights for non-Korean ethnicities and races including children within the nation, and have enacted a bill for these people and their children (Piper & Iredale, 2003; UN CERD, 2003, 2007a; UN CRC, 2003). When one of the intergovernmental organizations, UN CERD, inspected Korea to report on its status vis-à-vis the elimination of racial discrimination, they pointed out that there is discrimination towards people of mixed race and non-Koreans as well as noting that the school curriculum included notions of ethnic homogeneity (2007a). The committee had recommended that the government become aware of racial and ethnic diversity in the state, to legislate a bill on the prohibition of racial discrimination, and to contain information on the cultures and histories of non-Koreans living in the nation and to promote human rights in the school curriculum (UN CERD, 2003, 2007a, 2007b). External recommendations given to the Korean government provide an opportunity to consider how diverse ethnicities and races within the borders give rise to the realization of how school curriculum reflects ideals of ethnic homogeneity. These additionally have created momentum in preparing for multicultural education.

With the advent of globalization, especially its intensification of global migration, the number of foreigners living and working in Korea has increased significantly. Whereas the total

number of foreigners who visit Korea in order to work, study, or reside was 2,349,693 in 1990, it increased to 11,129,350 in 2012 (Korea Immigration Service, 1990, 2012). The figure has more than quadrupled during the past twenty-two years. These statistics imply that the myth of ethnic homogeneity is no longer valid and shows how the nation's population is quite diverse.

The two main sources of the nation's immigrant population are foreign workers who came to perform specific jobs and foreign spouses who married native Koreans. The large inflow of foreign laborers began in the late 1980s (Lee & Lee, 2007). During the industrialization of Korea, labor shortages occurred in many business fields, particularly in manufacturing, because most Korean workers were not willing to take low-skilled and/or hard labor jobs (Hur, 2004; Lee & Lee, 2007). Instead, these positions were filled by foreign workers who migrated to Korea, largely from developing countries (Hur, 2004; Lee & Lee, 2007) and this number of foreigners in the work force has expanded at a steady rate. For example, the total number of foreign workers was 255,314 in 2006 and this figure rose to 520,906 in 2013 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2006; Ministry of Security and Public Administration, 2013). Since the 1990s, along with foreign laborers, a great number of immigrants hoping to marry Korean nationals also arrived (Park, 2007). The Korean government labeled them as "marriage immigrants" and this figure is also increasing steadily. The number of marriage immigrants was 90,489 in 2006 and increased to 231,520 in 2013 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2006; Ministry of Security and Public Administration, 2013). Over the last seven years, the statistics have increased more than two and a half times.

Furthermore, North Korean defectors in South Korea have also contributed to the nation's demographic transformation. Korea is in a special situation; the Thirty-Eighth Parallel bisects the Korean peninsula into two nations, North and South. The number of North Korean defectors to

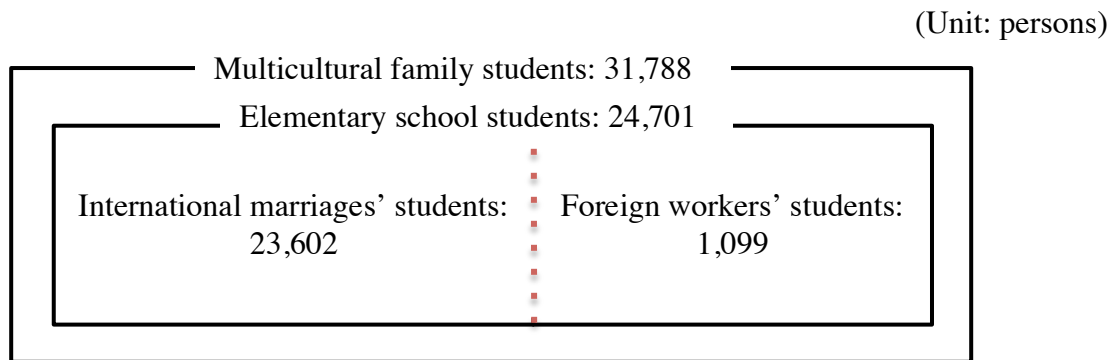
the South has steadily increased over the last decade. According to 2010 statistics, the number of students of North Korean defectors from K-12 was 1,417 (Ministry of Education, Science and Technology (hereafter, MEST), 2010b, p. 1). Though North and South Koreans share the same ethnicity and language, the defectors are considered a separate demographic category that is labeled *Saeteomin*. These immigrant groups, with a special focus on their children, comprise a significant portion of new members in Korean society that has resulted in a transformation of the ethnic composition of the country.

International organizations' recommendations and the demographic shift influenced the Korean government to initiate multicultural education. Prior to the initiation of the intervention on multicultural education, the Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development (hereafter MOE and HRD) announced policies to support multicultural families and their children (MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b; MEST, 2008c). In this policy, the Ministry defined multicultural families as members who have "ethnic and cultural background(s) is not native Koreans" (2006a, p. 1, 2006b, p. 1). This department also specified the subjects who receive support are foreign workers and marriage immigrant families and their children. Although North Korean defectors were distinguished from native Koreans, the government defines them as a separate category from multicultural families. The Ministry of Education, in addition, established an educational support plan for the adolescents of North Korean defectors (MEST, 2008b). Thus, when the government refers to multicultural families, they mean foreign workers and/or marriage immigrant families. According to the governmental categories, this study focuses solely on multicultural families and their children.

The increasing number of multiethnic Korean children is particularly evident in the population. According to a 2005 survey, the number of students who came from multicultural

families was 7,695 (MEST, 2008a). These families are known as *Damunwha gajok* in Korean, and their figures continue to grow exponentially. For example, by 2010, the number of multicultural students has grown over four times to the current number of 31,788. Of these students, 24,701 or 77.7 percent were elementary school age—23,602 came from international marriages, while the remaining 1,099 came from foreign workers (MEST, 2010a). In particular, elementary school students who have a Korean father and a non-Korean national mother are 21,410 or 90.7 percent of the total number of children from international marriage families.

Figure 1-1. The Number of Multicultural Students



Source. Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010a).

Multicultural elementary school students are almost 20 percent of the total 123,933 of elementary school students. Furthermore, although the rate of multicultural students is 0.55 percent of the total number of K-12 students in Korea, the government projects that by 2014 multicultural students will be 1.12 percent of the entire Korean student population (MEST, 2012, p. 9). These figures reflect the demographic shift in the overall student population and also express the need for multicultural education in Korea.

The Korean government complied with international requests to recognize the nation's growing demographic diversity in its education system. Since the educational curriculum had

previously included ethnocentric contents such as ‘one blood’ and ‘mono-ethnicity,’ the government decided to remove these ideas from textbooks in 2006 (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). The government felt the necessity of preparing for a multicultural society by promoting multicultural education. Independent research and a government report also supported the Korean government’s belief that multicultural family students face certain difficulties such as low school achievement and bullying (Oh, 2005; Y. Cho, 2006; MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b). To be more specific, several studies reported that multicultural family children have low academic achievement in subjects such as reading, vocabulary, and writing, all of which were caused by their limited Korean language proficiency skills (Oh, 2005; Y. Cho, 2006; MOE & HRD, 2006b). Furthermore, multicultural family students were bullied by Korean students due to their perceived difference (MOE & HRD, 2006a, p. 2, 2006b, p. 5; Y. Cho, 2006, p. 8). According to the Ministry of Health and Welfare, 17.6 percent of international marriage children experienced being ostracized (MOE & HRD, 2006b). The primary reasons for bullying and teasing are their racial background, difficulties in communication, and perceived differences in attitudes and behaviors. Relationships between bullies and bullied children can also cause disharmony and conflicts in classroom situations.

In order to address the new challenges and respond to the educational needs of multiethnic students, the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology in 2006 conducted a study on the conditions of education in multicultural families (MOE & HRD, 2006b; Park et al., 2007, p. 86). In this report, the government found that multicultural family students experience school underachievement, identity confusion, and bullying (MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b). As a countermeasure, the Korean government passed a bill mandating multicultural education (Yun & Lee 2011, p. 273). As a result, all students must be taught from textbooks that include materials

dealing with multicultural education and education for international understanding (MOE & HRD, 2007b, p. 3; Yun & Lee, 2011, pp. 273-274). Textbooks were consequently revised in 2007 and then curriculum reforms were implemented in schools in 2009. Before including multicultural education materials, the curriculum guideline was called ‘the seventh curriculum.’ After it was revised in 2007, it became ‘the seventh revised curriculum.’ A part of the revision was to reflect diversity in the curriculum, as previous material was designed to serve an ethnically homogenous society (MOE & HRD, 2006b, 2007b). After the textbooks were revised in 2007, they were introduced in annual increments by grade level (Yun & Lee, 2011, p. 274). In 2009, first and second year elementary school students began to use the textbooks. Next, in 2010, the revised textbooks were introduced to third and fourth grades and were implemented in fifth and sixth grade classrooms in 2011.

Since the implementation of the revised textbooks, teachers have been expected to include multicultural themes in their lessons where they address and interpret these issues with their students. The revised sixth grade Korean Language textbook, for example, contains a children’s short story, *The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea*, that directly addresses marriage immigrants and multicultural families in Korea (MEST, 2011h). The main plot revolves around a girl who rejects her new Vietnamese stepmother because of her non-Korean ethnicity. The revised sixth grade Social Studies textbook also includes several chapters concerning multicultural perspectives. For instance, the chapter title *The World’s Many Regions of Nature and Culture* expounds upon the diversity of natural environments and cultures around the world (MEST, 2011k). Korean elementary teachers should elucidate these themes to their students in their classrooms and be aware of multiculturalism; however, multicultural concepts and subject matters are a relatively recent phenomenon. Although the Korean government supports teachers

by providing in-service training sessions and guidebooks, teachers alone must deal with multicultural themes in practical classroom situations. In this regard, this study investigates how Korean elementary school teachers implement the revised textbooks and how they interpret and communicate contents with their students in class.

2. The Purpose of the Study

The Korean government has recently implemented multicultural education in its schools and textbooks. Textbooks are, in general, a guideline for teachers concerning what subjects and themes they must educate students on and are widely utilized in the classroom (Checkley, 1997; Schmidt, Maknight, & Raisen, 1997). Although textbooks are an important material for education, teachers are the critical mediators conveying and interpreting the knowledge and new ideas to students. Teachers can also greatly influence perspectives and behaviors of school age children. Teachers exercise “their options and choices in order to clarify what social information they are conveying overtly and covertly to their students” (Ramsey, 1987, p. 6). After this conscious and/or unconscious choice, teachers interpret textbooks and transmit knowledge into easily understandable forms to their students. In this process, an individual’s viewpoint is reflected in his or her explanation and/or interpretation that can also, in turn, affect how students establish their perspectives, characteristics, and behaviors.

Although teachers in Korea are free to construct their own lesson plans, the Korean government also requires them to follow specific educational policies and guidelines (MOE & HRD, 2007a). The government designs the overall curriculum for Korean schools and selects themes that teachers must cover during class. The curriculum contains knowledge that Korean

students should know and also reflects the type of citizen the government wants to cultivate (MOE & HRD, 2007a). Curricula are thus imbued with the government's political intentions: the knowledge that should be included in curriculum and what should be dealt with in class. In this regard, Paulo Freire stated that

education is a political act, whether at the university, high school, primary school, or adult literacy classroom. Why? Because the very nature of education has the inherent qualities to be political, as indeed politics has educational aspects. In other words, an educational act has a political nature and a political act has an educational nature (Freire, 1985, p. 188).

The statement by Paulo Freire illustrates that education cannot be apolitical and has certain underlying intentions. Although a school curriculum contains assumed universal values, it also reflects unique and socially constructed norms. Also, as the government governs what knowledge is conveyed in its curriculum, the government can communicate which knowledge, norms, and values are acceptable and desirable in society. Teachers should be aware that politics permeate education as an intermediary between the government and the students. Thus, when teachers analyze, interpret, and convey textbook materials to their students, they should be careful of the ideals they are instilling. One cannot be free from the system and even educators cannot be neutral due to "the political nature of education" (Freire, 1985). When teachers interpret educational materials, their values, thoughts, and norms can be reflected in their lesson and influence their students.

Teachers are important moderators between the curriculum and students. Since elementary school students are in a developmental formative stage in terms of acquiring knowledge and learning social norms as well as values, they are influenced by their teachers' values and viewpoints. That is, the cornerstone of students' perspectives are established during this phase. Furthermore, elementary school teachers in Korea teach almost all subjects except English,

music, and gymnastics. Since the teacher and his or her students spend much of their time in school together, the possibility those teachers' viewpoints affect students increases. With the initiations and the rise of Korea's multicultural education mandate, the role of teachers becomes more significant as a medium to educate students on cultural literacy.

This dissertation explores how elementary school teachers incorporate multicultural content into their classrooms in order to evaluate the effectiveness of the current programs and the practical educational process in the Korean school system. This study furthermore illuminates the direction of Korean schooling toward multicultural education. Since Korean multicultural education has been initiated relatively recently, it continues to evolve. This study then offers substantial material with which to analyze the current situation of Korean multicultural education. Moreover, this research suggests what aspects of multicultural education should be included in schooling.

3. Research Questions

In order to examine how Korean elementary school teachers recognize multicultural themes in textbooks and interpret multicultural contents in their classrooms, I developed three broad research questions. The first question was what multicultural content is in fifth and sixth grade elementary school textbooks. Relating to this question, I explored what the goal of multicultural education is and how multiculturalism is explained and depicted in textbooks. These inquiries offer help in comprehending what topics in textbooks teachers perceived as multicultural education.

The second research inquiry was how elementary school teachers think about the subject of multicultural education. In this regard, I raised three related questions: How do elementary school teachers define multiculturalism? What are their opinions about multicultural education for elementary school students? and How do they perceive multicultural family students? These questions provided context for how teachers perceive textbook materials and their lessons.

The third research question was how teachers communicate multiculturalism to their students at the elementary school level. In an effort to investigate this inquiry, four interrelated questions were utilized: What concepts do teachers use in teaching multiculturalism to elementary school students? Does having a multicultural student in class influence time allocation on the subject? Does having a multicultural student in class have an effect on a teacher's strategy in delivering multicultural topics and contents? What kinds of teaching methods do teachers use for teaching multicultural education in class? These questions shed light on how teachers educate using multicultural contents with their students in the classroom.

Chapter 2 Review of the Literature

Since Korea's multicultural education program is a recent innovation, research on its objectives is also a relatively new area of study. Korean scholars previously tended to examine foreign laborers and/or foreign spouses within the country as research subjects rather than their children or the quality of multicultural education offered in schools. These immigrant populations of foreign workers and marriage immigrants increasingly began to enter Korea with the trend of globalization (Kim, 2007). As globalization proceeds, local economies have integrated into a world-level economy system and the trade of products, the exchange of information, as well as the mobility of people has accelerated beyond national borders (Clayton, 2004; Spring, 2008). Along with mass transnational migrations, certain nations experienced demographic changes reflecting an increasing diversity of races and ethnicities. However, population dynamics, especially in relation to global migration, can raise challenges with social cohesion in host countries due to tensions such as the human rights of migrants, national security issues, and cultural differences (Report of the Global Commission on International Migration, 2005). Korea is now facing such challenges. Although Korea traditionally considered itself a mono-ethnic society, this notion was impugned with the growing population of immigrants within the country. Whereas the total number of foreign populations residing in Korea was 49,507 in 1990, it increased to 1,445,103 in 2012 (Korea Immigration Service, 1990, 2012). The number of foreigners within the nation rose almost thirty times during twenty-two years. Also, in 2012, the number of foreigners within the nation was 2.84 percent compared to the total population of registered residents, which was 50,948,272 (Korea Statistical Information Service, 2012). Many scholars have analyzed this growing group of people made up of foreign workers as

well as marriage immigrants and conducted studies of what motivated them to migrate, what difficulties and challenges they experienced in Korea, and how they adapted to Korean culture and society. The current research focuses on multicultural education, so the research review is limited only to relevant materials (For studies on foreign workers and marriage immigrants see Abelman & Kim, 2005; Freeman, 2005; Kim, 2003; Kim, 2007; C. S. Kim, 2011; Lee & Lee, 2007; Ryu, 2005).

Although diverse races and ethnicities transformed the national demographics, the school curriculum still contained contents espousing and emphasizing the nation as comprised of a single ethnicity. The stress on a singular Korean ethnicity expressed in the curriculum has deep historical roots. According to *An Exposition of Elementary School Curriculum* issued by the Ministry of Education, after Korea was liberated from Japan, the newly formed Korean government emphasized devotion to the country and its people in a summarized educational program of instruction in order to overcome the former educational goals set by Japan (Ministry of Education, 1997). This idea was accentuated by the National Charter of Education established and announced in 1968, which contained contents emphasizing Korean ethnic identity and culture (Ministry of Education, 1997). The charter provided a foundation for the nation's educational goals, policies, and curriculum, but it also stressed racial, ethnic, and cultural pride and homogeneity. Since implementation of the charter, whenever the curriculum was revised, it still maintained the idea of a single Korean ethnicity. This notion continued until transnational organizations brought the issue to light and urged the government to create a less ethnocentric and more inclusive curriculum (UN CERD, 2003, 2007a, 2007b; UN CRC, 2003).

Since 2000, international organizations have noted how foreign migrant workers, marriage immigrants, and their children living in Korea suffer from discrimination and racial prejudice,

and have advised Korea to enact a bill to protect non-Koreans and to eliminate racial and ethnic discrimination (Piper & Iredale, 2003; UN CERD, 2003, 2007a; UN CRC, 2003). Their recommendations are based on the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights,

Article 2:

Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty (United Nations Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1948).

This article illustrates every human has the right to be treated equally regardless of differences in race, gender, ability, or sexual orientation. As a member of international organizations and communities, Korea agrees with, and has the responsibility to follow its precepts. However, the notion of racial and ethnic homogeneity in Korea does not correspond with the concepts of the Declaration. In the *Consideration of Reports Submitted by States Parties under Article 44 of the Convention*, there is a sentence that reads, “The Republic of Korea is composed of only one race, and therefore does not have any conflict or discrimination on account of race” (UN CRC, 2002, p. 12). This sentence shows how the Korean government comprehends the nation’s racial composition. When the government submitted the document to the UN CRC, migrant workers and marriage immigrants resided in the territory, but the government did not take them into account as being part of the nation’s population. Since the myth of mono-race prevailed not only in Korean society, but is also reflected in the school curriculum, international organizations recommended to Korea that is strengthen human rights for migrants and immigrants and to prohibit discrimination against non-Koreans through education (UN CERD, 2003, 2007a, 2007b; UN CRC, 2003).

With the international organizations' recommendations, the government closely attended to the growing population of foreigners in the territory. In February 2006, when the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs announced *The 2006 Plan of Activities*, they stated, "the Ministry newly recognizes the importance of foreign residents in the nation" and judged that "the nation entered into a multiethnic and multicultural society in accordance with the number of registered foreigners, now over one percent in Korea" and set one of the tasks to establish inclusive local communities (Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2006, p. 40). This official announcement illustrates that Korea is a multicultural society that discards the notion of racial homogeneity.

Public interest in multiculturalism increased with the April 2006 visit of Hines Ward who is the mixed-race son of an African-American father and a Korean mother, and the 2006 NFL Super Bowl MVP. The Korean media widely reported on and emphasized Ward's mixed-race heritage, his athletic achievement, and hailed him as a Korean-American hero (B. Cho, 2006; K. Kim, 2006; S. Kim, 2006; S. H. Kim, 2006; T. Lee, 2006; Yang, 2006). Ward came to Korea in order to learn about his heritage and to help the growing number of multicultural children in the country (S. J. Kim, 2006). During his visit, he was invited a TV talk show where he narrated his life story including how he experienced prejudice and discrimination as a mixed race person in the United States (hereafter, the U.S.) (Park, 2006). He also met the Korean president, Moo-hyun Roh and asked him to amend laws for mixed-race people (Ed Bouchette, 2006). Ward saw how biracial people were treated and discriminated against in Korea and wanted to promote their status and show support (Ed Bouchette, 2006; Sohn, 2006). Moreover, he attended an event, "Multicultural Children Sharing Hope with Hines Ward" supported by the Pearl S. Buck Foundation (Kang, 2006). In this event, he met with multicultural family children and each of

them shared their experiences on how they suffered from racial prejudice and discrimination in their respective societies. His visit and his efforts to help multicultural families and their children evoked national debate on how Koreans treat minorities and how the school curriculum accentuates mono-ethnic pride.

Ward's visit became the turning point for the Korean government's proposed legislation of a bill to improve the status of multicultural families and their children, and to implement multicultural education (S. J. Kim, 2006; MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b; Shin, 2006). On April 26 2006, the government held a cabinet meeting where the President, the Prime Minister, various heads of state, and several experts discussed several plans to improve the conditions of migrant workers, marriage immigrants, and their children in Korean society (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). In this meeting, the government stated that the notion of mono-ethnicity and "pure blood" pride was prevalent in Korean society and this idea could cause racial and ethnic discrimination against non-Koreans within the nation. The government prepared countermeasures in order to eliminate discrimination against non-Koreans and to better promote their rights. One of the proposed countermeasures was the revision of educational policies. School curriculum and textbooks were to include content on multicultural families and human rights and remove the concept of mono-ethnicity from the curriculum. Furthermore, schools should prepare multicultural education programs for multicultural family students in order to support such families and their children. The government also proposed that the term, "mixed-blood," *Hon Hyeol In* in Korean, would be changed because it fosters discrimination by being the binary opposite of "pure blood." Although the government suggested the term, mixed-blood person, be revised, this word appeared throughout the meeting report.

On April 28 2006, the MOE and HRD announced policies on educational support for multicultural family children. In this announcement, the department defined “multiculturalism as the opposing concept of ethnocentrism by recognizing the existence of different cultures within the nation or society and respecting each value” (MOE & HRD, 2006a, p. 3). This definition illustrates that the Korean government believes that focusing solely on Korean ethnicity and culture can cause ethnocentrism, and comprehends the concept of multiculturalism as a binary view consistent with opposing ethnocentrism. According to this announcement, the MOE and HRD also admitted that although the number of multicultural family students increased, there was little public interest in the subject before Ward’s visit (MOE & HRD, 2006a, p. 2). This statement implies that the Korean education system did not perceive the necessity of multicultural education and were ill-prepared to confront the issue. In addition, this document includes a definition of multicultural family as “all families consisting of people who have ethnic and cultural backgrounds different from us” (MOE & HRD, 2006a, p. 1). In this definition, ‘us’ means native Koreans. Although the definition connotes considerable concern for multicultural families, it is still problematic as it simultaneously distinguishes between Koreans and non-Koreans by reinforcing an “us” versus “them” dichotomy.

Both international organizations’ advice and Ward’s visit motivated the Korean government to realize how mono-ethnicity was deeply embedded into the nation’s curriculum and to initiate multicultural education. As the first step, the Ministry declared that textbook contents such as “one blood,” single race, and mono-ethnicity would be omitted and materials on various cultures and human rights would be included in order to raise awareness of different cultures and to defeat prejudices based on race, ethnicity, and culture (MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b). In accordance with the government announcement, when the school curriculum was revised in 2007,

the concept of mono-ethnicity was removed from all textbooks and replaced by materials reflecting multiculturalism.

After initiating multicultural education, researchers and scholars began to pay further attention to multicultural family students in the education system. Since multicultural education first attracted attention from scholars, multiple studies have been conducted. Although diverse areas of study exist in the field, there are three major themes: fact-revealing studies, multicultural awareness studies, and textbook analysis studies.

During the early stage of development of multicultural education research, scholars tended to reveal how many and what kind of multicultural programs operated in schools (Cho et al., 2010; Park, 2009; Park & Sung, 2008). Researchers also analyzed the problems that multiethnic students faced in schools (Choi, 2011; Park, 2007). These studies were conducted because, after the government announced plans to support multicultural children's education in 2006 and 2007, schools had to follow this mandate and implement programs. In order to show the current status of multicultural education, researchers were interested in the programs and investigated them. The government also wanted to know how schools followed the mandates while supporting research.

There are two major studies analyzing multicultural education programs, from 2008's *Current Status Analysis of Multicultural Program in Schools* (Cho et al., 2010; Park, 2009). Both studies divided the programs into six subareas: promoting multicultural understanding, cultural education, language education, promoting communal spirit, self-identity, and adaption for school life. These six subareas were based on the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology's policy issues for multicultural education schools in 2008. Both studies did frequency analysis in terms of multicultural education programs as dividing into six subareas and provided three major

findings. First, the most frequent programs were cultural education and language education. Second, most subjects were geared towards multicultural family students rather than native Korean family students or both types of students. Third, most courses were one-time rather than on-going courses. Although these studies revealed how many and what kinds of programs schools conducted for multicultural education, they did not illustrate how the programs actually performed in schools and how they affected students. In order to expose the reality and actual conditions of multicultural education in schools, researchers should investigate how schools run such multicultural education courses in practice. Furthermore, the programs' features such as cultural and language education and their targets suggest that the goal of Korean multicultural education is to assimilate multicultural family students into mainstream society. Although these programs were designed to help multiethnic students adapt to Korean culture, they did not consider and value multiethnic students' non-Korean heritages. In the current programs, multiethnic students have no choice for learning their non-Korean father's or non-Korean mother's culture, literature, and history.

Sung Hyeuk Park and Sang-hwan Sung (2008) examined both multicultural policies and multicultural education policies and isolating them according to their objectives, subjects, and conducting institutions. This study reported similar results to Both Cho, Park, Sung, Lee, and Park's (2010) and Yun-kyoung Park's (2009) studies. That is, most multicultural educational programs were multicultural understanding and Korean language programs. The research also provided that programs for Korean national family students was lacking because multicultural education programs tended to only involve multicultural students (Park & Sung, 2008). This implied that subject of the multicultural education policies was multicultural family students, not students who have two Korean parents. Although multicultural education aimed for social

integration, this goal could not be achieved through engaging only multicultural families of multicultural students. Furthermore, these findings demonstrated that Korean multicultural education policies pursue assimilation of multiethnic Korean members; however, it can cause social divisions.

So far, these studies presented the current status of multicultural education programs run by schools. Since research focused on external conditions of multicultural education, it did not explore and analyze how multicultural students did in schools. In this regard, Eun-Ae Park's (2007) and Sun-Bo Choi's (2011) studies showed the current status of multiethnic students in elementary schools. Each study investigated elementary school teachers and multicultural family members in either *Daegu Metropolitan City*, which is one of six metropolitan cities, or *Gyeongsang-do*, which is one of eight provinces. The teachers in both studies reported that students from multicultural family backgrounds frequently lacked language proficiency and academic achievement when compared to their Korean-national peers (Choi, 2011; Park, 2007). Each study reported that this disparity is largely attributable to their non-Korean parents' lack of language fluency, which negatively impacts their children's verbal and writing communication skills and academic achievement (Choi, 2011; Park, 2007). A parent's language proficiency significantly influences his or her child's language ability during the formative stages of linguistic development. However, multicultural students could not sufficiently enhance and refine their vocabularies due to their non-Korean parents' lack of language proficiency. By extension, this finding supported to a great degree the reasoning behind why institutions emphasized Korean culture and language education programs. While these studies revealed the current status of multicultural students in terms of educational proficiency, they did not consider how students and teachers interact in the classroom.

Several research studies also examined multicultural education awareness. Since multicultural education came to the forefront as a social and educational issue, some scholars raised debates on using the terms, ‘multicultural families’ and ‘multicultural education’ (Jang, 2011; Suh, 2010). When the Korean government mentions ‘multicultural families,’ the term refers to “families that are comprised with members who differ from native Koreans in terms of ethnicities and cultural backgrounds” (MOE & HRD, 2006b, p. 1).¹ The Korean government did not define what multicultural education means, but suggested its purpose that was to promote an understanding and respect of other cultures and to help individuals and groups overcome prejudices toward others (MOE & HRD, 2007b). Through this goal, it is possible to surmise what Korean multicultural education means; however there was no discussion on what it precisely is. Instead, researchers borrowed and applied the American definition of multicultural education. Although the government officially used both phrases, it could lead to confusion and prejudice because the state began to apply the terminology without considering whether the terms are proper to use or not (Jang, 2011; Suh, 2010). In fact, before the government announced multicultural education in 2006, civic organizations and the mass media called multicultural family children who have a Korean father and an Asian mother, *Kosians*, which is a hybrid word of Korean and Asian. However, the government stated that the label could stigmatize them so the children should, instead, be called international marriage or marriage immigrant children (MOE & HRD, 2006b). In spite of the announcement, the term is still controversial. Unless the government utilized ‘multicultural family,’ there was no unified and systematic terminology, and its members were labeled in different ways such as foreign laborer, foreign immigrant laborer, immigrant women, and so on (Suh, 2010). Moreover, the phrase also implied that a counterpart, a mono-cultural family composed of only native Koreans, existed (Jang, 2011). In this regard,

¹ This definition of multicultural family is translated from Korean into English.

the terminology can cause people to dichotomize the two groups and have negative preconceptions toward multicultural families (Jang, 2011). In spite of the argument on terminology, many scholars and government have utilized both ‘multicultural family’ and ‘multicultural education.’

While the terminology has been broadly discussed, several scholars examined and analyzed how Koreans have understood and interpreted the multicultural curriculum (A. Y. Kim, 2006; Yun & Lee, 2011). Tae Young Yun and Eun Hee Lee (2011) investigated to what extent college students, who major in either Education or another field, were aware of the importance of the multicultural education curriculum based on its goals, content, educational methods, and which subjects were appropriate for teaching multiculturalism. They found that college students recognized the importance of multicultural education and there was no difference in opinion between Education and non-education major students. In addition, students considered that the most problematic matter was bias and prejudice toward specific ethnic groups or cultures. This shows that the importance and need of multicultural education is widely recognized and accepted.

On the other hand, A Young Kim (2006) explored how elementary school teachers recognized multicultural education and found they had basic interests in the matter and, in general, low knowledge and information. Also, she provided that a teachers’ group who had high recognition and interests in multicultural education tended to set higher goals and teach more intensive content, and to use a diversity of teaching methods as compared to the other group who had lower recognition and interests in multicultural education. These findings suggest that teachers with a high awareness of and interest in multicultural education can have a significant influence on their students’ knowledge and perspectives on the topic; the relationship is directly proportional. According to teachers’ perceptions of multiculturalism, educational contexts are

varied. A Young Kim's study sheds light on how elementary school teachers are aware of multicultural education and how it is taught in class. However, since this study was conducted by survey method, its limitation is the lack of how teachers educate students in daily practice. Also, after Kim's research, elementary school textbooks were revised to include multicultural education themes. Therefore, her research should be re-investigated to include if and how the introduction of revised textbooks contributed to multicultural education, if at all.

Textbook content analysis is also a major subject in multicultural education field research. Before textbooks were revised in 2007, Korea's school curriculum emphasized that the nation is made up of a single ethnicity; however, since this no longer applies to present-day Korean society, the revised curriculum does not contain this reference (MOE & HRD, 2006b, 2007b). The revised textbooks were introduced in annual increments by grade level between 2009 and 2011 (Yun & Lee, 2011, p. 274). Since 2011, all grade levels of elementary schools employ revised textbooks.

Afterwards, scholars analyzed the textbook materials. Although the government mandated that multicultural themes should be applied through the pan-curriculum, the themes were usually contained in several subjects such as Korean Language, Moral Education, Social Studies, and Wise Life, so most analysis studies tended to focus on these.² Since the revised textbooks were initially used in first to fourth grades in elementary schools, the researchers used them as the sample. According to analyses, the textbooks have multicultural perspectives; however, Hye sook Moon (2011) pointed out that Wise Life textbooks in first and second grade, which corresponds to Social Studies for upper grade elementary school students, still have several parts that emphasize ethnocentric materials (p. 55). Moo-Jeong Kim (2011) also shares a similar idea

² In case of first and second grade textbooks, the names differ from other grades. For example, there is "Wise Life," that is similar with Social Studies for upper grade elementary school students.

with Moon in that the new textbooks heavily covered Korea's traditional culture at the expense of others. Chan-Seok Park (2011) further noted that the moral education curriculum had limitations in terms of understanding a multicultural society and its phenomena and practice (p. 292). Though the revised textbooks include multicultural themes and perspectives, there are still parts stressing the traditional, monocultural, ethnic-centered Korean viewpoint.

As presented in the Korean literature review of multicultural education, there has been no significant research on how Korean elementary school teachers interpret and apply the revised textbook contents to their students in the classroom. This undertaking will shed light on the practical aspects of how the Korean government's mandate actually functions, in practice, and if teachers' awareness of these issues has increased. Furthermore, Korea's multicultural education policy is a recent development and will impact future generations coming-of-age in an increasingly diverse nation. Additional research in this area can uncover strengths and weaknesses of the current system and lead to any necessary steps to be implemented that can correct flaws in the multicultural pedagogy.

Chapter 3 Research Design and Method

1. Operational Research Terms

In this section, several terms have been defined to offer context in order to understand multicultural education in Korea. I clarify the following key concepts of this study within the context of my research: “multicultural education,” “multicultural family,” and “multicultural family students.”

1) Multicultural Education

A diversity of cultures coexists in the globalized society and the distance between countries becomes increasingly spatiotemporally close. As part of this process, various ethnicities, societies, and cultures overlap, borrow, and intertwine. With the rise in interactions among both individuals and groups within diverse global societies, it becomes more and more important to understand and respect other people and cultures. For this phenomenon, multicultural education takes on a great relevance. According to Christine I. Bennett (2006), “multicultural education offered a framework for analyzing and understanding the challenge we all face as citizens of the world” (p. 3). Similarly, James A. Banks (2001) defined multicultural education as:

A field of study designed to increase educational equity for all students that incorporated, for this purpose, content, concepts, principles, theories, and paradigms from history, the social and behavioral sciences, and particularly from ethnic studies and women studies (p. xii).

Although both scholars delineated multicultural education, they have slightly different viewpoints. Bennett emphasized the concept as a means to comprehend and interpret the relationship between the individual and society through a global perspective, whereas Banks stressed equality in terms of opportunity and received education. On the other hand, Geneva Gay (2001) stated that multicultural education is “a set of beliefs and explanations that recognizes and values the importance of ethnic and cultural diversity in shaping lifestyles, social experiences, personal identities, and educational opportunities of individuals, groups, and nations” (p. 28). Gay’s idea of multicultural education focuses on respecting the value of the individual, on the other hand, Banks emphasizes equal treatment and opportunity for everyone. Though the three scholars showed similarities and differences in how they defined multicultural education, they all stressed the need for mutual respect between individuals of different backgrounds and socio-economic conditions.

The aforementioned researchers defined multicultural education within the context of American society. However, the definitions can also apply to Korea as the nation begins to consider education in terms of how to respect ethnic and racial diversity and cultural values regarding race and ethnicity. Furthermore, when Korean scholars delineated multicultural education, they borrowed the definitions of American scholars, such as Banks and Bennett (Chang & Lee, 2010; M. Kim, 2011; Moon, 2011; Park & Sung, 2008). On the other hand, the Korean government did not define what multicultural education when it set a plan for initiating the education reform in 2006, they did not define what multicultural education is. Government documents, however, contained what topics and contents should be included in the curriculum as multicultural education. For example, the curriculum and textbooks would be revised from the notion of stressing mono-ethnicity to emphasizing multiculturalism and human rights. Textbooks

would also include contents on different cultures, and topics for defeating racial discrimination and prejudice (MOE & HRD 2006a, 2006b; Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). The government moreover announced that students were to develop multicultural perspectives via multicultural education and global citizenship education (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006, p. 9). From them, it is possible to infer how the Korean government defines multicultural education. Multicultural education in Korea signifies respecting the values of every person and every culture. It encompasses not only Korean society, but also the world as a whole. The government's explanation of multicultural education intersects with Bennett, Banks, and Gay's definition of multicultural education.

For the sake of conducting the study, I employ Bennett, Banks, and Gay's concepts of multicultural education. Although their definitions of multicultural education can be seen as educational framework, educational goal, or educational principal, their ideas intersect. Their perspective of multicultural education puts values on equity and equality of individuals and is not bound solely to one nation, but is also applicable to an international context. In this regard, by synthesizing Bennett, Banks, and Gay's definitions, multicultural education's purpose is to cultivate and teach the public to respect cultural diversity that are applicable both in the nation and global society, and to allow all to receive equal educational opportunities regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, and cultural backgrounds.

2) Multicultural Families and Multicultural Family Students

In 2006, the government announced its *Preparations for Multicultural Family Children's Educational Support*, and defined the multicultural family as "all families consisting of people who have ethnic and cultural backgrounds different from us (native Koreans)" (MOE & HRD,

2006b, p. 1). The state also categorizes multicultural family students as children from international interethnic/interracial marriages and foreign worker families (MEST, 2008c). Based on how the government categorizes multicultural families and their children, this study defines multicultural family students as the offspring of either foreign migrant worker or marriage immigrant families. This study also interchangeably uses “multicultural family students/children,” “multicultural students/children,” as well as “multiethnic students/children.”

2. Theoretical Framework

I employ the hidden curriculum, cultural reproduction theory, and Bennett’s comprehensive multicultural curriculum model as theoretical framework. Bennett’s model and cultural reproduction theory is facilitated to examine how Korean textbooks include multicultural themes and to what extent. In addition, the hidden curriculum and cultural reproduction theory are employed in order to analyze how elementary school teachers disseminate multicultural contents to their students.

1) The Hidden Curriculum

A school can be viewed as a microcosm of society where children develop abilities and skills, and learn knowledge and social norms, as well as social values. These contents are contained in textbooks, which are conveyed and interpreted by teachers to students. However, often teachers cannot cover and emphasize all the materials contained within. Instead, they must select and decide what is significant and what must be covered in the classes regarding social norms and

values. Some concepts are therefore highlighted, whereas some ideas are omitted during class sessions.

Margaret LeCompte (1978) stated:

(T)eachers are often not aware of the strong normative structure that their management strategies and classroom organization have, these strategies and organizational patterns are said to be “hidden,” even though they are no less important to a child’s learning experience than explicitly cognitive objectives (p. 23).

The process that teachers use to pick what will and will not be covered in class can be categorized as either intentional or unconscious. This process is significant, since according to teachers’ decisions, which topics and themes are to be covered or omitted, has an affect upon students’ knowledge, cognitive development, and value systems, even though they are all taught through textbooks. The hidden curriculum is thus employed as the lens to analyze how teachers convey and interpret multicultural materials in textbooks during class.

2) Cultural Reproduction Theory

One of the functions of schools is to educate students in terms of knowledge and social value, and to give them an understanding regarding social structure. Several scholars such as Karl Marx, Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis, and Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron illustrated that schools play an important role in reproducing the values and aspirations of a particular culture and/or class. Although several scholars researched and analyzed how schools reproduce the same and/or similar social class and culture, I utilized cultural reproduction theory as developed by Pierre Bourdieu and Jean Claude Passeron in this study.

According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), students gained cultural capital both inside and outside the classroom. However, they found that middle-class students tend to do better in terms

of academic performance in schools than lower-class students, because of the gained cultural capital that was legitimized by dominant groups who possess certain privileges and economic power within the society. In other words, cultural capital within the education system was already embedded, defined, and established by the dominant group, and it affected students' achievement outcomes. Middle-class students, as a result, do better in academic performance than lower-class students because the subject themes learned are more familiar and better understood by students from middle-class backgrounds.

Textbooks include a variety of subjects and themes; however, according to Bourdieu and Passeron's perspective, textbooks are embedded and reflect the dominant groups' ideas, aspirations, culture, and values. In Korea, multicultural family students are, in general, considered a minority because their physical number is severely less than Korean national students with two Korean parents. If Bourdieu and Passeron's theory applies within the Korean context, multicultural family students will tend to have difficulties learning mainstream Korean culture and, as a result, have lower academic achievement. As a matter of fact, several studies found that multicultural family students generally have low academic achievement when compared to their Korean national classmates (Oh, 2005; Y. Cho, 2006). Furthermore, schoolteachers by and large belong to the upper middle class vis-à-vis their socio-economic status. Their values and mores tend to be reflected when they teach students, interpret textbooks, and speak their opinions. In this regard, cultural reproduction theory is facilitated to examine how teachers convey and interpret multicultural contents in textbooks to elementary school students and how textbooks explain and portray multicultural themes.

3) Criteria of Textbook Content Analysis

In order to conduct textbook content analysis, this study employs Christine I. Bennett's idea of a "Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum" (Bennett, 2006). Bennett has done extensive research on multicultural education in the U.S., synthesizing various trends into a comprehensive program applicable to a general education curriculum providing not only theory, but also practice. Although her work is based on classroom environments in the U.S., her ideas were utilized and transformed by Korean scholars and researchers to investigate and create Korean multicultural education (Chang, 2008; Kang, 2011; Woo, 2009).

Many scholars suggest criteria or models to illustrate how textbook contents and curriculum should set up goals for multicultural education (Banks, 1995; Baker, 1983; Bennett, 2006; Sleeter & Grant, 1987). Conversely, textbook content analysis can also be deconstructed using these same criteria and models. If textbooks or curricula contain certain goals or topics related to multiculturalism, they can be viewed as multicultural education materials. Considering this point, this study analyzes multicultural education contents, themes, and topics found in textbooks, before examining how teachers communicate these materials with their students.

As one of the leading scholars of multicultural education, Bennett's "Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum" is based around four core values, "responsibility to a world community, acceptance and appreciation of cultural diversity, respect for the earth, and respect for human dignity and universal human rights" (Bennett, 2006, p. 32). These values are not confined solely to individuals within a specific nation, but connect on a global level. When the Korean government initiated multicultural education, they announced that the curriculum would include multicultural education and global citizenship education (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006, p. 9). Although the government did not define what global education means, it mentioned that contents on different cultures would be included in the revised

curriculum. To understand diversity and different cultures is viewed as global citizenship education in Korea. This was intended as a demonstration that the Korean government enunciated multicultural education not only on the individual and national level, but also to foster global citizenship, echoing Bennett's core values in terms of multicultural perspective. Furthermore, around these core values, Bennett suggested six goals for a multicultural curriculum:

- Goal one. To develop multiple historical perspectives
- Goal two. To strengthen cultural consciousness
- Goal three. To strengthen intercultural competence
- Goal four. To combat racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination
- Goal five. To increase awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics
- Goal six. To build social action skills (Bennett, 2006, p. 32)

To be more specific, through the first goal, students can lessen bias that tends to focus on the Euro-American perspective. History is often described through an Anglo-European point of view that disregards in depth considerations of minorities and/or Third World perspectives. To understand not only past historical events, but also the present, educators should reflect and interpret both minorities' and the majority's perspectives. The second goal is that students should recognize differences between themselves and others who belong to different groups, societies, and countries. Students, for instance, should understand behaviors and viewpoints that are different from their own. Next, a multicultural curriculum encourages students to develop their intercultural capability. For examples, a student should have the ability to understand verbal and nonverbal communications and to comprehend customs different from one's own. This goal stresses "empathy and communication" (Bennett, 2006, p. 33, p. 375). Through developing intercultural capability, learners increase their understanding of those who use different languages and belong to different cultures, ethnic groups, and nations. Students also learn to

overcome “racism, sexism and all form of prejudice and discrimination” within the multicultural curriculum (Bennett, 2006, p. 33, p. 396). As a result, it aims to reduce prejudice and discrimination towards different genders, races, and cultures. Furthermore, another goal of the curriculum is develop an “awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics” (Bennett, 2006, p. 33). She or he understands not only the current state of the earth, but also the state of affairs between nations. Moreover, the planet is viewed as one ecological system. Students should be able to recognize, for instance, global issues such as a food shortage that occurs in a certain part of the world affects more than just the nations and people of that one geographical area. The multicultural curriculum, lastly, sets the goal for “developing social action skills” that are useful to cope with worldwide issues (Bennett, 2006, p. 33, p. 432). Through this goal, students develop knowledge, attitudes, and skills as “the citizens of the earth” and put these in practice (Bennett, 2006, p. 432).

According to Bennett (2006), each goal must work in conjunction with the other five. This overlap is essential because the author emphasizes that each goal cannot exist alone, but all six should be:

woven into an overall curriculum design that allows separate subject areas and courses to emphasize those goals that are most compatible with the subject matter boundaries and age groupings of a particular school system (Bennett, 2006, p. 34).

Though these six goals were specifically selected while considering the educational environment of the U.S., they are still suitable for other countries if their curriculum contains multicultural components or considers multicultural education.

3. Methods

This study examines how Korean elementary school teachers interpret multicultural education and how they utilize multicultural materials from textbooks in their classes. In order to answer both research questions, I collected data employing two methods: textbook content analysis and interviews. Furthermore, in order to implement the research, I focused specifically on fifth and sixth grade Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks and interviews with teachers.

Elementary school in Korea refers to grades first through sixth, which can be further divided into three levels, each containing two grades: first/second, third/fourth, and fifth/sixth. These are also called the lower, middle, and upper grades. When the government implements new curriculum, it is applied gradationally beginning with first/second, then third/fourth, and lastly fifth/sixth. In Korea, fifth and sixth grade students are between eleven and thirteen years old and generally have higher cognitive abilities than younger children in lower grades. Generally, “children in more advanced grades are smarter than children in lower grades” and learned skills and knowledge more than lower grade via schooling (Bjorklund, 2012, p. 490). According to Jean Piaget’s cognitive development theory, this is the formal operational stage where children comprehend not only complex reasoning, but also hypothetical propositions (Bjorklund, 2012; Brainerd, 1978; Ginsburg & Opper, 1988; Piaget, 1979). To be more specific, at this phase of development, it is possible for a child to set a hypothesis and utilize a process of deduction in order to reach correct conclusions without concrete objectives or direct experiences. They can also infer from verbal and abstract explanations and know that there are numerous possibilities to draw conclusions not only from what they can perceive visually, but also through inference. This is different from the previous stage. Children who are from around seven to eleven years old are

in the concrete operational stage of cognitive development and use reversal and transitive inference; however, this is based upon logic from what they see in front of them and impossible to infer (Bjorklund, 2012; Piaget, 1979). The difference between the concrete operational stage and the formal operational stages is the ability to use hypothetical reasoning. This factor makes possible to have “a fruitful and constructive discussion” between teachers and students because “by using hypotheses we can adopt the point of view of the adversary and draw the logical consequences it implies” (Piaget, 1979, p. 201).

Fifth and sixth grade students can, thus, better articulate their ideas, views, and opinions more clearly and effectively through language and engage in more in-depth communications with teachers. These factors can influence teachers’ lesson plans and provide greater teacher-student interactions. Because of these factors, fifth and sixth grade elementary school teachers have greater latitude to use complex vocabularies and the option to utilize a wide diversity of teaching materials in classrooms. For these reasons, the subject of the study focuses on fifth and sixth grade teachers and textbooks.

In accordance with the grade criterion, I utilized textbook analysis and interviews as data collections. Textbook analysis showed what extent Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks include multicultural contents. Interviews demonstrated how teachers perceived multicultural education and communicate with their students utilizing multicultural topics, which are expressed in textbooks in class. Detailed explanations on these two methods are as follows.

1) Textbook Analysis

The study focused on fifth and sixth grade Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks for three reasons. First, the government is the sole provider of both textbooks. In Korea, there are

two categories of textbooks. The first are government-designated whose copyright is held and compiled by MEST. The others are government-authorized written by private textbook companies, but following government standards. However, MEST provides most of the nation's elementary school textbooks except for Music, English, Physical Education, Art, and Practical Course.³ In the case of Korean Language and Social Studies, the Korean government is the sole provider. Since the government is the single arbiter and provider of these textbooks and their contents, the entire nation utilizes the same curriculum. Every fifth and sixth grade student and teacher, then, has access to the exact same classroom materials and contents across Korea.

Second, although the Korean government mandates that all subjects included multicultural materials, Korean Language and Social Studies include this content more frequently compared to other subjects. This is because both subjects lend themselves more readily to multicultural topics and themes. Since the Korean Language textbook covers a variety of authors and their works and Social Studies contains social phenomenon, it is relatively easy to include multicultural topics in both subjects.

Homeroom teachers are in charge of Korean Language and Social Studies classes. Although the Moral Education textbook contains multicultural themes, this study does not include it for two reasons. The first is that the class occurs only once per week (MOE & HRD, 2007a). Second, homeroom teachers do not necessarily conduct these classes. Instead, specialized instructors are usually in charge of Moral Education, as well as other minor subjects. Therefore, if Moral Education was included, there is the possibility that the consistency of the study would be threatened, along with the equity of interviewees. This study consequently analyzed fifth and sixth grade Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks in Korean elementary schools

³ Music, English, Physical Education, Art, and Practical Course textbooks are published by private book publishers under government authorization.

utilizing Bennett’s “Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum.” However, Social Studies textbooks were analyzed only for sixth grade. This is because fifth grade textbooks deal with Korean history throughout the year and there is no content relating to multicultural themes. Each subject consists of two books. For example, Korean Language is composed of *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* and *Reading*. There are two books in Social Studies, too; a Social Studies textbook and a workbook.

Korean schools are on a semester system. Students have new books every semester. For this reason, the total amounts of textbooks analyzed in this study, are twelve: eight Korean Language and four Social Studies. Each textbook also has a teacher’s guide that I used to supplement my analysis.

There were two steps in conducting textbook analysis. For the first, certain chapters and contents that relate to or deal with a multicultural context were examined. Next, those chapters and contents were analyzed according to Bennett’s criteria based upon the four core values and six goals.

Table 3-1. Subjects for Content Analysis

Grade	Semester	Subject	Acronym*	Copyright Holder	
5	1	Korean Language	Hearing·Speaking·Writing	5-1-KL-HSW	Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology
			Reading	5-1-KL-R	
	2	Korean Language	Hearing·Speaking·Writing	5-2-KL-HSW	
			Reading	5-2-KL-R	
6	1	Korean Language	Hearing·Speaking·Writing	6-1-KL-HSW	
			Reading	6-1-KL-R	
	2	Korean Language	Hearing·Speaking·Writing	6-2-KL-HSW	
			Reading	6-2-KL-R	

	1	Social Studies	Social Studies	6-1-SS	
			Social Studies workbook	6-1-SSW	
	2	Social Studies	Social Studies	6-2-SS	
			Social Studies workbook	6-2-SSW	

* The format of this acronym will be used for the remainder of the study.

2) Interviews

The Korean government creates and controls the elementary school curriculum for the entire nation, and teachers set lesson plans based on textbooks. When the government announced the 2007 revised curriculum, it published *Notification No. 2007-79 of the Ministry of Education & Human Resources Development (2007a)*. In this paper, the MOE and HRD provides general guidelines of the curriculum such as subject achievement goals, contents that should be covered in class, and outlines for teaching and evaluations that are dependent upon specific grades and subjects. Though the government provides general guidelines and goals for the exposition of subjects in the classroom, how themes and topics are conveyed and explained to students depends upon the individual teacher. In order to investigate how elementary school teachers comprehend multicultural contents in textbooks and how they communicate these materials with their students in class, I conducted interviews with fifth and sixth grade elementary school teachers. I interviewed a total thirty-one teachers: fifteen for fifth grade and sixteen for sixth.

To find interview subjects, I asked friends, professors, and relatives to introduce me either to fifth or sixth grade homeroom teachers. As a result, two friends who are elementary school teachers put me in touch with their colleagues. Two professors also arranged for me to meet their students who teach at elementary schools. In addition, a relative passed my contact information to a friend who is an elementary school vice-principal, who in turn, introduced me to his

colleague. Because of these initial contacts, I met five teachers early on. After I interviewed them, I employed snowball sampling; I asked each teacher for referrals and each one connected me to his or her colleagues not only in the same, but also in different schools.

One feature in Korean elementary schools is that the number of female teachers is much higher than that of males. According to 2012 statistics, 76.2 percent of elementary school teachers are women (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2012).⁴ Although I did not pre-screen, the interviewees' demographics reflected this phenomenon. The only condition for interviewees in this study was that they must be either fifth or sixth grade homeroom teachers.

Interviews were conducted from the end of November 2012 to February 2013. This period also included the Winter Break from the last part of December to the first part of February. In Korea, the new academic year begins in March and ends February of the following year. This period was timely to conduct interviews because teachers almost completed both the first and second semester textbooks. Every interviewee participated voluntarily. All interviews were carried out in Korean and then translated into English. Also, all private information such as a person's name and school were blind and under assumed names.

The interviews were conducted either after school or during the Winter Break. Most interviews were performed during the latter period. During Winter Break, teachers have a duty day when they are required to attend school. Teachers asked me to interview them on their duty day. Interviews were performed person to person. Before the interviews, all informants signed a consent form to be interviewed and I informed them that they can withdraw at any time and can request the deletion of any information they do not wish to be included. All information was recorded using a voice-recording device agreed upon by the interviewees. Each interview was

⁴ In 2012, the number of female elementary school teachers was 138,295 out of 181,435 total (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2012).

between sixty to ninety minutes long and conducted in the classroom because of its quiet setting and it is an appropriate space for interviewing and recording. In addition, it is not necessary for teachers to relocate. The classroom also makes a teacher feel comfortable because of the familiar environment that allows the subject to better focus on the interview. However, four teachers requested to be interviewed in a teachers' room on their duty day during Winter Break and I agreed to their suggestion. When needed, I engaged in additional follow-up interviews. Interview questions were presented in a highly structured form. Nonetheless, there was some flexibility in terms of questions. For example, if certain questions arose during interviews or answers needed to be verified, I asked on the spot.

Before conducting interviews, I planned to do participant observation. I asked the teachers participating in the study if I could observe them in class, but they declined because they felt uncomfortable being observed at work. Among the interviewees, however, three teachers allowed me to observe their classrooms: one fifth grade Korean Language class and two sixth grade Social Studies courses. A fifth grade teacher allowed me to observe six of her Korean Language classes. One sixth grade teacher let me to observe ten of his Social Studies classes. The other sixth grade teacher permitted me to observe three classes of Social Studies. Each elementary school class is forty minutes long. Through my observations, I got a sense of how teachers interpret and analyze textbooks and how they interact with their students; however, the observation periods granted was not enough to fully gather data. Observation data was only employed to provide an understanding of how an actual classroom operates; for instance, the teaching-learning process and intercommunication between teachers and students.

Since this study focuses on how elementary school teachers interpret multicultural contents from textbooks and how they communicate these materials with their students, whether or not

multicultural family students are in a class can be a critical condition. Although I did not prescreen, very few teachers had multicultural students in their class. Furthermore, since the sample size is thirty-one, it cannot represent the entirety of Korean elementary school teachers. This study, however, provides some aspects of how elementary school teachers comprehend multicultural education and how they teach multicultural materials that are included in textbooks to their students.

Chapter 4 Analysis of Korean Language and Social Studies Textbooks

This chapter aims to investigate how Korean elementary school textbooks, especially Korean Language and Social Studies, depict and explain multicultural topics. A diversity of forms and topics, for example short stories, speeches, maps, and tables, are in the textbooks; however, content analysis was conducted on texts and illustrations that pertain to multicultural materials. This chapter will, furthermore, provide a foundation for the next chapter that concerns how elementary school teachers interpret textbook content and their practical use in class.

Textbook contents are analyzed in the following order of subjects: Korean Language and Social Studies. For each grade, the first semester's textbook is analyzed, and then followed by the second semester. The analysis is conducted in grade sequence order: fifth grade, then sixth.

Both subjects learning materials are government-designated and copyrighted by the Korean Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology. This means the entire nation's teachers and students in all elementary schools utilize one single set of textbooks for each of the subjects. There is, thus, no variation between textbooks.

The multicultural materials serve a two-fold purpose. First, Korea's demographics and culture has shifted over the last two decades with the arrival of foreign laborers and marriage immigrants. This posed a challenge to the traditional Korean education ideology that viewed the nation's history and culture through a largely nationalistic and ethnically homogeneous lens. By mandating that multiculturalism be taught in school, the government is preparing students and future generations to live in a diverse Korean society. Additionally, multicultural education further prepares students to view themselves as global citizens and to recognize the

interconnectedness of the world community. Utilizing Bennett's "Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum," I examine which aspects of multiculturalism Korean textbooks include and what knowledge and skills students should acquire through the materials.

1. Korean Language Textbook Fifth Grade

A Korean Language textbook is composed of two books: *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* and *Reading*. Both cover a wide range of literary forms such as short stories, poems, play scripts, expository writings, and news articles. Through these materials, students can broaden their perspectives and better understand human diversity. Furthermore, the first semester *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* and *Reading* textbooks each consist of eight chapters, whereas the second semester has seven. Although each book includes multicultural materials, not all chapters contain them.

1) The First Semester of the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook

The first semester of the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook has three parts relating to multiculturalism. First, a lesson on difference is introduced in a conversation between a boy and Robinson Crusoe, the fictional protagonist of Daniel Defoe's eponymous novel. Crusoe wonders why people appear so happy in front of a large TV screen (MEST, 2011a). The boy replies that the Korean soccer team won a tournament (MEST, 2011a). In the illustration, Robinson Crusoe is clearly portrayed as a non-Korean. Figure 4-1 demonstrates how his appearance differs from a Korean boy: Crusoe has a big nose, whereas the boy's is small. Both teachers and students can

additionally recognize Crusoe as a non-Korean because of his physical appearance and his name. When teachers interpret the picture, they can stress how Defoe's character is not odd, but different. In this regard, the illustration gives students the opportunity to develop cultural consciousness and acknowledge, but not judge, diversity and difference in society.

Figure 4-1. Chapter Two Cover Page: Robinson Crusoe



Note. The illustration from MEST, 5-1-KL-HSW, 2011a, p. 25.

Chapter six's title is "Thinking in Depth" and the goal is for students to distinguish between facts and opinions (MEST, 2011a, p. 107). A short passage uses comic books to illustrate Greek and Roman Myths because a majority of Korean students are unfamiliar with Western classical legends. By presenting them in the recognizable form of a comic book makes it easier to comprehend (MEST, 2011a, p. 108). Also, the author asserts, "the most popular book in the class is the comic on histories and cultures around the world" (MEST, 2011a, p. 108). When teachers explain the myths to their students, they can draw parallels between Classical European and

Korean folklore. Since Western motifs and philosophy differ from Eastern, if instructors supplement these differences and provide explanations, students can develop their cultural consciousness.

Every chapter ends with a one-page “Playground” which contains fun facts and activities designed to supplement chapter materials and provide students with an enjoyable, but still educational, break from their lesson. At the end of chapter six in the “Playground” section, news article is on the Cia-Cia tribe in Buton Island, Indonesia (MEST, 2011a, p. 124). As a traditional oral culture, the Cia-Cia had no indigenous written system so they adopted the Korean system of writing, *Hangul*, to transcribe their language (MEST, 2011a). The Cia-Cia tribe appears once again in the sixth grade Korean Language *Reading* textbook in the second semester where students discover how and why the Cia-Cia tribe chooses *Hangul* script in detail. When instructors explain the tribe adoption of *Hangul* script, they can connect it with Bennett’s third goal, strengthening intercultural competence. Through the Cia-Cia tribe, students can realize that although two nations utilize *Hangul* script, meanings and vocabulary differ. For example, “학교,” pronounced “Hakgyo” in Korean means “school.” However, the same character for “school” in Cia-Cia is pronounced “Sigolra” and is written thusly, “시골라.” Teachers can also include other examples of cross-cultural borrowing, including foreign loan words and customs in Korean society.

2) The First Semester of the *Reading* Textbook

The *Reading* textbook in the first semester includes more multicultural reading materials than found in the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook. The goal of the second chapter, “Searching for

Information” is to find causes and effect relationships within a narrative (MEST, 2011b). Two articles directly relate to multicultural perspectives: *The Origin of the Marathon* and *Sarah Rides the Bus* (MEST, 2011b, p. 43, p. 47). The first article is on the origins of the marathon. It began as a way to honor the Athenian messenger, Philippides, who delivered the news of the great Greek victory over Persia in the War of Marathon (MEST, 2011b, pp. 43-46). Although the Olympic Games adopted the marathon as one of its events, the modern nation of Iran does not participate in it because they are the descendants of ancient Persians (MEST, 2011b). Through the article, students can comprehend why Iranians do not engage in this sporting event. In this regard, students can develop cultural consciousness, Bennett’s second goal, in terms of becoming acquainted with a different worldview on of the marathon.

The other reading, *Sarah Rides the Bus*, covers racial segregation and Jim Crow in the U.S. The piece is a Korean translation of William Miller’s novel *The Bus Ride*, based on the true story of Rosa Parks. Miller puts the heroine’s name as Sarah. The main plot is that although blacks were forced to sit in the “colored” section, one African-American girl, Sarah, refuses to sit in the back of the bus and, instead, sits near the bus driver (MEST, 2011b, pp. 47-54). After this incident, African-Americans boycott the bus and this protest leads to a repeal of the law (MEST, 2011b).

This story has several aspects relating to Bennett’s goals. When teachers cover this story in class, they can utilize the real story of Rosa Parks. Also, instructor should explain the historical and cultural background on segregation in the U.S. between whites and African-Americans in the 1950s. This will help students to better understand the incident and to consider the situation of minorities. Since Korea does not have a history of state mandated and enforced antidiscrimination policies between different races, students may not understand *Sarah Rides the*

Bus. Although children should be able to comprehend unfairness, they would most likely be unfamiliar with specific incidents relating to the African-American struggle for Civil Rights. Korean children also have little to no direct experience living in a racially mixed society. In this regard, this lesson develops students' historical perspectives and builds cultural consciousness. Teachers, furthermore, can elaborate this agenda to contemporary society and encourage students to lessen their prejudices towards different races and ethnicities. This meets Bennett's fourth goal, "combating racism, sexism, and all forms of prejudice and discrimination" (Bennett, 2006, p. 33). However, this lesson did not include examples pertaining to gender difference.

Chapter three in the *Reading* textbook also has an example connected to preventing prejudice and discrimination in a story that takes the form of a conversation between a father and his son on the topic of friendship (MEST, 2011b, pp. 70-78). In the story, the father emphasizes that the son should make friends freely and without discrimination. Through the father's advice, students will realize that they should make friends regardless of differentiations of race and ethnicity, socio-economic status, and gender.

A lesson on eliminating prejudice is also present in the mock book reviews in chapter four. Three reviewers write on the Korean children's story *Abandon Such Prejudices* (MEST, 2011b, pp. 88-90). The book is about four individuals facing difficulties because of people's intolerance based upon their appearance, occupation, or academic achievement and how they overcome such prejudices (MEST, 2011b). While learning this material, students can consider what prejudices they have towards individuals and groups of races, genders, ethnicities, and social classes different from their own. This can raise students' awareness of how prejudice and discrimination can manifest itself in a number of ways. Moreover, teachers can engage in class discussion on possible methods individuals can employ to lessen these issues.

There is an article in chapter five about the Korean name of the Young Oak Kim middle school in Los Angeles, California, named after Colonel Kim who helped many people regardless of their ages, nationalities, races, and ethnicities (MEST, 2011b, pp. 98-101). This reading gives a lesson on common values shared among all mankind. To be more specific, an instructor can explain that though Kim lived among races, ethnicities, and cultures different from his own, his beneficence was recognized by both Korean-Americans and non Korean-Americans.

Teachers may also discuss Young Oak Kim's experience as a minority and disabled person. In the writing, there is a sentence that directly addresses his experiences: "as a second generation Korean-American from a poor family, facing racial discrimination and disability" (MEST, 2011b, p. 100). When teachers interpret this sentence, they can encourage students to defeat all forms of prejudice and discrimination using Kim's experiences. Through Kim's altruistic acts, students can learn how to help others. In this regard, Bennett's sixth goal, developing social action skills, is apparent here. Since this article contains various multicultural themes that need to be explained, teachers can briefly touch upon them in class.

In chapter seven of the first semester of the *Reading* textbook, Seon-mi Hwang's child short story, *The Hen that Left the Garden*, relates to multicultural perspectives (MEST, 2011b, pp. 150-162). The main plot concerns the friendship between an old hen and a mallard. Ipsa-yi is a hen who is too old to lay eggs.⁵ When she finds one abandoned amid some brambles, she decides to sit upon it because she wishes to feel like a mother. It turns out the egg belonged to a mallard and his mate; a white duck who was killed by a weasel. When the mallard sees the old hen taking care of his egg, he says:

⁵ Ipsa-yi is the name of the main character.

I am a wild duck and you are an extraordinary chicken. . . . Although we may not understand one another because we look so different, we can love each other. I admire you (MEST, 2011b, p. 159).

Although this story is about animals, it can be read as an allegory of human society. Through specific scenes such as the friendship between the hen and mallard and the hen tending to the duck's egg, teachers can interpret and apply them to human society. In this regard, teachers can emphasize that people can be friends regardless of differences of gender, race, and ethnicity like the hen and mallard. Instructors should also encourage students to remove prejudices or discriminations on different races and ethnicities.

3) The Second Semester of the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook

The second semester of the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook has multicultural materials only in the fifth chapter. Chapter five, "The World in Which We Live," is on speech and presentation (MEST, 2011c, p. 85). Among rubrics, one example is to choose a situation and to consider what media should be employed in order to help the audiences' comprehension. Among assumed situations, one is introducing Korea to foreign friends. When teachers cover this assumed condition, they can guide what students should consider when they introduce their nation to foreigners.

As Korea increasingly becomes part of the wider global society, people from around the world may visit the nation for business, study, or vacation, or on a more permanent basis as immigrants and expatriates. As a result, students have further opportunities to meet those of different races or ethnicities. Student, conversely, can go to different countries. In both of these scenarios, Korean students may have the chance to introduce others to their own culture.

Through this lesson, students can be prepared for the social realities of globalization and become global citizens. They can also be aware that people from different cultures, religious backgrounds, and nations have different interests, customs, and practices. This can lead to further cross-cultural exchanges and prevent a binary, ethnocentric classification of people as Koreans versus non-Koreans.

4) The Second Semester of the *Reading* Textbook

The second chapter of the second semester *Reading* textbook includes a multicultural topic that lesson is on defeating racial prejudice. *Black Balloons* is a short fictional piece about a black boy who wonders whether black balloons can fly while watching the balloon seller, Mr. Wigdon (MEST, 2011d, pp. 42-45). In the last scene, the boy asks the seller if the black balloons can be sent up into the air like the others. Mr. Wigdon knocks his head and unties a string that binds the balloons while saying, “What enables the balloons to fly is what is inside, not their color” (MEST, 2011d, p. 45). Although the goal of this reading example is to teach non-linear story telling, the theme of the story is about the importance of what is inside and not the external appearance and is verified through Mr. Wigdon’s words. The following figure (see Figure 4-2), additionally, shows how the young protagonist is portrayed. As the only black character in the left image in Figure 4-2, he stands alone at a distance and watches the interaction between his peers and the balloon seller. He appears to be excluded from the group. It is difficult from the illustration to know if his exile is self-imposed or not. Since the boy identifies with the black balloons, he wonders whether this color can fly like the others. This reflects his own questions about race and the correlation between race and ability, as well as acceptance.

Figure 4-2. The Balloon Seller and the Black Boy



Note. The illustration from MEST, 5-2-KL-R, 2011d, p. 42, p. 44.

In this story, different colored balloons allude to the racial diversity of people. Although people from different racial and ethnic groups appear physically dissimilar, in reality, they all share the common bond of humanity. The lesson of the story is that people should do not judge by appearance. As Korean becomes a multicultural society, the population will include individuals and groups from a diversity of races and ethnicities. Students can meet those of a different race or ethnicity not only in class, but also in Korean society and when they visit other nations. Students need to be prepared for the nation's multicultural society as well as being a global citizen. From the story and its moral lesson, students can remove prejudice and discrimination towards other races and ethnicities; however, this message did not touch upon issues of gender or socio-economic differences.

Chapter three covers print ads, commercials, and public service messages. Among the many examples of print ads, one is a public campaign about reducing food waste. The picture in the ads is that the earthen pot has money inside and it urges people to curb their waste of food (MEST, 2011d, p. 56). Students can imagine how people suffer from hunger both in the nation and in other countries. In this regard, teachers can explain how much leftovers are thrown out and they can encourage students to reduce food waste and eat what they were served. The lesson of this public ad fulfills Bennett's fifth goal, awareness of the state of the earth, and her sixth goal, building action skills (Bennett, 2006). Students can realize how their eating habits affect the environment and people in other nations.

Another example in this chapter uses stills from a public television commercial to emphasize the importance of Korean national unity, regardless of individual differences (MEST, 2011d, pp. 58-59). As Korean society becomes increasingly diverse, its citizens have more chance to meet and interact with different races and ethnicities. This public TV commercial stresses harmony between diverse members of Korean society. Since the goal of this chapter is to find the purpose of advertisements, instructors ask students about the intention of this public campaign and then emphasize decreasing prejudices towards different ideas, appearances, and generations. Bennett's fourth goal, "combating racism, sexism, prejudice, and discrimination," is apparent here. Though the commercial solely focuses on the Korea, students learn all humans deserve consideration and respect regardless of their race, ethnicity, gender, and social status. Teachers can also encourage students' cultural consciousness through the following direct quotes: "though thoughts differ, all dream for the same future" and "though facial appearances differ, all sweat for the same hope" (MEST, 2011d, p. 58). Teachers can encourage students to recognize

differences between different races, ethnicities, values, and ideas, but to also cultivate mutual respect.

The “Playground” section in this chapter shows a hypothetical commercial illustrating the relationship between paper towel overuse and the depletion of forests in South America. The instruction asks students to come up with a quotation that embodies the illustration (MEST, 2011d, p. 70). The intent of this ad is to encourage environmental conservation and to raise awareness of the harmful effects of overusing paper towels. On the paper towel container, there is an illustration of the continent of South America and it implies that overusing paper ruins its environment. Since paper is made from wood pulp, the more towels used, the greater the amount of logging and deforestation occurs in South America. Furthermore, this adversely affects the people living in South America. Though students in Korea freely use paper towels, it can affect a country on the other side of the world. In this regard, teachers should stress how everyday behaviors negatively impacts the earth, as well as other nations and peoples, and how every individual can contribute to the elimination of wasteful daily practices and behaviors. Additionally, students can ponder their responsibilities as global citizens.

Two of the three short stories in chapter five directly relate to multicultural materials. The first is on women’s suffrage. The story introduces how women gained the right to vote by utilizing the works of Mary Wollstonecraft and Emily Davison (MEST, 2011d, pp. 99-103). Since this story shows how women were discriminated against in terms of political rights as compared to men, teachers can explain both historical and contemporary sexism and encourage students to lessen it. In addition, although the reading material focuses on women’s suffrage, many people such as racial and ethnic minorities and the poor were historically excluded from the right to vote. Through this article, students can understand how people gain political rights

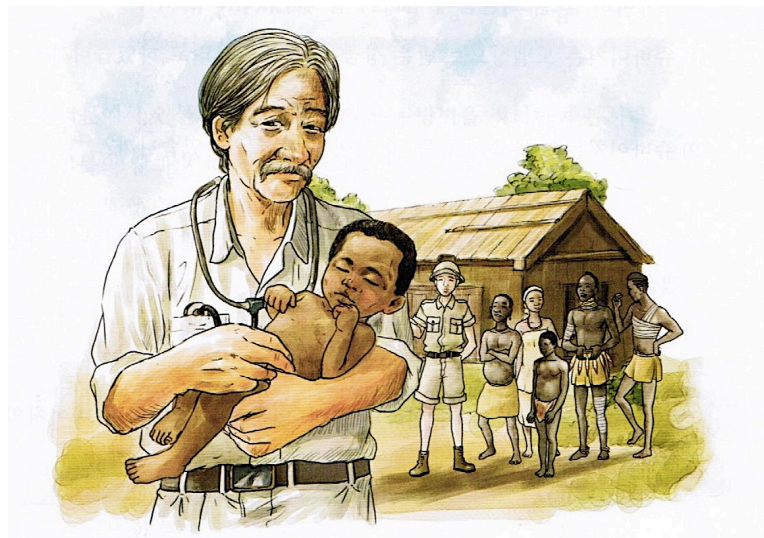
and develop multifold historical perspectives. Furthermore, they can realize all human have equal rights regardless of differences on gender, race, ethnicity, and social status.

The other short children's story is E. B. White's *Charlotte's Web*. The plot concerns a little pig, Wilbur, and his friendship with a spider, Charlotte A. Cavatica, who saves Wilbur's life with a great idea (MEST, 2011d, pp. 104-124). To be more specific, when every other animal such as the sheep and a rat rejects Wilbur, Charlotte becomes his friend. As Wilbur reaches maturity, he realizes he can be slaughtered for food. In order to save him, Charlotte comes up with an idea to write letters on her web to save him (MEST, 2011d). This story reaches out to people who are different. Teachers can elaborate the process, which the pig and the spider became friends and the spider saves the pig's life, into the human society. Different species such as pigs and spiders can be read as representing different races, ethnicities, or genders. This allegory can prepare students for a multicultural Korean society. As Korean communities become more diverse, students have opportunities to meet individuals from different racial and ethnic groups. Furthermore, students will also be prepared as global citizens where people cooperate regardless of national barriers. In this aspect, this allegory gives students a meaningful lesson that one should not discriminate against others based upon differences in physical appearance. This lesson plan meets Bennett's fourth goal, reducing all types of prejudices and discriminations.

Chapter six is composed of biographies of prominent and well-known figures. One example is Marie Curie. The story shows how Poles learned their history in schools out of sight under the control of Russia (MEST, 2011d, pp. 128-133). It also depicted how Marie felt sorrow because she lost her country to Russian occupation and how she found polonium named after her nation, Poland (MEST, 2011d). Since the goal of this article is to find a relationship between Marie Curie and the historical and cultural circumstances of her age, teachers should explain the

background of Polish history under Russia. Furthermore, teachers can connect this to the historical relationship between Korea and Japan. Because of the parallels between Russian controlled Poland, and Korea under the Japanese occupation, the article can be used to initiate discussion and analysis comparing and contrasting both countries colonial experiences. When teachers interpret this aspect, they can help students to elaborate multiple historical perspectives. In this context, Bennett's first goal, understanding multiple historical perspectives is apparent here. From the story of Marie Curie and the Russian occupation of Poland, students can better comprehend how a colonized and marginalized people overcome adversity.

Figure 4-3. Dr. Albert Schweizer with a Black Baby



Note. The illustration from MEST, 5-2-KL-R, 2011d, p. 155.

The other example is a biography of Albert Schweitzer. The story covers his life from childhood to death and depicts how Dr. Schweitzer went to Africa to help those who lacked access to health care (MEST, 2011d, pp. 148-156). Figure 4-3 provides an illustration of Dr. Schweitzer helping people in Africa. When teachers interpret and analyze his life, they can

satisfy Bennett's fifth and sixth goals: to understand the state of the earth and global dynamics and to learn activism. When teachers interpret why Dr. Schweitzer went to Africa, they can explain not only the historical circumstances that led to a dearth of medical resources, but also the current situation on the continent. From Dr. Schweitzer's achievement, students can also learn how to directly help people regardless of nations, gender, races, ethnicities, and social economic status. They also can realize each and every nation and peoples are interconnected.

Analyzing the fifth grade Korean Language textbooks, there are two findings. First, the *Reading* textbook includes more multicultural materials than the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook, both for the first and second semesters. Second, if inclusive of all Korean Language textbooks, Bennett's goals were reflected in their materials; however, neither the first nor the second semester of *Reading* textbooks include Bennett's third goal, developing intercultural competence. Instead, Bennett's fourth goal, removing racism, sexism, and all forms of prejudice and discrimination, appears most frequently.

2. Korean Language Textbook Sixth Grade

Like fifth grade Korean Language, sixth grade Korean Language also consists of *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* and *Reading* textbooks. Both textbooks in the first semester are made up of eight chapters while the second one has seven.

1) The First Semester of the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook

In the first semester, the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook has materials relating to multicultural themes in chapter five and six. The title of chapter five is “Facts and Perspectives” and a lesson on the earth’s dynamics is introduced in mock news articles on the North Pole Route (MEST, 2011e, pp. 95-98). Two news articles present opposing sides on the advantages and disadvantages of the route. One refers to how Koreans obtain economic profits from the shortcut, while the other illustrates how the North Pole Route has caused damage to the world environment by exacerbating glacial melting. From both articles, students can learn that people can have different points of view on the same topic. One focuses on how the nation benefited, while the other concerns the environmental impact the route has caused on a global scale.

Students can also learn how the world is interconnected. Some nations take advantage of the North Pole and its short cut, whereas some countries and individuals cooperate to preserve it because melting glaciers threaten not only indigenous people and animals in the North Pole, but also impact other nations, especially those having a low water level. This lesson fits Bennett’s fifth goal, that is, “to increase awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics” in her “Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum” (Bennett, 2006, p. 32, p. 416). Students can ponder global warming and how it affects not only the planet, but also their everyday lives from this lesson.

The cover page of chapter six, “Reasonable Evidence,” depicts a young girl’s speech at a UN conference (see Figure 4-4). The girl speaks only two sentences: “Many children in the world are struggling. If you love us, please show us in your words as well as your actions” (MEST, 2011e, p. 109). With this lesson, students can reflect upon and discuss what problems children in the world are faced with. Also, when teachers explain this illustration, they can provide examples on global issues affecting children such as starvation, child labor, and human trafficking.

Furthermore, this lesson encourages students to see themselves as global citizens while considering how their counterparts in other nations suffer and how this suffering can be relieved.

Figure 4-4. Chapter Six Cover Page: A Child Addresses the UN

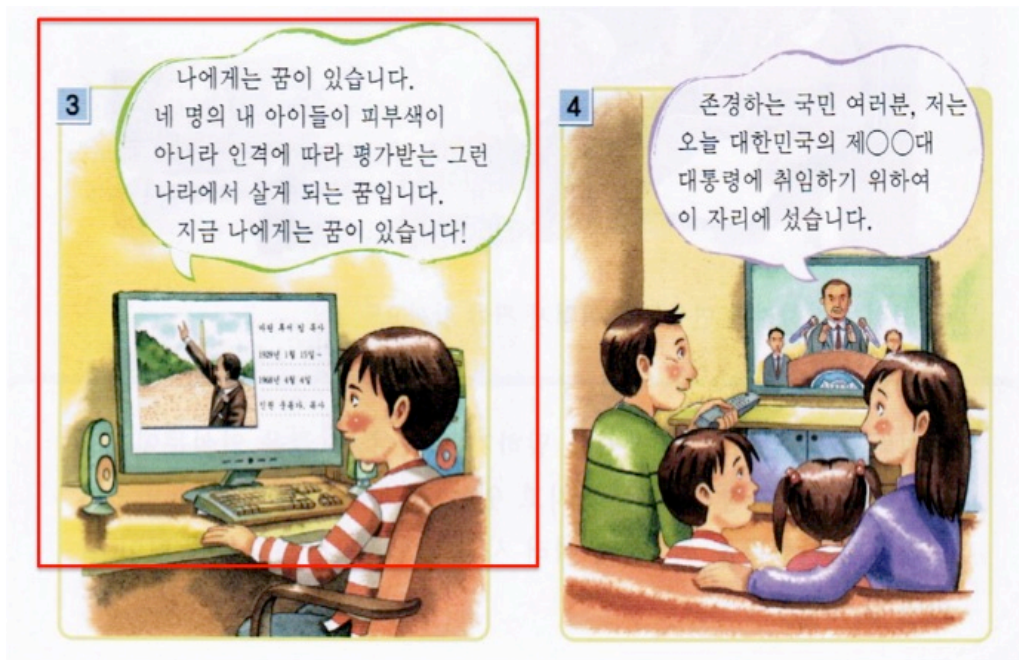


Note. The illustration from MEST, 6-1-KL-HSW, 2011e, p. 109.

A small picture in this chapter shows Martin Luther King with an excerpt of his famous “I Have a Dream” speech (MEST, 2011e, p. 110). It illustrates his hope that one day his children will live in an America without racial discrimination in Figure 4-5 (MEST, 2011e). As a leader of the Civil Rights Movement, his efforts improved racial equality in the U.S. Korea historically had little experience with racial and ethnic conflicts; however, from the vignette on Dr. King, students can consider racial discrimination regarding the situation and position of minorities

during the 1960s and 70s in the U.S. and each groups struggle for equality. Students can also reflect upon contemporary examples of racism not only in the nation, but also in the world. From this lesson, students can develop cultural consciousness and diminish racial prejudice; however, since the picture focuses solely on race, other types of discrimination based upon gender, class, and religious differences were not covered.

Figure 4-5. Martin Luther King's Speech



Note. The left picture shows that a student watches Martin Luther King's speech online. from MEST, 6-1-KL-HSW, 2011e, p. 110.

2) The First Semester of the Reading Textbook

Five out of eight chapters in the *Reading* textbook include multicultural topics. The first chapter of the first semester *Reading* textbook is the "World of Imagination" and its purpose is to explore and understand the defining features of literature and literary forms (MEST, 2011f, p. 5). In this regard, it provides poems and children's stories. Among them, Astrid Lindgre's *Pippi*

Longstocking suggests two types of genres: a play and a novel (MEST, 2011f, pp. 21-30). Through this story, students can develop cultural consciousness and work on lessening discrimination and prejudices. Pippi's behavior is depicted as different from the other two children, Thomas and Annika, who can be viewed as representing mainstream society. However, although her behavior portrays her as different, she is not judged by the author as wrong. From this point, students have the chance to realize diverse ways of thinking and behavior among people who live in a nation or in the world.

The other lesson on defeating prejudice is introduced through the descriptions of Pippi's appearance. Again, both her physical features and her dress delineate her as dissimilar to the societal mainstream. For instance, she is described as having red hair like carrots, a small nose like a potato, a freckled face, and eccentric clothes with big black shoes. A description of Pippi's appearance, and how her physical characteristics set her apart from others, is connected to the theme of prejudice. Though the textbook uses only a small section of the larger novel, the excerpt can be utilized in the classroom to explore issues of prejudice and how people are judged and stereotypes based upon physical appearance. Bennett notes that *Pippi Longstocking* can be read as upholding and reinforcing both racism and sexism. She provides considerable practical lesson plans in her book, *Comprehensive Multicultural Education: Theory and Practice*, and one of them is "Hidden Messages in Children's Literature" (Bennett, 2006, p. 407). According to that lesson plan, *Pippi Longstocking* exemplifies material that can be used in a classroom to raise awareness of and to combat sexism and racism (Bennett, 2006, p. 407). However, the excerpt from Lindgre's fictional work in the Korean Language *Reading* textbook does not include portions directly relating to racism and sexism.

The second chapter, “Information and Understanding” has multicultural topics in reading materials and its educational objectives to find a writer’s viewpoint (MEST, 2011f, p. 33). One is a business marketing report. It suggests two opposing vantage points about a potential sale of shoes to a country where people do not wear them (MEST, 2011f, pp. 34-37). One report evaluates business value positively while the other does not. Through two polarized opinions towards bare feet in public, students develop both their understanding of a different cultural worldview and an increase of cultural consciousness. From the articles, students can understand different cultures and customs. Nonetheless, since foreign cultures that allow or encourage bare feet can also be evaluated as lowbrow or primitive when compared to those where footwear is the norm, teachers should be cautious and discuss these differences to prevent students from developing and/or maintaining an ethnocentric perspective and feelings of moral and cultural superiority. In addition, several drawings, for example Figure 4-6, are inserted in the reading example (MEST, 2011f, pp. 35-36). Marketing investigators are portrayed as having light skin, straight hair, and dressed in fairly formal suits with shoes. On the other hand, barefoot “natives” have darker skin, curly hair, and are dressed either in shorts and t-shirts, or several are depicted with naked torsos. These illustrations show how indigenous people are portrayed in a stereotypical manner. When teachers discuss and interpret this article to their students, they should be careful that students do not have a bias towards people in other nations because of the illustrations.

Figure 4-6. Selling Shoes to the Natives



2 보고서의 내용이 어떻게 다른지 생각하며 다음 글 ㉠와 글 ㉡를 읽어 봅시다.

㉠ 신발 수출 가능성은 매우 낮다

○○ 나라에 신발을 수출하여 성공할 가능성은 매우 낮다. ○○ 나라 사람들은 대부분 신발을 신지 않은 채 생활하고 있다. 오래전부터 그들은 땅을 직접 밟고 살았기 때문에, 신발 없이 매마른 땅바닥을 걸어 다닐 수 있을 정도로 단련된 발을 가지고 있다. 심지어 어린이들도 맨발로 공을 차며 뛰어놀 정도이다.

우리가 ○○ 나라 사람들에게 신발을 보여 주자, 그들은 그것이 왜 필요하냐는 듯한 표정으로 우리를 쳐다보았다. 그들에게 신발은 편안함을 주는 필수품이 아니라 오히려 거추장스러운 물건에 지나지 않는다. 따라서, 우리 회사가 ○○ 나라에 신발을 수출한다면 판매 가능성은 거의 없다.

'○○ 나라에 신발 수출하기'라는 우리 회사의 올해 목표는 수정되어야 한다.






㉡ 우리 회사의 새로운 시장

○○ 나라 사람들은 대부분 신발을 신지 않고 생활한다. 그들이 맨발로 살아온 까닭은 신발을 신는 편이 더 안전하고, 더 잘 달릴 수 있고, 더 편하다는 사실을 몰랐기 때문이다.

우리가 ○○ 나라 사람들에게 신발을 보여주었을 때, 그들은 호기심이 가득한 눈빛으로 바라보았다. 그들에게 신발의 편리함과 안전성을 홍보하고 직접 신어 보는 체험의 기회를 준다면, 맨발로 다니는 원주민들의 마음을 변화시킬 수 있을 것이다. 맨발로 생활하는 원주민 모두가 우리 회사의 큰 고객이다.

우리는 하루빨리 ○○ 나라에 신발을 수출하여야 한다. ○○ 나라는 우리 회사의 새로운 신발 시장이 될 수 있다.

Note. The illustration from MEST, 6-1-KL-R, 2011f, pp. 35-36.

Another reading subject in this chapter is on Helen Keller as a social activist (MEST, 2011f, pp. 38-41). She was the first disabled person to receive a bachelor's degree in the U.S. (MEST, 2011f). The writing additionally includes her contributions to women's suffrage, antiracism, and antiwar movements (MEST, 2011f). Her contributions to the plights of marginalized people serve as a lesson to students in terms of combating racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination. Also, student can develop manifold historical perspectives, while considering the historical background of a text; for example, the positions occupied by women and workers' and their struggles for greater equality and/or autonomy.

Next, chapter four's topics address global issues. The purpose of this chapter is to know the characteristics of a persuasive article and to uncover the values embedded in the text (MEST, 2011f). Two out of four reading examples relate to universal issues such as preventing global warming and eating vegetarian meals (MEST, 2011f). Moreover, the overall lesson in the chapter, in regard to multicultural education, is that each example can be used to initiate discussion on the relationship between domestic and global issues and the interconnectedness of both. This can help facilitate students to perceive themselves as not only Koreans, but also as global citizens. One example urges readers to engage in Earth Hour; turning off lights for one hour on a specific day to reduce carbon dioxide emissions and prevent global warming caused by such emissions (MEST, 2011f, pp. 76-79). From this article, students are shown how people in the world cooperate in order to save the earth and to live together. In addition, since electricity requires large amounts of fossil fuels, power consumption heavily impacts those who work in such industries as mining and logging. Through these lessons, students can become aware of how the world, its nations, and inhabitants are interconnected.

The other is about the benefits of adopting a vegetarian diet and its lesson relates to global citizenship (MEST, 2011f, pp. 89-96). The article emphasizes that an advantage of a plant-based diet is that it protects the lives of both animals and humans and is sustainable. Since large numbers of animals are fed commercially grown corn, this causes some people in the world to suffer from food shortages and hunger (MEST, 2011f). To be more specific, since people consume meat, many animals are fed grains. As a result, some people in the other parts of the world are faced with a lack of food. One textbook illustration shows a dark-skinned child with a short description explaining how she is suffering from malnutrition (MEST, 2011f, p. 92). However, the vignette can cause prejudice by creating an association that connects nutrition

deficiencies. Although the picture can lead viewers to hold negative preconceptions about certain groups of people, students can realize the world is interconnected from the article.

A lesson on awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics is introduced in Chapter five through a short biography of Dr. Sang-gi Han who improved a species of cassava in order to solve a food shortage in Africa (MEST, 2011f, pp. 110-114). He developed a more efficient way to breed plants that gave greater crop yields and also found a way to eradicate damaging pests (MEST, 2011f). The Yoruba in Nigeria appreciated Dr. Han's work to such a degree that they asked him to be their chief. From Dr. Han's story showing his selfless devotion in helping those of races and ethnicities unlike his own, students can become aware of humanitarian activism. This reading material helps students to broaden their perspectives and think globally; however, the writing depicted Africa as a place ravaged by suffering, poverty, and disease. This description can give students negative preconceived ideas about the continent, its cultures, and people.

In chapter six, "Reasonable Evidence," there is a lesson on prejudices and sexual stereotypes (MEST, 2011f, pp. 131-138). Since the writer's intention is to eliminate these, he explains what they are and gives considerable examples of some common gender stereotypes. To be more specific, although there is no restriction on occupations, people tend to associate certain professions and jobs with women, and others with men (MEST, 2011f). One picture in this story provides examples of some occupations typically associated with men that have been filled by women. From the reading materials, students can realize what types of gender prejudice they have. Although the author expounds on the topic of stereotypes on gender, he does not mention stereotypes of different races, minorities, or social classes.

3) The Second Semester of the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* Textbook

The second *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* book has only one part relating to multicultural topics. In chapter six, the one-page “Playground” section suggests students find memorable phases from speeches (MEST, 2011g, p. 122). One such example is Martin Luther King’s iconic “I Have a Dream” speech. Figure 4-7 shows the example. The textbook includes the following excerpt:

I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream (King, 1963).

Since Martin Luther King’s speech was presented in the first semester’s *Reading* textbook, both teachers and students should already be familiar with it. Teachers may remind students what they learned about Dr. King and his “I Have a Dream” speech in the first semester of *Reading* textbook. After both teachers and students review the contents, teachers can connect this speech to not only Jim Crow racism, but also expand this theme to include materials relating to other minority groups in the U.S. and provide the broader historical and cultural context necessary to interpret their relationships vis-à-vis the white, male-dominated power structure. Without reviewing the former semester, teachers can otherwise directly explain and interpret Martin Luther King’s speech in terms of common prejudices towards minorities both in America and Korea. Since Korean students have little interaction with people of diverse races, this lesson give them opportunities to reflect on racial, ethnic, and gender discrimination not only in a Korean context, but also in other nations.


Figure 4-7. Si-gyeong Ju & Martin Luther King in "Playground" Page

놀이터


마음에 새겨 둘 한마디

연설에서 좋은 말 한마디는 짧지만 청중에게 깊은 인상을 심어 줍니다. 훌륭한 분들의 말 한마디를 마음속에 되새기며 그 뜻을 친구들과 이야기하여 봅시다.

마음에 새겨 둘 한마디



한 나라가 잘되고 못되는 열쇠는 그 나라의 국어를 얼마나 사랑하느냐에 있다.
- 한글학자 주시경 -



나에게는 꿈이 있습니다. 네 명의 내 아이가 피부색이 아니라 인격에 따라 평가받는 그런 나라에서 살게 되는 꿈입니다. 지금 나에게는 꿈이 있습니다!
- 인권 운동가 마틴 루서 킹 -

● 만약 나라면 어떤 말을 남길 수 있을지 생각하며 좋은 말 한마디를 써 봅시다.

Note. The illustration from MEST, 6-2-KL-HSW, 2011g, p. 122.

4) The Second Semester of the Reading Textbook

The second semester *Reading* textbook includes multicultural materials in the every single chapter except seven. In the first chapter, Han-a's short story about a multicultural family in Korea, *The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea*, gives readers a lesson on ethnic difference. The main plot concerns a Korean girl, Han-byeol, and her uneasy relationship with her new Vietnamese stepmother, Huong (MEST, 2011h, pp. 21-34). The story begins when Han-byeol's grandmother on her father's side introduces a Vietnamese woman to her father because he lost his wife three years ago to pneumonia. After her father marries Huong, the girl rejects her stepmother because of her non-Korean ethnicity. However, both women share the same emotional trauma because Han-byeol and Huong both miss their own mothers. Since Han-byeol realizes this, she eventually embraces her stepmother.

Figure 4-8. The Protagonist Korean Girl and Her Stepmother



Note. The illustration from MEST, 6-2-KL-R, 2011h, p. 28.

The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea reflects the current family dynamics of Korean society in terms of a steadily increasing number of multicultural/multiethnic marriages and families. According to recent statistics, the number marriage between Koreans and non-Korean spouses were 11,605 in 2000 and this figure increased to 34,235 in 2010 (Statistics Korea, 2011). During a ten-year period, Koreans marrying outside of their nationality has become an increasingly common occurrence. Among them, unions between Korean men and non-Korean women were 26,274 of the total number international marriages (Statistics Korea, 2011).

The goal of this reading material is for students to consider a conflict structure (MEST, 2011h). The main conflict occurs between the girl and her Vietnamese stepmother caused by the presence of the stepmother herself as well as her different ethnicity. When teachers interpret why

this disharmony arises between the daughter and the stepmother, it would be difficult to avoid explanations dealing with different ethnicities, multicultural families, and interethnic relationships in Korea. Students can also recognize that the nation's population is composed of multiple ethnicities.

Figure 4-8 depicts the protagonist at the bottom right of the picture and her stepmother with a yellow umbrella. The textbook portrays the Vietnamese stepmother as having a noticeably darker skin tone than the Korean characters in order to emphasize that she is of a different ethnicity. However, artistic representations such as this can cause bias towards Southeast Asians and lead to stereotypes based upon skin color.

Huong, in addition, is completely unfamiliar with the Korean language. Instead of verbal communication, she acts according to the situation and depends on non-verbal signs and cues. For instance, several scenes depict Huong and her Korean mother-in-law communicating through the use of body language, signs, and gestures. Her mother-in-law speaks to Huong in Korean, but Huong does not (or cannot) reply. There is, in fact, only part that Huong speaks in the entire story. She says “mẹ” “mother,” in Vietnamese, when she caught a cold and missed her mother. However, she appears to understand her mother-in-law's speech. Through these descriptions, students can develop their intercultural competence by recognizing that communication occurs not only verbally, but also through non-verbal signs. This relates to Bennett's emphasis on the importance of empathy and communication (Bennett, 2006). While reading the story, students can take the position of either the daughter or stepmother and feel empathy. They can also understand how people who belong to different cultures and countries communicate.

The second chapter of the *Reading* textbook includes a piece on Christopher Columbus' voyage to the Americas and a lesson on understanding multiple historical perspectives. The story

shows how Columbus and his legacy can be perceived in two opposing ways: as discoverer and/or invader (MEST, 2011h). Columbus's voyage tends to be interpreted through the Anglo-European lens that portrays him as a hero and the discoverer of the New World. However, he can also be viewed as an invader and imperialist conqueror. With both opposing perspectives suggested, students can comprehend that diverse viewpoints can simultaneously exist when reviewing and interpreting history. They can also realize alternative narratives exist concerning historical figures and events.

The other article in this chapter is *Fair Trade Chocolate*. The author explains what fair trade chocolate is and attempts to persuade readers to buy them while also illustrating how cacao cultivations exploit cheap child labor (MEST, 2011h, pp. 49-50). This piece shows how the global demand for chocolate affects both its harvest and African child workers. With regard to this, students are made aware of interactions that occur in the global market place. This aspect fits with Bennett's goal of building "awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics" (Bennett, 2006, p. 416). Furthermore, since the goal of the reading material is to compare the viewpoints of authors and their readers alike, the counterview also suggests that fair trade chocolate alone cannot help African children (MEST, 2011h). As an opposing opinion, the writer urges readers that it would be better to avoid buying chocolate in order to help exploited African children and farmers (MEST, 2011h, p. 51). Once again, the lesson here is that the actions of people in one country has global repercussions and impact.

Both writings suggest different ways to help Africans: buying fair trade chocolate or not purchasing chocolate at all. From these opposing perspectives, students can realize how the actions of an individual have positive or negative repercussions on a much larger scale.

Chapter three features Chief Seattle's speech to the American government (MEST, 2011h, pp. 65-73). When Native Americans negotiated with Anglo-Europeans over territory, Chief Seattle gave the speech using his heritage language. His oration was a request to whites to preserve the natural status of the environment. This topic can be connected with chapter one's Columbus article (MEST, 2011h, pp. 42-48). While the story of Columbus's expounds a white, European position, Chief Seattle's speech articulates Native Americans' thoughts and perspectives. Like the Columbus article, this reading material also gives students an opportunity to be exposed to several historical viewpoints and not just the Western-Eurocentric perspective of figures and events.

In addition, Chief Seattle's speech illustrates Native American perspectives on the environment. For example, Native Americans view humans as sisters and brothers to animals and plants and see mankind as part and parcel of nature (MEST, 2011h). From the reading, students can consider how Native Americans' understanding of nature differs from the Korean worldview and to further develop cultural consciousness.

Water conservation is another topic of interest in chapter three. The author writes how people in the world, especially Africans, suffer from water scarcity and encourages students to contribute donations to this cause (MEST, 2011h, pp. 74-76). From the reading material, students can understand the world is one ecosystem with interconnected parts and that they are global citizens. To be more specific, students can realize how they waste water and how some people live precariously because of severe water shortages and their daily struggle searching for water. In addition, the textbook provides a photo showing children obtaining water from a polluted stagnant source (MEST, 2011h, p. 75). Although the vignette does not provide any information about where the photo was taken, it alludes to a certain nation in Africa. This is because the text

tells of African children who spend their day seeking water and when they find it, it is often contagious or muddy. From the reading, students can recognize themselves as global citizens; however, both the photograph and accompanying text can have a negative influence on students' recognition regarding nations and people who suffer from water shortages because the article focuses only on Africa.

The chapter five generally covers the excellence of *Hangul*, the Korean written alphabet. Among reading materials, the first article is the adoption of *Hangul* by the Cia-Cia tribe in Buton Island, Indonesia (MEST, 2011h, pp. 116-119). Since the tribe is an oral culture with only a spoken language, they needed a written system and choose *Hangul* script in order to transcribe their phonetic signs (MEST, 2011h). When teachers explain the Cia-Cia story, they can remind students that the tribe was previous covered in the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook in fifth grade. Since the Cia-Cia was featured in the “Playground” section, there is a possibility that fifth grade teachers did not cover it. When teachers interpret and discuss this topic in class, they can meet Bennett’s third goal, “developing intercultural competence” (Bennett, 2006, p. 375). Teachers initiate a class discussion in terms of the advantages gained by exporting *Hangul* to the Cia-Cia tribe. Through debating this agenda, instructors can let their students broaden their comprehension of intercultural communication. However, there is one thing that lecturers should be careful of; if teachers overemphasize the outstanding qualities of *Hangul*, it can strengthen and reinforce Korean students’ ethnocentrism.

At the end of this chapter in “Playground” section, a variety of written language scripts are shown in Figure 4-9. A Korean sentence, “Ansan Multicultural Small Library,” is translated into seven different languages such as Chinese, Vietnamese, Russian, and so on (MEST, 2011h, p. 136). The purpose is to compare each script to *Hangul* (MEST, 2011h). Through the

comparisons, students can have the opportunity to reflect upon other nations' written systems and also enhance their intercultural awareness.

Figure 4-9. Various Languages in the "Playground" Page

놀이터

넓은 세상, 여러 문자

경기도 안산시에는 ‘국경 없는 마을’이라고 불리는 곳이 있습니다. 그곳에 있는 작은 도서관의 안내 책자에서는 한국어를 적는 한글을 비롯하여 일곱 종류의 문자를 볼 수 있습니다. 각 나라의 말을 어떤 문자로 적고 있는지 살펴보고 한글과 비교하여 봅시다.

안산 다문화 작은 도서관

- Ansan Multicultural Small Library
- 安山多文化小型图书馆
- Thư viện đa văn hóa Ansan
- Perpustakaan Kecil Multikultural An-san
- អង្គការស្នាក់នៅអន្តរជាតិ ភ្នំពេញ
- Ансаны Олон Үндэстний Жижиг Номын Сан
- Маленькая библиотека разных культур Ансан

136

Note. The illustration from MEST, 6-2-KL-R, 2011h, p. 136.

Among the examples in chapter six, one concerns nature and shows two opposing sides of an issue (MEST, 2011h, pp. 151-158). One author urges readers to participate in environmental conservation for three primary reasons: ecosystems are difficult to restore; the devastation of nature damages animal as well as human life; and we should pass a pristine natural environment down to our descendants (MEST, 2011h). On the other hand, the other piece promotes humans to utilize and develop natural environments and resources in terms of three aspects: to prevent natural disasters; to provide convenience; and to prepare for population growth (MEST, 2011h). Contrasting the two opposing points of view on environmental conservation, students can comprehend on how humankind and nature influences and impacts one another. This relates to Bennett's goal of understanding global dynamics (Bennett, 2006). If instructors guide learners to think about ways to preserve nature or develop the environment as global citizens, it can strengthen students' social action skills. After this lesson, students can better understand the interconnectedness of humans with the earth as a global citizen.

So far, this section examined the sixth grade of Korean Language textbooks. Summarizing the result of the analysis, the findings are as follows: First, the *Reading* textbook had more multicultural materials than the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook. Almost every chapter of the Korean Language *Reading* textbook in both semesters included multicultural topics. Second, the Korean Language textbooks included all six elements of Bennett's comprehensive multicultural curriculum. However, though all six goals were reflected, the frequency of the fifth goal, recognizing of the state of the earth and its dynamic, and the sixth, building social action skills, were covered more in depth and with greater frequency than the other four. Moreover, when the textbooks emphasize recognizing that the world is an ecosystem and developing activism, it

tends to focus on the Third World and non-Korean minorities. This can be viewed as problematic because these examples may reinforce existing prejudice(s) and foster discrimination towards non-Koreans and the people of developing nations, as well as also reinforcing stereotypes. Furthermore, it can cause students to view their own nation and culture as superior and lessen their cultural consciousness and ability to perceive themselves as global citizens.

3. Social Studies Textbook Sixth Grade

Social Studies textbook content analysis was performed only for the sixth grade. This is because the fifth grade textbook solely covers Korean history and no multicultural topics. The Social Studies textbook consists of two books: a textbook and a workbook. The first semester textbook focuses on Korean's geopolitical location, industries, and economic growth. Then the second semester broadens the perspective from Korea to the world.

1) The First Semester of the Social Studies Textbook

The first semester of the Social Studies textbook consists of three chapters and contains many topics relating to the Korean peninsula. The first chapter provides the geographical characteristics of the country and its impact on Korean culture and history. Since the first chapter explains the natural and humanistic characteristics of the nation, there is no part associated with multicultural materials. The subject of the first chapter is solely confined to the Korean nation.

The second chapter is on the nation's economic development from the 1950s to the 2000s. The purpose of four units in this chapter is to explain the processes and features of economic

growth and trade in Korea (MEST, 2011i). The second unit includes a multicultural topic; Koreans who worked overseas during the 1960s and 70s. During this period, numerous Koreans went to Germany and the Middle East in order to work as miners, nurses, and construction laborers (MEST, 2011i). Korean workers in other countries faced many difficulties. This aspect is also included in the textbox with an explanation, “. . . the workers overcame difficulties and worked diligently” (MEST, 2011i, p. 72). From this material, students can develop manifold perspectives while learning what type of difficulties workers had experienced, the reasons foreign nations sought our Korean workers, and why Koreans took overseas jobs. Students become familiar with the perspectives of both Korea migrant workers and that of the host countries they worked in. Furthermore, this lesson can be extended to the nation’s current situation where foreign workers migrate to Korea for similar reasons that Koreans went to Germany.

The third unit of chapter two covers domestic financial crises and how they were overcome in Korea. This unit deals with economic crises and explains how nations affect one another. For example, during the 1970s, oil prices rapidly increased impacting Korea and other nations reliant on foreign oil (MEST, 2011i). A reprint of a real news article in the workbook portrays how the price of oil impacts an individual (MEST, 2011j). Also, if foreign investors collect money from investments in Korea, it can lead to economic difficulty in the country (MEST, 2011i). Through these examples, students understand global dynamics and how countries connect with and affect each other. In addition, textbook content includes the issue of foreign laborers in Korea and their impact both economically and socially. Since Korean businesses needed to greatly increase their labor force, many foreign workers were allowed to migrate to the country; however, the workers faced many difficulties because of widespread prejudice and discrimination (MEST, 2011i).

Although the material mentions that the workers suffered from prejudice and discrimination, it is vague and did not specify any particular race, ethnicity, adherents to specific religions, etc. Related to this topic, the workbook asks students to find potential solutions for foreign laborers who have financial and language proficiency problems (MEST, 2011j). Two pictures in this unit of Social Studies indicate how the Korean government and companies make efforts to help foreign workers in Korea (MEST, 2011i, p. 79, the bottom images). For example, the government and companies provide programs such as learning Korean class and field trip of Korean culture. In this lesson, teachers should explain the circumstances that led foreign laborers to migrate to Korea and what kinds of prejudice and discrimination they experienced. From this lesson, students can recognize diverse races and ethnicities living in the nation and better understand their situations.

The fourth unit in chapter two, “Our Economy in the World,” contains the concept of trade, why it occurs, and some examples (MEST, 2011i, p. 82). Since trade occurs between nations, when teachers explain the concept, they can include global dynamics in their lectures. In this regard, students can comprehend how the world, its nations and people are interconnected as global citizens.

The third chapter title is “Environmentally Conscious National Development” and a lesson on global dynamics is introduced (MEST, 2011i, p. 94). From this chapter, students can be prepared to perceive themselves as global citizens. The first unit in this chapter focuses on how the natural world is beneficial to mankind and the importance of eco-friendly living. To be more specific, the section covers the slow food movement and a Slow City (MEST, 2011i, pp. 101-102). People in Slow Cities live an eco-friendly lifestyle such as using bicycles and public transportation instead of polluting cars and trucks (MEST, 2011i, p. 102). This shows how

people endeavor to preserve the environment. The other topic is Biosphere II, a self-contained, artificial ecosystem in Arizona (MEST, 2011i, p. 104). The goal was for eight people to live there for two years by supplying their own food (MEST, 2011i). Although the project failed, it taught an importance lesson: once Mother Nature is destroyed, it is almost impossible to recover (MEST, 2011i). Teachers should explain how humans use and misuse nature and the short and long-term impact this has for the planet and influence students to be better aware of the state of the earth. On the other hand, students can understand how the entire world is interrelated and what occurs in one nation affects the other parts of the globe. The textbook contents also indicate that students can incorporate acts for preserving the environment into their daily lives.

The second unit in chapter three is on environmental problems and how human activities damage and pollute the environment and cause global warming (MEST, 2011i). This lesson also focuses on global dynamics. Since the planet is one ecosystem, people should endeavor to solve environmental problems in everyday life (MEST, 2011i). There are two “Extra Facts” boxes relating to the global environment. One is on the impact of global warming upon the Tuvalu Archipelago. Although this nation consists of nine islands, two sank due to rising sea levels (MEST, 2011i, p. 109). Tuvalu appeals to other nations to reduce carbon dioxide emissions because its causes and environmental implications are not tied to one nation alone, and requires a collective effort to address and fix (MEST, 2011i). In this regard, teachers can explain how global warming is a serious and pressing matter and students can recognize that their actions as citizens of the world impact others. The other “Extra Facts” box touches upon the Climatic Change Convention and TUNZA International Children and Youth Conference on the Environment (MEST, 2011i, p. 111). These efforts show how nations and peoples around the world cooperate to create and pass policies to preserve the environment.

The last topic in this unit shows the relationship between the environment and societies and gives lesson on global dynamics. In order to explain this relationship, the content focuses on a comparison between the Northern and the Southern Hemisphere. For example, generally, people in the Southern Hemisphere spend less money and use less natural resources than those in the Northern (MEST, 2011i). Although this example is based on statistical information, it can cause negative preconceptions about the Southern Hemisphere. Also, the vignette shown in the textbook can create or reinforce prejudice(s) against certain countries. For instance, one picture in this unit portrays a nation in need of economic growth with a dark-skinned child who gets water from a stagnant pond, whereas the one on environmental preservation has a light-skinned man riding a bicycle (MEST, 2011i, p. 112). The illustration can be perceived to suggest that darker skinned people live in poverty and mostly in developing countries.

The third unit in chapter three discusses land development. One topic is on green growth. Also, since New Regeneration Energy is suggested in the “Extra Facts” box, teachers should explain how to reduce carbon dioxide emission while using this alternative energy source (MEST, 2011i, p. 119). Furthermore, the eco-friendly city of Freiburg in Germany is introduced in the workbook (MEST, 2011j, p. 95). The city encourages residents to use bicycles and utilize solar energy. This example shows possible ways to preserve the earth’s environment. The reading material also embodies the suggestion that Korean students can also participate in environmental preservation by choosing to use bicycles as their primary means of transportation. From this lesson, students can learn how they can be active participants in the global community.

2) The Second Semester of the Social Studies Textbook

The second semester Social Studies textbook covers the human geography of the Republic of Korea and other nations around the world. The textbook consists of three chapters. The first chapter covers the democratic form of government. The second concerns overseas countries and continents and the third chapter deals with globalization.

The first chapter focuses on the Republic of Korea as a democratic nation and provides a variety of materials relating to democracy to help students decipher its meaning, its government agencies, its laws, and human rights. A lesson relating to multiculturalism in this chapter is equality. Students can realize everyone should be treated equal regardless of race, gender, ethnicity, religion, social status, and language. This concept can be applied both in the nation and in the world.

The first unit of this chapter explains the meaning of democracy. One important condition in a democracy is that every person should be treated equally under the law regardless of his or her skin color, gender, physical appearance, and religious beliefs (MEST, 2011k). This egalitarian ethos is also reflected in an illustration in the Social Studies textbook that portrays human dignity, freedom, and equality (MEST, 2011k, p. 13). To depict equality, one vignette shows three individuals of different races facing each other in a circle holding hands (MEST, 2011k, p. 13, The right bottom image). This illustration shows all human as equal regardless of racial, ethnic, or gender differences. From this, students can lessen their racism, sexism, and prejudices towards others. This corresponds with Bennett's fourth goal, "combating racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination" (Bennett, 2006, p. 396).

Furthermore, equal rights appears again in the third unit of the first chapter on law. When the text elaborates on individual rights and duties in the Korean Constitution, there is a sentence that says, "the Constitution assures equal rights that anyone cannot be discriminated against

according to one's gender, religion, and/or social status" (MEST, 2011k, p. 34). Also, there is an illustration on equal rights showing four racially diverse people standing and smiling upon the constitution (MEST, 2011k, p. 34, The upper left image). It delineates that all races, genders, and ethnicities are equal and diverse groups live in the nation. In this lesson, teachers should emphasize human equality to help students eliminate bias towards other races, genders, and ethnicities.

The third unit of the first chapter in the workbook compares the Eight Laws of the *Gojoseon* Kingdom of ancient Korea and the Code of Hammurabi in Babylon to contemporary Korean law. Although the three nations differently express how to punish criminals, they consider one's life and property important (MEST, 2011). In this regard, teachers can initiate class discussion finding the similarities and differences between the three sets of laws. Through the discussion, students can increase their cultural consciousness that is Bennett's second goal, because students can realize differences of values and worldviews while comparing the three codes of law.

The fourth unit in the first chapter is titled "Defining and Protecting Human Rights" (MEST, 2011k, p. 38). The lesson in this unit is on human equality. It contains a definition of human rights and examples of individuals and organizations that defend them. Since the premise of human rights is all people are equal, this entire unit underlines human equality regardless of differences in skin color, gender, language, religion, and economic status (MEST, 2011k). One photo in this unit is on a rally proposing that instead of using the adjective "nude" to describe a certain color, it should be replaced with "apricot" (MEST, 2011k, p. 40, The left bottom image). This is because the term "nude color" embodies racism. Although there are several races and many ethnicities in the world, "nude color" represents only certain races or ethnicities; however, the textbook did not delineate any particular reason(s) why the term should be eliminated.

Though students can understand the intention of the rally right away, teachers should explain possible reasons why the campaign wanted to replace the word for the color “nude” with “apricot.”

The activism of Mother Teresa, Martin Luther King Jr., and Amnesty International are also employed as examples of individuals and organizations that protected other people’s rights (MEST, 2011k). Mother Teresa devoted her life to help others, whereas Dr. King spent his life defeating racial discrimination in the U.S. Amnesty International protects human rights around the world. The lesson of these three examples shows students the importance of charity and social justice in the name of equality. Students can also realize that they are not only Koreans, but also world citizens. Furthermore, the workbook includes the true story of Mayerly Sanchez in Colombia as an example of human rights activism (MEST, 2011l, p. 32). When Sanchez was twelve years old, he participated in a peace conference where he spoke of how children suffered because of the civil war in Colombia (MEST, 2011l). The workbook also suggests a rubric to find real cases of human rights violations (MEST, 2011l, p. 33). Through the process of researching real examples of human rights abuses, students can realize that all are equal and consider ways to protect human rights.

The textbook, moreover, contains ways to protect human rights in everyday life (MEST, 2011k). For instance, student can choose not to bully others and help students who need aid (MEST, 2011k). The illustration in textbook portrays five children with different skin and hair colors in a classroom in order to show racial harmony between friends (MEST, 2011k, p. 44, The bottom image). This implies that the Korean classroom is composed of diverse students. As Korean society become multicultural, students can meet peers of different races, ethnicities, and

ability levels. The lesson is to foster harmony between students without discriminating against others who are different.

As discussed above, this entire chapter relates to multicultural perspectives in terms of removing racism, sexism, prejudices and discrimination. Bennett's fourth goal is apparent here. When teachers deliver textbook contents, they cannot help but to also expound respect for others and encourage the elimination of prejudices toward different races, genders, ethnicities, and religions.

The subject of the second chapter, *The World's Many Regions of Nature and Culture*, is other nations and cultures, and the goal of this chapter is to learn about the natural and human diversity of nations and comprehend cultural differences (MEST, 2011k, p. 48). This entire chapter contains multicultural materials. From a multicultural perspective, this chapter helps students to develop cultural consciousness and understand diversity and differences. Throughout the lessons, students can realize that they are global citizens.

First, the cover page of this chapter has a drawing of a map of the world including national symbols (MEST, 2011k, pp. 48-49). For example, Korea has a woman wearing a *Hanbok* traditional costume, for China there is the Great Wall, and a pyramid for Egypt. Though this picture provides symbols to represent nations, it can build preconceptions.

A lesson on difference is introduced in the "Fun Facts" page. "A Story of the Global Village" covers brief characteristics of nations such as their climate, languages, foods, and festivals with an illustration of people wearing traditional costumes (MEST, 2011k, pp. 50-51). From the lesson, students learn that mankind is diverse when it comes to race, gender, ethnicity, religion, language, culture, custom, and food; however, all people share a common humanity. In this regard, students can broaden their perspectives on cultural consciousness. While students

comprehend diversity, they can realize they are global citizens and lesson racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudices and discrimination.

The first unit title “World Natures and Cultures” focuses on world climate and human geography (MEST, 2011k). When covering human geography, the first unit touches upon styles of living. In both the textbook and workbook, texts and illustrations explain that a peoples clothing, homes, and food depend on weather conditions and culture (MEST, 2011k; 2011). Furthermore, students should find reasons why people wear traditional costumes (MEST, 2011). While learning these topics, students can recognize differences between nations in accordance with specific climates and cultures. They can also develop cultural consciousness and intercultural competence by recognizing and acknowledging nations have unique and distinct cultures.

The Northern Hemisphere is the subject of the second unit in the second chapter. The cover page portrays various races and ethnicities wearing traditional costumes, showing the sheer variety of human diversity in the Northern Hemisphere (MEST, 2011k, p. 58, The top image). This unit covers Asia, Europe, North America, and the Arctic with overall descriptions such as geographical position, climate, special regional products, and religions according to each continent (MEST, 2011k). Students can learn general knowledge of the Northern Hemisphere in this unit. To be more specific, in the Asian continent section, the text informs readers that “major religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, and Christianity began in Asia and these religions sometimes are involved in disputes” (MEST, 2011k, p. 61). This material is expanded in the workbook. For example, a large majority of people in the Middle East are Muslims, while most Indians are Hindus, and Confucianism influences Korea, China, and Japan (MEST, 2011). These aspects relate to Bennett’s second and third goals: developing cultural consciousness and

increasing intercultural competence (Bennett, 2006). Students can realize that people differ in terms of thoughts, behaviors, and diet in accordance with their religious and spiritual beliefs. For instance, Hindus do not eat beef, while Muslims abstain from pork. Also, Muslims pray in the direction of Mecca five times a day (MEST, 2011l).

Most material relating to European civilization(s) is about the characteristics of its natural and social environment and there is no multicultural theme here, except for religion. The content includes the Roman Empire's contribution to the spread of Christianity (MEST, 2011k). From the contents students can learn how religious beliefs affect people and they can develop a better understanding of others.

Like the section on Europe, the North American section also focuses on natural and human geography. The only part related to multicultural themes is that the U.S. and Canada are multicultural countries because both nations populations are composed of diverse races and ethnicities (MEST, 2011k). From this, students can consider the meaning of multiculturalism and recognize that Korea also has a diversity of races and ethnicities that live together.

The third unit covers the Southern Hemisphere consisting of South America, Africa, and Oceania. Since contents heavily cover natural, as opposed to human geography, multicultural contents were not prominent in this unit; however, the section on Africa has a lesson on cultural consciousness. Most Africans are either Muslims, Christians, or adherents of traditional religions, so students can understand how religious beliefs affect the various cultures, nations, and people of the continent.

Although the Africa section provides general knowledge of the continent, there is one sentence that teachers should be especially aware of: "Africa remains as the poorest region in the world because of disease, government corruption, high illiteracy rates, and frequent inter-tribal

collisions” (MEST, 2011k, p. 72). This sentence can give students negative, preconceived notions toward the African continent. When teachers explain this sentence, they should use caution and tact and further encourage students to remove prejudice and discrimination.

The fourth unit includes instruction for a group project where students choose one subject relating to food (MEST, 2011k). The textbook provides rice as an example, covering its origins and how it is used within cultures: in America, France, Italy, and Germany, people throw rice at a bride and groom after their marriage to wish them fecundity and prosperity (MEST, 2011k, p. 83, The upper right corner image). This shows that although nations differ, they share the exact same custom for bestowing happiness on newly married couples. Another example is an interview with Rada, an Indian who interviews how rice is a staple food on the subcontinent (MEST, 2011k, p. 83). Students, then, can realize some differences and similarities between rice in both the Indian and Korean diet. From these examples, students can develop cultural consciousness and intercultural competence; Bennett’s second and third goals. Furthermore, both cultural consciousness and intercultural competence aims to raise awareness of people’s differences and understand them. In this case, students can strengthen their cultural consciousness and intercultural competence through finding the commonalities between different nations.

A lesson in the third chapter, “Information, Globalization, and Us” is that students are global citizens (MEST, 2011k, pp. 88-89). The cover page of this chapter contains several illustrations showcasing global scientific and technological advancement (MEST, 2011k, pp. 88-89). It embodies how each part of the world is connected to all others like a circle in the shape of the earth.

A “Fun Facts” passage on the Earth Hour campaign where people turn off lights for one hour in a specific day also gives a lesson on being a global citizen (MEST, 2011k). The purpose of this campaign is to alert the public to climate change. This 2009 campaign spread out through the internet and eighty-eight nations participated in it (MEST, 2011k). This shows how people in the world are interconnected and must cooperate to save the earth. From this lesson, students can recognize that they are world citizens.

The first unit in chapter three is on the global network society and includes how scientific technology and information development benefits mankind (MEST, 2011k). As technology develops, it affects many aspects of human existence such as politics, economy, society, and culture (MEST, 2011k). The writing includes genetic engineering as an example in terms of its pros and cons (MEST, 2011k, p. 94). According to article, the development of genetic materials can potentially help curb incurable diseases and food shortages. On the other hand, since genetic engineering requires animal testing, it can be viewed as cruel. It also poses potential risks to humans. From this lesson, students can comprehend how technological development affects human lives in numerous ways both beneficially and unfavorably. In this context, it connects with Bennett’s fifth goal, aware of the status of the earth and global dynamics, and students develop a better global perspective.

The other topic in this unit is the network society and its benefits and detriments (MEST, 2011k). Because of the Internet, people have access to a diversity of information. However, it also has negative aspects, for example, internet game addiction and hacking. When teachers analyze the network society, they can articulate how individuals can connect with one another regardless of geographical barriers. The internet has helped foster a world community. Students can, thus, recognize the world is one.

The second unit's topic is globalization, its impact on various aspects of life, and its challenges (MEST, 2011k). In the margins of the text are definitions of vocabulary that students may be unfamiliar with, such as "globalization" and "multicultural society." According to the textbook, the term, globalization, stresses that the world is becoming one system, while simultaneously, increasing localization (MEST, 2011k, p. 101). The body text also includes how globalization influences economics, politics, and culture; highlighting the interdependency of individuals across nations and geography (MEST, 2011k, pp. 101-106). The workbook, moreover, supplies an activity page for students to explore the positive and negative aspects of globalization. An article illustrates this interdependency by using soccer as an example. Though soccer games are incredibly popular around the world, impoverished child laborers in certain nations are employed to make soccer balls (MEST, 2011k, p. 78). Through the chapter's materials on globalization, students can understand how nations in the world are interconnected and the flow of information and ideas through various channels.

The textbook also provides the definition of a multicultural society as a space where "a diversity of races, religions, ethnicities, genders, and classes coexist together, regardless of their differences" (MEST, 2011k, p. 103). As societies become multicultural, certain conflicts may arise (MEST, 2011k). When instructors analyze and interpret this material, they can urge students to foster harmony with others who are different and to reduce personal prejudice and discrimination towards others. This fits with Bennett's fourth goal: lessen all forms of prejudice and discrimination.

The content in the fourth unit of chapter three describes several ongoing conflicts throughout the world. According to the four given examples, conflicts can stem from either disagreement over natural resources, religious differences, territorial disputes, or ethnic tensions (MEST,

2011k, p. 117). Utilizing these issues, teachers can expound how these matters affect not only the parties concerned, but also other peoples and nations. In this regard, students can enhance their awareness of the state of the earth and understand how a specific conflict impacts the entire world.

To sum up the analysis of Korea's sixth grade Social Studies textbooks, there are two findings. First, the most frequently occurring goal was Bennett's fifth, "increasing awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics." This is because Social Studies themes are associated not only with geography, but also social phenomena such as globalization and the network society. Since the second semester also heavily covers overseas countries and globalization, both the textbook and workbook dealt with cross-cultural and transnational topics that occur throughout the world. Other frequent topics were connected with increasing cultural consciousness and removing racism, sexism, and other forms of prejudice and discrimination. These goals often appeared when contents were on human rights, other nations and cultures, and globalization.

The second semester textbook included all six goals of Bennett. While topics in the first semester focused solely on the Korean peninsula, the second encompassed a larger, global perspective.

Chapter 5 How Korean Elementary School Teachers Elucidate and Implement Multicultural Materials

International organizations urged the Korean government to de-emphasize ethnocentrism, to recognize and protect different racial and ethnic groups living in the territory, and to create an inclusive educational curriculum to attend to multiculturalism (UN CERD, 2003, 2007a, 2007b; UN CRC, 2003). On the other hand, internal dynamics such as the April 2006 visit of Hines Ward, who lent support to biracial children in Korea, and the nation's demographic transformation piqued public awareness of and interest in multiculturalism and multicultural education (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006; MOE & HRD, 2006a). Both external and internal factors led the Korean government to initiate multicultural education. Since initiating mandatory multicultural education in 2006, the curriculum was revised to incorporate multicultural themes and topics in 2007 (MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b, 2007b). The 2007 revised textbooks were implemented in the first and second grade in 2009, the third and fourth in 2010, and lastly the fifth and sixth in 2011.

This chapter examines three aspects of multicultural education through interviews with thirty-one teachers: how fifth and sixth grade teachers interpret the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education, how they recognize or perceive multicultural materials that are included in Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks, and how they elucidate and communicate these contents with their students in class. These aspects were investigated through one-on-one interviews. This chapter furthermore sheds light how Korean elementary school teachers interpret multicultural education and how they communicate multicultural materials from textbooks with their students in classrooms.

1. Teachers' Recognition of Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

The terms multiculturalism and multicultural education came into widespread use with the Korean government's announcement that the nation entered into a multiethnic and multicultural society in 2006 (Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2006). When fifth and sixth grade teachers were asked what were their earliest interpretations of the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education, and what were their initial opinions on the topic(s), their answers could be divided into four general categories. Some associated the terms with international marriages and foreign migrant workers. Several brought up concerns relating to its social and academic impact on Korea's schools. Others emphasized that the terms reflect a larger societal shift. Some, lastly, expressed indifference or felt the topic was largely irrelevant to their lives. Teachers' first impressions influenced how they recognized multicultural themes in the curriculum and how they communicate them with their students in class, which will be examined in the next section.

1) Foreign Workers and Marriage Immigrants

When fifth and sixth grade teachers were asked about their first impressions of the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education, most brought up either foreign workers or international marriages. For examples, teachers said that:

Yuri: When I hear the term ‘multiculturalism,’ international marriages are the first thing that comes to mind. Migrant workers marry migrant workers and then bring their families to Korea. . . . These people mostly come from Southeast Asia or other Third World countries. . . . The term, ‘multiculturalism’ was practically coined in our society because of this large influx of migrant workers and international marriages and then the term became widely used. When I think about workers and marriage immigrants, their nations’ economic status are low compared to Korea.

Minjeong: Actually, I have zero racial prejudices. However, the number of Southeast Asians is on the rise and immigrant workers, too. When I think of ‘multiculturalism,’ I think of such people who are severely discriminated against and the lot of their children. So, it should be solved. Therefore, (multiculturalism) conjures up an uncomfortable image for me.

Inyeong: I am from a rural area. Completely remote from cities. I remember seeing placards saying, “Get Married to a Vietnamese Lady” and I thought, ‘Wow, such a thing really exists!’ So, when I hear the term, ‘multiculturalism,’ that is what I remember.

These teachers explicitly linked the term, ‘multiculturalism,’ to foreign workers and marriage immigrants. Most informants similarly mentioned these two groups when discussing multiculturalism. In such cases, they contextualize the word within the contemporary social phenomenon of demographic transformation in Korea. When the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs announced that the nation entered into a multicultural society in February 2006, they adduced that registered foreigners are over one percent of the total population (2006, p. 40). In this report, the Ministry did not specify specific countries of origin. Instead, they stated that policy objects are those who do not have Korean nationality including marriage immigrants and their offspring. However, in an April 2006 cabinet meeting, the government specifically referred to certain groups by name. When the government set a plan for supporting migrants, marriage immigrants, and their children in Korean society, it explicitly connected these groups to multiculturalism (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). In this document, moreover, the government specified only marriage immigrant women, not

marriage immigrant men, when providing the rate of international marriages in the nation. In the same month, when MOE and HRD publicized initiating multicultural education, the Ministry defined multicultural family students as the children of foreign worker and marriage immigrant families (MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b). From these public announcements, it is possible to infer who are included in multicultural families. This would influence teachers' initial impressions of the terms, multiculturalism and multicultural education, and to associate their meaning as pertaining to foreign workers and marriage immigrants.

As the government observed the nation transform into a multicultural and multiethnic society due to immigration, teachers also recognized this trend. Teachers who link the terms, multiculturalism and multicultural education with foreign workers and marriage immigrants believed that the words themselves were created because the number of non-Koreans has greatly increased in Korean society. Among these teachers, some specifically associated the terms with Southeast Asians.

Since the late 1980s, numerous foreign laborers have come to Korea to perform specific jobs (Lee & Lee, 2007). According to 2013 statistics of the Ministry of Public Administration and Security, the total number of foreign workers in the nation was 520,906 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2013). Among them, 261,545 are from East Asia, while 153,939 come from Southeast Asia. There are also 50,651 South Asians, 26,351 Central Asians, and 13,690 from the U.S. Although statistics show a correlation with the interviewees' beliefs that most foreigner laborers come from Southeast Asia, this is false because the largest population of foreign workers in Korea is from East Asia.

During a seven-year period, the number of marriage immigrants, on the other hand, more than tripled from 90,489 in 2006 to 281,295 in 2013 (Ministry of Public Administration and

Security, 2006; Ministry of Security and Public Administration, 2013). In Korea, international marriage was employed by the government as one method of decreasing the sheer numbers of Korean bachelors in rural areas seeking spouses (Freeman, 2005; C. S. Kim, 2011). As many young people left rural areas to seek better jobs and higher wages in cities, this exodus caused a bride shortage and became a societal problem (C. S. Kim, 2011). In order to solve this matter, the government utilized matchmakers and arranged marriages between Korean rural bachelors and foreign women (Freeman, 2005; C. S. Kim, 2011). According to a 2009 National Survey on Multicultural Families, 25.1 percent of international marriage couples met their spouses via international matchmaking companies (Kim et al., 2010). Among them, 27 percent of female marriage immigrants were introduced to Korean men by these companies (Kim et al., 2010). For this service, Korean men pay a commission, while the women received money from the companies (Freeman, 2005; C. S. Kim, 2011). These financial transactions stigmatized marriages between Korean men and foreign women to a large degree. Furthermore, according to the 2013 statistics, among the total number of marriages, 8.7 percent were unions between Koreans and non-Koreans: 20,638 Korean men married foreign women and 7,688 Korean women married foreign men (Ministry of Gender Equality & Family, 2013). These figures provide a clue as to why teachers connect multiculturalism with female marriage immigrants. However, considering the specific demographic composition of marriage immigrants, teachers' opinions show a gap. According to 2013 statistics, while 186,653 are from East Asia, 77,519 come from Southeast Asia (Ministry of Security and Public Administration, 2013). There are also 3,559 South Asians, 3,313 Central Asians, and 3,081 from the U.S. (Ministry of Security and Public Administration, 2013). Again, in contrast to teachers' beliefs, most marriage immigrants were from East Asian, not Southeast Asian, countries.

The initial impressions of teachers who were convinced that the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education referred specifically to Southeast Asians in Korea does not match statistics. However, it is true that the second largest group of foreign workers and marriage immigrants are Southeast Asians. Although there is a sizable mismatch between the statistical figures and teachers' first impressions of certain ethnic groups, their answers show how they regarded multiculturalism.

Teachers' impressions also reflect common stories in the mass media related to multicultural families in the nation. When teachers spoke of their thoughts on multiculturalism, they often mentioned TV programs and news items. Several teachers referred to the reality television show *Love in Asia*. This program features foreign workers and marriage immigrants with families in Korea visiting friends and family members residing in their countries of origin.⁶ The program was planned to promote public awareness of multiculturalism and multicultural families (Cheon, 2005). In 2006, the Korean government further encouraged the nation's public broadcasting system to make TV programs and public advertisements featuring multicultural persons, families, stories, and themes as one of the ways to promote and announce the concept of multiculturalism (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). After this announcement, a TV talk show, *Chitchat of Beautiful Ladies*, went on the air in 2006.⁷ The program is a panel of sixteen women from various nations who currently reside in Korea, showing their experiences and discussing their opinions of Korean culture and Korean men (Lee, Kim, & Go, 2006). This program was popular with around a 10 percent average rating (Back, 2007). In addition, a TV soap opera, *The Golden Bride*, was broadcast in 2007 with a 22.1 percent average rating (Un & Baek, 2007; Kim,

⁶ This program has been on the air since November 2005 on KBS Broadcasting and the executive producer is Heungryeol Cheon.

⁷ This program ran from November 2006 to May 2010.

2008).⁸ The main plot revolves around an international marriage between a half Korean and half Vietnamese woman and a Korean man. The first episode depicts a meet-and-greet held by an international matchmaking company in Vietnam to introduce Korean men to potential Vietnamese brides. This drama delineates not only the process of international matchmaking including financial transactions, but also how Koreans view marriage immigrants. Also, a specific Southeast Asian nation was depicted as the destination for Korean men seeking brides. This can cause viewers to associate marriage immigrants with a specific nation and financial transactions, creating and/or reinforcing negative stereotypes.

Prompted by the government to promote public awareness via television programs helped Korean citizens to be exposed to the lives of foreign workers and marriage immigrants. A newspaper article reported that because of the success of *Chitchat of Beautiful Ladies* many more foreigners and biracial people are represented in television (Kang, 2007). When discussing first impressions of multiculturalism or multicultural education, some teachers recalled such TV programs.

While most interview subjects showed a tendency to label Southeast Asians as “multicultural,” several teachers remarked that Koreans married to Americans or Europeans could also be placed in that category.

Inhye: The first thing I think of when I hear ‘multiculturalism’ are children whose mothers are foreigners. So, in my opinion, if the mother is Australian, then that is a multicultural family. An American mother is also and so on. However, right off the bat, I think of such families where the mothers are people of color: Vietnam, Cambodia, etc. I associate these things with families who have a member who came from such nations.

Seri: I thought the word (multiculturalism) was used to refer to migrant workers. Before this word, we had people whose father or mother are either American or British. . . .

⁸ The writer is Hyeonju Park and the producers are Gun-il Un and Suchan Baek.

A Japanese person is also multicultural family, a western person too. All of them (non-Koreans in Korea) are multicultural families.

Sumi: 'Multiculturalism' makes me think of mixed-blooded people and laborers, mostly Southeast Asians. I also think of half-and-half people. One side is Western and the other Eastern.

According to their interpretations, if one family member is a non-Korean, their family is a multicultural family. Since the MOE and HRD defined multicultural families as "all families consisting of people who have ethnic and cultural backgrounds different from us (native Koreans)," teachers' opinions reflect this notion (MOE & HRD, 2006a, p. 1, 2006b, p. 1). However, both the government's definition and interviewees distinguished multicultural families based on whether their members consisted solely of native Koreans or not. In addition, although teachers viewed non-Koreans in general as "multicultural," they still emphasized Southeast Asians when speaking specifically about multiculturalism in Korea for the same reasons that teachers associated the term with foreign workers and marriage immigrants.

Interview subjects often mentioned the economic status of foreign workers and marriage immigrants nations of origin; especially those in Southeast Asia. To be more specific, these teachers tend to believe that a large influx of people from developing countries came to Korea in order to earn money. The Gross National Income per capita (aka, GNI per capita or formerly GNP per capita) supports their perception. In a 2012 GNI per capita report by World Bank, Australia was 59,570, the United States was 50,120, Japan was 47,870, and United Kingdom was 28,350 US dollars (World Bank, 2012). In addition, while GNI per capita of Korea was 22,670, Indonesia was 3,420 U.S. dollars, the Philippines 2,470, Vietnam 1,400, and Cambodia 880. National economic levels affect interviewees' views, and their comments show that developed

countries such as the U.S., Australia, and Japan are not strictly associated with the term multiculturalism.

Specific jobs that foreign laborers and marriage immigrants perform in Korea also influenced teachers' perceptions. The Korean government established an industrial trainee system in 1991 in order to resolve labor shortages in manufacturing (Kim & Kang, 2001; Rye, 2003). However, in January 10, 1995, thirteen Nepalese trainees protested against being treated inhumanely by business owners while holding picket signs reading, "Do not beat us" and "Please give my passport back" in Myeong-dong Catholic Cathedral in Seoul, Korea (Kang, 1995; D. Kim, 1995; S. Kim, 1995). From their protest, it disclosed how foreign workers were treated in Korea and was covered extensively by news and newspapers. Studies examined how foreign workers came to Korea as trainees and how they were subjected to low wages, overwork, confinement, abusive language, and assault by Korean business owners (Rye, 2003; Seol, 2001). Research also showed how marriage immigrants were discriminated against by their husbands and in-laws (Lee, 2005; Jeong, 2012; Han, 2006). Studies reported that female marriage immigrants experienced domestic violence, verbal abuse, poverty, education for their children, and so on. Moreover, when the government publicized support for marriage immigrant women in 2006, it mentioned, "considerable number of marriage immigrants suffer from human rights abuses, communication problems, cultural differences, family violence, problems educating children, poverty and etc." (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006, p. 2). Marriage immigrant women suffered from discrimination similar to foreign workers. The negative aspects of how foreign workers and marriage immigrants are discriminated against, coupled with the government announcement that Korea is a multicultural society due to the increasing numbers of foreign migrants, echoes teachers' negative impressions of the terms "multiculturalism" and "multicultural education."

2) Impact of Multiculturalism on Education

One worry that repeatedly came up when teachers spoke of their first impressions of multiculturalism and multicultural education was how it impacts education in Korean. The government introduced the revised curriculum for the fifth and sixth grade in 2011 (MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b). When the MOE and HRD announced *Preparations for Multicultural Family Children's Educational Support* in 2006, they emphasized the importance of teachers' concerns for, and considerations of, multicultural family students (2006b, p. 12). There is an additional remark on preparations for strengthening in-service training programs in order to enhance education for multicultural family students. Some teachers recalled that they initially heard the terms, multiculturalism and multicultural education, due to the government initiating the revised curriculum, and felt unsure how they were supposed to interact with and teach multicultural children in the classroom due to lack of experience.

According to 2006 statistics, while the total number of elementary school students numbered 3,925,043, multicultural family students was 15,320 or 0.4 percent (Korean Educational Development Institute, 2006). This figure supports teachers' testimony that they have little real-life interaction with multicultural family students. However, they still must cover multicultural textbook contents in class. In this regard, they expressed their discomfort with multicultural topics and how the Korean government imposed multiculturalism on both the school system and in the greater society.

Seohyeon: Recently, Koreans have married foreigners and are having children. This is the reason multiculturalism has come to the fore. If I have such a child in my class, how should I teach them? How should I approach them? I've never directly

encountered this scenario, but I must be prepared for it. Can I say that I find such a thing burdensome?

Eunju: (Upon hearing the world multiculturalism) I was a little afraid. What should I do for multicultural students? Am I covering everything that needs to be covered? Plus, do they feel uncomfortable because of me? What do I have to do for them to get along with others?

Hyori: When hearing of multicultural families, the overall image is not good because I have to teach Korean students while considering multicultural family students. It will be difficult. . . . The 'multicultural family' label follows children around as a kind of special feature. Not only myself, but other students also must cater to them. That's why the image is not so good.

These teachers often assumed that if multicultural students are in their class, they will cause problems or challenges. For example, teachers believe that multicultural students will be bullied by others. Such worries are related to news articles and studies on multicultural family students, and how the government imposed multicultural education. News articles reported that multicultural family students were often bullied by their classmates (Chon, 2007; Moon, Yun, & Lee, 2006). When MOE and HRD introduced multicultural education, they mentioned that 17.6 percent of marriage immigrant family students experienced some form of bullying (MOE & HRD, 2006b, p. 5). In this announcement, the Ministry also found that marriage immigrant family students have problems with language development and cultural assimilation. Furthermore, according to a 2009 survey on multicultural families, 83.5 percent of marriage immigrants who have elementary school age children answered that they have problems teaching their children (Kim et al., 2010). Among them, 23.2 percent have difficulty assisting their child's study habits, while 19.8 percent experience difficulties helping their children with homework (Kim et al., 2010). Some research also provided that multicultural family students were bullied because they were perceived differently and/or had academic difficulties (Oh, 2005; Lee, 2011). Because of these challenges, multicultural family children often struggle with schoolwork and

need help from teachers. During interviews, a number of teachers pointed this out as their supposition on multicultural family students and it proved true.

This illustrates how teachers perceived the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education. Interviewees connected the terms with multicultural families and their children. Also, some teachers expressed personal prejudice against multicultural families and the subsequent low expectations they have for students from such backgrounds. To be more specific, interview subjects assumed that multicultural family students need special attention and have low academic and social achievement. Furthermore, this assumption also presupposes that either one of or both non-Korean parents are not fluent enough in Korean to teach or help their children with schoolwork. Their children, thus, are fated to have low school achievement. An even more troubling discovery was that several teachers felt uncomfortable even imagining multicultural students in their classes. These subjects believed they lacked the training to teach a culturally and ethnically diverse student body, and assumed that multicultural family students require more intensive academic and social assistance than non-multicultural family students. This fear can affect how one teaches and also be projected upon their students while teaching multicultural textbook materials in class.

3) Respecting Diversity via Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

A few teachers recalled their first impression of the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education as pertaining to the recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity in Korean society. When the Korean government observed that the nation became a multicultural society, they defined multiculturalism as “the opposite of ethnocentrism and it means respecting different cultures existing within the nation” (MOE & HRD, 2006a, p. 3, 2006b, p. 1). These interviewees

understood that the terms related to fostering respect for cultural and ethnic diversity that the government's definition of multiculturalism also expresses.

Hyerim: When I heard multiculturalism for the first time, I had no prejudices or preconceptions. I thought, we're a society that must respect people who are different.

Yunha: They are minority in our society, so I thought the term is a very respectful word for them.

Yeong-ae: Diversity and the recognition of it. People can be different from us, but we can respect these differences.

Although these teachers referred to respecting diversity, they still distinguish people and cultures into two categories; Korean and non-Korean. These categories were often expressed by phrases such as 'People can be different from us' or 'our society.' Here, 'us' means (native) Koreans and 'our society' is Korean society. Similarly, interviewees' comments connote that mainstream culture is Korean. On the other hand, non-Koreans belong to a category that is implicitly marginalized and portrayed as different from the status quo. The reason behinds this can be understood by the nation's population composition. Korea's total population was 48,580,293 in 2010 (Statistics Korea, 2010). Among them, 47,990,761 were Korean, while 589,532, 1.2 percent of the population, were non-Koreans. When teachers spoke of non-Koreans as minorities in society, they often mentioned that they did not have much direct experience interacting with them.

4) Indifference to, or Irrelevance of, Multiculturalism and Multicultural Education

Most teachers expressed the view that they understood what multiculturalism is and articulated their initial impressions of the concept. A few others showed that either they had no interest in the topic or believed it to be unconnected to their lives. Responses from the second group of teachers included:

Hayeong: Actually, I did not have much of an impression because there's a lot of new terms and phrases coming out everyday. (So when I heard the word "multiculturalism,") I thought it is not good, but it is not bad. . . . I was not familiar with the word.

Juhyeon: As a matter of fact, the word didn't register and I never received such an education. . . . Actually, at first, I felt it wasn't relevant to my life because none of my friends are from multicultural families.

Na-eun: What did I think of the word, "multiculturalism?" Nothing. I really had no idea.

These interviewees answered that they first heard the terms, multiculturalism and multicultural education between 2006 and 2007, and they thought it was not relevant to their lives and/or were unfamiliar with the concepts. This is because these concepts were introduced relatively recently in mainstream Korean society and/or they did not personally know anyone from a multicultural family. Several researchers reported similar results. According to A Young Kim's study, among 205 elementary school teachers, 76.1 percent were unfamiliar with multicultural education (2006). Her results were repeated in the research of Sung Ah Bae and Sunyoung Joung. They surveyed 109 undergraduate students who want to be secondary school teachers and found that 64.2 percent had no experience with multicultural education (Bae & Joung, 2012). Both studies found that people who are familiar with the concept of multiculturalism and/or who have taken multicultural education classes better comprehend and recognize the terms as being relevant to, and necessary for, contemporary Korean society.

The interviewees who expressed indifference to multiculturalism or believed it to be irrelevant to their lives still connected the concept to multicultural families and their children. When they referred to multicultural families, they mean non-Koreans. From this, it is possible to infer how they comprehend the terms multiculturalism or multicultural education.

2. Teachers' Interpretation and Recognition of Multicultural Content in Textbooks and their Practical Use in Class

This section examines how teachers recognize multicultural contents in Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks and how they communicate these materials with their students in class. During interviews, I had fifth and sixth grade teachers select topics from the textbooks they believed to be related to multiculturalism, and explain how they teach and interact with the materials in the classroom. The intent was to explore similarities and differences of how teachers' recognize and interpret said materials, and the methods employed to deliver them to their students. Analysis of interviews is displayed by grade and then by themes.

1) Fifth Grade Teachers: Korean Language

All fifth grade teachers interviewed perceived no multicultural themes in the two Korean Language *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbooks, but identified several in both *Reading* textbooks. They selected the following reading materials as relating to multiculturalism: *Sarah Rides the Bus*, *The Hen that Left the Garden*, *Black Balloons*, the story of Young Oak Kim, the TV commercial for Korean Unity, *Women's Suffrage*, *Charlotte's Web*, *Marie Curie*, and *Albert*

Schweitzer. These materials were sorted by themes such as racial discrimination, civil rights, diversity in society, and recognizing differences.

Issues Relating to Racial Discrimination, Prejudice, and Civil Rights (Human Rights)

Interviewees selected *Sarah Rides the Bus*, *Black Balloons*, *Women's Suffrage*, *Marie Curie*, and *Albert Schweitzer* as containing multicultural topics. These reading materials can contribute to the development of cultural consciousness, recognizing multiple historical perspectives, and lessening racism, sexism, prejudice, and discrimination based on Bennett's "Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum" (2006). Several teachers linked these topics with multiculturalism in class, while others recognized them as multicultural contents during interviews.

Most fifth grade teachers chose *Sarah Rides the Bus* as relating to multiculturalism. The story refers to racial discrimination in the U.S. Several teachers mentioned that the story is an example of multiculturalism, whereas others were confused whether the story fits with either multiculturalism or human rights (civil rights).⁹ Although they mentioned the content related to racial discrimination, they were unsure if the story really met the criteria of a multicultural topic.

Seongmin: I felt this content is hard to categorize as multicultural. . . . This is about how minorities, I mean blacks, got their rights. . . . When I saw this story, I thought it sort of fits in with multiculturalism because it talks about minorities and how they should be treated the same. . . . However, I feel like this talks to students about minorities rather than multiculturalism.

Subin: It is hard to say this is on multiculturalism because it is about human rights (civil rights). The content is on discrimination.

⁹ Although the story is on civil rights, Korean teachers use the term human rights, instead of civil rights. This study utilizes teachers' own vocabulary. Human rights thus mean civil rights.

Giyeong: It can be seen as multicultural, however I thought it is more related to race. If I think about it, I feel like its message is ‘do not discriminate.’

Although these teachers recognize that the story is on racial discrimination, they consider this topic to be unrelated to multiculturalism. This is because these teachers consider human rights (civil rights) and multiculturalism as two separate categories. When MOE and HRD announced mandatory multicultural education, they noted that the curriculum would be revised from emphasizing mono-ethnicity to multiculturalism and human rights (MOE & HRD, 2006a, p. 6). The Ministry mentions both “multiculturalism” and “human rights,” as if they are two separate, but related, categories. Similarly, teachers also differentiate between multiculturalism and human rights; however, teachers perceive the terms as two separate and unrelated categories.

Interviewees interpreted the meaning of human rights as it is defined by the UN’s Universal Declaration of Human Rights with the core idea that all humans possess inherent dignity, have inalienable rights, and are equal (UN Human Rights Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, 1948). The Center for Human Rights Education of the National Human Rights Commission of the Republic of Korea (hereafter, CHRE of NHRC) also reflects the UN’s Declaration and states that everyone has inalienable rights as humans (CHR of NHRC, n.d.). Moreover, when Korean researchers examined topics related to human rights, they utilized and/or borrowed the definition of UN and CHRE of NHRC (Heo, 2008). Based on this notion, since interview subjects distinguish human rights as separate and different from multiculturalism, they perceived *Sarah Rides the Bus* as a lesson on racial discrimination and human rights.

While most teachers connected the story with the American Civil Rights struggle, two related its themes to Korean society when they covered the story in class. They mentioned immigrants

and their children and explained how Koreans discriminate against them in a manner similar to how whites during the Jim Crow-era marginalized and disenfranchised black Americans.

Subin: In our nation, there are many parents from places such as Vietnam. Although these children may be in other classes or schools, there aren't any in this one. However, when people encounter a multi-ethnic person, such as a Filipino on the subway, they avoid sitting next to him because they think he's dirty. This is nonsense. When teaching this topic, this is what I said. However, it's hard to think of this as multicultural education.

Minjeong: This story is about how mainstream, white American society discriminated against a black child. We are the majority in Korea. Also, many foreigners came here because we need laborers, but we do the same thing to them that whites did to blacks (likes the story of *Sarah Rides the Bus*). (I told my students.) Since the story is on a different culture, you may think this is their problem. Nonetheless, we actually do the same thing.

Both Subin and Minjeong stressed that all people are equal regardless of racial, ethnic, and national differences. However, when they referred to either foreign workers or marriage immigrants, they assumed they are from Southeast Asia and spoke of them as minorities in Korean society. This is connected with their first impressions of the terms, multiculturalism and multicultural education, which was examined in the previous section. Several teachers explicitly connected multiculturalism and multicultural education with the rising number of Southeast Asian foreign workers and marriage immigrants. This impression has repercussions on their lesson plans. Furthermore, teachers explained that both themselves and their students already knew that foreign workers and marriage immigrants were discriminated against in Korean society via television programs. Several studies shed light on what factors affect elementary school students' awareness of multiculturalism and found that the nations mass media greatly influences how they perceive non-Koreans (Chang & Lee, 2010; Choi, Lim, & Joo, 2011; Ha, 2010). Although research objects were elementary school students, they support the statements

of Subin and Minjeong that both teachers and students are already familiar with racial discrimination in current Korean society.

Although both teachers' lessons dealt with multicultural education, especially on removing racial and ethnic discrimination, they did not recognize it as such. Even as both teachers provided examples of Koreans negatively perceiving and discriminating against foreigners, they still did not see the connection between *Sarah Rides the Bus* and multicultural education. This shows a gap between teachers' interpretation of textbook contents and the government's intention. The government publicized lessening prejudices and respecting different cultures as an aim of multicultural education (MOE & HRD, 2006b). However, teachers did not see *Sarah Rides the Bus* as pertaining to multicultural education because they viewed human rights issues as a separate and distinct category.

When teachers disseminate and interpret Sarah's story to their students, several reported that they faced difficulties. This is because they have no direct experience of black and white racial discrimination and students are also unfamiliar with the issue. Several teachers said:

Sohui: Students have no idea of the discrimination that happened in the U.S. [...] This content is far removed from our students' lives. . . . Students had no idea, especially about American history. They didn't know what slavery is, how slaves were captured and then brought to the U.S. They know about immigrant women who marry bachelors in rural areas, but the U.S. case was unknown.

Bora: Students asked me very primitive questions such as 'why did whites discriminate against blacks? Did blacks also discriminate towards whites?'. . . My students, as the yellow race, consider both whites and blacks, all of them, as Westerners. However, they only heard about discrimination against blacks in this story so students couldn't understand the context.

Seongmin: Students were very unfamiliar with this topic. We had our own class system a very long time ago. . . . I mean, students understand that there are different classes within the same race. However, they were not aware that where people sat on a bus was based on skin color. Students didn't understand this.

On the contrary, several teachers mentioned that their students already knew about racial conflicts in the U.S. This is because racial issues are covered in books and the mass media, so racial discrimination is not an unfamiliar topic to Korean students.

Giyeong: I talked about how American society still has many problems because of racial discrimination. Many students already knew this. Fifth graders are smart.

Narae: Students know that blacks were discriminated against. However, they know this theoretically, but they do not have direct experience. Frankly speaking, this is other people's problem, not mine.

Though both teachers and students were familiar with the topic, these teachers tended to confine discrimination to incidents in the U.S. They solely focused on the American context and made no links with what presently occurs in Korea. Teachers and students who are either familiar or unfamiliar with the topic of racial discrimination still view racial conflicts as something that occurs in the U.S., but not in Korea. This notion that Korea is immune from racial and ethnic conflicts reiterates the Korean government's report submitted to UN CRC in 2002: "The Republic of Korea is composed of only one race, and therefore does not have any conflict or discrimination on account of race" (UN CRC, 2002, p. 12). This shows how not only teachers but also the government believed the national myth of mono-ethnicity until recently.

Teachers selected the reading material, *Black Balloons*, as being related to multiculturalism during interviews. The lesson of the story is on defeating racial prejudice: people should not judge others by their appearance. The short story's main plot concerns a black boy who wonders whether black balloons can fly or not (MEST, 2011d, pp. 42-45). Most teachers recognized that the story pertains to multicultural topics. However, some perceived it to be closer to human rights like *Sarah Rides the Bus* rather than to multiculturalism. Several teachers said that:

Narae: The boy thinks that ‘I am something different because I am black.’ . . . If we only see the exterior of something such as balloons, honestly that’s just color, isn’t it? It doesn’t mean the balloon cannot fly, however, we judge many things by (skin) color. . . . When I taught this to my students, I talked about racial discrimination rather than multiculturalism. Specifically, how we judge people on appearance.

Minjeong: We should not discriminate against minorities. Since (this theme) relates to human rights, I just touched upon it. I stressed we should not ignore minorities or other marginalized groups, but I didn’t spend too much time on this, though.

Taeun: This black boy was discriminated against by white children. He did not get along with them. However, in the end, because of the balloon seller, he realized that he is no different from the white children and gains confidence. I talked about it in class.

Since the story clearly shows how the black boy identifies with the black balloons, these teachers focused on racial discrimination and human rights for the same reasons they did for *Sarah Rides the Bus*. To be more specific, interviewees viewed human rights as different and disconnected from multiculturalism.

In addition, when they analyze the story, they limit it to the American context because “Mr. Wigdon has been selling balloons in a small village in Detroit, the U.S. for a decade” (MEST, 2011d, p. 43). Teachers explain black and white racial discrimination as something that happens in the U.S. without relating it to the Korean context. Unlike these teachers, several others made additional comments relating the story’s lesson to Korean society in order to help their students better comprehend the content.

Sohui: All people are the same, even though they may have different skin colors. While discussing this, I talked about the reality of our nation. . . . Yes, blacks were discriminated against in the U.S. and it still occurs there. However, don’t we discriminate against Southeast Asians who have darker skin in our nation? This is what I asked the class.

Several interviewees recognized that the story is on multiculturalism, spoke to their students about racial and ethnic differences, and tried to incorporate and connect the material to how Koreans perceive the nation's immigrants. However, they still categorized different ethnic and racial groups within the nation as Southeast Asians and assumed that they were discriminated against by Koreans. When teachers were asked why they thought that Southeast Asians faced discrimination, they recalled news programs and articles on Southeast Asian foreign workers and marriage immigrants who were abused by Koreans. Not only the mass media, but also studies often reported how foreign workers and marriage immigrants experience discrimination. As the previous section mentioned, news agencies widely covered Nepalese foreign workers demonstrating because they were discriminated against by Korean business owners in January 10, 1995 (Kang, 1995; D. Kim, 1995; S. Kim, 1995). In addition, the government reported that several immigration officers abuse or cruelly mistreat foreign workers while cracking down on undocumented workers (National Human Rights Commission of the Republic of Korea, 2005). Studies also found that foreign workers and/or marriage immigrant women faced discrimination in the form of assaults, incarceration, insults, duress, and disregard (Han, 2006; Jeong, 2012; Lee, 2005; Lee & Seol, 2004; Ryu, 2003; Seol, 2001). This information affects how teachers view foreign workers and marriage immigrants in Korea.

Although several teachers realized that the story was related to multiculturalism during interviews or in class, some exclusively focused on the aims of the lesson when covering the piece. Several teachers said that:

Subin: The aim of the lesson is to learn the effects of non-linear story telling. . . . We (teachers) have to move fast in order to prepare students for their midterm exam.

Hyerim: The story reflects multiculturalism, but it has nothing to do with the goal of this lesson. . . . I mentioned, “Don’t we have neighbors or friends like the boy?” I mean, there are friends we have who look different. So, what kinds of thoughts and feelings do we have towards them? . . . During classes, I intentionally focused on the goal of the lesson and tried not to analyze the contents too much.

Siwan: Actually, the goal of this lesson is to learn the effectiveness of non-linear story telling. . . . I explained the content for a little bit and why the most important thing is the author’s use of changing time sequence for effect. . . . If teachers are not deeply concerned about multicultural education, then we can just focus on the stated goal of the lesson.

Every chapter and unit has a stated academic goal that is explained on the top of the chapter and unit in the textbooks. Since the government set the goals, teachers are required to meet the aims and objectives of the lesson in class (MOE & HRD, 2007a). In this regard, several teachers view the materials in the *Reading* textbook as a medium to attain the set goal. This partially explains why some teachers spent minimal class time on multicultural education.

There are other reading materials that two teachers believe contained multicultural education lessons. They viewed *Women’s Suffrage*, *Marie Curie*, and/or *Albert Schweitzer* as multicultural contents and connected them with Korea’s current social situation in order to help students have a more thorough understanding of multiculturalism. Hyerim recalled that when she covered *Women’s Suffrage*, *Marie Curie*, and *Albert Schweitzer*, she linked all three with multicultural education.

Hyerim: I thought that if I understand other nations’ cultures and their realities, it helps me to understand people. So when I taught *Women’s Suffrage*, I explained how gender discrimination existed in England and the States during that historical period. . . . Actually, when teaching, I usually focus on the aims of the textbooks, however I endeavored to make my students better understand these content.

During the interview, she mentioned that she took multicultural education classes as an in-service training. According to her statement, since she was already familiar with and interested in multiculturalism, she was able to connect the content with multicultural education and to compare it to Korea's historical situation. She, in addition, believes that the key to understanding other nations and people lies in multicultural education. Her perspective corresponds to the government's aims and goals that suggest that understanding different cultures and lessening prejudices are areas of multicultural education (MOE & HRD, 2006b, p. 15). Utilizing this viewpoint, she interpreted the short biographies of Marie Curie and Albert Schweitzer as well. When she taught both reading subjects, she emphasized that although people have different physical appearances, live in different nations, and speak different languages, all are human beings. Similarly with Heyrim, Narae also included *Albert Schweitzer* in the scope of multicultural education because he helped people in other nations; however, she only recognized it as multicultural during our interview and did not explain it as such in class.

Issue of Diversity

Fifth grade *Reading* textbooks contain materials on diversity: the story of the Young Oak Kim Middle School and the TV commercial for Korean Unity. Only two fifth grade teachers thought that the article on the Young Oak Kim Middle School in Los Angeles, California could be considered a multicultural theme and highlighted this when covering the material in class. Colonel Young Oak Kim was a second generation Korean-American who lived in the U.S. as a minority and had a school named in his honor (MEST, 2011b). The teachers considered the story to have parallels to the immigrants who came to Korea over the last few decades seeking better opportunities. To be more specific, both interviewees interpreted this material as relating to

minorities within a majority culture, i.e. Koreans living outside of the country, as well as foreigners living within the nation.

Minjeong: We (Koreans) are a single ethnic group. However, countries like (the U.S.) with its various cultures and races have a lot of discrimination. Nevertheless, we also have many people from different nations coming here, so I related the article to multiculturalism and how (foreigners here) also face difficulties.

Taeun: This story is about a Korean living abroad. I touched upon multiculturalism because this story talked about Koreans in the States.

During her interview, Minjeong remarked that although Korea used to consist of a single ethnicity, its demographics changed due to an influx of non-Koreans. Since she thought that the number of non-Koreans is significantly smaller than Koreans, she viewed them as a minority. According to the 2010 census, the foreign population was 1.2 percent of the total Korean population (Statistics Korea, 2010). Considering this figure, her perspective is true. Also, when she mentioned non-Koreans, she explicitly referred to them as Southeast Asians. This correlated with her initial impression of the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education, matching them with foreign workers and marriage immigrants who come from Southeast Asia. She further articulated how they faced discrimination in the country and explained why she connected the reading materials with non-Koreans, especially, Southeast Asians.

Minjeong: Foreigners in our nation face difficulties. When I told this to students, most of them naturally think of Southeast Asians, not whites. . . . They (students) did not imagine that whites face difficulties. . . . I actually immediately thought of Southeast Asians, too.

According to her interpretation, both teachers and students tend to exclusively consider Southeast Asians as the predominant minority group, and one facing many difficulties, in Korea.

She reported that not only herself, but also her students already knew how this group was discriminated against via television programs and news reports. Furthermore, although the teacher tried to explain how foreigners face difficulties regardless of race, she realized that she also predominantly considers only Southeast Asians when thinking of the troubles minorities encounter in Korea. This shows that although the teacher links the multicultural education reading material with the current Korean situation, her perspective on multiculturalism is confined to certain ethnic groups. This aspect sheds light on how teachers' interpretation of multiculturalism is communicated to students in class.

The *Reading* textbook also has content related to diversity. Almost all fifth grade teachers interviewed agreed that the TV commercial for Korean Unity embodies multicultural education.¹⁰ The goal of the commercial is to enhance social unity regardless of gender, perspective, race and ethnicity, and generational differences. In addition, the commercial contains a phrase, “though facial appearances differ, all sweat for the same hope,” that teachers recognize as pertaining to a multicultural Korean society (MEST, 2011d, p. 58). Several teachers focused on this point and discussed it with their students while making a link with the current situation in Korea. For example:

Seongmin: In our (Korean) culture, we usually do not express ‘facial appearances differ.’ This is because most people just look Korean. However, when I saw the expression, I thought that our nation is beginning to pay attention to people who have different features. So, when I taught this part, I discussed it with my students. . . . “Teacher, since these days many foreigners are in our nation, this is shown in the textbook.” That’s how students reacted.

Sohui: When I said, “Our nation is no longer composed of one single ethnic group,” students immediately understood. Also, it is not difficult for students to see

¹⁰ The commercial is available to watch on the Presidential Committee on Social Cohesion web site: <http://17harmonykorea.pa.go.kr/etc/adList.asp>

foreigners around. So, when I ask students, “Who are the foreigners among us?” . . . They mostly mention foreign celebrities working in Korea or television personalities.

Minjeong: (I said to my class) Our nation was (traditionally) composed of one single ethnic group—today, though, this is not true— as a matter of fact, there are a lot of places and countries in the world that consist of multiple races and ethnicities. Since you live here, you just aren’t aware of it.

These teachers recognized and conveyed to students that Korea is no longer an ethnically homogeneous country. The interviewees also remarked that their students agreed. This illustrates that teachers once believed the nation consisted of a mono-ethnicity, but now recognize this is no longer true. Nevertheless, teachers still distinguish and group people into two categories, Koreans and foreigners, and do not elaborate on what it means, or what the implications are, that the nation has become increasingly multicultural.

In addition, though several teachers stated that the commercial addresses multiculturalism, they just briefly touched upon it because it was not viewed as the most prevalent theme in the Korean unity commercial and makes up only one part of the total material that teachers need to cover. Since the stated aim of the chapter is to understand advertising and its intentions, this is what some teachers focused on exclusively.

Chaewon: (Only) One point of the commercial addresses multiculturalism, however, it also touches upon several other aspects such as generational differences and diverse ideas. Thus, I did not spend much time on it.

Na-eun: When covering this in class, I just briefly mentioned multiculturalism. I did not go into details. I just said that people are different from each other and they can get along like in this picture. However, the stated goal was to find the commercial’s intention.

Although most interviewees thought the public ad related to multicultural themes, a few teachers did not notice any. Instead, they interpreted the expression, “though facial appearances differ” in differing ways. For example, a few teachers confined the scope of the phrase to the class in order to help their students’ comprehension the ad.

Dongjun: If it says ‘faces are different,’ children think it means that they are either going to be attractive or ugly.

Most fifth grade teachers interviewed did not have multicultural family students in their classes. According to Y. Cho et al.’s study (2007), among 894 teachers in k-12, 76.9 percent had no experience as a homeroom teacher of multicultural family students. Sunmee Park and Minsun Sung (2011) also provided a similar result. Among 325 k-12 teachers, 72.3 percent had no experience as homeroom teachers of multicultural family students. Both studies show that most Korean teachers had little interaction with multicultural family students in the classroom. Among interviewees, Giyeong has two multicultural family students. Although Giyeong denies that he consciously considers multicultural family students during lesson, having them in class affects his lesson plan. When discussing the ad with his students, he intentionally avoided mentioning the word multiculturalism. He claimed the reason he did not need to discuss multiculturalism with his students is because they already comprehend the contents and are accustomed to the concept because they have multicultural family friends in class. Also, he feels that his multicultural family students have no problems with their Korean classmates.

Giyeong: I do not bring up ‘multiculturalism’ on purpose, however students naturally mentioned the word. I mean, they mention foreigners, not the actual word, multiculturalism. . . . Students say things like “Foreigners are in our nation” and “In our class, (a multicultural family student’s name) ***,” but multicultural

family students do not seem to feel awkward when this happens. They just smile when their names were mentioned by their Korean peers.

Although he intentionally did not highlight multiculturalism, one of his Korean students directly referred to a multicultural student by name as an example of a non-Korean. There was a discrepancy between Giyeong's educational intention and students' reactions. Furthermore, during his interview, he explained why he intentionally does not explicitly mention multiculturalism because he believes it would single out multicultural family students in his class.

Lesson on Respecting Differences via Allegories

Several teachers claimed *The Hen that Left the Garden* and *Charlotte's Web* had multicultural content. These teachers mentioned that both stories are allegories and they articulate a lesson on respecting differences. Four of the teachers recognized that *The Hen that Left the Garden* could be read as a lesson on difference. They understood that since two different species became friends, the story could be connected to multiculturalism. The allegory reflects human society and gives students a lesson that friendships can be formed regardless of differences in physical appearance.

Giyeong: I did not have to explain, but students automatically knew. We read the book and watched a video. . . . From the story, students can develop psychological acceptance in terms of differences. This story really seems like a multicultural story.

Taeun: Two species of birds (a chicken and a mallard) have different appearances but still love each other. . . . I discussed and watched a video with my students. . . . Since they are two different species, they have conflicts, but they also can join together, share their hearts, and love. This is what I taught my students.

Both teachers recognized that the story fits in with the larger theme of multiculturalism. In their classroom lessons, both teachers utilized the cartoon adaptation of the story in order to enhance their students' comprehension of its themes. One teacher explicitly discussed the story as relating to differences between people, while the other did not discern any lessons explicitly on multiculturalism. The latter teacher, Giyeong, has two multicultural family students who have a Korean father and a non-Korean mother in his class as mentioned in the previous unit, so he tried to avoid directly referencing multiculturalism.

Giyeong: I intentionally do not bring (multiculturalism) up in class. However, my students do talk about it. . . . My students do not refer to multicultural students such as “*** from Spain.” Instead, they just refer to him by his Korean name. . . . So, if I directly speak about multiculturalism, it may cause attention to (multicultural students) in class and define them as belonging to a different category. So, this may not be a good thing.

Giyeong believes his students have no problem getting along with one another; however, as he points out, explicitly addressing multiculturalism and/or multicultural family students in class can cause students to view themselves and one another as belonging to one of two separate categories: Korean students and multicultural family students. During the interview, he further disclosed his perceptions of multicultural family students. He generally viewed them as having academic problems in school and/or economic problems at home and requiring assistance from both the Korean government and the general public. This was based on his own experiences working as a teacher at a school in a city where many foreign workers and their children reside. In 2012, the total number of the foreign resident population in the nation was 1,409,577, whereas the total number of foreign residents in the city Giyeong worked was 60,583 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2012). From his experience, he knew that multicultural family

students tend to have low academic achievement and economic status. A study exploring the experiences of elementary school teachers who taught multicultural family students showed that teachers perceived them to have academic difficulties, especially regarding language ability (Hwang, Gao, & Kim, 2010). Giyeong also perceived that multicultural family students have low language proficiency due to their non-Korean family members. However, Giyeong believes there is no conflict between multicultural family students and non-multicultural family students in his class, and does not want to single out the former, or distinguish them as different from his “normal” students.

Two other teachers also interpreted the story as having parallels with Korean multicultural families and applicable to international marriages in Korea, especially between Korean men and non-Korean women. In this context, they perceived the hen, which is a main character in the story, as a non-Korean mother.

Chaewon: They are all mallards, but she is a hen. They look different as (in the case of a multicultural family) the mother’s features can differ from other family members. Also, multicultural students can perceive that although their classmates are all Koreans, they are the only people different from them.

Dongjun: There are similar aspects in some ways between this story and human society. There are rare cases of multicultural families between a (Korean) bachelor and a (non-Korean) woman. I heard that men marry these (non-Korean) women because they are either divorce or widowed. So, there are a lot of conflicts between children and stepmothers as well as a big age gap between the wife and her husband. It seems like an abnormal family. If viewed like this, the story has some relationship with multiculturalism. A woman comes to the nation and takes care of children that are not hers.

Though both teachers perceived the story as dealing with the theme of multiculturalism, they did not connect it as so during class because they did not feel it was necessary. Instead, they focused

only on the story itself. In the case of Dongjun, he did not recognize any connection to multicultural themes and topics and only linked the two during our interview session.

The story of *Charlotte's Web* can also be read as a lesson on respecting diversity. Among fifth grade interviewees, only one teacher, Taeun, connected *Charlotte's Web* to multiculturalism. According to her,

Taeun: The pig befriends the spider. Spiders are usually disgusting to children, but Charlotte is very bright and wise and devotes herself to the pig in the story. This is what I talked to my students about.

Although she did not directly match the two anthropomorphic characters with humans, she introduced a lesson on difference where two dissimilar species can be friends. She also elaborated how people fear spiders and generally view them as repulsive. Since she had planned to teach this story as encompassing multicultural education themes, she led class discussion on difference and prejudice—even if she did not define or clarify the term multiculturalism. During the interview, she mentioned that she took multicultural education classes as in-service training because she was in charge of multicultural education in her school. She mentioned that multicultural education helps students understand racial, ethnic, and cultures diversity. Her notion was similar to the government's goals of multicultural education; understanding different cultures and lessening prejudices (MOE & HRD, 2006b, p. 15). Notwithstanding, she appeared confused about the scope of multiculturalism since most Koreans only apply the term as pertaining to either foreigners or people of mixed race.

2) Sixth Grade Teachers: Korean Language

Sixth grade teachers interviewed viewed Korean Language textbooks as including multicultural topics. However, their perception was limited in scope. While few felt that *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbooks contained any multicultural content, every teacher thought that at least one multicultural material was in the *Reading* textbooks. Interviewees selected the following materials as relating to multiculturalism: Martin Luther Kings’ “I Have a Dream” speech, *The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea*, a short biography of Dr. Sang-gi Han, the Cia-Cia tribe’s story, and the written language scripts of “Ansan Multicultural Small Library.”

Issues Relating to Racial Discrimination and Human Rights (Civil Rights)

The first semester the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook contains an excerpt of Martin Luther Kings’ iconic “I Have a Dream” speech (MEST, 2011e, p. 110). This was the only piece that interview subjects recognized as multicultural content in both the first and second semesters of *Hearing·Speaking·Writing*. Among sixth grade interviewees, only three teachers connected Dr. King’s speech to multicultural education. Since they knew that Dr. King was a leader of Civil Rights Movement in the U.S., they based lesson plans around the topic of human rights (civil rights) and/or racial discrimination. A video clip of the speech was utilized in order to further help students better comprehend and analyze the text.

Mina: I cannot tell if this really fits with multiculturalism, however since it is related to human rights (civil rights), there is some relationship. . . . I showed the video as a supplementary material. . . . I did not specifically mention multiculturalism, but emphasized how he devoted himself to protect human rights (civil rights) as a black activist.

Seohyeon: As I see it, this is not directly related (to multiculturalism). Nevertheless, I think that this material was inserted on purpose in order to strengthen students’

cognitive foundation so they can remove race-based prejudices and so on. . . . I showed the video clip of Martin Luther King's speech. . . . I did not clearly refer to multiculturalism, but I talked about both discrimination and difference.

Juhyeon: Dr. Martin Luther King is a black, human rights (civil rights) activist. . . . Students generally understand multiculturalism to refer to people different from us. When I considered their understanding of the term, I thought this speech is linked with multiculturalism. . . . I did not explicitly refer to multiculturalism, but talked about discrimination and difference. . . . Although, during class, I really did not see this speech as connected to multiculturalism in Korea, but I see it now.

Although teachers saw the material as relevant to either human rights or racial discrimination, they felt that it was not a significant example of multicultural education. This is because these teachers consider human rights and multiculturalism as two separate and unrelated categories. This is similar to how fifth grade teachers in the previous unit perceived human rights and multiculturalism as two separate and unrelated categories. Interviewees, furthermore, did not link the speech with the current situation in Korea. Instead, they limited the speech as pertaining to a specific period in U.S. history; however, one teacher realized that the lesson on discrimination and racial difference could be adapted in a Korean context during his interview.

Lesson on Ethnic Difference and Inclusiveness

Every sixth grade teacher interviewed perceived *The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea*, a story about a multicultural family in Korea, as a multicultural education material. Its main plot involves the conflict between a Korean girl and her new Vietnamese stepmother. Teachers' interpretations of, and reactions to, the story can be divided into two categories depending on whether multicultural family students are in their classes. In the case of teachers who do not have multicultural students, their lesson plan focused on either the aims of the chapter goal or

covering multicultural education. However, the main concern for teachers whose classes included one or more multiethnic students was not to single out, embarrass, or draw unnecessary attention to these individuals. This unit discusses how both sets of educators interpreted and communicated the story with their students.

During interviews, several teachers mentioned that the story relates to multiculturalism. However, in class, they focused on the aim of the lesson that was suggested at the head of the chapter; finding conflicts between characters. These teachers viewed the story simply as a means to fulfill the lesson plan.

Jinsu: This subject just happens to be related to multiculturalism in order to teach students to find conflicts between characters. That is what I focused on with my class. However, I mentioned multiculturalism while teaching because things like multicultural families will increase.

Yunha: The goal of this lesson is to understand how literature shows conflicts between characters. . . . Since the goal is to recognize conflicts, I drew upon the relationships between the characters. . . . When I taught this story, I focused on its contents alone.

Sumi: I thought that this story is on the conflict structure between characters while utilizing multicultural materials. So, it seems easy to understand and I assume this plot is highly realistic, so I just let my students get the general idea while asking, "Where is the stepmother from?" I did not talk about other things relating to the story or multiculturalism. . . . I just approached this material as a learning issue.

According to the Guideline for the Curriculum, the main concern of each lesson is for teachers to cover, and students to meet, the given goal (MOE & HRD, 2007a). Once teachers complete the educational goal for the lesson, they can move on to the next chapter. Some teachers, then, focused solely on the points of the story that fulfill the suggested goal, how the girl and her stepmother clash, without emphasizing or discussing its multicultural family premise. The other

reason for focusing solely on the goal was due to time constraints. Since the government determines time allotments per year by subjects and grade levels, teachers must satisfy the given standard. In case of sixth grade Korean Language, teachers must complete at least 204 classes (MOE & HRD, 2007a). Thus, according to interviewees, they should cover each lesson in one to three classes. Interview subjects often emphasized that they do not have enough time to spend on each example. Although they wished to include extra activities, they were often too pressed for time.

Most teachers tried to fulfill the set chapter goal while also incorporating multicultural education into their lessons. In order to meet the lesson goal and to introduce multiculturalism, several teachers had their students' role-play. Students pretended to be either Han-byeol or her stepmother Huong to foster empathy and understanding of each characters situation and perspective.

Inhye: I asked my students during the lesson, "If the mother is Japanese, or German, or American, do you think Han-byeol would still feel and act negatively towards Huong?" Several students answered, "I think she would still hate her mother," whereas most of them would not definitively answer my question. . . . Throughout the lesson, I occasionally asked my students, "how about if the mother came from a developed country, which we usually prefer, instead of a nation where people have dark skin?" They still answered in the negative. . . . Actually, I also feel sympathy for Han-byeol. For example, if I were her, I would also dislike the stepmother. Because the mother is a foreigner, this would make me hate her even more. Moreover, they (my students) are children, so their negative feelings against the stepmother will be stronger than mine because their thoughts are egocentric and simple.

Eunju: I had my class role play as *The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea's* characters. . . . Two students were either the girl or her stepmother while their classmates asked them questions utilizing things in the story. (They asked the stepmother) "What kinds of difficulties are you faced with?" "What aspects of Korean culture are the toughest for you to deal with?" "How did you feel when your stepdaughter did such horrible things to you?" (and) "Why didn't you ask your husband for help?"

From taking either the point of view of the daughter or the stepmother, both teachers and students can better understand multicultural families. Nevertheless, Inhye demonstrates how both teachers and students view foreign women marrying Korean men. Both show a sense of exclusion towards non-Korean members of society. These reactions shed light on how teachers in Korea view non-Korean family members. Y. Cho et al.'s surveyed 894 k-12 teachers and found that 62.6 percent assume they will have communication problems with non-Korean students' family members due to their lack of language proficiency (2007). This shows how teachers view multicultural students' parents. Teachers' values and perceptions can be reflected in their lesson plans and then disseminated to their students when they interpret and analyze textbook contents. Although teachers are generally unwilling to openly and explicitly convey their negative feelings, associations, and thoughts, they can pass their preconceptions and/or prejudices onto students through the hidden curriculum.

Several teachers interpreted the story as pertaining to either Korea's current or historical situation. As they focused on the goal of the lesson, they enlarged the theme to encompass multiculturalism in Korea.

Inyeong: A few decades ago, Koreans took these kinds of roles (like the stepmother or foreigner workers) in America or other nations. When we see foreigners in Korea, we look down on them because they are minorities. . . . I said, "Koreans went to other nations and did dirty jobs."

Yuri: When I taught this material, I told my class that you will see similar looking people (Koreans) until you graduate high school. However, once you go to college, there will be people who come from various areas of the country who look different, but will speak Korean because they are Koreans, not foreigners. This is because international marriages rates are over 10 percent. You should know this. When I quoted the rates of international marriages, students were surprised by the quantity. . . . I also talked to my class about how Koreans either discriminate against

the Vietnamese or are condescending or paternalistic towards them. Both of these ways are wrong. We should just treat them as equals.

Inhye: (I told my class that) People come from poor countries to our nation. This itself does not exclusively define multiculturalism. Japanese, Chinese, and Americans can come and live in our society. This is also multiculturalism. . . . They are all minorities here. I said this. I also mentioned the LA Riots. Since blacks in America had experienced severe discrimination, the rioting occurred. . . . If we continually discriminate and treat foreign workers and marriage immigrants poorly, they can similarly express their grievances against our society.

These interviewees understood multiculturalism as ethnic diversity within the nation. This notion is similar to teachers' initial impression of the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education as related to the large influx of foreign workers and marriage immigrants. When these teachers communicated the story as multicultural material with their students, they connected it with the increasing numbers of foreign workers and marriage immigrants in the territory and how Koreans currently behave towards foreigners or marriage-based immigrants. One survey found that 34.8 percent of 116,444 marriage immigrant women and 52.8 percent of 11,136 marriage immigrant men experienced discrimination in Korea (Kim et al., 2010). Although this study did not provide what types of discrimination they experienced, it illustrates that a significant of marriage immigrants were discriminated against in Korean society.

Along with discussions how foreign workers and marriage immigrants were discriminated against in the country, some teachers also attempted to prepare students to be more inclusive towards minorities. They mentioned how other cultures treated Koreans in the past in order to increase students' understanding. Even if teachers recognized that Korea's demographics are becoming more diverse and connected the material with multiculturalism, they still tended to view foreign workers, marriage-based immigrants, and their families as minorities and further surmise them to be marginalized persons not only presently, but also in the future. This

perception shows the biased views teachers' hold on non-Koreans. Since they already covered *The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea* in their classrooms, they had transmitted their subjective views and opinions of non-Koreans to their students. Students learn particular opinions from their teachers. This explains how teachers' opinions and perspectives on multiculturalism are transmitted to their students either intentionally or unintentionally.

Several teachers furthermore expressed that they faced difficulties while teaching the story due to a lack of supplemental teaching resources. Although some employed videos and photos relating to multiculturalism in Korea in order to evoke feelings of empathy in their students, it remained abstract due to their lack of direct experience with multicultural family and children.

Mina: I just talked about this stuff theoretically, (for example,) 'we must understand each other and get along with these people.' I said it in this manner because it does not exist here in reality. Students also do not have any sympathy for multicultural students because there are none in the school or class.

Yuri: Actually, adults know what types of bigotry exist because they hear it on the news, even though they have no personal experience in these matters. Our kids are also far removed from their (multicultural family) world. There are no multicultural people around these children. As a teacher, I told them that multicultural people are persecuted; therefore you should treat them very well. However, students never encounter them. So there is a real disconnect between the lesson and their lives.

These teachers found that students do not empathize with foreign workers, marriage immigrants, and/or their children due to a lack of real-life experience meeting and interacting with multicultural family members. According to interviewees, multiculturalism is perceived as geographically, intellectually, and emotionally far removed from the everyday lives of both the teachers and their students.

Several teachers, on the other hand, had multicultural students in their classes. One had a student whose family life directly correlated with that of Han-byeol's in *The Fragrance that*

Blew Across the Sea. Others had multicultural family students with non-Korean biological mothers. However, even teachers with multicultural students in their classrooms had difficulties with the theme of the story. What these teachers had in common was a tendency not to clearly mention the terms or explain multiculturalism or multicultural families during class for fear of drawing negative attention to multicultural students. Because of this, they experienced troubles discussing and analyzing the material.

Hayeong: I was hard pressed because my student is in the exact same situation as the girl in the story, totally. However, the most interesting thing was that when I asked my class, “Who wants to read aloud?” she immediately raised her hand. I was so surprised. I taught this material while avoiding her eyes. In addition, some students said, “In rural areas, foreign women get beaten by their husbands.” I was embarrassed, really embarrassed. I could’ve covered a lot more if there were no a multicultural students in my class. However, this wasn’t the case. This story is about a stepmother brought here from Vietnam. My multicultural student’s stepmother is also from Vietnam. . . . I could not look at her. I could not go into detail because if I spent a long time on it, students would ask questions and bring up all kinds of social issues. Also, some of my students already knew her stepmother is Vietnamese.

Dahyeon: I could not honesty talk about (*The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea* in class). I had to control myself because I have three multicultural family students. I deliberately avoided looking directly at them. I mean, I didn’t purposely ignore them, I was just hyper-aware of them. . . . This story is pretty negative but ends happily. So, when you mention multiculturalism, it tends to be unfavorable because a lot of bad points were revealed in the story.

Seohyeon: I had no idea how to cover this story because I have a multicultural family student. The other students, of course, know it. However, I could not go into details because it might hurt his feelings. . . . The content itself is not that difficult, but I was unable to gauge how multicultural family students feel about this story as compared to Koreans. . . . I was worried that students would generalize all multicultural families as having these types of conflicts.

Since the story obviously relates to multiculturalism, teachers felt obliged to explain it; however, they were constantly aware of multicultural family students in their classes and tried to

avoid mentioning multicultural issues for two reasons. First, they were worried their multicultural students would feel upset. Teachers perceived the story as depicting the dark side of multicultural families. For example, the stepmother cannot speak Korean and has conflicts with her stepdaughter. Therefore, multicultural students may identify with the story and feel distraught. Second, non-multicultural students can have certain prejudices or negative preconceptions of multicultural families. Teachers mentioned that their students already know the negative aspects of multicultural families via television programs and news reports. Korean mass media items and studies often reported how marriage immigrant women were discriminated against. On December 7, 2006, marriage immigrant women, especially from Southeast Asia, protested against international matchmaking companies because these companies specifically advertise these women as potential spouses for Korean men (Song, 2006). There was also a popular drama that depicted the process of international matchmaking including financial transactions (Un & Baek, 2007). Studies showed how female marriage immigrants were specially at risk for domestic violence, verbal abuse, poverty, sexual assault, and so on (Lee, 2005; Jeong, 2012; Han, 2006; Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). Several teachers interviewed thought that if they elaborated on the topic of multicultural family issues, it could cause students to recall the most negative preconceptions of multicultural families, and to even strengthen them. In addition, peers may make fun of multicultural students because of their family background. When the government announced multicultural education, it provided the findings of a survey where 34.1 percent of multicultural family students were bullied by their peers due to their non-Korean family members (MOE & HRD, 2006a). During interviews, one teacher brought up how she felt disconcerted while covering the textbook material in class. Although she had no multicultural students in her group of pupils, there was one in the next

classroom over. During the lesson, her student named a certain multicultural student and matched his family to the story. Although she noticed this, she pretended not to hear because she had no idea how to react at the time.

One interviewee, Hayeong, articulated that she wanted to skip the story due to her multicultural family student who has a non-Korean stepmother. Since she could not disregard the story, she taught it as one class lesson. Because the Ministry stated that although teachers may reduce the amount of time spent on a particular textbook chapter, it cannot be omitted from the classroom curriculum (MEST, 2009, p. 3).

Hayeong: I cannot skip this part of the book. This material is included in the exam. None of the contents in Korean Language, Mathematics, Social Studies and Science textbooks can be skipped. A flexible curriculum means that teachers can introduce supplemental materials relating to the topics such as showing videos. That is flexibility. If teachers do not teach this section, it means, 'teachers failed to do their duty.' . . . So I cannot pass over this story. It must be taught.

The teacher also stated that one could not skip any part of the textbooks for major subjects such as Korean Language, Mathematics, Social Studies and Science because students take quizzes or exams on the materials. Teachers must cover all contents to prepare students for their tests. Furthermore, in the case of sixth graders, some middle schools have a placement test that includes both the first and second semesters of the major subjects. For these reasons, teachers must cover all textbook chapters.

Every sixth grade interviewee perceived *The Fragrance that Blew Across the Sea* as multicultural contents because it depicted a multicultural family in Korea. It is possible to infer that in teachers' context, multicultural education is related to multicultural families, but not to human rights. However, most teachers interviewed had trouble covering the story regardless of

whether or not they had multicultural family students in their classes. If such students were not present, teachers were faced with difficulties due to their lack of real life experience interacting with multicultural people. On the contrary, teachers whose classes included multicultural students felt that they could not openly discuss the topic because of the negative images of multicultural families that illustrated by the media and research.

Lessons on Respecting Different Cultures and Diversity

Several teachers perceived a short biography of Dr. Sang-gi Han, the Cia-Cia tribe's story, and the written language scripts of "Ansan Multicultural Small Library" in the "Playground" section as pertaining to multicultural themes by fostering respect for different cultures and diversity. Among sixth grade teachers interviewed, only one teacher, Juhyeon, viewed the biography of Dr. Han as a multicultural material. When she was in new teacher training, she attended lectures relating to multiculturalism and became conscious of the topic's significance in contemporary Korean society. The government's stated aim of multicultural education is to have students understand and respect different cultures and lessen prejudices (MOE & HRD, 2006b). Juhyeon's idea of multiculturalism corresponds to the government objective. She also mentioned during the interview that her perspectives and ideas about Korean multiculturalism probably differ from her professional colleagues because she attended the multicultural training course, has a personal interest in the topic, and continually tries to keep her students informed and aware of the social changes taking place in Korean society. In this regard, she was able to connect the bio with multiculturalism. For the short biography of Dr. Sang-gi Han, she emphasized to her class how one person can help others regardless of ethnic, racial, and cultural differences.

Juhyeon: I thought this article was significant because it shows how a Korean person migrated abroad to help another nation's people. For instance, how (Dr. Han) helped solve a food shortage halfway around the world. He had the option to attend Cambridge College in England and had great potential to be famous and wealthy. However, he thought that it was more worthwhile to help people in Africa. When I explained this, I told my class that life in Korea can be meaningful; however, there are people like Dr. Han who devote themselves to helping others around the world.

Although she did not explicitly mention the term multiculturalism, she tried to apply the concept and to communicate its theme in her lesson. She wants her students to be inclusive, conscientious, and see themselves as global citizens. Nevertheless, she was one of the teachers who felt that Dr. King's "I Have Dream" speech pertained only to human rights (civil rights), but not to multiculturalism. She, like other interviewees, viewed civil rights as a separate and different category from multiculturalism.

The *Reading* textbook contained material on how the Cia-Cia tribe in Indonesia adopted *Hangul* script, the Korean written system (MEST, 2011h). One teacher, Hayeong, connected the article to multiculturalism. In her lesson, she referred to the fact that Korea is now a multicultural society and stressed that students can experience a diversity of cultures and peoples within the nation.

Hayeong: Since our nation has become a multicultural society, our people can marry Cia-Cia tribe members. Since they employed *Hangul* script, they can write in Korean. Because of this fact, it may be easier for them to learn to speak it as well. I talked about multiculturalism.

Although she did not spend a long time on the subject, she promoted respecting cultural diversity to her students; however, she confined the concept of multiculturalism within the nation. To be more specific, she emphasized cultural diversity in Korea, but not on a global level. She

also showed bias that it might be easier for the Cia-Cia to learn the Korean language because they presumably are acquainted with *Hangul* script. While her stated intentions seem inclusive, her words also illustrate her cultural preconceptions. Through the hidden curriculum, her prejudiced views can be transmitted and/or influence the students in her class.

Three teachers linked the “Ansan Multicultural Small Library” in the “Playground” section with multicultural education. This short section shows various written scripts. Although a few teachers recognized this material as related to multiculturalism, only one teacher, Hyeon-woo, tried to cover the section in class, while two others discovered the connection during their interviews.

Hyeon-woo: I tried to introduce this section, but gave up. This is because I can read up to here (points at English). I said, “Ansan Multicultural Small Library” in English in this manner. However, I do not understand the other (languages). Instead, I told my students, “There are various languages on this page.” I read the English one, but after that, I had no idea. So I said, “You can find these. They are other languages” and then passed over this section. It is just the “Playground” section, (so) it won’t be on the test.

Hyeon-woo attempted to give his students a lesson on the variety of written language scripts; however, he could only read the Korean and English. In fact, the scripts were not even labeled in the text so he could not tell his students what languages were represented on the page. Though he thought that the page was relevant to multiculturalism, he could not explain anything related to it. On the other hand, two teachers only viewed the section as connected to multicultural education during their respective interviews. They perceived the “Playground” section as unimportant so they omitted it in class. Furthermore, since these teachers were pressed for time, as explained in the previous unit, they felt they had no opportunity to teach this supplemental page and did not deem it necessary to cover since students would not be tested on this material.

3) Sixth Grade Teachers: Social Studies

Since the second semester textbook includes contents on human rights, foreign workers, and nations and cultures throughout the world, sixth grade teachers interviewed recognized that Social Studies has a relationship with multiculturalism. However, only three teachers found multicultural relevant materials in the first semester textbook.

Issues on Discrimination, Human Rights (Civil Rights) and Foreign Workers

The first semester textbook has a section on foreign workers including one short paragraph and an illustration. Both text and picture depict the difficulties foreign workers face in Korea and how the government and companies endeavor to help them (MEST, 2011i, p. 79). Three interviewees recognized the topic as relevant to multicultural education because the content includes non-Korean workers in the nation. Recognition of the topic corresponds with their initial impressions of the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education as specifically pertaining to the nation's foreign workers and marriage immigrants.

Among three teachers, two said that they spent minimal time on the section and just touched upon the material in class. For instance, one teacher asked her students about their feelings and impressions when they see foreign laborers; however, she did not recall how students answered. Another recollected that she mentioned the multicultural theme, but had no idea what she said during class. Both teachers mentioned that since the textbook has many topics to teach, they only briefly spoke about the topic of foreign workers in Korea during their lessons. On the other hand, one teacher perceived how the textbook negatively portrayed foreign laborers.

Inhye: If you look here, (corporations) ‘make every effort to not discriminate against foreign workers.’ Its underlying premise is their efforts to help immigrants. . . . When we commonly think of a multicultural family, it means a Korean with a foreign spouse. However, the textbook only refers to foreign laborers. So when I went over this in class, I did not consider it to be an example of multiculturalism. Instead, I saw it as about foreigners working here.

According to the teacher’s interpretation, the textbook describes the nation’s non-Korean workforce as requiring special help from Koreans. She realized this content could cause students to become biased towards migrant workers because of the assistance they need from the nation’s government and industries. During her interview, she saw a connection between this section and multiculturalism, but during her lesson, she did not link the two. This is because she defined multiculturalism as being limited to multicultural families that consist of a Korean and a non-Korean. She did not consider foreign worker families and viewed them as a category separated from multiculturalism. This concept also reflected her initial impression of the term multiculturalism as being inextricably linked to multicultural families. Because of this, she perceives multicultural education textbook contents as being limited to materials that directly involves multicultural families in both theme and content.

The second semester textbook includes materials analyzing how human rights are upheld and protected. One photograph is on a rally against using the word “nude” to describe color (MEST, 2011k, p. 40). Another shows five children with different skin and hair colors in a classroom (MEST, 2011k, p. 44).

On the topic of using the word “nude” to describe skin color, several teachers solely focused on its theme, while others connected it with foreign workers in the territory. Several interviewees mentioned that the contents related to multiculturalism and concentrated their lesson around it.

Inyeong: I talked about color. The year before last, I had a multicultural family student and her skin was darker than most. Also, if students are not from multicultural families but have darker skin, students make fun of them saying, “Are you an African?” or “Are you Southeast Asian?” These insults reflect how darker skinned people are looked down on in Korea. Students have many prejudices when it comes to color. . . . I said to my class that we couldn’t know anything about a person based on skin color. I also showed them videos relating to this.

Sumi: I asked my students, “What skin color do we have?” and then they answered “nude.” I inquired again, “OK. However, is it really?” and “What is our race?” (They said.) “Asian.” This is how I talked about this issue. In addition, I asked, “If a person does not have “nude” skin, such as someone black or white, how will this individual describe his or her color?”

Although these teachers did not directly mention multiculturalism or all people are equal regardless of skin color, both were implied in their classroom lessons. In addition, several teachers witnessed how students mocked and insulted others on the basis of their perceived darkness. In this regard, teachers felt that students had prejudiced views of complexion and race, so they tried to reduce this bias during their lessons. Though these teachers introduced skin color and racial issues in class and choose this topic as related to multicultural education during their respective interviews, they mentioned that their lesson focused on human rights, not multiculturalism. These teachers viewed human rights as disconnected from multiculturalism similarly to how fifth grade teachers distinguished the two. This notion was also found in the following teacher interviews.

Two teachers additionally linked the material regarding the use of the word “nude” to describe skin color with the difficulties and discrimination foreign workers face in Korea and compared it with the difficulties Koreans faced when they went to Germany in the 1960s and 70s in order to work as miners or nurses. By linking the problems and racial/ethnic-based intolerance

Koreans faced abroad to the country's current dynamics regarding its foreign workers, teachers illustrated the similarities between two groups.

Hayeong: A few decades ago, when Korea's economy was bad, we went abroad in order to work. . . . Our nation has lots of foreigners doing the same thing. When we are in the subway, when foreigners get in, we think they smell bad. However, we smell bad to others, too. Since we eat a lot of garlic, foreigners had avoided us (when we went abroad to work). I also told them since there are many foreign workers (in our society), we must respect them because we live in a multicultural age.

These teachers expected that drawing such parallels could foster greater understanding and empathy in students towards non-Koreans. However, though teachers provided a connection between foreign workers and Koreans abroad, both believed the topic to be solely in the confines of human rights, not multiculturalism. Again, human rights and multiculturalism were viewed as two separate concepts.

During their lessons, two teachers recognized the illustration of five students of different skin and hair colors as pertaining to multiculturalism. Both discussed the picture with their students in class.

Inhye: Here, the child is black. You see, there is a sentence, "Not hitting or bullying someone because he or she appears different is one way to protect human rights in the classroom." In this instance, I thought 'because he or she appears different' means the person is either a multicultural family student or someone other kids find weird. So I talked about protecting human rights in our society, as well as in our classroom, and preventing school violence.

Mina: At that time, I said to my students, "Please look at this picture. One of the boys has blond hair and another has different color skin." I told them, "However, these are only superficial physical differences. I mean, they don't look like us, but we are essentially all the same and can all get along with one another." This is how I discussed this part of the book with my students.

When these teachers analyzed the vignette, they concentrated on how its characters look diverse and different. During class, both teachers pointed out the varying shades of skin color and highlighted how each differed from “normal” Koreans in appearance. In case of Inhye, she viewed the illustration in the book as a multicultural theme because she assumed students who were perceived different in the illustration were meant to represent multicultural families. During her interview, she mentioned several times that multicultural education should be related to multicultural families.

When covering this lesson in class, both interviewees promoted the concept that students must remove personal bias against, and further live in harmony with, others regardless of physical differences. This is because teachers often hear stories where multicultural family students are bullied by their peers. According to one survey, 17.6 percent of multicultural family students experienced bullying (MOE & HRD, 2006b). During class, both teachers did not explicitly employ the term multiculturalism, but implicitly covered it in their lessons.

Lesson on Diversity of Nations and Cultures

The second chapter, *The World's Many Regions of Nature and Culture*, of the Social Studies textbook introduces students to nations and cultures around the world (MEST, 2011k, p. 48). Since the contents cover the diversity of human and geographical features found across the globe, most teachers believed this entire chapter was related to multicultural topics during interviews. Here, teachers' perspectives correspond with the government announcement that the curriculum includes contents on cultural diversity (MOE & HRD, 2006b). However, interview subjects did not incorporate multiculturalism into their classroom lessons. Moreover, a few teachers did not see the chapter materials as relevant to multicultural education due to the way the term is defined

in Korea. When these teachers consider the term, they automatically imagine immigrants who live in Korea.

Inhye: The chapter is on cultural diversity. As a matter of fact, this is not multiculturalism as that word is used in Korean society. I mean this chapter signifies that students can learn from a variety of cultures in foreign countries, but it is different from what we call multiculturalism.

Jinsu: This chapter introduces a variety of cultures and human geography, but doesn't go into how Korean society has people from different countries and dissimilar cultural backgrounds and how we (Koreans) get along with them. Contents about social and natural environments around the world were included in the old curriculum, too. However, in my opinion, the reason why people believe this chapter covers multiculturalism is because the contents try to foster harmony between non-Korean and Korean members of society and then, hopefully, have students internalize these values. I disagree with those who think this chapter is relevant to multiculturalism.

These teachers viewed the word multiculturalism as being confined to multicultural families in Korea. During interviews, they stated that since the government defined the category of multicultural families as foreign workers and/or marriage immigrants and their children, multicultural education material should relate to these families. However, how teachers understand the term differs from that of the government and researchers. The government included cultural diversity as multicultural education (MOE & HRD, 2006b, 2007b). Soon ho park surveyed 494 k-12 teachers on how they interpret the concept of multicultural education (2011). He found that 61.6 percent considered multicultural education as encouraging an understanding of cultural diversity, while 27.9 percent answered that it is education for multicultural family students. However, interviewees considered topics pertaining to world cultures as belonging to a separate category outside of the boundaries of multicultural education. Furthermore, since materials on human geography and natural environments were also included

in the former curriculum, the chapter was perceived as not related to multiculturalism. During class, these teachers focused solely on textbook contents and did not connect them with multiculturalism.

Several teachers noticed the skewed and biased manner in which certain nations were depicted in the textbook not only during interviews, but also in class. These interviewees felt that the materials intensively dealt with European countries and portrayed their positive aspects. This stands in direct contrast with the largely negative portrayal of the African continent.

Jisu: The textbook covers specific European countries in detail. Because of this, I spent more time on Europe than on other sections. . . . The textbook specified the people and cultures of Northern and Western Europe, but only covers the natural environment of Africa.

Seohyeon: The textbook says that the United States is, “a nation made up of people from all over the world, reflecting its status as a nation of immigrants.” However, the U.S. is not the only country like this. Notwithstanding, many students may think that the U.S. is the only country that has a variety of people from many places around the world. . . . When I taught the section on Africa, it says, “Africa remains poor.” This is what the textbook directly says, and it is true to a degree. However, honestly, all places in Africa are not the same. So I was worried that students would have negative preconceptions about the entire continent.

Since these teachers were worried that students would have negative preconceptions toward certain countries and/or continents, they tried to create lesson plans that would counteract the biased textbook materials in class. They intentionally explained and emphasized positive aspects of certain countries and/or continents such as their natural beauty and cultural heritage.

Juhyeon: The textbook includes contents on Southeast Asia. A lot of Southeast Asians are in our country and many Koreans also visit these nations. When I talked about this, students said, ‘Since they are from poor countries, their people come to our

nation to earn money.’ If these students encounter multiethnic students or immigrants who live in our country, this sort of mindset is harmful and can be dangerous. . . . (Moreover,) In both textbooks (Korean Language and Social Studies), there was only a single example of Africa’s potential for development—usually the material was on things like water scarcity and food shortages. (However,) there are also good things (in Africa). There is so much natural beauty. This was part of my lesson and I intentionally told my class “I really want to visit (Africa) to see this.”

Yeong-ae: For the lesson, there were a lot of supplementary materials for Europe, but less for Africa and Asia. So I purposely spoke less on Europe and spent more time on Asia and Africa. My political agenda was embedded into my lesson plan. If I subconsciously hold European culture in high regard, this will come across in my lesson. Conversely, if one has an unfavorable opinion on Southeast Asia, this, too, would be reflected in the lesson. . . because (teachers) values and opinions often unintentionally manifest themselves in the classroom.

One interviewee, Yeong-ae, demonstrated how teachers’ political and personal perspectives collaborate with classroom resources. She also noted that teachers consequently seek a balanced approach when interpreting and delivering textbook contents because students can absorb, and be influenced by, their personal ideologies and values. This shows how teachers interpret and communicate textbook materials with their students. Teachers, as significant mediators between textbook contents and students, should be aware of “what social information they are conveying overtly and covertly” through their lessons (Ramsey, 1987, p. 6).

Furthermore, two teachers— Juhyeon and Yeong-ae— confessed that they had specific aims and goals in their lesson plans to counter what they believed to be biased materials in the textbook. However, unlike the formal intentions of Juhyeon and Yeong-ae, most teaching agendas are not as overt and can be attributed to and explained by the hidden curriculum which states that the lessons teachers transmit to students also implicitly contain their individual values, norms, and biases that reflect the ideology of the larger mainstream societal power structure.

Students can, accordingly, internalize these veiled lessons, thereby strengthening the “official” ideology of the status quo.

Topic on Globalization

The main theme of chapter three is globalization (MEST, 2011k). For the academic calendar year, this chapter is the last section that teachers have to cover. Since the interview process ran until the first week of February, several teachers had not yet completed this chapter when they participated in the interviews, but still recognized its parts as relating to multiculturalism. Among teachers who already went through the chapter, two viewed globalization as one part of multiculturalism. They furthermore linked it with Korean’s current social situation in their classes.

Eunju: When I taught the “Traditional and Globalization” chapter, I often told my class, “Isn’t it usual these days that a Vietnamese person lives next door to me and a Japanese person lives just up the street?” My students agreed with my proposal. Furthermore, two students said, “My maternal aunt is Vietnamese” and “My aunt is Filipina.” In addition, several have multicultural family members as relatives.

Seohyeon: The previous unit described several problems caused by globalization, which were then to be discussed in class. However, because I have to cover this whole section in only one or two classes, I could not really go into too much detail. I could not focus on multiculturalism, but could only briefly mention it. I would say ‘this means this’ then move onto the next topic.

While covering the chapter on globalization, *Segyehwa* in Korean, both teachers were aware of its relationship with multiculturalism and included this link during classroom discussion. They provided their students with examples of international migration and multicultural families. However, neither had adequate time to explore this connection and how it related to Korean

society. The textbook has a definition of what a multicultural society is— a space where “a diversity of races, religions, ethnicities, genders, and classes coexist together, regardless of their differences” (MEST, 2011k, p. 103)— but this definition is not in the main body of the text, but placed as a footnote in the margin. Since a number of issues were intertwined with globalization, the textbook contents also contained a multiplicity of topics. Teachers thus perceived multiculturalism as one theme among many and not the most significant in the section.

Although several teachers already covered the chapter in class, they recalled they did not discuss the material in detail. Since the chapter is in the last part of the book and not included on the exam, teachers just gave a quick overview of the contents and summarized its main points. One teacher also mentioned that the last section of Social Studies textbooks so often have this type of material that it is a cliché.

When the government announced a plan for multicultural education, it stated that the school curriculum would emphasize multiculturalism and global citizenship (Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006, p. 9). This illustrates that the government views global citizenship as a category equivalent to multicultural education. Though the chapter’s theme is globalization, none of the teachers interviewed set lesson plans or goals to cultivate students as global citizens, possibly because they largely perceived multiculturalism as referring to, and limited to, multicultural families. Teachers, in addition, tend to view this chapter as insignificant because of its placement at the end of the academic year and students are not tested on its contents. In addition, because the chapter attempts to cover a multiplicity of varying issues and topics, the contents were viewed as a poorly organized, and overwhelming, information dump. There was simply too little time and information included to successfully cover every single topic in depth.

Chapter 6 Summary and Conclusions

This study examines how Korean elementary school teachers recognize multicultural contents in textbooks and how they interpret and analyze them in the classroom. Multicultural education is a new concept in Korea. Traditionally, the national belief of a mono-ethnic populace has been reflected and emphasized in the school curriculum (Ministry of Education, 1997); however, this notion is not valid in the current era of globalization. Whereas international organizations have acknowledged that Korea traditionally has been an ethnically homogeneous society, they urged the nation to alter its emphasis on mono-ethnicity. They recommended the government to protect human rights for non-Koreans and their children in the territory and to contain information on the cultures and histories of non-Koreans living in the nation in the school curriculum (Piper & Iredale, 2003; UN CERD, 2003, 2007a; UN CRC, 2003). Along with external recommendations, the nation became increasingly aware of a demographic transformation and how the school curriculum reflects the ideal of ethnic homogeneity. In 2006, the government announced initiating multicultural education and a plan for revising the curriculum (MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b). As a result, since 2011, fifth and sixth graders have utilized the revised curriculum (MOE & HRD, 2007a). In light of this, I raised three research questions:

1. What multicultural content is in fifth and sixth grade elementary school textbooks?
2. How do fifth and sixth grade elementary school teachers consider the subject of multicultural education?
3. How do fifth and sixth grade elementary school teachers communicate multiculturalism to their students at the elementary school level?

To answer these overarching research questions, I employed textbook content analysis for Korean Language and Social Studies and interviewed thirty-one fifth and sixth grade homeroom teachers. However, because it had no multicultural content, fifth grade Social Studies textbooks were not analyzed in the study.

In order to answer the first research question, in chapter four (See Chapter 4 of this study), I investigated fifth and sixth grade Korean Language and Social Studies textbooks utilizing Bennett's "Conceptual Model of a Comprehensive Multicultural Curriculum." As stated by the Korean government mandate, all textbooks included multicultural contents. In the case of Korean Language, both grades of *Reading* textbooks had more multicultural materials than the *Hearing-Speaking-Writing* textbooks. Among multicultural topics, removing or lessening racism, sexism, prejudice, and discrimination occurred most frequently. In addition, the sixth grade textbook had many contents related to recognizing global dynamics and fostering social action skills as a global citizen. Social Studies textbooks also contained abundant materials connected to an "awareness of the state of the planet and global dynamics" because the second semester of sixth grade heavily covers many countries around the world and globalization.

To answer the second and third research questions, I examined fifth and sixth grade teachers' interviews in chapter five of this study. The first part surveyed teachers' initial feelings or opinions on the terms "multiculturalism" and "multicultural education," and their answers fell into four general categories. When teachers interviewed heard the terms, some associated it with foreign workers and/or marriage immigrants. In such cases, they contextualized the word within the contemporary social phenomenon of demographic transformation in Korea and how the government defined the category of multicultural families. When the government publicized multiculturalism and initiated multicultural education, it defined multicultural families as foreign

workers and marriage immigrant families (Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs, 2006; MOE & HRD, 2006a, 2006b; Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). Interviewees subsequently interpreted the term as limited to these two groups alone and their impressions were largely informed by how these individuals and families were regularly depicted in the Korean mass media.

Several interviewees disclosed concerns of how multiculturalism impacts Korea's schools. These teachers expressed anxiety at the prospect of having multicultural family students in their classes and assumed they would face problems or challenges. Furthermore, they connected the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education exclusively with multicultural family students.

Other interviewees interpreted the terms as pertaining to the recognition of cultural and ethnic diversity in Korean society, but still distinguished people into two separate categories, Korean and non-Korean. On the other hand, a few articulated indifference or felt the topic was irrelevant to their lives; nonetheless, they still connected multicultural families with multiculturalism.

Although teachers' initial impressions of the terms, multiculturalism and multicultural education, were divided into four categories, most interviewees connected the terms with multicultural families and it influenced their awareness of multicultural materials in the textbooks. The second part of chapter five dealt with how teachers recognize and communicate multicultural topics with their students in class. Fifth grade teachers perceived no multicultural themes in the *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* textbook, whereas they felt *Reading* had several related articles. All sixth grade teachers interviewed found at least one multicultural topic in the *Reading* textbook, but only three felt that *Hearing·Speaking·Writing* had one. Also, teachers perceived that Social Studies textbooks, especially for the second semester, had some relationship with

multiculturalism because of its contents on nations and cultures. On the other hand, only three thought the first semester contained a multicultural topic.

There are two major findings from the analysis of how fifth and sixth grades teachers perceived multicultural content in textbooks and how they communicated them in class. First, most interviewed teachers believed that multicultural educational materials should relate to multicultural family issues. This was because they perceived the terms multiculturalism and multicultural education as referring to foreign workers and marriage immigrant families and their children, especially those from Southeast Asia. This was influenced by how the government initiated the revised curriculum and how it defines multicultural families. When the government publicized multicultural education, it referred to the increasing number of multicultural families in the nation and categorized multicultural students as the children of foreign workers and marriage immigrant families. There is, furthermore, a gap between the government's definition and teachers' interpretation of multicultural education. When the government announced multicultural education, it included contents on alleviating the emphasis of mono-ethnicity, respecting different cultures, lessening prejudices, human rights, and global citizenship education (MOE & HRD, 2006b, 2007b; Presidential Committee on Social Inclusion, 2006). A majority of teachers interviewed, on the other hand, confined multicultural education as topics explicitly containing content on multicultural families. Because of this limited and incomplete definition of multiculturalism, teachers viewed human rights as a separate, and unrelated, category from multicultural education. They also distinguished global citizenship from multiculturalism for similar reasons. However, the perceptions of teachers who attended multicultural education in-service training corresponded closely to the government's intent.

Regardless of whether multicultural family students were in a teacher's class, those interviewed had difficulties communicating multicultural materials to their students. In classes with multicultural family students, teachers felt embarrassed and were hesitant to cover materials they felt would draw unwanted attention to a child and his or her family situation. Both teachers and students already know through news articles and television programs that multicultural families are at particular risk for issues such as domestic violence and low economic status. Teachers were concerned they would unintentionally strengthen prejudice and/or increase stigmatization. Conversely, in classrooms without multicultural family students, teachers still faced difficulties due to lack of experience with multicultural families and their children, or viewed the material(s) as irrelevant to the lives of their Korean students.

These findings illustrate how teachers perceive multicultural materials and how they communicate them in class. As the primary medium between curriculum and students, teachers interpret, analyze, and transmit educational materials. Throughout the educational process, teachers' worldview, opinions, and values are reflected in their lessons because "all teaching occurs in a sociocultural context and all materials and practices reflect social values" (Ramsey, 1987, p. 6). Teachers can thus implicitly convey how they perceive non-Koreans to their students. They can unintentionally share their specific biases and prejudices towards foreigners in their instruction. This corresponds to the hidden curriculum theory that occurs inadvertently and is "transmitted through the everyday, normal goings-on in schools" (McCutcheon, 1988, p. 191). Regardless of whether the process happens implicitly and/or explicitly, how teachers define and perceive multicultural materials and interpret them in class can influence and be absorbed by their students.

Furthermore, several teachers did not articulate using any multicultural materials in their lessons, even though they perceived issues on racial and ethnic discrimination and lessons on respecting differences, different cultures, and diversity during interviews. This difference between the actual use of multicultural materials and awareness of them has to do with the incentives teachers have to cover all material in a textbook. In their classrooms, once teachers complete the suggested goal of each textbook chapter, they can move on to the next chapter. The government sets time allotments by subjects and grades, and teachers cannot omit any part of the textbooks during an academic year. During class, teachers solely focus on the given aims and goals of the chapter and do not generally emphasize multiculturalism due to time constraints and the necessity to move through prescribed content quickly.

This study sheds light on the practical applications of Korean multicultural education and its current status according to teachers' views. Studying how teachers analyze and communicate textbook materials in class demonstrates why teachers are such critical mediators in the education process. This study can be used as a starting off point for modifying the gap between the government's intentions regarding multicultural education and teachers' perceptions of multicultural materials and their practical use in instruction. It can also provide an integral cornerstone for further research in the field of Korean multicultural education. Nevertheless, it is important to note that this study interviewed fifth and sixth grade homeroom teachers who had either zero or only a few multicultural family students in their classes. The conditions or situations may differ in schools and classrooms in other cities and provinces where multicultural family students make up the majority. If the ethnic, racial, and/or socioeconomic composition of a student body is altered, it can certainly affect teachers' recognition and interpretation of

multicultural topics. Further research can examine these areas to broaden and enrich this field of research.

Additional research is needed to examine how students perceive and comprehend multiculturalism after they have completed their lessons at the close of the academic year. This study illustrates how teachers communicate multicultural contents in class. Yet, how students comprehend multicultural education may be quite different. The goal of multicultural education is to develop students' awareness and to instill respect for all forms of differences. Thus, student interviews would give researchers an additional measure on the effectiveness of Korea's current multicultural education system.

Interviews with textbook writers and the government's MEST can also significantly contribute to the field by shedding light on how specific multicultural examples were chosen to be included in textbooks. According to the findings of this study, multicultural materials were simply presented in textbooks without any historical and/or social context. There was also a distinct lack of explanation in the teacher's guides as to why these specific examples were included and how such content should be incorporated into the lesson plan. During interviews, most Korean teachers in the study lacked the background knowledge and experience to adequately explain and transmit multicultural materials to their students. By examining the goals and reasons behind the inclusion of specific textbook examples through interviews with their authors and compilers in the MEST, this could help to contextualize the content and create a bridge between the authors'/compilers' intentions with that of the practical application of these materials in the classroom via teachers' interpretations and students' comprehension.

Appendices

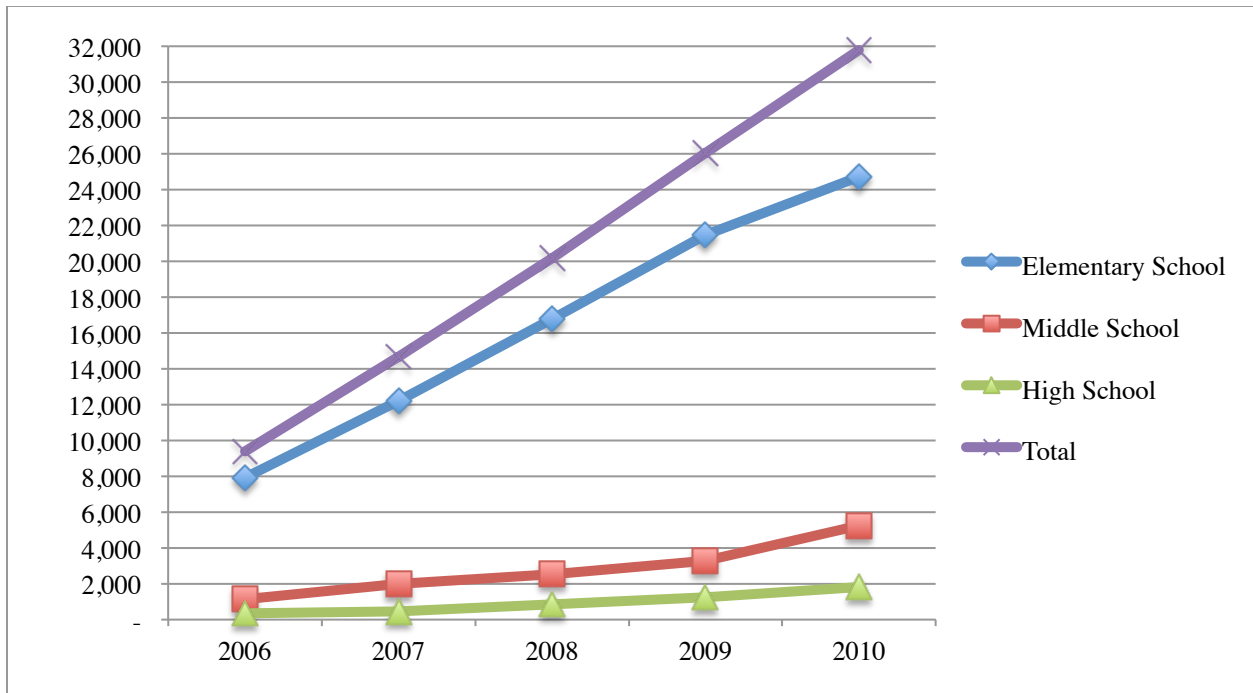
Appendix A: Number of Multicultural Students

(Unit: persons)

Year	Elementary School		Middle School		High School		Total
	Marriage Immigrant Family Students	Foreign Laborer Family Students	Marriage Immigrant Family Students	Foreign Laborer Family Students	Marriage Immigrant Family Students	Foreign Laborer Family Students	
2006	6,795	1,115	924	215	279	61	9,389
2007	11,444	755	1,588	391	413	63	14,654
2008	15,804	981	2,213	314	761	107	20,180
2009	20,632	834	2,987	307	1,126	129	26,015
2010	23,602	1,099	4,814	446	1,624	203	31,788

Source. “Status for Multicultural family Students: Elementary Schools, Middle Schools and High Schools in 2010,” by Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010a). Retrieved from <http://www.mest.go.kr>

Appendix B: Multicultural Family Student Population Growth



Note. Adapted from “Status for Multicultural family Students: Elementary Schools, Middle Schools and High Schools in 2010,” by Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010a). Retrieved from <http://www.mest.go.kr>

Appendix C: Number of Multicultural Students Who Have A Non-Korean National Mother Among Marriage Immigrant Family Students

(Unit: persons, %)

Year	Marriage Immigrant Family Students				Students Who Have a Non-Korean National Mother and a Korean Father				
	Elementary School	Middle School	High School	Total	Elementary School	Middle School	High School	Total	(%) ¹
2006	6,795	924	279	7,998	5,854	682	159	6,695	83.71
2007	11,444	1,588	413	13,445	10,387	1,182	256	11,825	87.95
2008	15,804	2,213	761	18,778	14,452	1,885	600	16,937	90.20
2009	20,632	2,987	1,126	24,745	18,845	2,519	900	22,264	89.97
2010	23,602	4,814	1,624	30,040	21,410	4,204	1,387	27,001	89.88

*Note.*¹ : This is the percent of students who have a non-Korean national mother and a Korean national father among total Marriage Families. Adapted from “Status for Multicultural family Students: Elementary Schools, Middle Schools and High Schools in 2010,” by Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010a). Retrieved from <http://www.mest.go.kr>

Appendix D: Number of Multicultural Students By Geographic Area

(Unit: persons)

Area	Elementary School		Middle School		High School		Total
	Marriage Immigrant Family Students	Foreign Laborer Family Students	Marriage Immigrant Family Students	Foreign Laborer Family Students	Marriage Immigrant Family Students	Foreign Laborer Family Students	
Seoul	3,108	384	584	233	196	76	4,581
Busan	978	44	197	11	70	37	1,337
Daegu	606	29	115	5	30	2	787
Incheon	1,171	97	209	21	82	15	1,595
Gwangju	567	13	104	.	34	.	718
Daejeon	409	56	98	10	36	11	620
Ulsan	349	3	62	5	19	.	438
Kyonggi-Do	5,029	328	1,144	115	515	46	7,177
Gangwon-Do	1,341	15	289	4	77	2	1,728
Chungcheonbuk-Do	1,089	17	241	7	62	4	1,420
Chungcheongnam-Do	1,565	32	399	16	129	3	2,144
Jeollabuk-Do	1,674	27	250	8	75	1	2,035
Jeollanam-Do	2,337	5	449	1	106	.	2,898
Kyeongsangbuk-Do	1,475	23	262	5	75	2	1,842
Kyeongsangnam-Do	1,677	16	377	5	103	3	2,181
Jeju-Do	227	10	34	.	15	1	287
Total	23,602	1,099	4,814	446	1,624	203	31,788

Note. Adapted from “Status for Multicultural family Students: Elementary Schools, Middle Schools and High Schools in 2010,” by Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (2010a). Retrieved from <http://www.mest.go.kr>

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