

Crafting a Third Space:
Teacher Beliefs and Practices in Curriculum Reform for Multicultural Education

Hyunhee Cho

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Reading Committee:

Geneva Gay, Chair

Walter Parker

Kenneth Zeichner

Yong-chool Ha

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My use of a third space in this study involves teachers' creation of hybrid spaces in which they integrate various conflicts between contradictory beliefs and between belief and context, and redefine what counts as effective teaching practices for social justice. Effective practices, in this regard, exist in classrooms in which teachers' beliefs, the constraints of social structure and policies, and students' voices are made available to teaching critical consciousness, and thus become useful resources for mediating the learning of social justice literacies. In this third space, teachers can bridge their commitment to teaching critical literacy and contextual obstacles in more dialectical ways, and create opportunities to engage students in making the world different. The use of the term "crafting" is concerned with not only teachers' creation of a third space but also the contribution of students' voices that can be used by teachers as an unscripted but teachable moment.

University of Washington

Abstract

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Hyunhee Cho

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:
Professor Geneva Gay
College of Education

This qualitative case study examined South Korean elementary teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education in relation to practices and contexts within social studies instruction. The first research question examined the distinguishing features of South Korean elementary teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education. The second research question explored how individual teachers' underlying beliefs about the goals of multicultural education interacted with the practices of classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform.

A five-fold framework of teaching for social justice and complexity theory perspectives provided the theoretical bases for the study. Grounded in sociological theory, North's (2009) framework of teaching for social justice includes five types of social justice literacies that students are expected to learn in order to promote social justice and equity. These are functional, relational, critical, democratic, and visionary literacy. Based on this framework, I assumed that teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education can be understood by analyzing how their perceptions of these five literacies are related to or interact with one another.

Contextualized in the field of psychology, complexity theory contends that one's beliefs are a system that involves interactions between implicit beliefs and explicit beliefs, and interactions with other systems such as practices and contexts. Based on complexity theory, this study

regarded individual teachers' beliefs as a complex system that includes active interactions among various beliefs, and as an open system which consistently interacts with the practices and contexts.

This study used a comparative case studies method. The research settings were Seoul and Gyeonggi Province, South Korea. Six elementary school teachers who engaged in classroom-based curriculum reform for multicultural education participated in this study. Data were collected from semi-structured interviews, stimulated recall interviews, classroom observations, and documents. Data analysis included a constant comparative method, and it contributed to building a substantive theory outlining teacher beliefs and practices in multicultural curriculum reform.

Four major findings emerged from the data. They were

- Generally, the teachers tended to identify five social justice literacies as fundamental goals of multicultural education, but at a deeper level, they were grouped into two categories according to whether or not they were committed to teaching critical literacy.
- Teachers not committed to teaching critical literacy were not aware of dilemmas related to multicultural curriculum reform, and used particular contexts to justify the inappropriateness of teaching critical literacy. By comparison, teachers committed to teaching critical literacy usually faced two types of dilemmas in the classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform practices. These dilemmas were between contradictory beliefs (Type 1) and between belief and context (Type 2).
- Teachers who did not resolve the dilemmas either did not teach critical literacy at all or taught critical literacy as secondary.

- A democratic school and community, and a teacher's strategies for dealing with the contextual obstacles, helped her resolve the dilemmas, and more actively advocate for teaching critical consciousness.

Based on these findings, a substantive theory outlining three stages of teachers' beliefs and practices in classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform evolved. These stages included pre-encounter stage, encounter stage, and post-encounter stage. The findings implied that individual teachers need differentiated scaffolding to further develop their current levels of multicultural education engagement. Recommendations for future research and practices were also provided to fill the gaps between theories and actions.

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Dedication

For my mom, Kyungmee Shim, who loves me unconditionally

For my husband, Taehwan, whose love, patience, and encouragement are everlasting

For my baby, Jay, who became my dreams for tomorrow

For my God, whose right hand always sustains me, and whose help has made me great

Chapter I

Introduction

Background and Problems

More people than ever are crossing international borders. In 2015, the UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UN-DESA) reported the number of international migrants rose above 244 million, compared with 125 million in 2000. South Korea (henceforth, Korea) is not an exception to this worldwide trend. In recent years, Korean society has become more ethnically diverse due to an increasing number of foreign laborers, South East Asian immigrants, and North Korean defectors. The number of foreigners living in South Korea was over 1,741,919 in 2015, forming more than 3.4 percent of the total number of South Korean residents (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2015).

These growing multicultural populations are especially evident in the school system. The number of ethnic/cultural minority students was 82,536 in 2015, a number that nearly doubled between 2012 and 2015 (Ministry of Education, 2015). From 2009 to 2013, while the number of total students in K-12 decreased annually by 220,000 compared to every previous year, the number of ethnic/cultural minority students increased about 9,000 annually; and 72.2 percent of these ethnic/cultural minority children are currently enrolled in elementary school (Ministry of Education, 2015). What is more remarkable, it is expected that public school enrollments in South Korea will become more ethnically and culturally diverse, and these students will comprise 20 percent of all students by 2020 (Choi, 2008).

In response to these demographic shifts, the Ministry of Education initiated policies and programs outlining educational support for ethnic/cultural minority students in 2006. The initial approach focused on assimilating those students into Korean culture, but it has been gradually

expanded to encourage all students to celebrate cultural diversity and understand other cultures by making multicultural education a regular part of school curriculum (Um & Jung, 2010; Choi, Cho, & Lee, 2014). For example, the Ministry of Education provided more financial services and human resources for ethnic/cultural minority students, and revised textbooks so that all students can learn the value of diversity.

This change is valuable in that Korean education departed from its emphasis on the virtue of homogeneous identity as “a sole ethnic group” and is attending more to the value of cultural diversity. However, the prevailing approaches to multicultural education in Korea are still conservative with little room for making issues of social justice and equity more central to teaching and learning. The policies and practices of multicultural education still give more attention to teaching ethnic/cultural minority students about Korean culture and language, and native Korean students about the value of cultural diversity than empowering all students to become agents for a more just and equal society (Choi, Cho, & Lee, 2014). Initiated by the government, multicultural teacher education programs also tend to employ assimilative and conservative approaches rather than take more transformative approaches that set forth the agenda of social justice (Mo & Lim, 2013; Cho, Choi, & Lee, 2015).

These conservative approaches to multicultural education are not a new phenomenon but have long been reflected in the practice of democratic citizenship education in Korea. Though rooted in the nature of Confucian culture, Korea has made a notable change in citizenship education; its focus has shifted from submissive citizenship to participatory citizenship (Kim, 2012). However, Korea’s citizenship education has not yet advanced to the extent that justice-oriented citizenship is actively advocated, even though there is growing consensus among educators that Korea needs new goals for citizenship education (Kim, 2012). In addition, Korea

has been criticized for the lack of people who actively participate in society, and for the great separation between elites and masses that has continued to prevent the nation from actualizing the ideal of civil society where everyone can come together as rough equals, share problems, and deliberate on the best alternatives (Ha & Lee, 2007).

Within this national context, it is not surprising that many teachers in Korea conceptualize multicultural education as teaching ethnic/cultural students Korean language and culture, and/or celebrating cultural diversity with little attention to engaging their students in more participatory and justice-oriented civic life (Kim & Kim, 2008; Choi & Kim, 2011). Their implementation of multicultural education is also focused on teaching ethnic/cultural minority students basic knowledge and skills to help them *catch up* with their peers, or teaching students *foods, flags, and festivals* from many countries (Park, 2007; Choi, 2015).

The current practices of multicultural education could be one part of educational efforts to promote social justice and equity, but these types of practices alone are not enough to help students to recognize “inequality as deeply embedded in the fabric of society” (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012, p. xviii). To make matters worse, these approaches to multicultural education tend to trivialize issues related to the structural level of injustice, leaving the status quo unchallenged. In order for multicultural education to serve as a vehicle to help create a socially just society, teachers need to more actively engage their students in building “the knowledge, skills, and commitment needed to change the world to make it more just and democratic” (Banks, 2004, p. 291). This transformative approach is not the only way to teach for social justice, but it calls attention to what is missing in the current policies and practices of multicultural education, as well as what many educators are seeking as a new goal for citizenship education in Korea.

There is some agreement that the practices of multicultural education in Korea should be transformed in a way that provides a pathway to the promotion of social justice and equity (Choi, 2014; Mo, 2009; Choi, Cho, & Lee, 2014). These scholars contended that teachers play a pivotal role in the practices of multicultural education, especially when they are required to deal with the mismatch between existing standards-based curricula and new multicultural curricula built upon their beliefs about multicultural education. For a transformative approach, in addition, teachers are expected to identify the goals of multicultural education as empowering their students to move beyond becoming personally-responsible citizens towards becoming more participatory and critical citizens.

There are more empirical studies regarding Korean teachers' conceptions of and beliefs about multicultural education. The findings of these studies indicate that Korean teachers tend to regard multicultural education as helping ethnic/cultural minority students effectively adapt to the Korean mainstream society, and teaching students about cultures from diverse nations (Kim & Kim, 2008; Choi & Kim, 2011). These empirical studies provide useful resources in understanding the Korean teachers' overall beliefs about multicultural education. However, these have been studied through quantitative means, with not much room for discussing the complexity of individual teachers' beliefs about and practices in multicultural education.

Purpose of Study

This qualitative study took a closer look at what Korean elementary teachers think of the goals of multicultural education in their relation to actual teaching practices. Little prior research has investigated how Korean teachers' beliefs and practices are interrelated in the context of multicultural curriculum reform. In this study, both beliefs and practices were examined for a more fundamental reason. I regarded teachers' beliefs as a complex system in which their

thoughts about multicultural education, practices, and contexts are “sets of interacting components” (Zheng, 2013, p. 333). In the context of multicultural curriculum reform, therefore, the dynamics of teachers’ beliefs about the goals of multicultural education (i.e. core beliefs, peripheral beliefs, combating beliefs, etc.) can be understood only when they are examined in relation to practices and contexts. The research questions that guide the study of these premises were:

1. What are the distinguishing features of Korean elementary teachers’ beliefs about the goals of multicultural education in classroom-based curriculum reform practices?
2. How do individual teachers’ underlying beliefs about the goals of multicultural education interact with the practices of classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform?

Pace (2008) claimed that the role of educators becomes far more ambiguous when goals and practices are intended to empower students to become agents for social change. The majority of the scholarship on the reformatory approach to multicultural education has focused on conceptualizing the field, but it provides little empirical evidence about how theories are actualized in practices. Compared to the secondary level, scant qualitative research exists on the experiences of elementary public school teachers who engage in classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform practices (Chilcoat & Ligon, 2000; Wade, 2007). This dearth of qualitative studies on elementary teachers’ implementation of multicultural curriculum reform provided the rationale for this study. As Sehr (1997) noted, “qualitative research, based on extensive observation and interview, can offer detailed and complex insights” into the role of educators (p. 3). This study, designed to explore multicultural curriculum reform in the public elementary social studies classroom, contributed to filling the gap in multicultural education research scholarship.

In addition, with careful attention to the context of Korea, this study yielded practical implications for domestic teacher education programs aimed at promoting social justice and equity. Different from many Western countries, in Korea, the national government takes a leading role in educational policies and practices, and teachers are legally classified as public servants (state officials) who are not allowed to express their political stance. Instead, they are required to maintain a politically neutral position in the classroom (Yu, 1997). In this context, this study contributed to understanding how Korean teachers deal with the mismatch between what they may want to teach and what they are required to teach in their practice of classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform.

However, the potential benefits of this study were not limited to research and practices in Korea. This study yielded some important implications for many other Asian countries where student demographics are still mostly ethnically homogeneous and government-led education practices are dominant. This study also provided insights for research and practices in many other countries in that teachers across the world, although they face institutional and societal constraints which direct their teaching practice, have “latitude” to some degree as curriculum decision makers (Barton, 2012, p. 162). In this regard, this study provided some wisdom of practices that emerged from Korean teachers’ experience of handling the institutional/societal constraints and professional/personal latitude in their practices of multicultural education.

Summary

This chapter provided a rationale for this qualitative study, and presented its two primary research questions. The chapter also provided contextual information to explain how the study can be woven into the practices of multicultural education in Korea, as well as a brief overview of the preexisting research on Korean teachers’ beliefs about the goals of multicultural education.

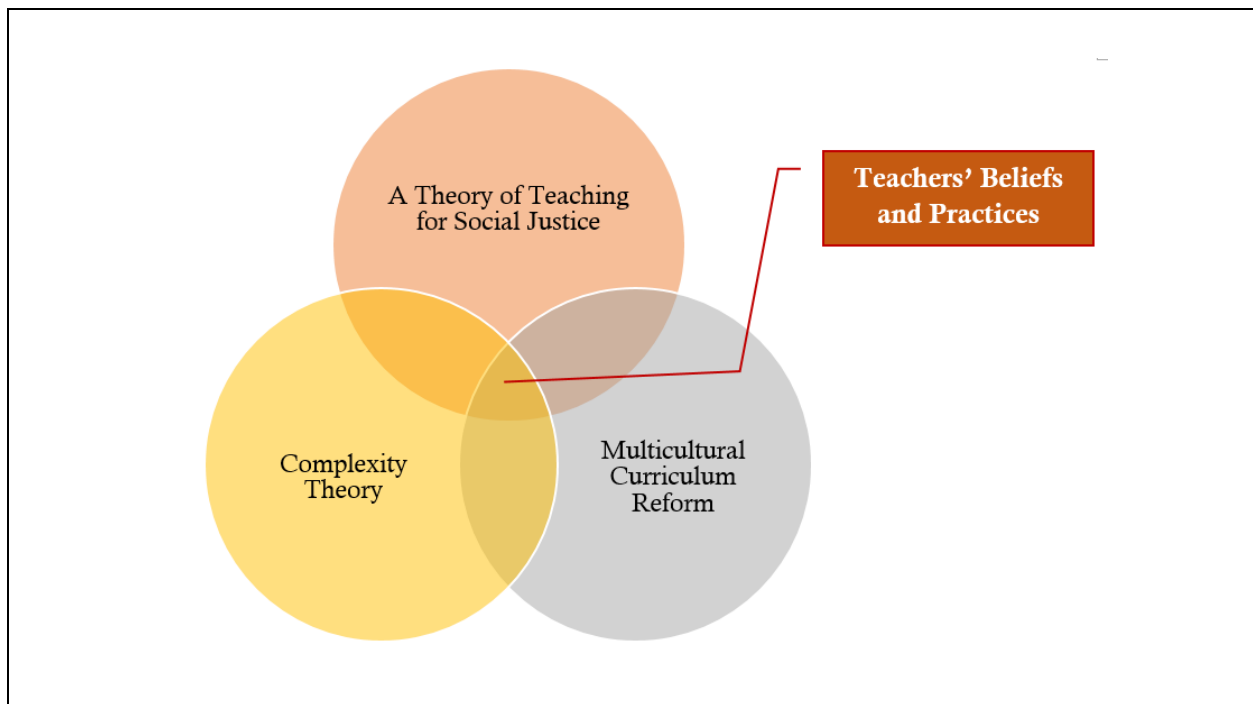
The next chapter describes the framing ideas for the study and a review of pertinent research and scholarship.

Chapter II

Selected Research and Scholarship

This study took a closer look at what Korean elementary teachers think of the goals of multicultural education and how these ideas are related to their actual teaching practices in classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform. This study was centered theoretically at the intersection of teaching for social justice, complexity theory, and multicultural curriculum reform woven in teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education and their practices. It began with the assumption that teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education play a pivotal role in making decisions about how to translate multicultural education theories into relevant and effective practices (i.e. curriculum content, instructional styles, teacher-student relationships, classroom climates, assessment procedures, etc.).

Figure 2.1: Theoretical Framework: The Intersections of Theory of Teaching for Social Justice, Complexity Theory, and Multicultural Curriculum Reform



The conceptual relationships this study focused on are presented in Figure 2.1. First of all, a theory of teaching for social justice (red circle) provided a sociological foundation of the study. Grounded in sociological theory, the framework of teaching for social justice developed by North (2009) includes five types of social justice literacies¹ that students are expected to learn in order to promote social justice and equity. These are functional, relational, critical, democratic, and visionary literacy. Based on this framework, I assumed that teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education can be better understood by analyzing how their beliefs about each of these five literacies are related to or interact with one another.

Second, complexity theory (yellow circle) provided a psychological foundation for this study. The complexity theory which is contextualized in the field of education psychology argues that one's belief, as a system, organizes itself by the interactions between implicit beliefs and explicit beliefs; and the interactions with other systems such as one's practices and contexts. In addition, the interactions of various beliefs within one's belief system, as well as the interactions among beliefs, practices, and context, are viewed as a vital process of self-organization and co-

¹ In North's (2009) theory, literacy does not mean merely reading and writing skills but includes abilities to fully engage in a school curriculum, as well as contribute to building a better community and society. In order to distinguish North's (2009) definition of literacy from the traditional notion of literacy (i.e. reading and writing), I deliberately used the term "multicultural literacies" or "social justice literacies" (Poole, Reynolds, & Atkinson, 2011, p. 1) in which functional, relational, critical, democratic, and visionary literacy are conceptually included. Comprehensive purposes of education to develop students' social justice literacies, in this study, are also operationally defined as the goals of multicultural education.

adaptation (Larson-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Pae, 2015, Lee & Kim, 2014; Casti, 1997).

Accordingly, this study regarded individual teachers' beliefs as a *complex system* that includes active interactions between various beliefs, and as an *open system* that consistently interacts with practices and contexts. This also provided a rationale for the research design looking at teachers' practices and contexts in understanding their beliefs.

Lastly, the purple circle at the bottom right of Figure 2.1 indicates that this study took a closer look at teachers' beliefs and practices in the context of multicultural curriculum reform. For a holistic understanding of teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education, this study observed not only the beliefs but also the practices and contexts embedded in their multicultural curriculum reform.

Each of the three intersections between circles symbolizes what this study focused on. The intersection between the yellow and the red circles shows that this study regarded the interactions between multiple goals of multicultural education as a form of complexity theory. More specifically, complexity theory provided a lens for analyzing supporting and/or conflicting relationships between multiple goals of education identified in a five-fold framework of teaching for social justice (North, 2009). The intersection between the red and purple circles shows that the five-fold framework of teaching for social justice, as one of the powerful components embedded in a theory of teaching for social justice, was used in analyzing the classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform practices. The intersection between the yellow and purple circles at the bottom center shows that this study assumed that the practices of multicultural curriculum reform, as a form of complexity theory, endorse holistic approaches. In the remainder of this chapter, I discuss these framing ideas in more detail.

Teaching for Social Justice as a Goal of Multicultural Education

The concept of justice has been discussed throughout different times and locations as the primary subject of political philosophy, but it is still under-theorized. The multidimensional nature of social justice was discussed by Vincent (2003), Hytten (2006), Gewirtz (2006), and North (2006). Hytten (2006) addressed that “one of the primary challenges of social justice work is that its richness and variety cannot be easily reduced, and its advocates are often not speaking to each other or drawing from the same traditions” (p. 225). In spite of its multidimensionality, however, contemporary theories of justice are based on two major concepts. These are distributive justice and relational justice (Gewirtz, 1998).

The distributive paradigm of justice involves “the principle by which goods are distributed in society” (Gewirtz, 1998, p. 470). This conventional concept of justice reflects John Rawls’ (1972) conception of justice as a proper balance between competing claims. According to Mapel (1989), Rawls’ principle of justice and his identification of justice as *fairness* have been pervasive in contemporary political philosophy of justice in the United States and many other Western countries.

Although the distribution of material and non-material goods is certainly an imperative issue in discussing social justice, many cases regarding justice and injustice cannot be captured within the distributive paradigm (Young, 1990). In fact, many injustice-related issues, such as cultural marginalization, stereotyping, and imperialism reflected in the media industry, are not primarily about the distribution of material or non-material goods. Iris Marion Young (1990), in *Justice and Politics of Difference*, argued that distributive justice is only one part of social justice, and understanding oppression and domination between individuals and groups should be the starting point in discussing social justice. This relational paradigm of justice primarily

concerns “the nature of relationship which structures society” (Gewirtz, 1998, p. 470), and questions institutional conditions that frame the allocation of wealth, income, and resources (Young, 1990). Therefore, this holistic view of justice focuses on power relations and formal/informal rules of how to treat each other in face-to-face individual and societal/institutional levels. According to Young (1990), relational justice is more valued in contemporary society where collective identities, interdependencies, mutual respect, and equal participations among racially, ethnically, socially, and culturally different individuals and groups are advocated.

However, it is debatable whether relational justice should always be prioritized over distributive justice. In regards to the relationships between redistribution and recognition, Fraser (1995) claimed that recent political theory and practices tend to privilege the recognition of social groups at the expense of the redistribution of goods and the division of labour. She suggested that both paradigms are normatively powerful, and a *perspectival dualism* approach is needed where redistribution and recognition are considered as co-fundamental and mutually irreducible dimensions of justice.

In order to illuminate how these two paradigms could be mutually associated with one another in political theory and practices today, Fraser (1997b) assumed a conceptual schema abstracted from the complexities of the real world. In this conceptual framework, she specified redistribution and recognition as economic redistribution and cultural recognition, respectively; and then presented four kinds of political orientation advocating different kinds of remedy for social justice: the liberal welfare state (the politics of affirmative redistribution); socialism (the politics of transformative redistribution); mainstream multiculturalism (the politics of affirmative recognition); and deconstruction (the politics of transformative recognition). Fraser (1997b)

called into question the politics of affirmative recognition, which Young (1990) emphasized in *Justice and Politics of Difference*, by arguing that such a politics fails to actualize transformative redistribution. This is because its focus on group differentiation is incompatible with the politics of transformative redistribution in which group differentiation is to be deconstructed to deeply reconstruct relations of production. Instead, she suggested that the politics of *transformative recognition*, in which all forms of group differentiation (culture and identity) are deconstructed, is needed to effectively integrate the paradigm of recognition with that of redistribution.

Young (1997) criticized that Fraser's (1997b) dichotomized view on redistribution and recognition prevented her from understanding that these two struggles are continuous in the real world. More specifically, Young (1997) highlighted that cultural recognition is not an end itself, but rather a means to sociopolitical and economic justice and equity. Her examples are worth quoting on this point:

Many who promote the cultivation of African-American identity, for example, do so on the grounds that self-organization and solidarity in predominantly African-American neighborhoods will improve the material lives of those who live there by providing services and jobs (p. 148). Most African American who support culturally based African-American schools and universities, for example, believe that the schools will best enable African-American young people to develop the skills and self-confidence to confront white society and collectively help transform it to be more hospitable to African-American success. (p. 158)

Young (1997) also referenced Pierre Bourdieu to exemplify that those who acquire or maintain privileged positions in a given society depend partly on "cultural factors of education, taste, and social connection", but access to such enculturation processes significantly depends upon

“having economic resources and the relative leisure that accompanies economic comfort” (p.154).

In a rejoinder to Young, Fraser (1997a) denied that she assigned economic redistribution to the first and cultural recognition to the second. She also claimed that she actually framed the two struggles not as a dichotomy but as a perspectival duality in which redistribution and recognition should be articulated in relation to one another. However, Fraser’s (1997b) remedy that calls for a deconstructive approach to culture and group identity still remains a source for injustice because it often discourages the members of underrepresented groups from promoting solidarity against deprecating stereotypes and systemized political and economic injustices. In addition, as pointed out by Axel Honneth (2003), her conception of socially just public life tends to remain formal, and thereby fails to specify an ethical claim to envision micro-level justices embedded in individuals’ face-to-face interactions.

Although Young, Fraser, and Honneth have different views on the remedy for social justice, they share a consensus that the two paradigms of justice are irreducible and should associate with one another in promoting social justice and equity. It seems, however, quite difficult to directly apply this dual perspective of social justice to the context of teaching and learning. Contextualizing social justice in the field of education has generated ongoing theories (Cochran-Smith, 2009). Teaching for social justice has been defined and implemented differently in various nation-states and in different social contexts. Most recently, the idea of social justice in teacher education has been discussed with various labels: social justice pedagogy, social reconstructionist teacher education, learning to teach for social justice, anti-oppressive education, and social justice teacher education (e.g. Giroux, 1992; Cochran-Smith, 2009; Enterline, Cochran-Smith, & Ludlow, 2008; Kumashiro, 2002, McDonald & Zeichner, 2009). There is also

a quite bit of agreement among teacher educators that teaching for social justice aims to cope with the educational inequalities among the poor, middle class, and the wealthy, and punitive forms of school accountability (Zeichner, 2011).

One of the most fundamental questions is then how to actualize it in teaching and learning: What should students learn to be able to promote varied conceptions of social justice? Connie North (2009), in *Teaching for Social Justice?: Voices from the Front Lines*, contended that educators should help all students develop multiple types of social justice literacies² to experience academic success in current school settings, as well as contribute to the betterment of society by acting for social justice. Literacy does not mean merely reading and writing skills but includes abilities to fully engage in a school curriculum, as well as contribute to building a better community and society (North, 2009). Sensoy and DiAngelo (2012) conceptualized social justice literacies by detailing the notion of *illiteracy*:

We think of these gaps of school-wide social justice illiteracy and argue that this illiteracy is not due to a lack of information alone. Rather, social injustice depends on this illiteracy; it is not benign or neutral but actively nurtured through many forces and serves specific interests. Social justice illiteracy prevents us from moving forward to create a more equitable society. (p. xvii)

Departing from this illiteracy, they defined “critical social justice literacy” as the ability to “recognize inequality deeply embedded in the current structure of society” (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012, p. xviii).

² For a more detailed explanation of the term “social justice literacies”, see the footnote on page 9.

Social Justice Literacies

In this study, North's (2009) five types of literacies, including functional, critical, relational, democratic, and visionary, serve as a theoretical framework for social justice education guiding this study. The Following section describes each of the five social justice literacies in detail.

In regards to teaching for social justice, educators often find a tension between functional literacy and critical literacy. Functional literacy refers to the abilities to live appropriately as autonomous and informed citizens (Gutstein, 2006). Thus, educators who emphasize functional literacy have a great interest in how to develop students' appropriate reading and writing abilities needed to function effectively in a democratic society (Poole, Reynolds, & Atkinson, 2011). North (2009) acknowledged that functional literacy helps students from racially and ethnically marginalized groups gain access to and participate effectively in institutions as they currently are. Although functional literacy primarily focuses on helping students master basic skills in reading and math (Ladson-Billings, 1995), it also develops students' higher-order thinking (Newmann, 1990). Developing students' higher-order thinking is essential for promoting social justice because it helps them meet the academic needs to be competitive in capitalistic societies, and can be used as a vehicle for discovering injustice from texts by equipping students with intellectual abilities to analyze, synthesize, and evaluate knowledge and information (North, 2007).

By comparison, critical literacy refers to abilities to challenge the existing paradigms of knowledge, question institutionalized power relations, and build strategies to act for equity and social justice (North, 2007). Critical literacy includes recognizing social injustice, such as analyzing texts by using strategies for uncovering underlying messages (Freire, 1993). Wade

(2007) advocates the development of critical literacy from two focal points: reading social injustice and acting for social justice. The former stresses that students should be able to raise a question of who benefits from particular knowledge claims, and understand what the political investments are embedded in those claims; the latter emphasizes students' ability to take actions to challenge those claims (Wade, 2007). Gay (2012a) noted that if students are to become informed and skilled social change agents, "they should understand the differential nature and complexities of societal, individual, and institutional reform" (p. 8). She also addressed the need for teaching students about the reality of complex problems they face in their daily lives:

This approach to learning involves thoroughly understanding the nature of the problems to be addressed; developing habits of mind and ways of behaving that concentrate on comprehensive structural analyses of complex problems instead of superficial, fragmented, and partial ones; acquiring skills in problem-solving on multiple levels; learning how to be persistent and resilient in problem-solving; building partnerships and coalitions to facilitate social transformation; and knowing how to scale or phase these skills to match the various aspects of the targeted problems. (p. 12)

The significance of critical literacy for social justice also aligns with Young's (2011) Social Connection Model. In *Responsibility for Justice*, Young (2011) contended that all people are responsible for current structural injustices because they are socially connected, hence often they unconsciously support and exacerbate structural injustices. Also, she argued that if it is the responsibility shared by all people, then education should help students to be capable of sharing these social responsibilities, uncovering injustices incurred from the social structures, and changing the status quo (Young, 2011). This calls upon educators to engage students in moving beyond *functioning* within the current system toward *fighting* against it.

Although functional literacy and critical literacy have different foci, they are not mutually exclusive but rather complementary in helping students to become agents for social justice. To achieve the goal of teaching for social justice, educators need to more closely look at this reality. Developing only functional literacy without critical literacy keeps social injustice unchallenged, while focusing too heavily on critical literacy without functional literacy might fail to empower students to take powerful legal, socioeconomic, and ethical positions that enable them to more effectively advocate for social justice. North (2009) pointed out that it is critical literacy that helps to emancipate oppressed groups, but it is functional literacy that empowers them. Simply put, even though functional literacy is not directly related to challenging current structural injustices, it plays a significant role in getting students ready for developing and exercising critical literacy, and actualizing social justice. Delpit (1995) identified the instrumental value of functional literacy as helping other people's children to know how to challenge the existing system in strategic rather than subtractive ways. She explained that,

[Teacher] can discuss openly the injustices of allowing certain people to succeed, based not upon merit but upon which family they were born into, upon which discourse they had access to as children. . . . Only after acknowledging the inequity of the system can the teachers' stance then be 'Let me show you how to cheat!' And of course, to cheat is to learn the discourse which would otherwise be used to exclude them from participating in and transforming the mainstream. (p. 165)

Teaching functional literacy is necessary but it is not sufficient for promoting social justice. Cho and DeCastro-Ambrosetti (2005) suggested that effective educational programs should include social, economic, and political structures that affect students' lives along with identifying effective instructional strategies and methods that help them experience academic

achievement. Gay (2012a) also contended that “education interventions that go beyond high academic performance, career readiness, and standardized test scores to deal effectively with these challenges” should be necessities rather than exceptionalities (p. 2). Therefore, these two literacies need to be simultaneously developed in an integrative way.

North (2009) also cautioned that “attention to only critical and functional literacies can obscure the relational and improvisational aspects of education for social justice that are critical to its realization” (p. 298). She proposed that relational literacy is imperative, too. Relational literacy is the ability to understand mutual connections among humans; to consider others without bias and prejudice; and to care for each other within and beyond the walls of schools. Wade (2001) highlighted the need for relational literacy along with critical literacy by stating that “at the core of social justice lies both the belief in the equal worth of each person as well as the willingness to act from a place of both morality and care in upholding that belief” (p. 25). Although relational literacy should be nurtured with functional literacy, according to Gay (2012a), discontinuities between these two are still pervasive:

While the U.S. proclaims commitment to ethics of individuality, meritocracy, and democracy (as a style of living as well as government), it also recognizes the necessity of community, collaboration, and interdependence. Yet contradictions of these values abound in all levels of society (p. 1).

North (2009) also provocated for *critical care* which refers to the breakdown of the traditional relationships between teachers and students in which the teacher acts like a banker who deposits knowledge and skills into the passive students (Freire, 1970). Critical care leads teachers to take a co-learner role and develop equitable relationships with students centered on “mutual trust, respect, and responsibility” (North, 2009, p. 107). Although North (2009)

associated critical care with relational literacy, it can be also seen as a part of critical literacy in that it encourages a transformative approach that redefines existing power relations (McLaren, 1991).

North (2009) argued that relational literacy cannot be taught, but students can understand it only when their teachers are treating them with respect. Gay (2012a), however, expressed a different view in that she believed students can learn specific skills needed to care for others, as they learn other skills. She explained that these skills must be taught intentionally by teachers who are competent in caring in and out of school walls. bell hooks (1994) also used the notion of “engaged pedagogy” which demands joint teacher-students responsibility for learning, and emphasized that teachers should “transgress those boundaries that would resign each pupil to a rote, assembly-line approach to learning” (p. 3).

Many teachers may still be reluctant to go against the traditional relationship to become a co-learner. North’s (2009) empirical study showed that one teacher faced the problem of entitlement when she was to break the teacher-students barrier with students from privileged groups. Nonetheless, students need to be taught critical care because these learning experiences play a significant role in promoting social justice by helping them to be better prepared for advocating for the rights and well-being of underrepresented people (Wade, 2000; Goodman, 2000; Dolby, 2012). Critical care also needs to be considered not only as ability but also as responsibility because relational equity requires mutual interdependency (Young, 2011).

Democratic literacy refers to the abilities to nurture the common good and resolve various conflicts without resorting to physical force (North, 2007). Educational efforts to develop students’ democratic literacy are necessities than exceptionalities for social justice because they advocate “participating in the same affairs of local, national, and global communities, as well as

critical assessments and collective transformation of unjust social, political, and economic structures” (North, 2009, p. 130). School is a viable place for developing democratic literacy where diverse students can participate in discussing shared problems and deliberating the best alternative (Parker, 2008). In the classroom, students can practice making decisions across their differences, and becoming politically enlightened and engaged citizens who are capable of transforming their communities and societies (Parker, 2006).

North (2009) identifies three desired components of democratic literacy. These include “the seeking of common ground, opportunities for multiple and competing perspectives to be voiced and heard, and discursive, rather than physical, conflict resolution strategies” (p. 563). Stitzlein’s (2014) ideas about teaching how to dissent can be a powerful means to fully engage students in deliberation as an element of the process of democratic literacy. She contended that the conceptions of democracy most often taught in schools is “consensus-oriented” in which dissent is regarded as unhealthy or unproductive, and minority opinions are ignored or disinvited (Stitzlein, 2014, p. 14)³. However, dissent is so fundamental to a strong democratic society that students should learn how to express these thoughts in the classroom. Citizens in a democratic society should be allowed to question even the most cherished beliefs (Engle & Ochoa, 1988). Gay (2012a) argued that students need education that empowers them to resist conformity, and explained why it is especially important in the 21st century:

[Many youth] don’t even think to question unspoken motivation embedded in commercial and social advertising, or the various contenders for their allegiance.

³ Due to its idea of challenging mainstream norms, the ability to dissent can be seen as a part of critical literacy, too.

Consequently, they are very vulnerable to mind manipulation and the power of persuasions. It seems easier to *just go with the flow*, to use a popular expression, to do what everyone else is doing, and to find comfort, identity, and/or affiliation in the crowd. (Gay, 2012a, p. 5, emphasis in original)

Though important, democratic literacy alone is not sufficient for promoting social justice; it needs to be developed in conjunction with other types of literacies. For example, democratic literacy often fails to incorporate diverse cultural and ethnic communicating styles because it implicitly favors Western and middle-class codes of behavior (Pattillo, 2007). Developing relational literacy can compensate for this limitation.

Finally, visionary literacy encourages teachers and students to envision a future in which they play a key role in promoting justice, equity, and democracy. This literacy includes the abilities to develop a story for one's personal life and that of the wider world, do the best to realize that story, and maintain hope even in a difficult situation (North, 2009). The notion of visionary literacy coincides with that of *grit* which Duckworth (2016) defined as a special blend of perseverance and passion that consistently motivates students to overcome unexpected obstacles and actualize their goals and dreams. It is necessary to develop visionary literacy, but an overemphasis on visionary literacy can lead to a racist construct as many critics argued that *grit* tends to attribute students' failure to individuals' dispositions rather than institutional and social structural conditions; therefore, it has harmed underrepresented students by scattering the focus on offering these students the academic, social, and financial support they deserve (Blad, 2015).

Bigelow, Christiansen, Karp, Miner, and Peterson (1994), in *Rethinking Our Classroom*, described key principles that a social justice-oriented classroom must include. Some of the

principles of social justice-oriented classroom correspond to a particular type of social justice literacy:

- *Critical*: Students must learn to pose essential critical questions: Who makes decisions and who is left out? Who benefits and who suffers? Why is a given practice fair or unfair? What are its origins? What alternatives can we imagine? What is required to create change? Students must be able to link learning to real-world problems.
- *Multicultural, antiracist, and pro-justice*: A social justice curriculum must strive to include the lives of all those in our society, especially the marginalized and dominated, and engage children in a critique of the roots of inequality.
- *Participatory and experiential*: Concepts need to be experienced first-hand and provoke students to develop their democratic capacities: to question, to challenge, to make real decisions, to collectively solve problems.
- *Hopeful, joyful, kind, and visionary*: Classroom life should seek to make children feel significant and cared about and strive to be the kind of democratic and just society envisioned.
- *Academically rigorous*: A social justice classroom equips children not only to challenge the world but also to maneuver in the one that exists, through the use of a crucial and activist curriculum. (Bigelow, Christiansen, Karp, Miner, & Peterson, 1994, pp. 4-5, italics added).

The principle of *critical* resonates with critical literacy; *multicultural, antiracist, and pro-justice* with relational literacy; *participatory and experiential* with democratic literacy; *hopeful, joyful, kind, and visionary* with visionary literacy; and *academically rigorous* with functional literacy.

The social justice literacies also reflect multiple goals of multicultural education. Gay (2012b) organized various goals of multicultural education provided by Christine Bennett, Christine Sleeter, Carl Grant, and James Banks, who are among the U.S leaders in the multicultural education field, into four major categories of academic, social, political, and cultural. Academic goals use the cultural heritages and experience of underrepresented students to improve their academic performance, and help all student to challenge mainstream norms and hegemonic notions about cultural differences. Political and social goals include building a strong commitment to understanding discriminatory practices as well as combating and correcting inequalities, oppression, and exploitation in all forms. Cultural goals include reducing prejudice and developing intercultural competence by deliberative interventions. Empowering students with the social justice literacies can be a powerful means to meet these multiple goals of multicultural education. For example, empowering students with functional literacy, relational literacy, and critical literacy can help them to meet the academic, cultural, and social/political goals of multicultural education, respectively.

North's (2009) social justice literacies were used as part of the conceptual framework of this study for three reasons. First, her theory of teaching for social justice is rooted in a dualist perspective of justice including both distributive and relational paradigms. For example, a strong inclination toward teaching functional literacy reflects the distributive view of justice in that it concerns the equal distribution of education opportunities and resources; critical literacy reflects the relational view of justice in that it concerns institutional injustice that creates those unequal distributions; and relational literacy advocates the relational view of justice in that it concerns individuals' interactions based on mutual respect as well as humanitarian approaches built upon the imperatives of interdependencies. Also, teaching five types of literacies include a variety of

goals, from more conservative to more critical, discussed in the domain of multicultural education. In this regard, North's (2009) theory provided a lens for analyzing the supporting and/or conflicting beliefs about the goals of multicultural education and the interactive relationship between the different beliefs.

Second, the five social justice literacies are grounded in the context of routine practices of teaching and learning. North (2009) conceptualized this teaching for social justice by examining in-service teachers' beliefs and practices regarding what students should know and be able to do in order to promote social justice. For example, she took a closer look at the experiences and beliefs of four classroom teachers about a particular type of social justice literacy. Therefore, her framework can help to better understand teachers' beliefs and practices in the context of classroom-based curriculum and instruction.

Third, North's (2009) five types of literacies and this study share a consensus on the concept of teaching for social justice. The assumption of her theory is that teaching for social justice is fluid, and that there are different beliefs about the definition of social justice. Therefore, it would not be right to impose one static definition on the process. The framework facilitated taking a closer look at variations in what teachers believe about social justice and the goals of multicultural education, and how they act on these beliefs in instructional practices.

However, this study took a step further by offering new insights into teachers' conceptions of social justice literacies. North's (2009) framework barely provided room for examining the interactions of multiple social justice literacies that might be observed within one teacher's perception. As Poole, Reynolds, and Atkinson (2011) argued, North (2009) coupled one specific literacy with one specific teacher, which leads the reader to assume that an individual teacher could have only one type of literacy at a time. On the contrary, in a real

teaching context, one teacher can actually exhibit multiple literacies while working for social justice. To compensate for this limitation, this study examined how teachers can advocate multiple social justice literacies at a time, and how these literacies are related with one another in constructing individual teacher's beliefs and practices in multicultural curriculum reform.

Complexity Theory in Understanding Teacher Beliefs as System

Teachers' beliefs are essential in determining the success of multicultural education. Their beliefs are a major determinant of expectations, decision-making, and actions in working with diverse students. Understanding these beliefs may even predict the kinds of teaching practices that will be prioritized in the implementation of multicultural education (Harrington & Hathaway, 1995; Kagan, 1992; Pajares, 1992; Grant, 1985). Pohan (1996) suggested that teachers' different expectations lead them to differential treatment, and result in differential student outcomes.

In addition, teachers' beliefs about multicultural education differentiate their learning to teach diversity. Even though there may be other critical factors facilitating their learning about diversity, teachers' initial beliefs and attitudes often play a key role in filtering what they subsequently learn about diversity from teacher education programs. The findings of Kagan's (1992) study indicated that teacher candidates who engaged in multicultural teacher education programs had "a tendency to use information provided in coursework to confirm rather than to confront and correct their preexisting beliefs" (p. 154).

Although teachers' beliefs are significant in determining their actions and learnings to teach diversity, the relationships among beliefs, practices, and context are not always linear, but are most often interactive. These interactions become far more complicated when teachers engage in multicultural education where they are required to confront and resolve dilemmas

caused by apparent contradictions related to their personal and pedagogical beliefs (Gay, 2010a). Richardson (2003) argued that beliefs have profound influences on classroom actions but they are more likely to affect each other.

In classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform, it is debatable whether beliefs and practices are derivative, antecedent, complementary, contradictory, or intertwined with other variables. In this study, *complexity theory*, which shares an emphasis on holistic approaches with multicultural curriculum reform, provided a lens for analyzing teacher beliefs and practices.

Complexity theory, a new paradigm of science, is about adaptation, development, and survival in a changing world. It takes a holistic approach to understanding phenomena, and is based on the assumption that “the behavior of the system as a whole is greater than the sum of the parts” (Goodwin, 2000, p. 42). A reciprocal relationship among the components of system is defined by how they interact to support, compete, condition, or effect each other (Feryok, 2010; Van Greet, 2008). In this regard, complexity theory takes a close look at the world in ways that move away from cause-effect models, linear models, and a dissection approach towards organic and holistic understanding (Morrison, 2003; Santonus, 1998).

In fact, complexity theory is not new but its existence has long been marginalized by the pervasiveness of determinism and reductionism in modern science (Morrison, 2003; Larson-Freeman, 1997; Pae, 2015). Although it is now getting more attention as an alternative framework for understanding unexplained phenomena, it is still difficult to conceptualize complexity theory because it has arisen in diverse disciplines, including physics, biology, and mathematics, and from diverse perspectives (Feryok, 2010; Pae, 2015). Nonetheless, there is some consensus among researchers that complexity theory is innovative in that it focuses on how

a large number of components or agents interact with one another rather than a single variable or agent (Larson-Freeman, 1997; Davis & Sumara, 2006). According to Waldrop (1992),

In complex systems, each component or agent finds itself in an environment produced by its interactions with the other agents in the system. It is constantly acting and reacting to what the other agents are doing. And because of that, essentially nothing in its environment produced is fixed. (p. 145)

In this regard, the conventional approach to science, which attempts to explain behavior of the whole by investigating its parts piecemeal, is never adequate for understanding complex systems (Larson-Freeman, 1997).

There are several key concepts that help understand complexity theory. First, scholars explain that complexity is located at *the edge of chaos* (Morrison, 2003). Chaos simply means the state of randomness, nonlinearity, irregularity, and unpredictability (Lewin, 1999). The edge of chaos is a tipping point where the randomness results in a certain type of regularity. It implies that although systems are filled with confusion, they have the potential to consistently adapt and develop (Zheng, 2013).

Second, complexity theory regards a system as *self-organization*. A system organizes itself through the unpredictable interactions among components or agents that comprise the system rather than an initial design deliberately drawn from a set of purposes. The process of *co-adaptation* of the components/agents enables a system to consistently organize itself and adjust to changing environments (Larson-Freeman & Cameron, 2008; Pae, 2015, Lee & Kim, 2014; Casti, 1997).

Third, in complex theory, even a subtle change in initial conditions can create vast implications for future behavior or system as a whole due to the interconnectedness of all the

components/agents involved (Larson-Freeman, 1997, Gleick, 1987). This concept is called a *butterfly effect*, and it helps to understand how local behaviors and rules can generate complex global change and diversity (Wardrop, 1992; Lewin, 1999). Thus, complexity theory regards dissenters and resisters as key variables that impact the system as a whole. These key concepts of complexity theory indicate that the phenomena, as a system, can be better understood when taking holistic, organic, and bottom-up approaches than the cause-effect, leaner, and top-down approaches.

Although complexity theory was initially located in the physical sciences, more recently it is being applied to the human sciences, especially in cognitive development (Smith & Thelen, 1993). In the field of education, complexity theory provides a conceptual framework that helps educators and researchers move away from a market-driven and linear paradigm of education towards a holistic organic approach (Pae, 2015). It is also compatible with Pragmatism in that it is conducive to creative, diverse, and useful interpretations because of its focus on “suitability” rather than “optimality” (Pae, 2015, p. 39). It assumes that learning is a dynamic process that occurs in interaction with the larger world as many Deweyans and Vygotskians recognize.

Complexity theory applied to the field of education has also led to a paradigm shift in curriculum studies and education psychology. First, complexity theory provided a lens for curriculum studies to depart from the rationality-driven Tylerian approach. It considers communication, collaboration, diversity, and dissent as key variables in the curriculum-making process, departing from the traditional values that have generated linear processes of prescription, monitoring, and assessment (Morrison, 2003; Stacey, 2000; Fullan, 2001). In complexity theory perspectives, the future is unpredictable, and thereby, any absolute rules in prescribing newer forms of curricula may end up being irrelevant (Morrison, 2003). Therefore,

complexity theory emphasizes flexibility in curricular choices, and school-based and classroom-based reform as vehicles for making curricula more relevant to students and teachers.

In addition, complexity theory applied to curriculum studies is compatible with critical theory in that it focuses on *subjectivity*, views curriculum as value-laden, and raises questions about *whose curriculum* is taught and *whose voices* are included and excluded (Morrison, 2003). It also shares a question of why teachers should be considered as transformative intellectuals (Aronowitz & Giroux, 1986). Accordingly, rewriting existing curricula to reflect the complexities of power relations becomes one of the most significant parts of school practice. More generally, complex theory in curriculum endorses the study of political citizenship education, equal opportunities, multicultural education, human rights education, values education, critical literacy, and the use of pedagogies such as higher-order thinking, discussion-based activities, increased pupil talk, critical analysis, and problem-solving (Morrison, 2003).

Second, in the field of education psychology, some research already exists on the use of complexity theory in investigating teachers' beliefs. This theory regards one's beliefs not as a single agent but as a system that consists of interactive substructures of beliefs (Richardson, 2003; Zheng, 2013). While most previous research has focused on the consistency or inconsistency between teachers' beliefs and practices, more recent studies based on complexity theory focus on eliciting different kinds of interactions among teachers' beliefs, practices, and contexts. This research indicates that (1) teachers' belief systems consist of a range of beliefs which are often conflicting and even contrasting but at the same time compatible with each other; (2) the inconsistency between beliefs and practices is partly because researchers have rarely distinguished teachers' *professed beliefs* from *implicit beliefs* underpinning practices; (3) teachers tend to adopt a certain concept in name only, which may make the consistency between

beliefs and practices superficial; and (4) when conflict occurs, core beliefs exert a more powerful impact on practice than peripheral beliefs (Bryan, 2003; Tudor, 2001; Zheng, 2013).

In this study, complexity theory provided a framework for exploring Korean elementary teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education and practices regarding classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform. In particular, teachers' beliefs were regarded as a complex system that includes active interactions between various beliefs that shape practices that, in turn, may vary by context. The primary focus was on: (a) interactions among individual teachers' beliefs about multiple social justice literacies, (b) interactions between explicit and implicit beliefs, and (c) interactions among beliefs, practices, and contexts.

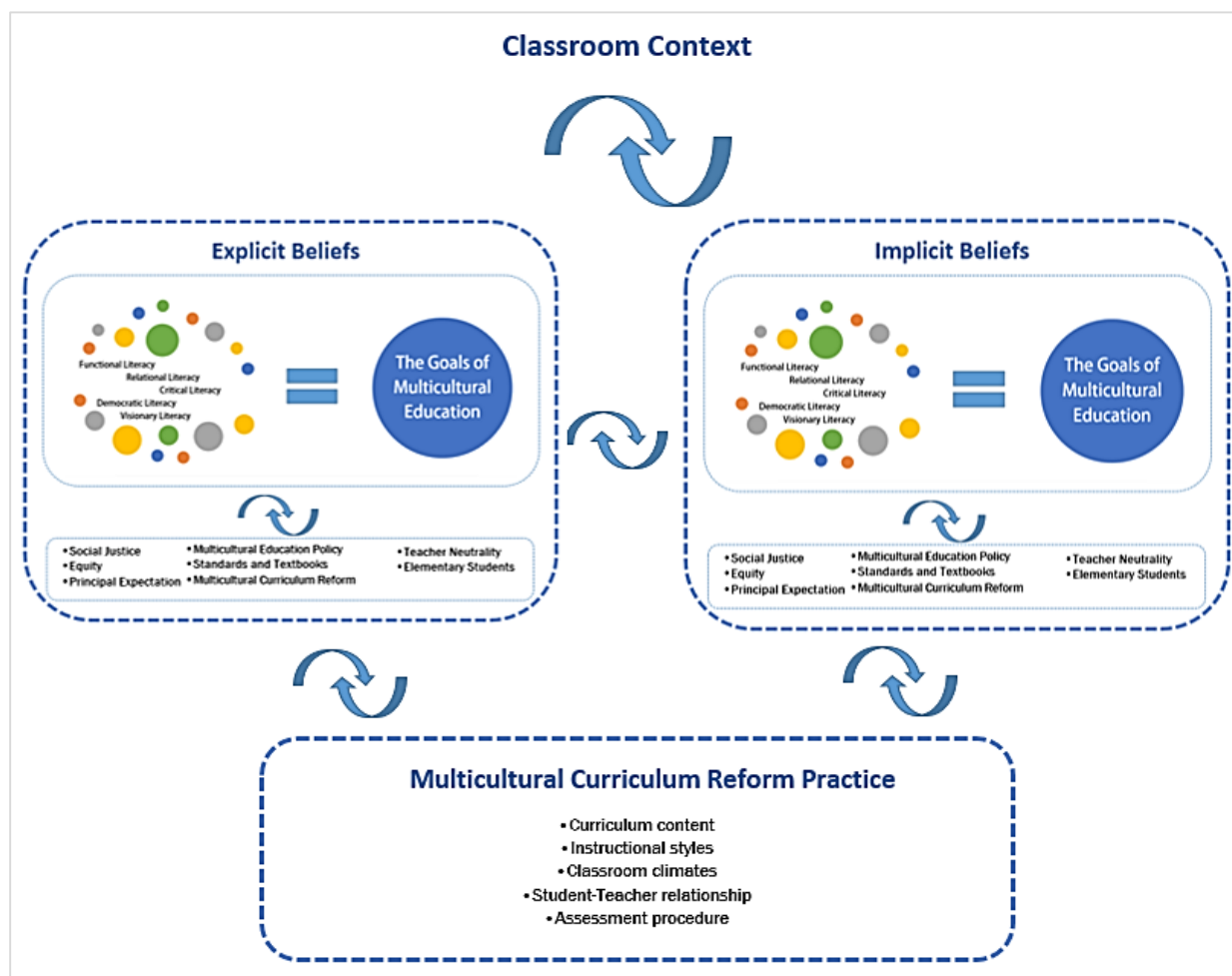
I used several strategies identified in previous studies based on complexity theory to examine the reality of these assumptions. For example, in addition to teachers' professed beliefs, I explored their "retrospective commentaries upon the immediate context" where their actions took place so that the relationship between professed beliefs, inferred beliefs, and practices could be better understood (Zheng, 2013, p. 336).

Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of this study (Figure 2.2) was made up of teachers' beliefs, practices, and classroom contexts. More specifically, teachers' beliefs were analyzed at two different levels: explicit beliefs and implicit beliefs. The operational definition of explicit belief was one's belief professed before an actual multicultural curriculum reform practice. Hence, explicit beliefs were derived from pre-observation interviews (semi-structured and follow-up interviews). By comparison, an implicit belief was operationally defined as one's belief which consciously or unconsciously triggered her to teach a particular social justice literacy. Implicit beliefs emerged from post-observation interviews (stimulated recall interviews). The interactions

among teachers' beliefs, practices, and contexts were consistently examined from four focal points.

Figure 2.2: Conceptual Framework



First, to understand the assumed complexity of teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education, interactions among the multiple variables of beliefs about teaching functional, relational, critical, democratic, and visionary literacies were examined. How teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education interact with their beliefs about social justice, equity, (multicultural) curriculum reform, multicultural education policies, standards, textbooks,

teacher neutrality, elementary students, and the relationship between teacher and students were also investigated. These are the variables that are identified by scholars as related to teachers' beliefs about multicultural education.

Second, I examined teachers' multicultural curriculum reform practices as presented. Specifically, I looked at how practice reflects the various dimensions of multicultural teaching and learning, identified by Gay (2012b, p. 1548), including "curriculum content, instructional styles, classroom climates, student-teacher relationships, and assessment procedures". These practices were examined with a focus on understanding particular social justice literacies embedded in each dimension of the multicultural curriculum reform practices.

Third, I analyzed teachers' beliefs that were inferred from their actual practices. To observe these implicit beliefs, teachers were asked to recall the beliefs that they had in a particular teaching practice. For example, they were asked about what they regarded as important in a particular teaching practice, or about the beliefs that motivated them to do it. In addition to teachers' verbal responses, I inferred their beliefs and perceptions about the goals of multicultural education, social justice, equity, (multicultural) curriculum reform, multicultural education policies, standards, textbooks, teacher neutrality, elementary students, and teacher-students relationships conveyed as they taught their classes. These beliefs were conceptually separated from the beliefs inferred by teachers.

Finally, the interactions among explicit beliefs, implicit beliefs, and practices were investigated. I examined how teachers' explicit beliefs interacted with their implicit beliefs, as well as how their explicit/implicit beliefs interacted with the actual practices. The classroom context is the setting in which teachers' practices of multicultural curriculum reform occur, and includes class size, student characteristics, and school and community environment reflected in

classroom. I gave special attention to diverse classroom contexts to understand how the goals of multicultural education become more complex when they are operationalized in practices (Gay, 2012b). These analyses allowed for deeper understandings of teachers' multicultural education beliefs and practices.

Summary

Two research questions guided this study. They were (a) What are the features of elementary teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education? (b) How do individual teachers' underlying beliefs about the goals of multicultural education interact with the practices of classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform? The intersection of a theory of social justice, a theory of teaching for social justice (social justice literacies), and complexity theory provided the theoretical framework for the study. Finally, the conceptual framework of this study was described from the four focal points. These were the teachers' explicit beliefs, practices, implicit beliefs, and the relationships among the explicit/implicit beliefs, practices, and contexts in classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform.

Chapter III

Methodology

To investigate how Korean teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education interact with practices and contexts, this study used comparative case studies methods as described by Merriam (1998; 2009). Although case studies have been applied by many teachers and researchers in education, there still is not a strong consensus on what constitutes a case study (Merriam, 1998). However, consensus does exist on how case studies differ from other research designs. Merriam (2009) described a case study as “an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (p. 41). It is a holistic description and analysis of the case around which there are boundaries (Stake, 1995). In this study, the boundaries of the cases were six individual elementary classrooms.

Merriam (2009) added that a case study is more suitable than other types of research when the variables of interest are embedded within a situation or context. A case study approach is a good fit for this study because its purpose was to understand teachers' beliefs within the context of classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform in Korea. Yin (1994) was more specific in her definition noting a case study is “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident” (p. 13). This study was consistent with her definition with regards to teachers' beliefs not as a single agent but as an open system which consistently interacts with their practices and contexts. These belief systems were described and interpreted holistically.

Although case studies can be conducted in various ways, this study used a *qualitative* methodological approach because it sought to create a description, interpretation, and substantive

theory of the data collected rather than engage in hypothesis testing (Merriam, 1998). Three distinguishing attributes of case study research were applied in gaining insights into how teachers' beliefs, practices, and contexts interact, and what new strategies of multicultural curriculum reform can be imagined for the betterment of practices. First, the *particularistic* nature of qualitative case studies helped with understanding a general phenomenon (Shaw, 1978). Individual teachers were identified as the particular groups of interest with the intent that their beliefs would illuminate a general phenomenon. Second, the *descriptive* nature of qualitative case studies helped to identify multiple variables of potential importance in understanding teachers' belief system. Qualitative case studies provide thick descriptions of phenomena under study by including as many variables as possible, and portraying their interactions (Huber & Van de Ven, 1995). Finally, the *heuristic* quality of qualitative case studies helped with gaining insight into the unknown relationships among teachers' beliefs, practices, and contexts regarding classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform (Merriam, 2009).

The choice of qualitative case study also helped this study provide context-specific implications for a better practice. As many qualitative case studies have provided practical implications for applied fields of study including education, the qualitative case study design was expected to help this study contribute to improving the practice of multicultural curriculum reform. Moreover, the *comparative* case studies design enhanced the external validity as well as generalizability of the findings of this study because, as Miles and Huberman (1994) argued, "by looking at a range of similar and contrasting cases, we can understand a single-case finding, grounding it by specifying how and where and, if possible, why carries on as it does, and strengthen the precision, the validity, and the stability of the findings" (p. 29).

The methodological processes of this comparative case study were guided by techniques developed by Lightfoot (1983). In a study of six high schools, she presented portraits of each case first, and then provided a cross-case analysis that produced several common features of a good high school. Similarly, I engaged in constructing and writing portraits of each case first, and then wrote cross-case stories that emerged from the six participating teachers. In regards to data presentation, however, I provided the results of cross-case analysis only to minimize repetition, and more focus on similarities and contrasts.

Positionality

My position as a researcher needed to be carefully examined before and throughout this study because, as a primary instrument of data collection and analysis, I had left to rely on my own instincts, perspectives, and abilities throughout the project (Merriam, 1998). Sensoy and DiAngelo (2012) suggested that critical researchers who claim to be for social justice must understand their own positions within the structural level of relations of unequal power by “engaging in self-reflection about their own socialization into their social group” (p. 1). As discussed by many other critical scholars as well, *positionality* is now regarded as a powerful tool for analyzing knowledge that is constructed through cultural values, experiences, and social positions (Lawrence-Lightfoot & Davis, 1997). Being deliberately cognizant and critically reflective of my social and cultural perspective and experiences helped better understand the relationship between my positions and the participants in this study, thereby improve the overall quality of the study.

I consider myself to be a critical rather than a neutral researcher, as I constructed the research portraiture in the moment of here and now. My interpretations of experiences were woven in as I crossed cultural and national borders. Many of the incidents embedded in the

portraiture were influenced by meaningful people whom I met in my life. Constructing the portraiture in this way was motivated by the belief that my understanding about teaching for social justice is affected by many different people.

The very first time I was engaged in public education was when I was two years old. Back in the 1980s, children in Korea were enrolled in kindergarten at the age of three or four, but I had to step into there earlier because my mother had to make money instead of my father who had just lost his job. I remember that during that first year of kindergarten everyone was bigger than me. Although this two years old child's life was tough in the kindergarten where she had to eat *scary foods* (i.e. *kimchi*) that she had never tasted in her life, there was a friendly father who always welcomed her after school. Growing up with a Korean father who loved ABBA and Hollywood movies, my earliest memories with him involve sitting next to a big turn table and hundreds of LP records. I was fascinated by Western culture even before I entered school. To my father and me, Hollywood movies were like airplane tickets that would take us to lands of wonder and mystery where we had never been able to go. I loved watching people with blond hair and blue eyes, and sometimes I watched films that had Black people with big eyes and fabulous voices. My father started his own film business, and it was quite successful.

The education I received from kindergarten through 12th grade was typical of Korean middle class public school students. During my elementary years, I thought I was musically and intelligently exceptional by God's grace, which caused me to believe that I must use my talent for the betterment of the world. I won lots of awards from a series of piano competitions, and my standardized test scores were always at the top of my class. I liked being recognized as a top student because I thought that was the reason why I was loved by my teachers and friends. One day, however, I got a bad score on a final test. I cried as soon as I came back home, and then

started to prepare for the next day's test by memorizing the social studies textbook with some degree of anger. Fortunately or unfortunately, I got a perfect score on that test, and then received a big compliment from my homeroom teacher who said, "Excellent! There was not one different word between Hyunhee's written answer and what's written in the textbook. They are perfectly the same." After this incident, I thought the best way to learn was to fill myself with knowledge written in the textbooks. This belief actually worked well in the Korean education system in which every student is expected to compete on a single ladder.

Graduating from high school symbolized the moment that I was finally freed from the burden of college entrance exams (*soo-neung*). The joyful times with my father beckend once again. I remembered those days that I had been so fascinated by people with different styles of speaking and behaving. Those experiences led me to hoping to go abroad myself. After I became a freshman in college, I started making money and finally got a real ticket to go to the U.S. The first wonderland I decided to explore while there was the city of Seattle.

Seattle meant a lot to me, and it gave me the opportunity to pursue good relationships with people from many other countries. In 2007, while learning English at an institution, I had lots of opportunities to make friends who were different from me in cultural values and communication styles. One day in class, I found myself having a great interest in the history of U.S policies, particularly in how those policies had changed to deal with repeated conflicts between diverse racial groups. At that time, however, I was so naïve, believing that the United States had been very successful in adopting multiculturalism and eliminating much aggressions between racial and cultural groups that had existed previously. I did not see or understand the institutional injustices that existed behind those handsome policies. Although my experience in Seattle helped me be more open to cultural differences and build skills to communicate in more

appropriate ways with people from different cultures, they did not help me see the institutional injustices underlying my relationships and communications with others.

After returning to Korea, I became an elementary school teacher and was very passionate about implementing multicultural curriculum in my classroom. Like the teacher, Eugene Simonet, in the book *Pay It Forward* (Hyde, 2000), I thought I was there to empower my students to change the world for the better. I felt that all of my experiences and dreams had culminated in this moment and the answers were clear to me on how I would provide the best opportunities for my students to build good relationships in and outside the school walls. I wanted them to become instigators of social change like the fictional student Trevor who had applied Simonet's teaching to the world outside of the classroom. Inspired by Christine Bennett, Christine Sleeter, and James Banks, I adopted their theories with the hope that the U.S. experiences would provide one-size-fits-all implications for my implementation of multicultural education in Korea.

My implementation led me to move beyond defining multicultural education as celebrating cultural diversity towards engaging students in critical thinking and encouraging them to take actions for social change. Frankly speaking, however, I was not clear about the notion of institutional injustice while practicing my earlier classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform. Also, I found myself struggling with two realities. First, in many cases, I was struggling with the mismatches between what I wanted to teach and what I was required to teach by the Korean government and the school principal. I was reconstructing the national textbook and teacher's guide to make them more responsive to my students and community, as I had learned from my teacher education program that it is a teachers' responsibility to do. When the principal became aware of my curriculum reform practices, he told me, "It's something that a *lay*

teacher cannot do because it requires enormous expertise.” Moreover, I could not escape from the reality that I was responsible for helping my students to be successful in standardized tests. In order to deal with this mismatch, I decided to engage my students in a set of lessons that I had developed in my classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform, and then began to teach to the standardized test. The latter was full of *recalling* knowledge and skills to help my students catch up to the nation-level standards and textbooks.

Second, I was keeping silent about myself being colorblind. I was not courageous enough to discuss the cultural differences of my Filipino-Korean student, Su-bin, in my classroom, telling him instead, “You are Korean.” I was very proud of myself as a teacher when his score in math and science elevated to the top 3 in our school. However, after one year, I realized that I was doing something wrong once I was told by his new teacher that he was telling his friends and teacher that his mom was from the U.S. It meant that he did not appreciate his mom’s ethnicity.

My doctoral experience in the U.S. has taught me lessons that I had never had in South Korea. It helped me learn many theories and practices in the field of multicultural education, but it was more than that to me. As a person who had lived the majority of my life in South Korea, becoming an international student gave me the invaluable opportunity to “become Su-bin”, “become a minority”, and “be Othered”. There were a number of obstacles that I had to cope with in order to fully participate in classes, including cultural, language, and academic barriers. One day, while I was participating in Dr. Gay’s class about teaching culturally marginalized students, I could finally understand how hard it was for Su-bin to survive in my classroom. Dr. Gay’s class led me to putting myself into Su-bin’s feelings and experiences. I realized that I should have seen him as different, rather than regarding him as the same as mainstream Korean

students, and that I should have *recognized* his affiliation with Filipino-Koreans rather than silencing it.

If my experience in Professor Gay's class helped me understand micro-level social justice, Professor Zeichner's class helped me to understand many variations of teaching for social justice at macro-level policies and practices in teacher education. I remember our first class meeting when I heard the term "teaching for social justice" for the first time in my life. By participating in that class, I came to realize that the meaning of teaching for social justice could vary across times and settings. Also, I realized that most individuals involved in teacher education claim their commitment to social justice, but are usually silent about conceptual tools that they have used in guiding their actions. These implications led me to pursuing my working of characterizing teaching for social justice. Believing that observing diverse discourses on teaching for social justice would be helpful, I went to many places where I might be able to collect multiple snapshots of teaching for social justice. My itinerary was filled with a number of books, articles, movies, forums, seminars, and workshops which set forth teaching for social justice.

By involving myself in these multiple experiences, I realized that I had wished to discuss teaching for social justice in the context of teaching and learning with the question, "What should students know and be able to do to become agents for the betterment of society?" Interestingly, I found myself coming back to the questions that I had asked my students in my first year of teaching: What does the world mean to you? What does the world expect of you? Unlike those times, however, I was equipped with strong theoretical frameworks, having studied the ideas of many scholars and educators. In particular, Connie North's five-fold framework helped me a lot in visualizing a clear picture of teaching for social justice as a goal of

multicultural education. She helped me imagine how the great concept of social justice, which include redistribution and recognition, can be applied to the context of teaching and learning. For the first couple of years, however, I had some difficulties in locating her concept of democratic literacy in the concept of teaching for social justice. It seemed that developing students' democratic literacy was a tool for developing functional, relational, and critical literacy rather than a goal of multicultural education. Therefore, I thought I could locate this democratic literacy somewhere between these three literacies.

At the end of my two-year mark in graduate school, I was finally able to identify teaching democratic literacy as one of the important goals of multicultural education. In a broader sense, my academic work with Professor Ha helped me reflect on multiculturalism in the context of Korea's democratic transition and consolidation, and make a connection between multicultural education and democratic citizenship education. And with the support of Professor Parker's intellectual engagement, I could finally develop a compelling rationale for including teaching democratic literacy in a conceptual framework of teaching for social justice as one of the important goals of multicultural education. He has connected me to him and other great scholars through the contemporary publications that subsequently led me to understand that teaching students how to discuss and deliberate is a powerful means for citizenship education, as well as an important curriculum goal in liberal, democratic, and multicultural societies.

In the face of these two simple but profound words, "social justice", I still feel a big burden about defining myself as a young critical researcher. At this moment, it may be more honest of me to say "I am becoming a critical researcher" rather than "I am a critical researcher." Even though the purpose of this study was to unravel the dynamics of teachers' beliefs about teaching for social justice and multicultural education, it was also a pathway to understanding the

dynamics of my beliefs. Standing in the darkness and at the edge of chaos, I find myself having the jitters. However, I believe that shadows will make the light show after this small but careful step in my journey (Lamontt, 2005). Also, I am pleased to know that I am not the only one standing in this darkness, that there are others present who are willing to stand with me in developing *our* visionary literacy.

Selection of Settings and Participants

The settings of this study are six Korean elementary classrooms in which the teachers implemented social studies instruction in a way that incorporated multicultural education into a standards-based curriculum. The reason for situating this study in social studies classrooms is that there exists a natural fit between social studies and multicultural education. Although these two are not identical, they share a lot of curricular territory of and ideology about democratic education (Marri, 2006). Banks (1994) made a useful connection between the two domains by suggesting that multicultural education aims to help students “understand their home and community cultures”, “free them from their cultural boundaries”, and “acquire knowledge, attitudes, and skills they will need to participate in civic action and make society more equitable and just” (p. 1). Also, multicultural education, as a pedagogy, acknowledges an important aim of social studies education as providing “students with a foundation in history and the other social sciences, and the skills needed to become critical decision makers” (Zong, Garcia, & Wilson, 2002, p. 447).

Another reason for placing this study in social studies classrooms was because social studies was a concentration during my master’s degree program of studies, and I was involved in designing social studies curricula at the Humanities and Social Science Department in the Center for Gifted Education in Korea. Thus, it was expected that selecting a case of classrooms from

this category would strengthen my theoretical sensitivity and methodological rigor (Strauss & Corbin, 1997).

The participants in this study were from two areas in South Korea. Four participants were from Seoul; and the other two participants were from Gyeonggi Province. Seoul is the largest metropolitan city in South Korea, and Gyeonggi is its surrounding province. Seoul is noted for its population density, as it was the most densely populated area among the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) counties in 2012, with almost twice the density of New York City. As of 2015, the total number of people residing in Seoul was 10,103,233. The number of foreign residents in Seoul was 382,094 (3.8 %). Of these foreign residents, 262,545 were Chinese citizens of Korean ancestry (68.7%). The next largest group were Chinese citizens whose ethnicity is not Korean (17.6%). The other foreigners included those from the U.S. (8.5%), Vietnam (3.5%), and the Republic of China/Taiwan (2.7%). The number of ethnic/cultural minority people who held Korean citizenship and were residing in Seoul was 45,922 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2015).

Gyeonggi Province is the most populous province in South Korea. There has been a rapid increase of populations in Gyeonggi Province since 1960 due to the urbanization of South Korea. In 2014, the population density of Gyeonggi Province was 1,207 people/km², more than twice that of the national average of 503 people/km² (www.index.go.kr). Except for some areas left behind in the urbanization, most cities in Gyeonggi are compatible with Seoul city in their economy, culture, and education. In particular, the Southern part of Gyeonggi is near the Southern part of Seoul (*Gangnam*), and these two areas are noted for the highest social economic status (SES) in South Korea. In 2015, the number of foreigners residing in Gyeonggi Province was 554,160 (5.5%). The largest group of foreigners was Chinese citizens of Korean ancestry (48.6%), and

the next largest group was Chinese (12.9%). The other foreigners included those from the U.S. (3.4%), Cambodia (2.8%), Thailand (2.7%), and Japan (1.7%). The number of ethnic/cultural minority people was 49,299 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2015).

Sampling Strategy

I used a purposeful sampling strategy (Patton, 2002) to select rich informants from which “the most can be learned” (Merriam, 1998, p. 61). Two levels of sampling were necessary in this qualitative study, which were the case and sample within the case (Merriam, 2009).

First, the *case* to be studied had to be selected. This study primarily focused on identifying cases in which teachers had more *autonomy* in curriculum implementation because they would provide more opportunities to observe the dynamics of multicultural curriculum reform practices. The cases finally selected were elementary social studies classrooms in public schools located in the city of Seoul and Gyeonggi Province. In Korea, teachers in *public* schools have more autonomy than those in private schools in practicing classroom-based curriculum reform instruction. *Elementary* classrooms were chosen because they have more autonomy than secondary schools in Korea. Another reason why I chose the elementary level is that it is my area of expertise. I expected that my professional experience as an elementary teacher for 3.5 years and my academic experience as a researcher who had participated in an earlier study on elementary multicultural education would help to better understand the context and nature of multicultural curriculum reform that occurs in elementary classrooms.

Seoul and Gyeonggi were also chosen because of their relative autonomy. Sung (2015), in his nation-wide study on the local ministry of education, recognized that the superintendents in these two locations were more progressive, and therefore the education policies and practices advocated school reforms, free meals, and equity education more than in other areas. My

affiliation and familiarity with both Seoul and Gyeonggi provided another rationale for the choice of these two areas. I spent my school years from 5th through 12th grade in Gyeonggi Province, and my living and teaching experiences were in Seoul. This familiarity with both areas helped me readily understand insider perspectives. A geographical closeness between Seoul and Gyeonggi Province also enabled the intensive time on site that my research design demanded (McDonald, 2005).

In comparative case study research, it is necessary to do sampling within the cases. This study used a criterion-based selection approach (LeCompre & Preossle, 1993) to identify six elementary teachers who

- have knowledge of multicultural education;
- have experience of multicultural curriculum reform; and
- planned or wanted to engage in classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform.

It was assumed that these criteria would produce informants who would provide rich details for understanding and insight about teaching multicultural education (Merriam, 1998). The operational meaning of having knowledge in multicultural education is (a) understanding that multicultural education is not only for ethnic/cultural minority students but also for mainstream students and (b) recognizing multiple goals of multicultural education.

Two strategies were used for selecting individual samples. One strategy was self-nomination. First, I looked through a list of research studies on multicultural education conducted by Korean elementary teachers in the database of the Research Information Sharing Service (RISS) to identify teachers who have knowledge and experiences related to multicultural education. This search produced 20 potential participants. I then sent out a brief description of

this study through email, and asked them to participate in self-nomination if they met the selection qualifications (See Appendix A).

The other strategy was nomination by expert. A professor in the teacher education program at Ewha Womans University (Seoul, South Korea) received a nomination letter describing the qualities of the ideal participant (Appendix A), who then provided contact information for those who meet the qualifications with their permissions. The teachers who were nominated then received an invitation letter through email with a question of whether or not they wanted to participate in this study.

Six teachers identified by using these sampling strategies volunteered for the study. They were invited to participate in an initial interview designed to determine eligibility. In this interview, five photos representing academic, cultural, social, or political goals of multicultural education (Gay, 2012b) were provided (See Appendix B). The teachers were then asked to describe each of the five photos in their words, and then pick all of the photos that applied to their own understanding of multicultural education (Bernard, 2006). Four teachers verbally explained each of the photos; and recognized four (or five) of the five pictures as multicultural education. The other two teachers picked fewer than four pictures, but indicated that they would have to include more pictures if they were to comprehensively define multicultural education. The results of this eligibility interview verified that all six teachers were qualified as participants.

A demographic profile of the six participants is presented in Table 3.1. Each profile includes a description of the reasons for becoming a teacher; experiences in teacher preparation programs; experiences related to multicultural (teacher) education; and community, school, and classroom context.

Table 3.1: Demographic Profile of the Participants

Participants	Years of Teaching	Current Grade Level	Major in Undergrad	Specialization in Graduate (degree)	Ethnic/cultural Minority Students in Classroom	SES (students, average)
Soyoung	1	5 th	Elementary Education	N/A	0	Lower Middle
Mina	½	4 th	Elementary Education	Elementary Education (M.A.)	1 (Russian)	Lower Middle
Jury	6	6 th	Elementary Education & Philosophy	N/A	0	Low
Heejin	4	3 rd	Elementary Education & Psychology	Elementary Education (M.A.)	0	Lower Middle
Won	11	6 th	Elementary Education & Landscape	Drama Therapy (M.A.) Multicultural Education (PhD)	0	Upper Middle
Sue	10	6 th	Elementary Education & Social Studies	Elementary Social Studies (M.A.)	0	Middle

Soyoung ⁴

Soyoung was in her second year of teaching at Hwasung Elementary School. Growing up, she always wanted to become a teacher because she liked teaching. After completing her college entrance exam, she decided to become an elementary teacher due to the job security and her goal of realizing her childhood dream. Upon graduation from a teachers college in Kangwon Province and the qualifying exam, she finally became a homeroom teacher of 5th graders. According to Soyoung, there were no ethnic/cultural minority students in her classroom because those students are usually assigned to the veteran teachers at her school.

⁴ For names of schools, communities, and participants, pseudonyms were used.

In a humble voice, Soyoung said that she tried to learn from her students. When I asked why she had decided to participate in this study, Soyoung said she expected to learn something, and to provide her students with a better opportunity to learn by involving herself in multicultural curriculum reform. During her teacher preparation program, Soyoung took 3 credits of a multicultural education course. She was afraid that it was only about “how to connect ethnic/cultural minority parents to various services provided by the government”. Feeling something lacking from this experience, she wanted to move beyond this “old version of multicultural education”, and try a new technique that she conceptualized as “helping students see difference as natural”.

Hwasung Elementary School is located in Hwasung, Gyeonggi Province, not far geographically from Seoul but having been left behind in urbanization. While the population was growing, there were no department stores or theaters in this town. A few years ago, the school was surrounded by an industrial complex in which a significant number of foreign workers resided. At my first visit to Hwasung, I was startled to see sexual graffiti, the phrase the “king of sex”, painted on a railroad near the school. There were also a lot of unsafe spaces around the school.

There are approximately 42 classes in Hwasung Elementary School, and 2-3 students per each class are provided with financial support from the government. In South Korea, all students in public schools are provided with free meals. There were a total of 20 ethnic/cultural minority students in the school, and they were usually the children of international marriage couples or foreign laborers. These students were provided with Korean language programs and tutoring services in a resource room called “Our Classroom”. In addition to the academic support, the school held diverse events for the ethnic/cultural minority students. For example, last year, these

students learned Korean traditional performances such as Samdae, Talchum (mask dance), and Nanta (slugfest), and performed at the event.

In general, Hwasung Elementary School placed its emphasis on sharing. Last year, the school opened a flea market for its neighbors; conducted a series of fundraising events for people in poverty; and served Korean traditional foods for the elderly in the town. Soyoung also said that the school tried to work with community members. Throughout the school year, the principal emphasized international exchange programs and global citizenship education. The students at Hwasung often visited an ethnic Korean school in China and elementary schools in Japan and Russia in order to experience their culture, participate in their classes, and perform for them, and vice versa. Soyoung appreciated these rich and frequent programs, saying that she learned a lot about multicultural education from participating in these programs.

Mina

Although it had been just 6 months since Mina became a teacher, both she and her classroom seemed to be very settled. Surrounded by her family members who were mostly teachers, she had thought “teaching is very meaningful”, and then decided to major in elementary education. After graduation and the qualifying exam, she finally became an elementary teacher.

In her first year of teaching, Mina had a seven years old female Spanish student in her class. She recalled that she had a lot of troubles with the student’s mom because the mom was not good at speaking Korean and did not want to listen to what Mina said. This mom, finally, complained to the principal about the Korean school system. Mina commented that she was not able to get close to her until the end of year, and these conflicts had a negative impact on the student’s learning.

Mina was a second year Master's student specializing in elementary education. Motivated by her interests in multicultural education, she participated in an intercultural education course. Different from her expectation, however, one of the core ideas of the course emphasized by a course instructor was "we should depart from multicultural education, and what we need is intercultural education". Mina stated that she did not see a big difference between multicultural education and intercultural education, and was unclear about the identity and boundary of multicultural education. She said, "I am not sure if what I am talking about is multicultural education or intercultural education."

Mina taught at Ian Elementary School located in Ian-dong, Seoul, where a significant number of foreigners (usually Western) live. In the center of Ian-dong, famous restaurants, cafés, and bars are highly concentrated. At the edge of the town, one can easily see foreign embassy buildings. Mina commented that children at Ian are generally very open to foreigners because they meet these people on the street every day, but it is not good that there are few places for children to play. She worried that their early and frequent exposure to pop culture, which she called "adults' culture", might make them "too mature" or "get tainted" at an early age. Students at Ian usually have fathers working at local factories in the provinces, and the rest of family (children, mothers) live in Ian-dong. Therefore, these students see their father once a week.

Compared to most elementary schools in Seoul, Ian had relatively many ethnic/cultural minority students, an average of three students per class. The principal placed great emphasis on global citizenship education and Information Technology (IT) education. For global citizenship education, the students often participated in international events with other elementary schools around the world. For instance, some of students at Ian participated in a "Messenger Marathon" led by the United Nations (UN) to deliver hopeful messages to children in poverty and disease.

In regards to IT education, the school has “smart classes” in which the students can use the latest software and hardware such as tablets, laptops, electronic boards, and 3D printer for teaching and learning. In the upper grade levels, all teachers and students are provided digital textbooks with tablets.

There were 20 students in Mina’s class, a relatively smaller class size than average (Mean=22.8, for South Korea). There was one ethnic/cultural minority student of Russian nationality, but she was not distinguished from native Koreans by her appearance. Mina stated that she had no clue why this student had Russian citizenship. Mina has never met this Russian girl’s parents, and there was nothing she knew about this girl except that her parents also had Russian names. Mina commented that there was “no trouble with this girl so far”.

Jury

Jury has spent the last six years in the elementary classroom, but she was one of the two participants who was in a different profession before becoming a teacher. She majored in philosophy and, after graduation she worked in public broadcasting. Jury stated that in that job she was increasingly concerned about job security, thinking “how can I survive in this competitive Korean society”. She finally decided to return to school to major in elementary education. Through a national qualifying exam, she became an elementary teacher.

Since Jury studied philosophy, she had a clear idea about social justice, especially distributional justice and economic equality, based upon the ideas of John Rawls. Her conception of equality supported the idea of equal outcomes rather than that of equal opportunities. She was very skeptical about the role of public school in promoting social justice and equity. She believed that schools regenerate inequality, and students have their own “fate” in this structure which

cannot be easily overcome. Although she recognized socially structured inequality in the current school system, she rarely felt a commitment to do something about it.

At the time of this study Jury was in her fifth year of teaching, so she was charged to participate in a “concentration teacher training” in which all public school teachers are supposed to engage in by the end of their early career period (0-5 years of teaching). This training provided Jury with her first experience with a multicultural education course. Jury confessed that she was motivated to take this course by other teachers because it was “never demanding but easy to get a good score”. After taking the course, however, she came to be more interested in multicultural education.

Jury taught at Sangim Elementary School located on the edge of Seoul, in Sangim-dong. She described students in her school as usually from low income families. Their parents did not usually have college degrees; and were generally blue collar workers (i.e. cashiers, hair design assistants, etc.). Jury worried that her students often think their future lives would not be different from their present lives. There were few ethnic/cultural minority students; approximately 1-2 students each grade. There was no school-wide program officially recognized as multicultural education.

Throughout the school year, Jury’s principal emphasized teaching English. The school has an English certificate program in which students can collect credits by memorizing English vocabularies and phrases. Despite the principal’s ambitious vision of teaching English, Jury thought the students were not that interested in any academic programs. No one actually wanted to send their children to Sangim in this town. Like the other students in the school, those in Jury’s class were often neglected or abused by their parents, many of whom were alcoholic, divorced, and/or physically violent. Jury was concerned that many of her students were going

through emotional and psychological instability due to family violence. It also had impacted her class interaction. Jury took medical leave for six months. By the time she returned to the classroom, she realized that “everything was messed up” and there was severe bullying in her classroom. Although the situation was getting better, it was still very physically and emotionally challenging for her to build classroom community.

Heejin

Heejin was in her fourth year of teaching at the elementary school she had attended as a child, Sunjin Elementary School. With a warm smile, Heejin said she was “a real native” of this town. She came to realize that she loved teaching while teaching low-achievement students as a volunteer during her high school years. With a dual degree in elementary education and psychology, she graduated from a teacher education program, and then became an elementary teacher by passing the national qualifying exam. Last year, she earned a Master’s degree. Her thesis study was about Teacher Learning Community (TLC). At the time of this study, Heejin was a homeroom teacher of 3rd graders, but she had taught 6th graders as an English subject teacher for the last three years. In her classroom, there were no ethnic/cultural minority students, but she taught some from Uzbekistan and China as an English teacher.

During my first visit for classroom observation, Heejin gave me a set of documents describing her education philosophy and principles of classroom management, kindly saying, “Just in case it might help you...” In the documents, she explained that the most important goal that she wants to pursue with her students is “building community based on caring, love, and tolerance.” She also indicated that her students needed more encouragement and compliment because they tended to feel afraid of failure.

As a research assistant, Heejin was involved in a project regarding elementary multicultural education from 2012 to 2014, which was funded by the Ministry of Education. Her primary role in this research project was analyzing elementary social studies standards and textbooks with Bennett's (2007) framework of five comprehensive purposes of multicultural education. Heejin was the second author on the publication of this study. In the elementary school, she was in charge of managing resources and programs for underrepresented students.

Sunjin Elementary School is located in Sunjin-dong, Seoul, near one of the most competitive universities in South Korea. Since the school was designated as an Innovate School⁵ new programs have been implemented. These included "Power Reading" for the development of literacies; "One Instrument for One Student" for the improvement of musical talents; and "global citizenship education" and "character education" emphasized by the principal.

Sunjin-dong is famous for large populations of people who prepare for national qualifying exams to become state officials. Heejin commented that this town had a relatively high sexual assault rate because people preparing for the exams are usually single men living by themselves. Most parents in Sunjin are generally dual-career couples, hence the students spend the majority of their time in institutions after school. According to Heejin, these parents want

⁵ An "Innovate School" in Korea is a school that receives official approval from the government to operate its curriculum independently of the public school system where it is located. In Innovate Schools, teachers are encouraged to collaborate with parents, students, and other teachers in planning and implementing school and classroom curricula. In order to support these collaborative systems, the government provides additional funding and human resources for administrative works.

teachers not to give a lot of assignments because they cannot afford to help. Thirty-two of the 500 students at the school received financial support from the government in 2015.

Won

Won is a veteran teacher in her 11th year of teaching. I met her for the first time in a theater where she produced and performed in a drama with seven migrant women. Won described the overarching purpose of this drama as “giving voices to migrant women” and “comforting them”. Before becoming a teacher, she majored in landscape, and participated in a drama club during her college years. After graduation, she spent a long time as an actress. One day, she had the chance to work with children in producing a drama. Won was so impressed by how the children were emotionally healed by engaging in the drama that she decided to become a teacher. During her Master’s degree coursework of studies, she studied drama therapy, and she is currently specializing in multicultural education in her PhD degree program.

In a warm and kind voice, Won described herself as artistic and emotional than rational, and her life as a minority’s life. She often felt like an outsider in her college and her community. While she was attending college, it was a tumultuous time. South Korea was a dictatorship, and some students in the drama club began to lead a series of protests against the government. They wanted to enlighten and instigate other students to participate in those protests, but Won felt frustrated by their aggressiveness. She preferred to take alternative and softer approaches to protesting. Eventually, she was expelled from the club. She added that her life has never been economically abundant.

Won’s interest in multicultural education began with her concern for minority groups in South Korea. She defined multicultural education as “education for minorities”. She had published a journal article aimed at developing a multicultural education program by using

drama, and was currently doing a personal blog that focused on drama therapy and multicultural education. In the school context, she had worked with her colleagues and students in designing and implementing multicultural curriculum project for 6th graders.

Won taught at Taejin Elementary School in Gyeonggi Province. The school was surrounded by skyscraper apartment buildings, and the city seemed clean and safe. Students were usually from wealthy families, and their mothers were often described as “helicopter moms” because they paid extremely close attention to their children’s lives and problems. Like helicopters, they oversaw their children’s and teachers’ daily lives at the school. Won explained that the multicultural curriculum project was very helpful for her students because they tended to be more “selfish and less caring” than other children.

Taejin is also an Innovate School. Along with the teachers, students and parents actively participate in developing the school-level curriculum. For example, the students played a leading role in deciding where to go for a field-trip, what to learn, and what to do after that learning. There were less than 10 ethnic/cultural minority students at Taejin, and there were none in Won’s class. Won identified the year of this study as one of the most difficult years for her, as she had enormous conflicts with a violent autistic student and his parents. Part of the difficulty was due to the mom not acknowledging the child’s autistic and aggressive disposition.

Sue

Sue enjoyed working with 6th graders rather than students in the lower grades. Sue was in her 10th year of teaching. During her college years, she majored in social studies and elementary education, and dreamed of becoming a secondary social studies teacher. While engaged in her teaching practicum, however, Sue felt elementary education might be more meaningful because of its goal of “educating good persons”, while secondary education concentrated more on

“delivering subject matter”. Sue enjoyed discussing complicated social issues with her sixth graders.

In addition to teaching at her school, Sue also has taught in a Humanities and Social Science Department at a Center for Gifted Education. As a curriculum specialist and lecturer, she has engaged in designing and implementing a series of programs for five years. These programs primarily focused on developing the ability to engage in historical thinking, understanding multiple perspectives, and making decisions based on evidence. She also specialized in social studies during her Master’s course. At the time of this study she was leading a global citizenship club funded by the Ministry of Education.

Sue taught at Anyoung Elementary School in Daerim-dong, located almost directly in the center of the city of Seoul. Students at Anyoung were usually from the middle class; and the majority of parents were government officials. In addition, many parents had studied abroad for their Master’s and/or PhD degrees. According to Sue, the students had great interests in public issues because they were influenced by the parents, and these students were well-informed and critical when discussing these issues. Sue said she was stunned by their “adult-like” criticisms and behaviors in her first year at this school, but it motivated her to openly discuss controversial public issues in the classroom.

In Anyoung Elementary School, teachers, students, parents, and principal share a broad consensus on implementing democracy into the school community. The students are expected to operate various clubs by themselves, and a student government has been well established. In the school, there were a few ethnic/cultural minority students (1 per each grade). According to Sue, there was no special school-level program designed for multicultural education. Sue stated that

she had taught one Japanese Korean student in her previous school, but she has never taught an ethnic/cultural minority student in Anyoung.

Data Collection

Multiple data sources are recommended especially when research involves the conceptions of teachers (Ladson-Billings, 2009; Wineberg & Wilson, 1988). Even though comparative case studies do not demand any particular methods for data collection, multiple data sources are helpful in creating in-depth and holistic descriptions and explanations of cases (Merriam, 2009). In this study, semi-structured interviews, follow-up interviews, stimulated recall interviews, classroom observations, and document reviews were conducted to elicit data. These data were collected at four sequential stages between November 2015 and April 2016. Types of data collected at each stage are summarized in Table 3.2.

In a consideration of time and aim, six cases of data collection and analysis were divided into two rounds. The first round involved data collection and analysis of the first three cases; and the second round involved those of the last three cases. Both rounds contributed to building and refining a substantive theory. However, the former more focused on initially establishing tentative premises, while the latter focused more on refining the premises having developed in the first round. I included a gap in the time between the first round and the second round to engage in more intensive analysis before the second round began.

Interviews

Once all participants were identified, semi-structured interviews (pre-observation interviews) were conducted at the teachers' worksite. The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed; and each interview lasted approximately 70-90 minutes.

Table 3.2: Stages and Types of Data Collection

		Stage 1	Stage 2	Stage 3		Stage 4
		Semi-Structured Interview	Follow-Up Interview	Observation	Document Review	Stimulated Recall Interview
				-classroom instructions -class transitions -class meetings -lunch time -classroom wall	-lesson plans -worksheets -assessment instrument -textbook and standards -ME policy* -others	
Belief	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The Goals of Multicultural Education • Social Justice • Equity • Multicultural Curriculum Reform -curriculum content -instructional styles -classroom climates -student-teacher relationships -assessment procedures • National Policy • Standards and Textbooks • Principal's Expectation • Elementary Students • Neutrality 	EB**	EB			IB
Multicultural Curriculum Reform Practice	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Planned and Realized Practices -curriculum content -instructional styles -classroom climates -student-teacher relationships -assessment procedures 			PR	PR	
Context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Classroom Contexts -class size -student characteristics -classroom environment 	CO	CO	CO	CO	CO

*Multicultural education policy documents published by Ministry of Education

**These codes symbolize the kind of information the researcher intended to elicit from each type of data collection. (EB: Explicit/Professed Belief; IB: Implicit/Inferred Belief; PR: Practice; CO: Context)

In this study, the interviews were semi-structured and the questions were open-ended (See Appendix B). I used a common type of interview questions across the teachers but the actual questions were flexibly worded, and the sequence was not determined ahead of time (Merriam, 2009). This process allowed me to probe further using unscripted questions whenever

new themes appeared in the interviews. The interviews primarily focused on what the teachers believe about the goals of multicultural education. In addition to this main question, the teachers were asked about multiple variables that existing theoretical and empirical studies identify as related to teachers' beliefs about multicultural education, such as beliefs about social justice, equity, multicultural education policy, national standards, textbooks, school curriculum, curriculum reform practices, neutrality, elementary students, and teacher-student relationships.

During the interviews, I quietly attended to the participants' stories, but I often used direct questions when a specific description did not come up naturally. This strategy helped me to discover the complexity and subtlety of their intentions (Charmaz, 2005). I also asked the teachers to use metaphors when articulating their beliefs about multicultural education and then describe the bases for their chosen metaphors (Yu, 2011). In using the aspect of interviewing I was influenced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who explained that metaphors not merely stylistic but cognitively important in that they show how a speaker defines two things as not alike in most ways but similar in an important way. Communicating with the participants through their metaphors helped to crystallize these thoughts about the goals of multicultural education as transmitted through metaphors.

For the latter three cases, I included a set of additional questions designed to explore their specific dilemmas (See Appendix B). The teachers were supported by projective devices in eliciting their decision makings and reasons on each of five dilemmatic situations (Soley & Smith, 2008). Furthermore, these teachers were asked to describe possible obstacles or limitations, if any, that they might face when practicing classroom-based curriculum reform for multicultural curriculum.

Once the semi-structured interviews for each of the teachers were completely transcribed, further interview questions for each participant were then generated from reading through the transcriptions. Based on these questions, follow-up interviews with each participant were conducted by phone or in person. The questions at this stage were intended to help the participants provide more detailed descriptions for any unclear responses from prior interviews. For instance, one participant was asked what she meant by a particular term she had used in the semi-structured interview. Each follow-up interview lasted approximately 30-40 minutes. The time lapse between the semi-structured interviews and the follow-up interviews were one to two weeks.

Observations and Document Reviews

I expected that classroom observations with in-depth interviews would be viable vehicles for generating a rich database of information (King, 1994). After collecting data from the interviews and the follow-up interviews, I conducted a series of classroom observations. Each of the first three cases were observed four times, and each of the last three cases were observed two times. The times of classroom observation usually included not only instruction times but also transitions, class meetings, and lunch times. I followed the observation protocols described by Taylor and Bogdan (1984). Before each observation, I read a checklist of elements that were likely to be presented in any settings in this study. These elements included physical classroom settings, participants, activities and interactions, conversations, and subtle factors such as connotative meanings of words, unplanned activities, and nonverbal communication. During the observations, I used an observation guide created based on the conceptual framework of this study (See Appendix C). I also wrote observer comments which became an important part of the field notes (Taylor & Bogdan, 1984).

During the classroom observations, I was an “observer as participant”. My observer activities were known to the students and teacher, but my participation in the class was secondary to the role of knowledge and information gatherer (Merriam, 2009, p. 124). In this “peripheral membership role”, I located myself somewhere between being an active member and a completely passive observer because I attempted to minimize my influence on the dynamics of the teaching and learning occurring in the classrooms (Adler & Adler, 1998, p. 85). This role helped to observe and interact closely enough with the students and teacher to “establish an insider’s identity without participating in those activities constituting the core of group membership” (Adler & Adler, 1998, p. 85).

Field notes were utilized for the extensive descriptions of the classrooms, the students and teachers, and the classroom activities. When writing them I focused primarily on the teachers’ multicultural curriculum reform practices including the curriculum goals and content, instructional styles, interactions with students, classroom climates, and assessment procedures. These field notes also included descriptions of the physical settings of classrooms and other subtle factors such as unplanned activities, connotative meanings of words, nonverbal communication, my own behavior, and what does *not* happen. In addition to the descriptions, direct quotations and the substance of what the students and teacher said were recorded in the field notes.

Observations were not recorded, either as audio or video. I made this choice because of the logistical issues of permission for teachers and students to be photographed, and because the focus of this study was on teachers rather than students. Two strategies for recalling data compensated for some possible limitations of this choice. First, I recorded what I remembered and my thoughts into a voice recorder as soon as possible after each observation, and then wrote

down additional information and my comments later the same day. Second, during the observations, I used some strategies suggested by Taylor and Bogdan (1984), such as focusing on teacher's remarks and her interactions with the students, while "mentally blocking out all the others" (p. 54); looking for key words in those remarks and interactions that would stand out later; and mentally playing back those remarks and interactions during breaks in the talking or observing. I also asked the teachers to provide a copy of lesson plans and worksheets so that I could more readily understand the structure of the lesson in advance, and be able to focus more on the actual teaching practices and interactions with the students during the observations.

In addition to observing during actual instruction time, I observed at other times of day, including class transitions, class meetings, and lunch time. These choices were motivated by my own experience as a former elementary teacher, during which I observed many teachers using class meetings to communicate expectations to students. This engagement is implicit teaching. Furthermore, I paid special attention to the transitions since interactions at those times are usually unplanned. These interactions were regarded as another good means for looking at the hidden curriculum.

Various materials used by the teachers and students to prepare for multicultural instruction and learning were also collected. These materials included lesson plans; worksheets; assessment instruments; textbooks; teacher's guides; national curriculum and standards documents; school-level curriculum documents; government-published multicultural education policy documents; teachers' personal blogs; and other artifacts related to classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform practices. These documents were collected at classroom, school, and nation levels.

At the classroom level, the participating teachers provided digital and/or hard copies of their lesson plans and worksheets prior to each classroom observation. These lesson plans generally described curriculum goals, content, instructional methods and materials, and assessment procedures (i.e. rubrics). After the observations, samples of student work were collected, photos taken of students' artifacts and the teachers' bulletin boards. The student-generated documents were used in analyzing the teachers' beliefs and practices rather than the students' learning outcomes. Two of the six teachers offered additional documents in which they described their education philosophy, classroom management principles, and/or the pedagogical knowledge and skills frequently used in their classrooms. One participant's personal blog was also used as a source for data collection.

School-level curriculum documents were collected from websites or provided by the teachers. Social studies standards, textbooks, and teacher's guides were used in analyzing the national curriculum. The government-generated Multicultural Student Education Support Plan (Ministry of Education, 2015) was used to analyze the nation-level multicultural education policy. The types of documents collected from each case are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3: Types of Documents Collected from the Six Teachers

Documents		Soyoung	Mina	Jury	Heejin	Won	Sue
Classroom	Lesson Plans	x	x*	x	x	x	x
	Worksheets		x	x	x	x	x
	Evaluation Plans	x		x	x	x	x
	Classroom Photos	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Teacher's Blog					x	
	Additional Documents				x	x	
School	School Curriculum	x	x	x	x	x	x
Nation	Social Studies Textbook and Teacher's Guides	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Multicultural Education Policy Documents	x	x	x	x	x	x

* Mina did not provide a written format of lesson plan, but she verbally explained her instruction plan during the pre-observation interview.

Stimulated Recall Interviews

After the semi-structured interviews and classroom observations were completed, stimulated recall interviews were conducted to elicit the teachers' beliefs underlying specific practices. In the realm of research on teachers' decision-making and interactive thoughts, stimulated recall interviews are frequently used to elicit implicit and specific aims, goals, and objectives that drive teaching practices. For example, Calderhead (1981) explained that stimulated recall compensates for the traditional methods of questionnaires and interviews:

...such variables have generally been measured independently of classroom interaction; these measures represent goals at a high level of abstraction (general statements of purpose) and their relationship to classroom behaviour has not been elaborated. It may be unrealistic to suppose that the goals or aims which a teacher has in mind before entering a classroom to give a lesson are the sole, or even the major, determinants of that teacher's classroom behaviour. (p. 211)

More recently, stimulated recall strategies have been used in many studies as a useful means for investigating the relationships between one's explicit/professed beliefs and implicit beliefs inferred from practice (Zheng, 2013).

During the stimulated recall interviews, the teachers were asked to look back on their teaching practices and infer the implicit beliefs that were embedded in them. The teachers were asked to review my field notes and to identify the beliefs underpinning their realized practices in class (See Appendix B). There was also a conceptual distinction between the teachers' beliefs derived from the stimulated recall interview and those from initial and follow-up interviews. The former (beliefs derived from the stimulated recall interviews) was regarded as eliciting teachers' implicit beliefs, while the latter (beliefs derived from the semi-structured and follow-up

interviews) identified explicit beliefs. These implicit beliefs were the reasons the teachers had for acting as they did, and as such accounts for their decision-making of goal-directed practices (Calderhead, 1981).

The teachers were provided detailed instructions for how to activate the recalls. First, they were asked to verbalize the reason for the particular practices. For example, the questions included: What did you want the students to learn or be able to do by engaging them in ____ activity? Second, the teachers were asked to retrospectively report on the conscious choices they made or any alternatives they considered before making a choice (McKay & Marland, 1978). For instance, they were asked, “What kinds of alternatives were you considering before you decided to use this material?” or “Why did you decide to use this material rather than some other materials?”

I tried to avoid imposing or encouraging the teachers to elicit unreal interpretations of their decision-making and behaviors. To minimize this dilemma, I used a strategy suggested by Calderhead (1981). When teachers had difficulty answering the two types of questions above, they were encouraged to provide their own non-directive with prompts like, “What was going through your mind at that moment?” This helped the teachers to provide fairly detailed cognitive descriptions of particular teaching practices with less pressure.

In most studies that used stimulated recall interviews, the participants were provided video or audio recordings of their practices. Instead of using those devices, I asked the teachers to read my field notes of the descriptions of what I had observed from their classroom teaching. This strategy compensated for problems associated with audio and video recordings. Fuller and Manning (1973) pointed out that for most teachers watching videotapes of themselves can be a stressful and anxiety-provoking experience depending upon their levels of confidence in their

own teaching practices. Consequently, it may influence their recall process or the extent to which they are prepared to report it. They also suggested that teachers viewing videotapes or listening to audiotapes of their lessons might recount those lessons from a different perspective because they are likely to be distracted by their physical characteristics or voices. The use of field notes, even allowing for their subjectivity, helped the participants more focus on their lessons with a lower degree of discomfort. It also created the opportunity to discuss any incorrect information, descriptions, or interpretations, and thereby contributed to filling a gap between my understanding and the participants' understanding of their practices.

Figure 3.1: A Sample "Letters to Myself"

December 14, 2015

What I have felt from the interviews with Won and Sue is that my understanding of "social structural injustice" seemed somewhat different from their understandings of it. What did Sue mean by social structural injustice? What did Won mean by it? Are we having a shared understanding of it? There were several terms that they used when talking about "social structural injustice". These terms included:

social security net, social structural problem, systemic problem, institutional inequality, institutional injustice, legal system, legal issues, structural injustice

I looked back on my understanding of "social structure". As far as I know, it includes laws, institutions, economic structures, social structures, culture, and their interactions. Therefore, social structural injustices are caused by these multilayered societal entities (not just by individuals). As Young contended, when injustice is caused by social structure, it is more difficult to figure out who's responsible for it (much more difficult than injustice caused by institutions, laws, or individuals only).

I may need to examine each of the presented terms above. Go back to the transcriptions and field notes, and (1) find evidence and examples that might help to understand their understandings of each term; (2) compare the meanings within each case first; (3) compare the meanings across cases; and (4) compare them with my understanding of these term. Data display (i.e. table) might be useful.

I have similar concerns about two other terms: "critical" and "taking action"

-Do they mean critical thinking (rational thinking), or critical pedagogy/critical consciousness?

-Do they mean taking actions for challenging the status quo, or taking actions for making a donation?

It is challenging, but it feels like peeling off the multilayered filters to see their genuine understandings of social structural injustice. It feels like I am putting together a puzzle. I hope I can see a beautiful picture (with "a make-sense story") by the end of this analysis.

p.s. Consider these concepts (social structural injustice, critical, taking action, etc.) when making a list of follow-up questions.

In conjunction with data collected from the interviews, observations, and documents, I wrote letters to myself about what I was learning throughout my data collection and analysis. These letters provided me opportunities to examine myself as a research instrument, to reflect on issues that emerged in the settings, and to relate them to larger theoretical and methodological issues (Bogdan & Biklen, 1992). They also provided important implications for further data collection. A sample of the letters is provided in Figure 3.1.

Data Analysis

According to Merriam (1998), case studies vary according to the functions they serve. They can be descriptive, interpretive, build theory, or present judgements about the worth of a program. This study began with presenting a detailed description of teachers' beliefs about multicultural education but was not limited to that alone. Rather, these descriptive data were used to develop conceptual categories; to elaborate, support, or challenge existing assumptions; and finally to construct premises and a substantive theory deduced from the data. This choice of analysis was motivated by a lack of theory. Since existing theories do not adequately explain teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education as a complex system, a purely explanatory research investigation was not possible. This study, therefore, described what teachers reported in interviews and what was observed in teaching practice, as a basis for moving toward building a data-based theory that explains teacher's multicultural curriculum beliefs and practices.

As suggested by many scholars of qualitative research, this study involved simultaneous data collection and analysis. A semi-structured interview, follow-up interview, observations, and stimulated interview from each teacher constituted each set of data collection. The timing of analysis and the integration of new analysis with existing analysis occurred between each set of

data collection. For example, once the set of data collection from Teacher 1 was completed, the interviews, voice memos, and field notes were transcribed and then loaded into the Atlas.ti. Then the documents created by Teacher 1 were directly loaded into the Atlas.ti. Afterwards, the first set of data analysis began. Once completed, data collection and analysis for Teacher 2 were conducted. A similar analysis procedure of data collection and analysis was applied to the other four teachers.

At each case of data analysis, I began by reading through the transcribed interviews, voice memos, field notes, and documents, and then assigned chunks of data to the categories of explicit/professed beliefs, implicit/inferred beliefs, practices, or contexts. Data from the semi-structured and follow-up interviews were assigned to the category of explicit/professed beliefs (EB); the data from the stimulated interviews were assigned to the category of implicit/inferred beliefs (IB); the data from the field notes and teacher-generated documents were assigned to the category of practices (PR); and the data from other documents such as the textbooks, standards, school curriculum, and national policies were assigned to the category of contexts (CO).

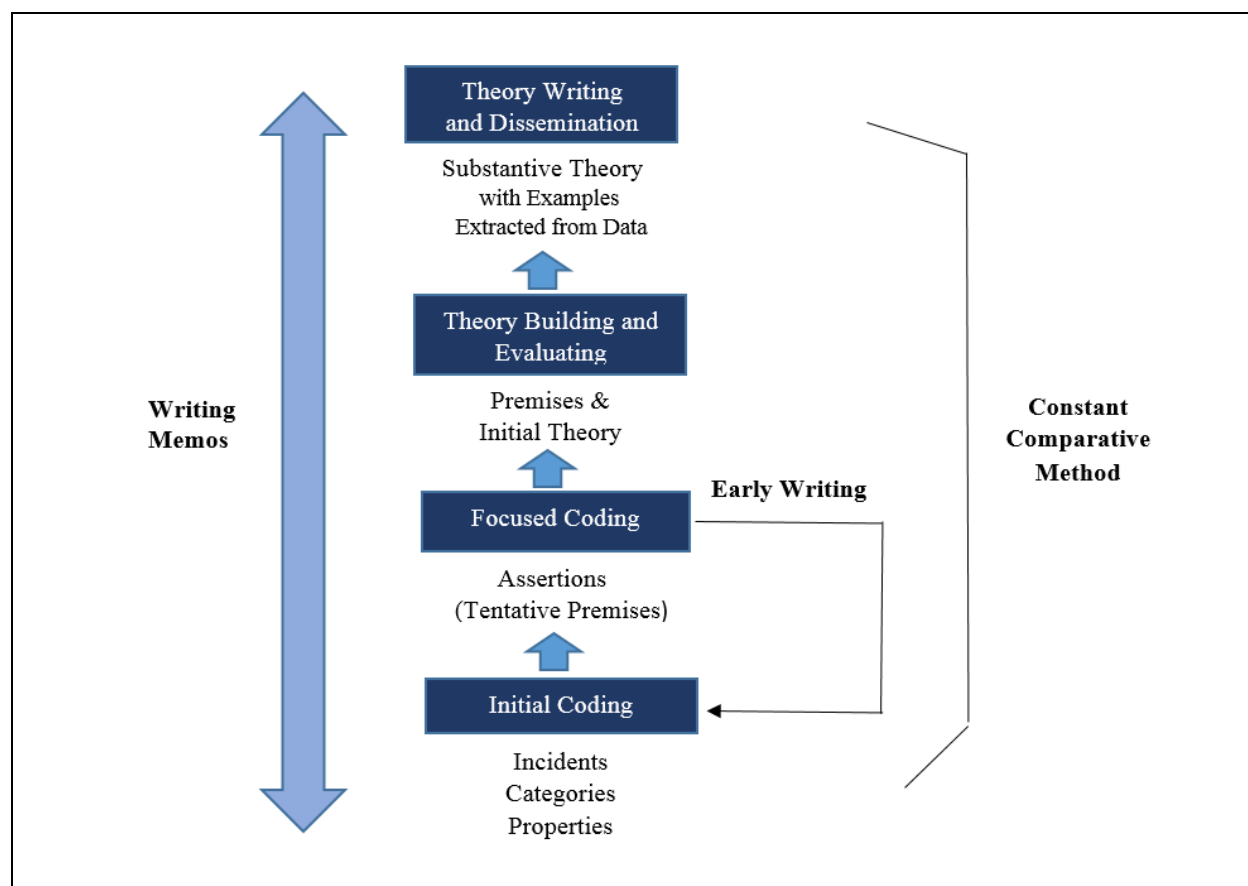
Phases of Data Analysis

Although this study did not utilize a theoretical sampling strategy in which the researcher simultaneously collects, codes, and analyzes data, and decides what data to collect next, its overall process of data analysis was based on the constant comparative method described by Glaser and Strauss (1967), Parker and Gehrke (1986), and Charmaz (2014). Four phases of data analysis of this study are described in Figure 3.2.

In the first phase, incidents from the first set of data (the first case) were consistently compared with one another, and they were clustered into broader categories based on similarities and differences. Once a preliminary set of categories and properties was identified from Teacher

1, it was used in analyzing the data from Teacher 2. During the data analysis of Teacher 2, the categories and properties were revised, and new categories were added based on the iterative process (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Parker & Gehrke, 1986). This revised set of categories and properties were used in analyzing the data from Teacher 3.

Figure 3.2: Four Phases of Data Analysis



By the end of this phase, the categories and properties were combined with the literature-based codes which were borrowed from scholarship outside this study (See Appendix D). This choice of beginning with open-coding was motivated by an attempt to more closely attend to the participants' self-declared points of view before organizing these into composite clusters. Glaser and Strauss (1967) suggested that

Merely selecting data for a category that has been established by another theory tends to hinder the generation of new categories, because the major effort is not generation of new categories, but data selection. Also, emergent categories usually prove to be the most relevant and the best fitted to the data... Working with borrowed categories is more difficult since they are harder to find, fewer in number, and not as rich; since in the long run they may not be relevant, and are not exactly designed for the purpose, they must be rectified. (p. 37)

In the second phase of data analysis, the categories and their properties were integrated to construct assertions. All categories, properties, and memos were reviewed, and their relationships were examined across the six cases, and their connections to one another contributed to developing several assertions at different levels (LeCompte, Preissle, & Tesch, 1993). These assertions were regarded as tentative premises, and they remained open to an emergence of new assertions. Several assertions with high saturation were transferred to premises in the third phase (Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

While constructing assertions, I identified four types of relationships that might occur among implicit beliefs, explicit beliefs, and practices. These relationships and analytic questions targeted to each of combinations are presented in Table 3.4.

When the teachers' explicit beliefs, implicit beliefs, and practices related to a particular social justice literacy showed a strong consistency (Type1), I recorded what the instructional practices looked like. For instance, when the teachers identified teaching functional literacy as an important goal of multicultural education (EB); engaged in the actual practices of developing functional literacy (PR); and identified their practices as deliberately designed to teach functional literacy (IB), I carefully examined their curriculum content, instructional styles, teacher-students

relationships, classroom climates, and assessment procedures. When the teachers' explicit beliefs were consistent with their implicit beliefs but inconsistent with the practices (Type 2), I focused on how the practices were different from those observed in Type 1, and how the context mediated the beliefs and practices. When the teachers' explicit beliefs contradicted with implicit beliefs but aligned with the practices (Type 3), I examined how the practices were different from those in Type 1 or Type 2, and how the teachers' conceptions of *multicultural education* were manifested in their explicit and implicit beliefs. Finally, when the teachers' explicit beliefs were inconsistent with implicit beliefs but consistent with their practices (Type 4), I explored contextual factors that led the teachers to teach a particular literacy, and factors that led the teachers to regard teaching a particular literacy as non-multicultural education.

Table 3.4: Relationships among Explicit Beliefs, Implicit Beliefs, and Practices

Type	Consistency/Inconsistency	Analytic Questions
Type 1	EB = IB = PR *	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do their practices look like?
Type 2	EB = IB \Leftrightarrow PR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the contextual factors that mediate teachers' beliefs and practices? • How do those contextual factors mediate teachers' beliefs and practices?
Type 3	EB \Leftrightarrow IB = PR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How are the practices different from those in type1 or type2? • How do teachers' conceptions of multicultural education filter down to the inconsistency between the explicit and implicit beliefs?
Type 4	EB \Leftrightarrow IB \Leftrightarrow PR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are the contextual factors that lead teachers to teach a particular literacy? • What are the factors that lead teachers to regard teaching a particular literacy as non-multicultural education?

*EB, IB, and PR represent explicit/professed beliefs, implicit/inferred beliefs, and practices, respectively.

During this second phase of data analysis, I started early writing (Walcott, 1990). I wrote several assertions based on the insights derived from the former three cases. Geneva Gay, a professor of education teaching multicultural education and general curriculum theory at the University of Washington, was involved in reviewing these early findings, and provided useful comments for the second round of data collection, analysis, and interpretation (the latter three cases). For example, the feedback from and discussion with the expert provided cues for further sampling and interview protocols. The second round of data collection and analysis included the last three cases, and focused on refining the tentative findings that emerged from the first round. Although the second round of data analysis began by using the final set of categories and properties that resulted from the first round (Appendix E), the general processes were same.

In the third phase, preliminary findings were linked to construct an initial theory that included “a smaller set of higher level concepts” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 110). This emerging theory was then evaluated for the *parsimony* of variables and formulation, and *scope* in the applicability of the theory to a wide range of situations. In addition to these two criteria, several other factors were used in examining the explanatory power of emerging theory. These were

- How well the generalizations were supported by the data
- How well integrated were the elements
- Was there a logical consistency in every dimension of the theory
- How well the theory fit the substantive areas to which was to be applied
- Will laypersons understand and use the theory
- Will people using the theory have enough control in everyday situations to make its application worthwhile. (Glaser & Strauss, 1967)

Finally, a recursive process used in coding, analyzing, and theorizing contributed to writing a substantive theory. It included three stages of teachers' beliefs and practices in classroom-based curriculum reform for multicultural education, and holistic descriptions and examples derived from the data.

In conducting these analyses and writing these results, I tried to maximize the benefits of the comparative case study method. While the within-case analyses of this study focused on "learning as much about the contextual variables as possible that have a bearing on the case" (Merriam, 1998, p. 195), the cross-case analyses focused on "building a general explanation that fits each of the individual cases, even though the cases will vary in their details" (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 172). By examining the processes that occurred across the six cases and how they were influenced by the local classroom conditions, I could develop more sophisticated descriptions and powerful explanations (Miles & Huberman, 1994). These efforts were supported by the quantitative results from Atlas.ti. (i.e. numerical occurrence and density of each code). These quantitative results were compared to those from the qualitative analyses, and contributed to enhancing the overall quality of the findings of the study.

The data were recorded and analyzed in Korean to minimize translation errors and distortion of the original meanings within the transcripts and field notes (Zheng, 2013). The actual quotations included in this study were translated into English during the early and final writing phases. About 25 percent of quotations were retranslated into Korean by two bilingual doctoral students to improve the reliability of translation. In the case of early writing, I used English so that I could better communicate with potential readers whose first language is English.

Summary

This chapter discussed the research methods used to explore what Korean elementary teachers believe about the goals of multicultural education in relation to practices and contexts. It took place in Seoul and the surrounding Gyeonggi Province. Six elementary teachers who engaged in classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform participated in this study. Guided by the overall process of comparative case study and constant comparative methods, data collection and analysis were conducted simultaneously. Data were collected from semi-structured interviews, follow-up interviews, classroom observations, stimulated recall interviews, and document reviews. These data were analyzed according to recursive procedures based on four phases including initial coding; focused coding; theory building and evaluating; and theory writing and disseminating. Concern about the possible effects of language transition (from Korean to English) on the accuracy and integrity of the data were also discussed.

Chapter IV

Results

This study was designed to take a closer look at what South Korean elementary teachers think of the goals of multicultural education in relation to their actual teaching practices. By comparing six cases, four major findings emerged from the data analyses (Table 4.1). These four findings contributed to building a substantive theory.

Table 4.1: Brief Explanations of Four Major Findings

Themes	Explanations
(Un)commitment to Teaching Critical Literacy	Generally, the teachers tended to identify five social justice literacies as fundamental goals of multicultural education, but at a deeper level, they were grouped into two categories according to whether or not they were committed to teaching critical literacy.
Navigating Dilemmas about Literacies	Teachers not committed to teaching critical literacy were not aware of dilemmas related to multicultural curriculum reform, and used particular contexts to justify the inappropriateness of teaching critical literacy. By comparison, teachers committed to teaching critical literacy usually faced two types of dilemmas in the multicultural education practices. These dilemmas were between contradictory beliefs (Type 1), and between belief and context (Type 2).
Effects of Unresolved Literacy Dilemmas	Teachers who did not resolve the dilemmas either did not teach critical literacy at all or taught critical literacy as secondary.
Context and Strategies for Dealing with Obstacles	A democratic school and community, and the teacher's strategies for dealing with contextual obstacles, helped her resolve the dilemmas, and more actively advocate for teaching critical consciousness.

In presenting these results, each finding is described first, followed by detailed descriptions and supportive quotations and portraits. I was careful not to privilege particular participants in the data presentation. Excerpts from interviews, field notes, and documents are provided to exemplify how general findings were manifested among the six participants. Deliberate efforts were made to ensure that their diverse voices are presented. However, in

instances where a high degree of consensus existed among the participants, data from the one or two that were the most vivid description are presented.

(Un)commitment to Teaching Critical Literacy:

Generally, the teachers identified five social justice literacies as fundamental goals of multicultural education, but they were grouped into two categories according to whether or not they were committed to teaching critical literacy.

In semi-structured pre-observation interviews, the six teachers were provided with flash cards on which different types of social justice literacies were described. The social justice literacies were functional, relational, critical, democratic, and visionary (North, 2009). The teachers were asked to choose all flash cards that applied to their beliefs about multicultural education. For example, they were asked, “Which cards do you think describe the goals of multicultural education?” and “What do you think your students should know and be able to do after your implementation of multicultural curriculum reform?” The five social justice literacies described on the flash cards are summarized in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2: Five Types of Social Justice Literacies

Functional Literacy*	Students develop the ability to appropriately function living as an autonomous and informed citizen.
Critical Literacy	Students develop the ability to challenge the universal paradigm of knowledge, question institutionalized power relations, and build strategies to act for equity and social justice.
Relational Literacy	Students develop the ability to respect others without bias and prejudice; and care for others on their mutual connection with others within and beyond school walls.
Democratic Literacy	Students develop the ability to nurture the common good, and resolve various conflicts without resorting physical force.
Visionary Literacy	Students develop the ability to develop a story for one’s personal lives and the wider world, do the best to realize that story even in a difficult situation.

* The names of five social justice literacies were not presented on the flash cards.

While sorting the five cards, the teachers defined multicultural education as comprehensive. They classified all five social justice literacies as important goals of multicultural education. They barely recognized any conflicts that might be caused when pursuing more than two literacies simultaneously (i.e. relational literacy vs. critical literacy). Rather, they were more likely to believe that these literacies were desirable skills that students were expected to gain as a result of multicultural education. Each of the teachers had her own rationales for the card-sorting. For example,

Soyoung: First of all, helping students get along with others without prejudice and bias is the most familiar image of multicultural education which first pops in my mind. Also, ‘questioning the institutionalized inequality’, ‘being open to other perspectives’... these are also important. You know, in education, there are always inequalities. So, we should actualize equality by reducing prejudice and bias. ‘Resolving various conflicts without resorting physical force’ is also an important goal of multicultural education. Not discriminating, seeing others as they are... I was debating with this [visionary literacy], but, if I consider minority people, I will include this in multicultural education because it’s important for them not to lose their hopes, even though they go through hardships.

Mina: The rest of cards are describing multicultural education, but I am not sure if this [visionary literacy] is also multicultural education because I feel this is more like moral education. But if I defined multicultural education in a broader sense, this [visionary literacy] could be also an important goal of multicultural education.

Jury: If I define multicultural education as comprehensive, this [functional literacy] is multicultural education too, as the ultimate goal of multicultural education. Also, in a broader sense, this [visionary literacy] is also multicultural education. This [visionary

literacy] seems not directly connected to multicultural education, but recognizing others comes from recognizing oneself, so I think it's also multicultural education. I mean, when we understand ourselves, we can compare ourselves to others, and then we can better understand others, can't we? I think all these cards are describing multicultural education.

Won: 'Resolving conflicts without resorting physical force' is the most important, but it should be based on 'mutual respect'. And then what follows is developing self-worthiness. This [critical literacy] is important, but it might be difficult at the elementary level. This [critical literacy] can be developed only when students engage in social issues but those issues are not directly related to children's lives. This [critical literacy] is important, but elementary students need to begin with learning about how to resolve conflicts.

Sue: It seems all these cards can be multicultural education. This [visionary literacy] seems too comprehensive to be included in the goals of multicultural education, but it's also something that students can and should learn in the process of multicultural education. It's not a main purpose of multicultural education, though.

The five teachers considered the social justice literacies to be fundamental in their beliefs about the goals of multicultural education. They tended to perceive that visionary literacy is important in all forms of education, not only in multicultural education, so they hesitated to identify it as a goal of multicultural education only. However, it was identified as one of the goals when multicultural education was defined broadly. Two teachers paid special attention to visionary literacy. For example, Soyoung made a connection between visionary literacy and

people from minority groups with consideration of their harsh lives. Jury related visionary literacy to relational literacy by stating “recognizing others comes from recognizing oneself”.

Five out of the six teachers identified functional literacy –the ability to appropriately live as an autonomous and informed citizen (North, 2009) –as the ultimate goal of multicultural education. Heejin focused more on critical literacy but considered functional literacy as “non-multicultural education”. She felt uncomfortable with the words “appropriately” and “autonomous” which led her to exclude functional literacy from her beliefs about multicultural education. She stated,

In my understanding, multicultural education is something critical, socially or politically conscious... This card says there is knowledge that helps students live appropriately, but if we think about ‘whose knowledge’ it is, I think we can see hegemony seized by the ruling class. And, if we look back to history, it was the noblesse’s hegemony, wasn’t it? For example, today, my kids were required to play a beautiful song with a xylophone. But they didn’t even know do, re, mi, fa, sol, la, si. But, wait, who said ‘do, re, mi, fa, sol’ is important? Why important? Aren’t there different musical scales in Africa? Also, in social studies, there is nothing wrong about democracy and following rules. But, which kind of rules benefit whom? That’s why I feel like the word ‘appropriately’ may have multiple meanings. I know we need socialization for students, but it sometimes blocks off a ladder that enables social mobility.

The participants *ordered* the flash cards according to what should be taught first. They believed relational, democratic, critical, and functional literacy could be progressively developed in the context of teaching and learning. They identified teaching relational literacy and/or

democratic literacy as a means for developing critical literacy; and critical literacy as a means for functional literacy. The results of card-ordering are presented in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: The Results of Card-Ordering

Participant	The Order of Teaching Social Justice Literacies
Soyoung	Relational & Visionary ▶ Democratic ▶ Critical ▶ Functional
Mina	Relational ▶ Democratic ▶ Critical ▶ Functional
Jury	Relational ▶ Democratic ▶ Critical ▶ Visionary ▶ Functional
Heejin	Relational ▶ Democratic ▶ Critical
Won	Relational ▶ Democratic ▶ Visionary ▶ Critical ▶ Functional
Sue	Relational ▶ Democratic ▶ Critical ▶ Functional

The teachers' ways of ordering implied that social justice literacies were mutually supportive. In this level, few teachers were aware of the possible conflicts among social justice literacies. Mina provided a good example of the means-end relationships of social justice literacies perceived by the teachers:

I believe the most important thing for elementary students for now is building a good relationship with classmates. It's actually not that easy. Once they've got to have this basic skill [relational literacy], then it becomes meaningful to learn this [democratic literacy]; and only those who have this ability [democratic literacy] are able to question the status quo and build strategies to challenge it. And this [functional literacy] is like what we can expect of students by the time they have gone through high school and college.

Heejin viewed functional literacy as incompatible with teaching critical literacy, but she drew the similar relations as the other participants among relational, democratic, and critical literacy:

Most of all, I believe children should learn this basic skills to respect others [relational literacy] in multicultural education. However, even though they have built these skills

[relational literacy], if they didn't have communicative skills to deliberate for the better [democratic literacy], they would end up fighting each other. In other words, if children have built basic skills and dispositions to get along well with others, then they would need to do the next, learning how to better participate in deliberation. And then, after learning these two first [relational literacy and democratic literacy] in the 1st and 2nd grade classroom, they would be able to start learning discrimination and institutional justice which I perceive as the ultimate goal of multicultural education.

Table 4.4: Teachers' Beliefs about the Goals of Multicultural Education (A Final Code Set)*

Codes	Soyoung	Mina	Jury	Heejin	Won	Sue
<u>Functional Literacy</u>						
F1: become an autonomous citizens in mainstream society	x	x	x		x	x
F2: become an active (autonomous) learner		x		x	x	x
F3: build community of learning	x	x		x	x	x
<u>Relational Literacy</u>						
R1: develop a cultural understanding	x	x	x	x	x	x
R2: develop intercultural competences	x	x	x	x	x	x
R3: combat prejudice			x	x	x	x
R4: build community (micro level)	x	x	x	x	x	x
R5: build an harmonious society (macro level)			x	x	x	x
R6: critical care				x	x	x
<u>Critical Literacy</u>						
C1: construct the concept of fairness/justice					x	x
C2: challenge the universal paradigm of knowledge			x	x	x	x
C3: develop critical consciousness				x	x	x
C4: participate in social actions for social justice				x	x	x
C5: make an ally						x
<u>Democratic Literacy</u>						
D1: become participatory citizens	x			x		x
D2: postpone judgement	x	x		x	x	x
D3: make arguments with evidence	x	x	x	x	x	x
D4: engage in seminars	x	x	x	x	x	x
D5: engage in deliberations	x	x	x	x	x	x
D6: dissent (rights and skills)				x	x	x
<u>Visionary Literacy</u>						
V1: self-respect	x	x	x	x	x	x
V2: self-reflection	x	x	x	x	x	x

* More specified version of final code set is presented in Appendix E.

After analyzing a series of interviews and actual multicultural curriculum reform practices, it was apparent that the teachers did not regard the social justice literacies as equally

important when they were situated in the actual context of teaching and learning. Across the six cases, four social justice literacies, functional, relational, democratic, and visionary, were regarded as significant, but there was a discontinuity in their beliefs about critical literacy. A final version of the coding (Table 4.4) indicated that the teachers formed two groups based on whether or not they considered teaching critical literacy an important goal of multicultural education.

As presented in Table 4.4, Soyoung, Mina, and Jury were rarely concerned about critical literacy in conceptualizing multicultural education. These three teachers put critical literacy into the category of multicultural education during the flash card interviews. However, it was clear from interviews and observations that they were *not personally committed* to teaching critical literacy. For example, Soyoung was not very committed to develop students' ability to understand social/structural level of injustices or take actions for challenging those injustices. She shared her experience of discussing the *Sewol* ferry⁶ issue with her 5th graders last year, recalling that her focus was on "teaching individuals' responsibility to prevent similar kinds of

⁶ The sinking of the *Sewol* ferry occurred on April 16, 2014 in South Korea. The ferry capsized while it was carrying 476 people, mostly high school students; and 304 passengers died in the disaster. The sinking of the *Sewol* ferry caused nation-wide social and political reaction in South Korea. Many criticized the irresponsibility of the captain, the ferry operator, and the regulators. This criticism was then directed at the government for its attempts to downplay government culpability. On the first anniversary of the disaster, 4,475 people participated in an "electronic candle rally" in an attempt to commemorate for the victims and require the government to look into the scandals related to the *Sewol* (Choe, 2014).

accidents”, rather than examining the legal and institutional problems which had raised public controversies. Soyoung also stated that, if she had an opportunity to engage students in “collective actions”, she would encourage them to “make a donation to the victims” rather than participate in campaigns for legal and institutional change. Soyoung justified this choice by stating:

If students were trained to criticize the government, they would become so twisted and bent asking, ‘Do we really have to volunteer to help the victims, even though the government doesn’t?’ So I will focus on maximizing their willingness to do volunteer work for the victims.

In regards to human rights education, Soyoung did not even want to introduce controversial public issues that might help students develop critical literacy. When she was asked about raising issues about LGBTQ rights in the classroom, she stated:

If I were supposed to teach about human rights, I would tell my kids that there are such people (LGBTQ) in the world. But I don’t think I should introduce issues about sexual minorities because it’s too sensitive. If I brought those issues in the class, I would be criticized by those saying ‘Why do you make kids curious about that issue? Why do you touch something not needed to be touched? Why do you stimulate kids with that issue? You don’t need to talk about it with your kids because they will come to naturally know about it as they grow up. Don’t act rashly.’

Mina, who identified multicultural education as intercultural education, also placed priority on relational literacy over critical literacy. She shared one episode that symbolized her belief about multicultural education. At the beginning of the new school year, Mina showed the students a video clip in which homeless people were having their hair cut by volunteer barbers.

She recalled that the most important message she expected of the students to learn was “if we have a good disposition to care about other people, our society will be filled with beauty and cleanliness.” She added, “I think it was exactly what multicultural education is about.”

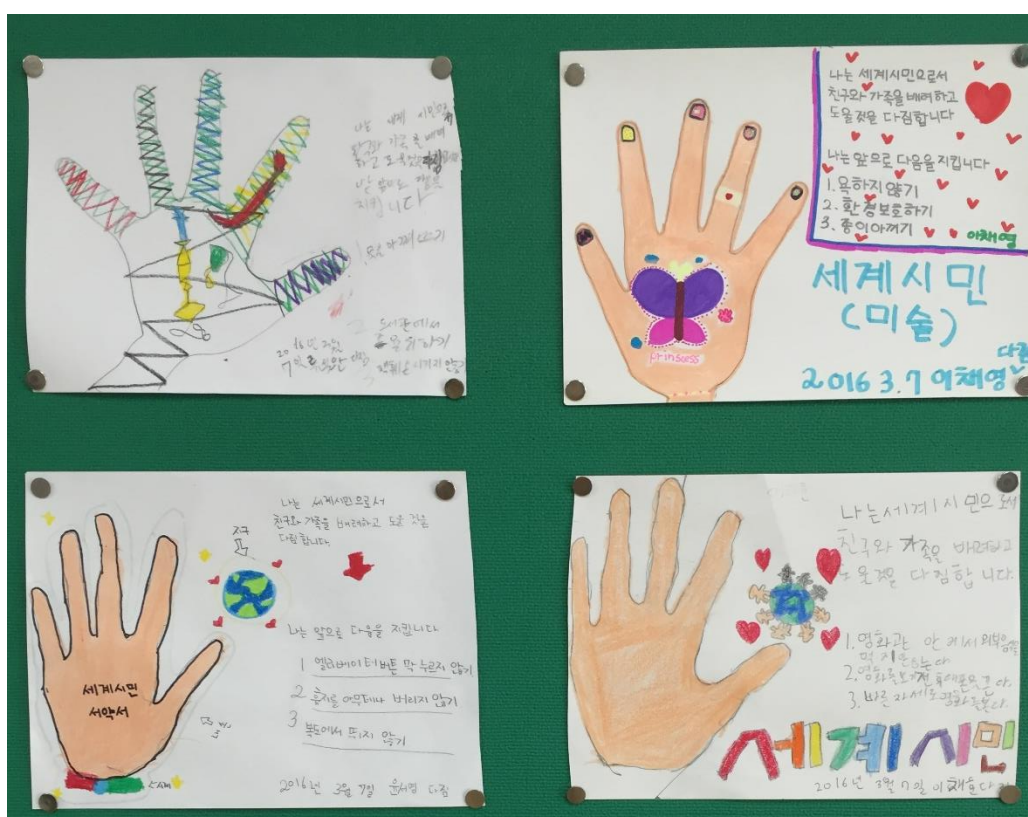
Mina’s conception of citizenship education was developing personally responsible citizens rather than participatory or justice-oriented (critical) citizens (Westheimer & Kahn, 2004). This conception was embedded in her understanding of democratic education as stated thusly:

You know, students need to know what democracy is, at least. But I believe it is not meaningful to say, ‘civic participation is the rights of citizens. We should more actively participate if we are citizens’, to those who have little critical consciousness. Nor does it help individual students. But, even though I didn’t teach it, if there were students who were already critical and have built the commitment to civic actions, I wouldn’t discourage them. Maybe, I would ‘privately’ let them know how they can participate in those actions. If I engaged my kids in civic actions, if I told my kids ‘Let’s do something for our society’, it would be transmitting my personal belief. So I believe it is right to wait until they become adults, until they can make their own decision whether or not they would participate in particular civic actions.

Mina’s classroom also demonstrated her little commitment to teaching critical literacy. On the bulletin board, the students posted their drawings symbolizing a pledge of global citizens (see Figure 4.1). The teacher required the students to write one common promise and three individual promises for their visuals. A common message underlying every student’s drawing was, “As a global citizen, I will help and care for my friends and family.” The individuals’ promises included “No slangs”, “I won’t waste papers”, “I will turn off my phone when

watching a movie in the theater”, and “I won’t make noise in a library”. The pledges of global citizenship generally described common-sense etiquettes which citizens are expected to follow. On the back wall of the classroom, three other principles were posted. These were “Care for others”, “Be healthy”, and “Do by yourself.” These principles reflected her emphasis on functional and relational literacy.

Figure 4.1: A Pledge of Global Citizens (Mina’s class)



More fundamentally, Mina tended to avoid attributing social and economic inequality to public education responsibility, even though she acknowledged that public education was often criticized for contributing to social inequality. She stated:

I know there are many critiques arguing ‘socialization in public schools regenerate economic inequality.’ But I don’t think public schools have the intention to do harm.

They [public schools] just do teaching, but the atmosphere of the society or the knowledge and background that the students already have learned from their homes and communities have so much impact on their lives that there is not much that public schools can do.

Jury had a different view about public schools. She identified public schools as institutions which nurture various forms of inequalities, and provided an example:

I don’t think school contributes to equity in society. Actually they are nurturing inequality. For example, children enjoy different cultures and education based on their parents’ income. The wealthy parents invest a lot of money in their children’s education, and the low-income parents cannot catch up to their social capitals, social networks, and information. The thing is that this becomes permanent through the school system.

Schools are the places in which these children continue to experience endless failures. I have very a critical view of school, so I try not to generate it in my classroom.

Although Jury had a critical perspective on the current status of public education, it did not necessarily mean that she had a strong commitment to teaching critical literacy. Rather, she tried to provide underrepresented students with “emotional support instead of teaching functional literacy (academic support) or critical literacy”. She explained her reasoning as follows:

I often feel guilty as a teacher wondering if I am contributing to this inequality. So I try to provide those students more emotional support by privately giving them more compliments. There exist, even in my classroom, the students who have insufficient resources. But, as a person, I cannot do much about it, although I am very afraid of it. I

think students have their own fates. The only thing I can do now is helping them feel self-worthy, and keeping them from low self-esteem. For example, I privately call and tell them their strong points; share what kind of hardship I went through in my childhood; and talk about the beauty of flourishing from a fertile soil which is more important than their humble births.

In contrast, Heejin, Won, and Sue felt a strong responsibility for teaching critical literacy in addition to other social justice literacies. For example, Heejin believed that “multicultural education should help students become sensitive to their experiences of being discriminated against, and participate in critical actions” along with “building a caring-centered community”. Won, in the pre-observation interview, explained that “multicultural education should include the development of students’ social consciousness especially when considering multicultural education for majority students”. Additionally, on her personal blog, Won posted her book review on Sleeter’s and Grant’s (1999) five approaches to multicultural education:

My understanding of multicultural education resonates with their second approach: Intercultural Education. I am especially interested in multicultural education for minorities: listening to them, comforting them, and ending the conflicts between people from diverse backgrounds. At the same time, in regards to praxis pedagogy⁷, I am interested in ‘multicultural social justice education’ [multicultural education that is social reconstructionist] in which democracy is actively implemented in school; students learn

⁷ Although Won mentioned praxis pedagogy in her blog, her understanding and practices of it were rarely transformative, but those were limited to relational literacy (i.e. making a donation to the charity). These are more detailed in the remainder of this chapter.



how to analyze institutional inequality which underlies their lives; students are empowered to participate in social actions in order to change unfair social processes in all forms; and teachers and students build a bridge to connect each other so that they can collectively promote the benefits of people from diverse groups.

Sue placed emphasis on the ability to not only read social injustice but also build practical strategies to challenge social injustice. In the context of teaching and learning, she tried to “help students to distinguish critical consciousness from distrust, and lead them not to distrust but to critical consciousness”. She highlighted the imperatives of taking collective actions, arguing that, “In order to achieve the goal [social justice], I think students should be able to build solidarity. They need to enlighten others and elicit others’ empathy so that they can attract more people in their social actions.”

The teachers’ conceptions of relational literacy and democratic literacy were also divided into two types of approaches, *conservative* and *transformative*. The teachers having little to no commitment to critical literacy preferred to take a soft/conservative approach to relational and democratic literacy, while those in favor of critical literacy tended to emphasize a hard/transformative approach in addition to the soft/conservative approach (Dolby, 2012). For example, conceptions of relational literacy shared by the six teachers were the abilities to develop “cultural understanding”, “intercultural competence”, and “a harmonious community”. Their conceptions of democratic literacy were composed of the abilities to “become a participatory citizen in a given society” (not necessarily challenging the status quo), “postpone judgement before listening to others”, “support arguments with evidence”, and “engage in seminar and deliberation”. However, Heejin, Won, and Sue considered more transformative approaches, too. Their conceptions of relational literacy included “combatting prejudice” and

“critical care” (equalizing the relationship between teacher and students). They also regarded “dissent” as an important part of democratic literacy. The differences of six teachers in their conceptions of social justice literacies are presented in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Two Types of Approaches to Social Justice Literacy Teaching

	Functional & Visionary	Relational & Democratic	Critical
	<i>Conservative</i>		<i>Transformative</i>
Soyoung, Mina, Jury			
Heejin, Won, Sue			

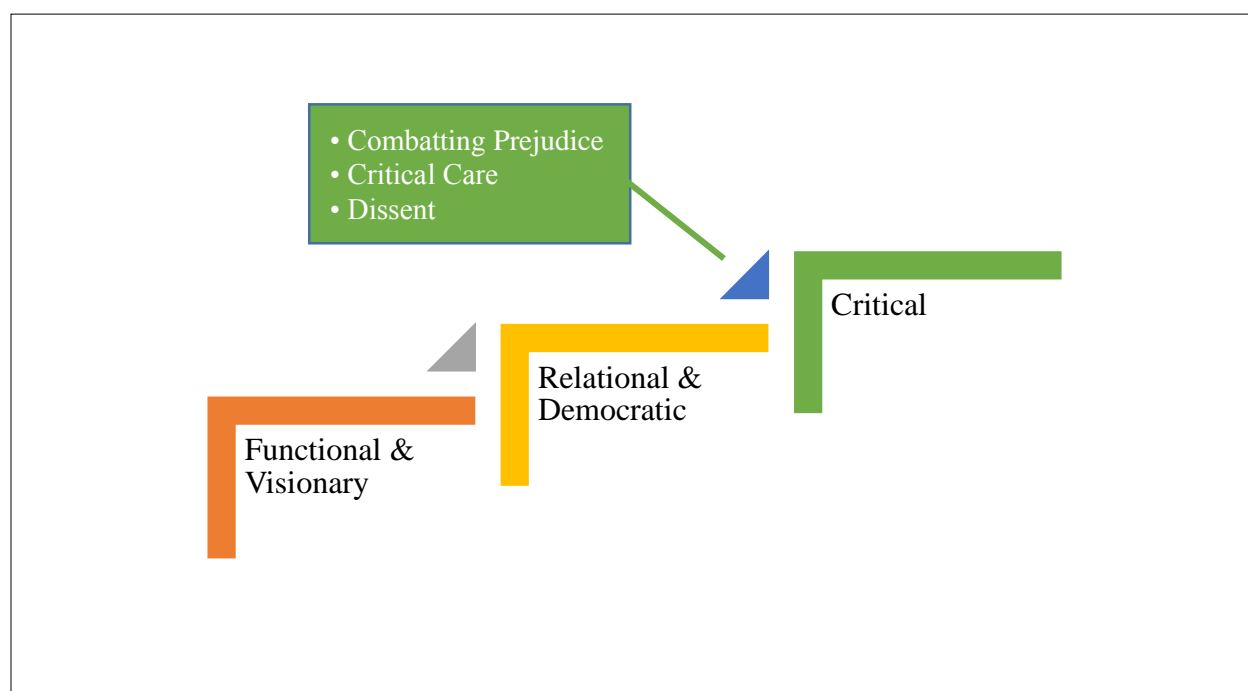
Variations among the teachers’ conceptions of relational literacy and democratic literacy indicate an overlap between relational literacy and critical literacy, and democratic literacy and critical literacy. Figure 4.2 demonstrates where transformative approaches to relational and democratic literacy could be located. Some components of these two literacies were more conservative, and other components were more transformative. The transformative components shared territory with critical literacy. Specifically, the transformative components of relational literacy included “combatting prejudice” and “critical care”; and those of democratic literacy included “dissent”. The transformative components of relational and democratic literacy served as a *tipping point* that made a big difference in the teachers’ beliefs about the goals of multicultural education. In other words, the teachers could be divided into two groups based on whether or not they reached to a new development in their understanding of multicultural education by going through this critical point.

Comparison of Mina and Sue, for example, provided a vivid illustration of how the teachers' beliefs differed before and after the tipping point. In her post observation interview Sue provided the following explanation for her teaching about combatting prejudices:

I planned to put them into the position of Korean immigrants discriminated against in the U.S. or in other countries. And then I wanted to show the bias against Islamic people since the I.S. (Islamic State). Finally, I wanted them to see how multicultural students in Korea are discriminated against by Korean students. After that, these kids learned how to build better strategies to combat prejudice and discrimination.

Different from Sue, Mina wanted to keep students from facing unequal power relations between majority and minority groups. She perceived that “all people can get along together, if they create a space in which everyone doesn't so much care about cultural differences, but comes together on the principle of caring”.

Figure 4.2: Tipping Point between Conservative and Transformative Approaches



Sue and Mina also demonstrated different views on critical care. Sue believed that equalizing the relationships between teachers and students is one of the important goals of multicultural education which should be taught by careful instruction. She stated, “In reality, I know it’s almost impossible to build a true horizontal relationship between me and my students, but the key is constructing a relationship in which we can communicate in a genuine, authentic, and democratic manner.” By comparison, Mina had a somewhat negative view on critical care:

I don’t think it’s possible to build a flat relationship between teacher and students. Sure, there is something that I learn from them as they learn from me. But I believe the teacher is ‘a senior’ who has more life experiences. Therefore, although it’s important to respect each other, it shouldn’t be a comfortable relationship. If I told my kids ‘we are equal’ or ‘we have equal rights’, they would misunderstand it as ‘being comfortable with the teacher’. So I never tell my kids that we are equal.

The bulletin board hanging on the back wall of Mina’s classroom connoted her beliefs about teacher-students relationships. On the left side, it listed “good words” the teacher generally wants to hear from students. These good words included: “I came to love Korean language art class thanks to you; You are the best; Thank you; I love you; I want to become your students next year, too; I want to become a person like you; You look great today; and I enjoyed today’s class a lot.” On the right side, it showed “hate words” the teacher did not want to hear from students. Among these were: “Don’t get in my way; I’m so irritated; It’s not my fault, he started it; Your class is boring; You are so fat; I already learned it from the institution; Why me?; Why do I have to do this?” One thing that needs more careful examination among these messages is, “I already learned it from the institution.” This may not be just “hate words”, but it could be useful information for teachers’ curriculum reform.

Sue and Mina had also a different view of teaching dissent. Sue had a strong belief in teaching the right to dissent and better ways of dissenting. An episode in a critical writing project demonstrated this belief:

A few weeks ago, I raised the issue of the government-published Korean history textbook in my class. After examining this issue together, I had the students to write about their thoughts in a critical writing assignment. Personally, I believe it shouldn't be government-generated, as most people do. It's a big 'no no'. But dissenting from this majority view is not something wrong, it's just a different view. I was kind of surprised when I saw several students who supported the government-generated history textbook. But I neither encouraged nor silenced their views. I explained what it means by nationalizing Korean history books, who benefits from that new policy, but, at the same time, I informed the students that different thoughts also need to be considered as the alternatives. The reason why I usually start with writing instead of discussing is that I am worried that a rushed discussion might silence some students whose views dissent from the majority view.

Sue's and Mina's conceptions before and after the tipping point were not unique. Similar patterns emerged for other participants as well. Heejin and Won were in more accordance with Sue, and Soyoung and Jury were more like Mina in their conceptions of relational and democratic literacy.

Even though Table 4.5 displays differences in teachers' approaches to social justice literacies, their actual beliefs were too complex to be fully explained by the table. For example, the teachers' beliefs about including ethnic/cultural minority students' home language and culture into their classroom instruction were complicated. Most teachers agreed that it was not

necessary for them to learn about their ethnic and social minority students' cultures, but it was important for these students to learn about their home languages and cultures, but in their homes, not in schools. In other words, the teachers perceived that teachers and schools are not responsible for it. Heejin disagreed with this position in her belief that teachers should learn their ethnically diverse students' languages and cultures to maximize their learning opportunities. This belief was reflected in her experience with one student from Uzbekistan. Heejin recalled how she dealt with the language barrier.

While I was teaching an English subject, I had one student from Uzbekistan. He was good at neither English nor Korean. I asked, 'Do you feel more comfortable with English? Or Korean?' He told me 'Neither'. So I began to learn Russian to better communicate with him. I believed my respect for him would flow out to other kids. If I didn't appreciate his language and culture, my kids wouldn't either. No matter how much I've improved my Russian, I thought my efforts to recognize him would be delivered to the rest of my kids.

She also spoke of her experience with him in terms of culture:

Actually, we also learned a lot from him. He was such a great resource to nurture diversity in our classroom. It's no wonder that we should learn Uzbek culture, if we had a student from Uzbekistan. It shouldn't be a one-time event though. It should be continued throughout the school years, throughout all subjects and instructions. I strongly believe that equity comes from understanding the [Uzbek] boy. Equity is not about a same distribution; it's more about offering differentiated helps for different ones. If I pursue an equitable relationship with students, I believe I need to understand them. And I can't understand them without understanding their cultures.

Heejin's beliefs about teaching ethnic/cultural minority students could be an example of a transformative approach to functional literacy, also known as culturally responsive teaching (Gay, 2010b).

Navigating Dilemmas about Literacies:

Non-committed teachers used particular contexts to justify the inappropriateness of teaching critical literacy, while teachers committed to teach critical literacy faced two types of dilemmas in the classroom-based multicultural education practice. These dilemmas were between two contradictory beliefs (Type 1), and between belief and context (Type 2).

The teachers who had little willingness to teach critical literacy, Soyoung, Mina, and Jury, tended to use three factors – (a) the lack of knowledge, (b) the belief toward political neutrality, and (c) the students' intellectual incapability – as a means to justify the exclusion of critical literacy from their multicultural curriculum reform practices. First, the teachers who lack confidence about content knowledge were not committed to teaching critical literacy. Jury, for example, stated that she was more likely to be dependent upon the textbook especially when teaching Korean history because she was worried that her ignorance, coupled with criticalness (i.e. suggesting alternative interpretations to the existing textbook), might mislead the students. When she was asked if she has ever discovered that the authors of Korean history textbooks were offering distorted interpretations or partial perspectives, she stated, "Not really. I think it's because I don't know about Korean history well. Because I'm not good at Korean history, it's always better to teach it as it is in the textbook."

The belief that teacher should be politically neutral led Soyoung, Mina, and Jury to choose to not teach critical literacy. Soyoung's emphasis on teacher neutrality was a good

example. She believed that it is still difficult for teachers to criticize the government or engage students in taking actions even in the case of dictatorship because “teaching students to act for social justice is often seen as too political”. She added,

Even though the government does something wrong, I would just say ‘they did such a wrong thing’. This is the most I can do. And I will let my kids make their own judgment.

I will try to deliver only facts as much as I can.

Soyoung did not realize that her statement of “they did a wrong thing” is not an example of neutrality; and there exist many “facts” that support the interests of particular groups.

The three teachers also believed that it is not meaningful to teach critical literacy at the elementary level because the students are not intellectually ready to understand the institutional level of power relations. In other words, these teachers perceived that elementary students are incapable of learning about the institutional level of injustice. Mina’s social studies classroom was a good example. In her class, the students were dealing with various issues related to urbanization including housing, environment, living, and traffic problems. While the students were engaging in small group discussions, one student raised more complicated issues such as slumism and unemployment. However, Mina neither extended nor specified these issues. Rather, she ended merely saying “Yes, they really happen in our city.” When she was asked to recall this moment of teaching, Mina spoke of what was in her mind:

I was very surprised that the student brought up those issues. Those were something that I had never expected. I didn’t expect that she could understand to that degree. But I thought the rest of my kids wouldn’t be able to understand why urbanization causes high unemployment or slumism.

Heejin, Won, and Sue, who had a strong willingness to include the development of critical literacy in multicultural curriculum reform, encountered two types of dilemmas. Type 1 dilemmas were caused by the conflicts between relational literacy and critical literacy, or the conflicts between functional literacy and critical literacy within the teachers' beliefs. Type 2 dilemmas were caused by conflicts between the teachers' beliefs toward critical literacy and the contexts (i.e. classroom, school, community, nation, etc.) in which they were involved.

Type 1: The teachers who attempted to include critical literacy in their multicultural curriculum reform struggled with the inevitable conflicts between different social justice literacies: relational literacy vs. critical literacy; and functional literacy vs. critical literacy.

Each of the three teachers were aware of an inner tension on whether they should focus on *minimizing* all forms of individual and social conflicts (relational literacy) or *appreciate* those conflicts as a source for developing good relationships (critical literacy). For instance, Won was struggling with teaching dissent. She stated that it was important to help students develop critical consciousness on social issues but it might “engulf the individuals especially when they are so much involved in critical actions, protests, and resistances”. She added that “multicultural education should make all individuals happy, but those kinds of [critical] multicultural education often threatens one’s life”.

Heejin, who eloquently spoke of her political propensity for the progressive wing of the party, provided a more vivid description of Type 1 dilemmas. As a research assistant, she had participated in a project on multicultural education for two years. In this study, her primary role was to analyze South Korea’s elementary social studies textbooks and standards. Heejin stated, “During the time of this research, I found myself having learned a lot of things from scholars,

especially Banks, Sleeter, and Grant, who let me know that there are more critical approaches to multicultural education.” Throughout this research project, she realized that Korea’s social studies standards tended to provide antiseptic portrayals of Korean government and politics with little attention to social/institutional problems and civic participation. She explained further that

The most serious problem of our social studies standards, I found, is that it’s so knowledge-centered. Most kids don’t even know what labor union means because they have never learned it. It seems that they [the textbook authors] worked hard to include something like community and law in the textbook, but there are not many things that help these kids take actions when they face something unjust or when they see other people experiencing something unjust. I know, education is somehow for socialization, so they won’t write about the rights of laborers or the right to protest. But I heard it was different in Finland and France. In France, they extensively discuss the French Revolution in social studies, and in the U.S., they discuss why that revolution happened in depth. However, in Korea, we just say ‘it’s over, ‘the labor union is over’, ‘now we are good’.

Heejin was devoted to building a caring relationship in and outside the classroom. She proudly described herself as devoted to “Noddings and Gilligan” who suggested a paradigm: caring-centered moral education. In her classroom, a picture delivering her message of “our community based on love, tolerance, and caring” was hanging on the wall. Heejin emphasized that this was the most important thing that she wanted to teach her students throughout the school year.

In her social studies classroom, Heejin’s beliefs toward teaching critical consciousness (critical literacy) conflicted with her belief toward caring-centered moral education (relational

literacy), and caused a dilemma for her. She designed a multicultural lesson plan to help the students become caring persons. As one of the learning activities, she asked the students to measure their own “heart temperature” according to how much they want to care about particular individuals. Heejin showed the students a grey picture of Black homeless person, and asked, “How much do you want to care about him? How much do you want to help him?” However, Heejin did not ask the students to think about why this person became homeless or what causes poverty. In the post-observation interview, she confessed that she had planned to discuss poverty, but she felt difficulty in integrating it into the curriculum reform because it somewhat conflicted with her focus on “building a caring-centered disposition”. Heejin recognized this dilemma, but failed to find a way to combine her core message of “we can make a peaceful world, no war, only if individuals care for one another in their daily lives” with another message of “individuals’ caring is not enough to solve social problems because those are mainly caused by structural injustice”.

The teachers also became aware of the conflict between functional and critical literacy when they attempted to redesign the curriculum to teach critical literacy. For example, Heejin was concerned about whether she could make a good balance between socialization (functional literacy) and counter-socialization (critical literacy) especially when teaching social consciousness at the elementary school level. Since she has recently moved from teaching 6th grade to 3rd grade, she was feeling more difficulty in applying her belief toward critical consciousness to her instructional practices with the younger students. As she explained:

When I taught 6th graders, I used to emphasize ‘social actions’ described by Bennett, and we conducted a lot of projects and made flyers to publicize social problems or to combat stereotypes. They loved it. However, this year, I found myself having so much impact on

these 3rd graders, far more impact ever. A few weeks ago, I scolded one child for his mischief. I didn't have personal anger at him. I just wanted to fix his misbehavior. But... I was so surprised that, after I had scolded him, the rest of my kids were kind of ignoring him. They told him, 'Don't exaggerate.', 'Be quiet.' Whenever he made really really small noises, the kids scolded him 'Be quiet'. I was expecting just his good behavior, but it made me think, 'Oh, it's not what I expected'. I mean, these 3rd graders are so sensitive, and so much more dependent on me that it makes me very cautious about teaching critical literacy which can't help but go with counter-socialization.

Sue, a homeroom teacher of 6th graders, also had a strong commitment to teaching the right to dissent and how to do so, which led her to a similar dilemma as Heejin. She was concerned that teaching dissent might lead students to become "cynical or negative citizens". Consequently, she was always careful when teaching critical consciousness because it might unexpectedly make her students become "rebellious citizens (反骨, 반골, *ban-gol*)".

Type 2: The teachers who felt obliged to develop students' critical literacy faced another type of dilemmas. This one was between beliefs toward teaching critical literacy and the multilayered contexts interrupting the teaching of critical literacy. These contexts included (a) the conservative nature of Korean society, (b) national textbooks and standards, and (c) students' (in)capability of understanding social structural injustice.

The teachers in this study perceived that a conservative nature of Korea made them feel uncomfortable or challenged when attempting to teach critical literacy. For example, Won and Heejin expressed this national context as "fearful". Won, who actually experienced the times of dictatorship (1960-1980) in her life, spoke of her sense of dread toward Korean society:

We have the National Security Law, you know... Relatively, in European countries, they feel little fear when participating in individual or group protests. But in Korea, when people do those things, they are usually regarded as Red [communist], especially, in the case of teachers. They can't help but fight against the government if they want to engage in those actions...it leads us to fear... we might get dismissed, fired. Although I believe social justice requires an individual determination to make a change, I never tell that to my kids directly. Rather, I let them face various forms of injustice within a structure of drama by giving them the opportunity to become foreign workers, laborers, and face their reality within the boundary of my classroom.

Even though Heejin has grown up in a relatively liberal society, she also feared discussing controversial public issues when teaching critical literacy. When asked "In what way would you teach about controversial issues such as the *Sewol* Ferry incident," she answered, "Yes. I actually did discuss it in my class". However, she felt helpless because she was not able to deal with the issue in the way she wanted. Heejin wanted to discuss why the *Sewol* Ferry incident was not an accident but a result of the governmental level of injustice, but she ended up instead making a video-clip with the students to commemorate the victims. Although she did not actually question the institutional problems that led to the sinking in the classroom, she was afraid of the reactions from the government, parents, and principal. So she told the students, "If you guys call the police, I will be arrested." Her belief was somewhat exaggerated, but it reflected her feeling of being afraid to teach a controversial subject, as evident in her further explanations:

There were not many things that I could do as a teacher, even though I thought we needed to discuss sociopolitical problems related to the *Sewol*. But I felt like I had to do

something. I suggested my kids to make a music video to express our grief. Then, I told my kids, “If you guys call the police, I will be arrested.” Fortunately, my kids didn’t call the police. They enjoyed making the video... Maybe, the reason why I wasn’t arrested at that time was it was my art class. To be honest, I was also thinking about how I’m gonna explain if I would be arrested. I thought I would tell them, ‘I was educating the students. It was not about politics. It wasn’t even social studies. It was my art class.’

Sue dealt more directly with the institutional problems related to the *Sewol* event with her students. The students discussed the government’s culpability and their personal thoughts about it in their critical writing assignment. She felt relatively free from the conservative nature of Korean society because her students and their parents were “uniquely progressive” about social and political issues. However, it did not necessarily mean that Sue did not encounter any dilemmas in teaching critical multicultural literacy. She faced a dilemma when teaching the concept of equitable relationships because she felt uncomfortable about building an egalitarian relationship with her students (North, 2009). She explained that even though it is “theoretically important” to build a horizontal relationship between teachers and students, as a person who “has grown up in the Asian culture where the vertical relationship between the younger and the older is appreciated as a virtue”, it was difficult to build a genuine horizontal relationship. Nonetheless, Sue had a positive view on critical care, so she tried to build a democratic relationship in which the students could communicate with her as equals.

Another dilemma the teachers faced was caused by beliefs about critical literacy and the national standards. Heejin, Sue, and Won understood that it was hard to develop students’ critical consciousness about cultural diversity in the social studies standards. They were aware of their responsibility for meeting the standards as public school teachers, but at the same time they

understood that those standards were more likely to represent the interests of majority rather than those of minority groups. This dilemma was intertwined with Type 1 dilemma when the teachers attempted to teach both relational literacy and critical literacy because the national standards emphasize relational literacy over critical literacy. For example, Heejin described the following situation in which the two types of dilemmas overlapped.

In the textbook, this unit includes three sub-units. And each of the sub-units discusses friendship, empathy, and conflict management, respectively. In this unit, I wanted to talk about ‘caring’ in more depth with my kids. At the same time, I wanted to talk about what causes poverty. It was easy to integrate the concept of caring between the first and second sub-units. But it was hard to do it with poverty. I only had 80 minutes for these two sub-units. I couldn’t help but focus on only the *caring* but give up the *poverty* [what causes poverty].

When the teachers thought about discussing issues related to institutional and/or structural levels of injustice, they considered those issues were too advanced for elementary students. Heejin and Won recognized it as an obstacle *after* they had failed to teach critical literacy. During the interviews conducted *before* the teachers’ implemented multicultural curriculum reform, both Heejin and Won explicitly stated that they believed their students were capable of understanding issues related to institutional and social structural injustices. Yet, they rarely discussed those issues in depth in the classrooms. Heejin did not even mention these issues at all. Although Won’s class was dealing with the concept of fair trade, and how unfair trade is caused by international corporations, she limited the discussion to ideas about how to reform existing *laws*. One student asked, “Teacher, but I think it is more like *social structural* problem, isn’t it?” Won responded, “Oh, so you are talking about the systemic problem. But we are talking

about the legal problem today.” She did not broaden the student’s comment to the extent that the rest of students could understand what the social structural problem means and how it is related to the topic of unfair trade. Instead, she merely named the student’s comment. When she was asked why she had not extended this idea in the class, Won stated that she thought 6th graders were not intellectually ready to understand social structural problems, so she wanted to ease the students’ mind by commenting that their suggestions for the laws were enough to solve the existing problems related to unfair trade. During the stimulated recall interview, she elaborated further:

Won: It’s right. This is a matter of system. This requires a question of ‘is the current system justifiable?’ I know we need these kinds of questions. The students need to think further, but it’s not possible in the 6th grade classroom. If I stuck to it, there would not be many things that I can do. So I just let them slightly think about it (social structural injustice) for a moment and then got back to our original discussion on the laws.

Interviewer: What did you mean by your comment, ‘You are talking about the systemic problem, but we are talking about the legal problem today.’?

Won: It was like giving them a quick moment to think about it. This problem [social structural] is too difficult; 6th grader cannot digest it. So I just wanted to ease their mind by saying, ‘I think it is a legal problem.’ When the kid raised that question, if I had said ‘Okay, let’s think more about it,’ I wouldn’t have been able to wrap up my class.

Interviewer: Did you discuss those social structural issues after that class?

Won: No. There is no reason to do because of their developmental level... If I were teaching in the high school classroom or the college class, I would be able to help them explore more, though.

In the post-observation interview, Heejin was confused of the reason why she had not been more critical in discussing the issues related to poverty when teaching about caring for the homeless. She wondered if it was because her primary focus was on teaching about caring, or because she did not believe in the capability of elementary students to understand social structural issues. Two additional questions were posed for her consideration. These were (1) Do you believe that your students can understand that people in developing countries are in poverty not because they are lazy, but because they are victimized by the economic system which benefits the wealthy countries?, and (2) Do you believe your students are able to understand that the guy whom you presented on the screen became homeless not because he had bad luck, but because the current laws and institutions that discriminate against Blacks, or because he was fired as part of a company's reconstructing? Heejin was unclear about her belief, but she described how far she may be able to teach in the 3rd graders' classroom instead. She said,

Honestly, I want them to understand it, and I actually had planned to teach it. But I couldn't help but take it out because I only had 80 minutes, as I told you.... However, I can maybe teach my kids that it wasn't his fault. There are people who have failed, despite trying hard. Come to think of it, I guess I didn't teach poverty not because they were not able to understand, but because my focus was on caring. Unfortunately, in the 3rd grade social studies curriculum, there is nothing about criticizing society, resisting against the current laws, or so forth. The main theme is 'climate and life-style of our town'. I may be able to integrate [criticism and resistance] into 4th grade or 5th grade

social studies, and talk lightly about it. I mean, making it a bit simple... But I'm still not sure if they could understand it. Also, I wanted to focus on human beings' genetic empathic ability and caring.

Therefore, in the context of actual teaching, Heejin and Won perceived their students were not prepared enough to understand social structural problems, but this assumptions may be debatable. In Won's class, there was at least one student who considered that world-wide unfair trade was caused by social structural level injustices. In Sue's class, the students demonstrated the ability to understand how social structural levels of injustice are embedded in globalism.

Whether or not the teachers in this study were committed to teaching critical multicultural literacy led to different interpretation of contextual factors of their teaching environments. Soyoung, Mina, and Jury used these contextual factors to justify their contention that it is inappropriate for teachers to add critical literacy to existing curriculum. In contrast, Heejin, Won, and Sue, who were felt obliged to improve students' ability to challenge the status quo, considered the same contextual factors as obstacles with which they should wrestle while implementing multicultural curriculum reform.

Effects of Unresolved Literacy Dilemmas:

Teachers who did not resolve the dilemmas either did not teach critical literacy at all or taught critical literacy as secondary.

The teachers who did not resolve the dilemmas tended to teach other literacies at the expense of critical literacy, or they integrated critical literacy into the curriculum as a secondary factor. Although Heejin and Won claimed to have a strong commitment to developing students' abilities to read various forms of institutional injustice and take action for social justice, their

actual practices barely reflected these commitments. Their efforts to integrate critical literacy were excluded from or partly integrated into the actual instructions in three forms.⁸ These were not teaching critical literacy or teaching it as secondary; silencing; and resulting in unintended mismatch.

The teachers' plans to include critical literacy into multicultural curriculum were often discouraged before the implementation. For example Heejin wanted to combine content and materials for teaching about poverty with her original curriculum focused on teaching caring. However, she faced a series of obstacles including time limitations, conflicts between relational literacy and critical literacy within her beliefs, and the national standards where critical literacy-related goals and content are generally marginalized. Heejin was confused about whether she *did not* plan to teach critical literacy because it conflicted with her strong willingness to teach about caring, or she *could not* teach critical literacy because of external factors such as the students' inability to understand it; the lack of support for critical literacy within the current standards; and the conservative nature of Korean society. Evidence from the interviews and observations confirmed that all these factors did contribute to Heejin's exclusion of critical literacy. Her response to the *Sewol* ferry dilemma provided a good example of how internal and external conditions interact in undermining the teaching of critical literacy. She reasoned that,

⁸ Note that the wording of "the teachers" in this section generally refers to Heejin and Won. Sue also struggled with the dilemmas, but she has built a fairly integrative view on them, and her practices were quite different from those of Heejin and Won. Although this section partly includes Sue's case, her case is presented in more detail in the fourth finding.

Personally, I would engage myself in criticizing the government but, as a teacher, I would more emphasize volunteering or making a donation to the victims [of the *Sewol* Ferry incident] in my classroom. If they were my juniors in college, I would definitely say ‘let’s go and protest’. I actually participated in the candlelight rally last year. I can do it, because I am an individual. But, as a teacher, although the government is not perfect and does lots of bad things, if I told my kids ‘our government is such a problem’, it would make them feel difficulty in living in this society... because they would experience tons of unjust things while living in Korea. I know Korea. So I didn’t want to encourage those critical participations. I can do it personally, but these kids’ lives are long... I mean, we often say ‘stigmatized’. I am worried that they might meet conservative adults, and become stigmatized because of their critical engagement.

Although Heejin said she was committed to teaching critical literacy, in actuality she was more likely to place priority on relational literacy. This tendency was closely related to the conservative nature of Korean society in which teachers are expected to be neutral, and individuals’ participation in collective actions can lead to being stigmatized. Also, her uncertainty about whether elementary students are emotionally and intellectually ready to learn about governmental injustices was coupled with current social studies standards which often provide a sanitized image of government and society. The interactions among these internal and external factors caused Heejin to face ongoing dilemmas, and to marginalize critical literacy in the multicultural curriculum.

Won did include critical literacy in designing the multicultural curriculum reform. However, its teaching was often superficial when no deliberate attention was given to integrating relational literacy and critical literacy. For example, in the discussion of unfair trade, Won

primarily focused on helping the students imagine assisting African child laborers by role playing as child laborers in a semi-structured drama. At the beginning of the drama, Won introduced a journalist who blamed himself for contributing to the exploitation of child laborers in a chocolate factory. This journalist attempted to publicize this problem by accusing himself of buying and eating chocolates. Through this simulation, Won planned to engage the students in (a) feeling empathy towards African child laborers; (b) examining economic structures related to the exploitation of child laborers; and (c) making a legal decision on the accusation of the journalist. Won expected that “the students would face the reality of these minorities in the drama, and it would lead them to make a better legal judgement”.

There were several indications that critical literacy remained superficial in this lesson plan. Won’s plans for relational literacy were systematically embedded in the curriculum content, instructional materials, classroom climates, and assessment procedures, while her plans for critical literacy were only partly included. For example, in teaching empathy, she devoted plenty of time for role play (15 minutes); prepared scripts and tools for the drama; planned time for a warm-up to help the students feel comfortable in getting into the drama; and set up the plan on how to evaluate the students’ development of empathic skills. In contrast, Won’s plan for teaching about the economic structure that perpetuates exploitation involved only watching a short documentary (3-4 minutes) on unfair trade. She did not explicitly articulate how she would teach about this complicated social structural problem, or how she would assess the students’ understanding in the issues.

Moreover, what Won’s expectation of students to do as a result of learning did not involve either a legal change or an institutional measure to stop the exploitation. It was merely making a decision whether the journalist should be convicted or not. At the end of instruction,

Won asked the students to form groups of four and discuss how they would deal with this affair. Since there had been little investigation of the current laws, the group discussions remained superficial. One of the groups moved beyond making a legal judgement toward suggesting a new solution, but their suggestion for fair trade was not *workable* (Paley, 1993), in spite of its creativity. Their solution was to

build a chocolate prison. A total amount of money invested to build a chocolate prison should be donated to African child laborers who have been victimized by the chocolate corporations. Those who engaged in the exploitation of African children should be imprisoned in this chocolate prison. Those imprisoned then can be freed only by eating up the chocolates.

In the post-observation interview, Won did not recognize that this last activity did not actually help students achieve the important goal described in her lesson plans, which was “students can deliberate for the ways to resolve the problem of world-wide unfair trade.”

As symbolized by Won and Heejin, the teachers in this study often dismissed opportunities to extend issues related to institutional or social structural injustice that the students raised. For instance, in Won’s social studies class, several students asked questions and were ready to learn more about social structural problems related to unfair trade, multinational corporations, and refugees. However, Won placed emphasis on motivating the students to feel empathy towards minorities. By using sociodrama simulations, she provided the students with the opportunity to act out being young laborers or refugees so that they could take those minorities’ perspectives. As a result, the opportunities to practice critical literacy skills were very limited.

Heejin also tended to overlook a critical moment created by a student in her class. While the students were watching a documentary about the innate empathy of humans, Heejin unintentionally played a part she had not planned to play. That part showed President Obama as an example of how an individual's innate empathy can be advanced to the realization of social justice. When she was about to stop the video clip, one student said, "Oh, so Obama made a new policy for the poor, Blacks, and their health because he felt empathy for them..." Heejin responded, "Yes, you are right", but she did help other students understand what he meant. Some of the students whispered about the comment, asking each other "What did he say?", or "You got it?" In the post-observation interview, Heejin recalled those moments, and said:

To be honest, it was an accident [playing a video clip of Obama]. I wasn't about to play it. Well, there was the message that Obama had an empathy toward minorities in the U.S., so he attempted to change the existing policies. But I didn't mean to show it to the kids. I was actually about to stop the video earlier than that because it was too difficult for my kids. Fortunately, one smart kid told me what this Obama story meant in relation to empathy. I was kind of afraid that we couldn't talk about it in more depth, but it was hard to do it within 80 minutes.

Consequently, the students ended up wondering about the "new policy for the poor, Blacks, and their health" which could have been extended to the concept of institutional racism.

There was an unconscious mismatch between learnings (knowing) and doing (applying) of the study participant's instruction. In Won's class, for example, the students learned what caused refugees, and discussed what kind of legal changes were needed to solve the current problem of refugees. These discussions on legal changes were followed by suggestions to make

“donations”. Won spoke of what the students actually did after learning about global issues regarding refugees:

After writing about how to solve the refugee problems, they made a donation. The kids deliberated whether they would make a donation to charity such as ‘Purun School’ which was established to educate poor children, or they would knit woolen hats for new born babies in Africa... Also, one of my kids said he would donate to the victims of *Sewol* ferry... That’s the way that we followed our shared principle of ‘think globally, act locally’.

The students’ learning about the legal issues of refugees was not actually followed by actions for legal changes such as filing civil complaints, participating in public campaigns, and engaging in rallies (critical literacy). Rather, it was followed by the donation (relational literacy) which might perpetuate the status quo. There was nothing wrong with the donation, but the students missed the opportunity to apply what they learned from the class to relevant practices, and the opportunity to learn in more depth from reflecting on those practices.

Although similar patterns were not observed in Heejin’s class, a series of interviews indicated that she also had little awareness of this kind of mismatch. When asked about her views on discussing LGBTQ-related issues in the elementary classroom, she responded,

I think [students] should learn about it. I want my kids to speak out when they experience something unjust or they are bullied by someone. If we look back on our history, only those who fought against the ruling classes made social changes gradually. So I think my kids also need to learn about equality for sexual minorities and their rights... If they learn it well, it will probably lead them to *do volunteer work or make a donation*...

These two cases imply that the teachers were often not conscious of the possible discontinuity between critical and relational literacy, and this unconsciousness often led to them taking less integrated approaches to multicultural education.

Context and Strategies for Dealing with Obstacles:

A democratic school and community, and a teacher's strategies for dealing with contextual obstacles, helped her resolve dilemmas, and more actively advocate for teaching critical consciousness.

Being in a dilemma refers to not feeling comfortable embracing either practice or point of view. In this study, resolving a dilemma did not mean eliminating the conflict entirely. Instead, it meant locating oneself in a space in which multiple literacies could be taught in a given contexts (i.e. classroom, school, community, nation, etc.). Although Sue still faced dilemmas when attempting to teach critical consciousness, she was different from Heejin and Won in that she was more aware of the source of dilemmas, and regarded those dilemmas as a healthy struggle. She also developed various strategies for integrating critical literacy with other social justice literacies; and used strategies for effectively dealing with various contextual factors.

Interactions among the teachers' beliefs, practices, and contexts were so complicated that it was rarely possible to establish a linear or direct cause-effect relationship. It remained unclear whether resolving a dilemma led the teacher to build better strategies, or the strategies enabled her to resolve the dilemmas. It was also unclear whether the strategies helped the teachers effectively deal with contextual factors, or the contextual factors contributed to building the strategies. In spite of this complexity, it seemed obvious that innate and external factors interacted with one another, and helped the teachers to more actively and effectively teach

critical multicultural literacy with a high degree of assurance. Sue's case illustrated these trends, including (a) how she perceived the dilemmas; (b) how she utilized strategies for dealing with the dilemmas; and (c) how the contextual factors interacted with her perceptions and strategies.

Type 1 dilemmas usually occurred when the teachers intended to teach critical literacy along with functional or relational literacy. Similar to the other five teachers, Sue often found herself in a dilemma when trying to teach critical literacy. Sue indicated having to deal with the swing of the pendulum in helping students to effectively adapt to mainstream society (functional literacy) and teaching the right to dissent (critical literacy). She explained this challenged further,

I realized that dissent does not always threaten a positive relationship. I have engaged my students in critical writing throughout this year because I wanted them to know that they have the right to dissent, and I wanted to teach how to dissent in more appropriate ways. I used to be skeptical about what I was doing at the beginning of this critical writing instruction because I was worried that I might lead my kids to become cynical or negative persons. Also, I was worried that it might lead us to an extreme relativism. However, working with my kids for one year, I realized my efforts to develop their ability to dissent didn't actually make them negative; it made them more positive than other teachers' kids.

While recognizing how much progress the students had made in critical literacy, along with functional and relational literacy Sue's belief in teaching critical consciousness became even stronger. In other words, her ongoing reflection on teaching, learning, and learners helped her recognize students as advocates who could support her pursuit of critical literacy.

Sue's experience also provided insights about the classroom, school, and community. The students' interests in and attitudes toward public issues helped her engage them more intensively in building critical consciousness. Sue also acknowledged that her students' criticalness was

enhanced by their middle-class parents who had considerable knowledge of and interests in politics. She explained:

My kids are like little social critics. As you know, there are various issues we can see on TV or in newspapers. They are very interested in those issues, much more than the students whom I used to teach at Munjin Elementary School [her previous worksite]. Not only do they have a lot of interests in those issues, but they also talk a lot about those issues with their parents at home. So they have their own thoughts. A few days ago, for example, I put some photos of the terror attacks in Paris on my desk. A student who was passing by my desk stopped and said, ‘I heard of this. Are we talking about the Paris attack today? I read that....’ Also, during the time of the *Sewol* ferry sinking, they criticized the government, [and pointed out] what was wrong with the government. When there are controversial issues such as child abuse they tend to find a cause from society rather than home. Something like social security... Compared to normal 6th graders, they are very unique in that way. I think they are influenced by their parents.

A democratic school climate directly and indirectly helped Sue to implement critical consciousness. In Anyoung Elementary School, the teachers, principal, parents, and staff shared a broad consensus on democratic education. According to Sue, the teachers and students enjoy “classroom autonomy in teaching and learning”, and the students “run a school broadcast by themselves under the careful guidance of teachers”. During lunch time, singing on the playground was not typical children’s songs, but those of Taylor Swift, (U.S. pop singer). Sue commented that the students usually sent music requests to the school broadcast, and those were played during lunch time. The school context in which most members advocated for basic principles of democracy such as autonomy, mutual respect, and active participation, created

more possibilities for the teachers to integrate functional, relational, and critical literacies into their multicultural education teaching.

This democratic school climate became more useful sources for enhancing commitment to critical literacy when the teacher consistently reflected on the implication of these climates. Sue continuously made connections between the willingness to teach critical literacy and the school community. The following comment is a case in point:

Students in this school are far more critical than my previous students in other schools. And the parents, too. Sometimes I feel my teaching is leading them to become more and more critical, but I have been changed a lot by them, too. I used to worry too much about teaching critical consciousness at the beginning of this school year. I also felt unfamiliar with my students' criticalness. I thought they were too unique. It didn't seem that bad, though. I continued to see how everything was going around the critical writing project. And I found myself being more convinced of my beliefs about teaching dissent and critical things while working with my kids. They and their parents gave me the message, 'You are not doing something wrong.' Also, our school and principal support democracy. If I had not met these kids in this school in this year, my teaching would have gone in a different direction.

Heejin and Won also taught in a quite strong democratic school context. They were located in Innovate Schools⁹. However, they were different from Sue in that they rarely engaged in reflections. They declared that their schools were more democratic, and they had more latitudes in curriculum reform than teachers in other schools, but they rarely identified these contexts as sources for actualizing their commitment to teaching critical literacy.

⁹ A specific description of an Innovate School was presented in the footnote on page 56.

Creating and Crafting a Third Space

The notion of a third space originates from hybridity theory, and provides a framework for integrating “what are often seen as competing discourses in new ways—an either/or perspective is transformed into a both/also point of view” (Zeichner, 2009, p.61). My use of a third space in this study involves teachers’ creation of hybrid spaces in which they integrate various conflicts between contradictory beliefs and between belief and context, and redefine what counts as effective teaching practices for social justice. Effective practices, in this regard, exist in classrooms in which teachers’ beliefs, the constraints of social structure and policies, and students’ voices are made available to teaching critical consciousness, and thus become useful resources for mediating the learning of social justice literacies. In this third space, teachers can bridge their commitment to teaching critical literacy and contextual obstacles in more dialectical ways, and create opportunities to engage students in making the world different. The use of the term “crafting” is concerned with not only teachers’ creation of a third space but also the contribution of students’ voices that can be used by teachers as an unscripted but teachable moment.

Although Sue taught in a school in which the students, parents, and principal were relatively liberal and democratic, she was still expected to contextualize the multicultural curriculum to a particular classroom, school, and community. Her school was located in Korean society in which teachers are required to be politically neutral. She tried to meet these conflicting expectations as much as possible, but she also acknowledged that teaching was always affected by a number of political choices. In this context, Sue was careful not to provide the students with politically patrician perspectives. At the same time she was not bothered by including personal propensities or subjectivity in the class. In commenting on these practices she noted:

I know we are expected to be neutral, especially in elementary school. I know teachers should be careful when telling their personal views to students because they have such an enormous impact on students. So I am very careful not to be partial. I intentionally bring diverse views. I also tell them, ‘You should be skeptical about what I say, too.’ But I think this is the most I can do. I know that I can’t be perfectly neutral because I’m not a robot following the manual. I know my thoughts often implicitly flow out to my kids. But I think it’s a good thing. It’s good that teachers should be neutral but they can’t be neutral.

To explore these ideas further, Sue was asked, “What do you mean by good?” She responded, You know, children learn not only knowledge from the teachers but also her ways of thinking and her scent...

Interviewer: What would you mean by ‘scent’?

Sue: It means something naturally, unconsciously flowing out. If I taught them like a robot, they would learn knowledge but they would never learn my way of thinking and my struggle with that neutrality. Sometimes we are so impressed by others’ ways of thinking. — ‘Wow, her way of thinking is very attractive.’ I try to be neutral, but it’s almost impossible. So I may struggle with it. A little bit of propensity and my struggle with it may implicitly flow out to my kids. If it is not too much, I believe it helps them. That’s why I think children need to learn from diverse teachers. It would help them experience diverse ways of thinking, and build their own ways of thinking later on.

These comments indicate that Sue actively engaged in building strategies for dealing conflicting beliefs and ideologies. She created a third space where she could help students to more

effectively develop critical literacy skills in an existing context. Four of these strategies emerged from her interviews and observations.

Including Controversial Issues that are Relevant to Students' Lives

Sue had a strong belief that 6th graders are capable of understanding institutional and social structural injustices. But she was also concerned that there might be some students who were intellectually and cognitively not ready to grasp those complexities, or had little interest in public issues. In order to connect the goal of developing critical multicultural literacy to the students' developmental stages and interests, Sue invited her students to share their ideas about South Korea's practice of standardized testing, and then expanded the discussion to the school accountability system. In this seminar, the students actively engaged in discussing (a) how evaluation systems are different across nations, (b) which philosophy of education is embedded in particular evaluation systems, and (c) what would be gained or lost by changing the current evaluation systems in Korea. Prior to the seminar, Sue asked the students to look for various evaluation systems outside Korea, and to talk with parents about the current evaluation system in Korea. Sue explained that she wanted to bring diverse perspectives on a good evaluation system because "students could far more develop and elaborate their critical consciousness when their views are challenged by the different views of others". The seminar was followed by the deliberation about how to improve the current evaluation system in Korea. Although it seemed that this teaching-learning episode included nothing about multicultural education, it had some strong features of critical literacy (i.e. the ability to understand controversial public issues based on social, cultural, and/or historical contexts).

Using Teachable Moments Created by Students

Different from other teachers who often missed opportunities provided by a question of institutional/social structural problems raised by students, Sue was good at capitalizing on these moments. In her class, the students were organizing various problems caused by globalism into broader categories such as environment, human rights, and poverty. They used newspapers, magazines, and photos which the teacher had previously placed at five locations in the classroom. On her own initiative, one student came to Sue and asked, “Can I draw lines to connect these categories?” Sue complimented her idea and said, “Sure, go ahead. It’s a great idea.”

After a few minutes, the girl came to Sue again, and showed her conceptual map on which she had described the complexity of climate changes, the interwoven issues of international laws, uneven distribution of resources, human rights, and inequality. With a big compliment, Sue posted the girl’s work on the black board, and then shared her work with the other students. Based on this conceptual map, she explained how diverse global issues are interconnected; which countries benefit from current economic systems; and how they contribute to the worldwide climate change so that the student gain a better understanding of social structural problems.

Using Textbook for Active and Analytical Reading

Sue felt responsible for helping students become competitive in a capital society, even though it often contradicted with her belief about teaching critical consciousness. As a public school teacher, Sue recognized that she was responsible for *covering* the national standards and textbooks. As a way to meet both personal and public commitments, she enlightened the students

by pointing out that the “textbook is not a bible, but there are always authors who write textbook”. Whenever the students started a new unit in social studies, she also explained how sub-units contribute to constructing a larger unit, and how she would organize the sub-units in her instruction.¹⁰ For example, at the beginning of the Unit 4-3, she told the students that

We learned about the relationship between Korea and other countries yesterday. As you guys see in the textbook, the first sub-unit in Unit 4-3 discusses how science and technology influence our society. However, I thought it would be more meaningful to begin this unit with discussing global issues that are actually included in the third sub-unit because we learned how countries are related and interact with one another yesterday. So I would like to reverse these two sub-units. What would you guys think about this?

When asked about this teaching moment, Sue explained:

I try to inform my students how I would like to revise curriculum or textbooks, not only in this instruction but also in any other instructions. I believe it helps them more actively engage in their learning, thinking about ‘what am I learning now?’, ‘why am I learning this?’, and ‘where are we now?’ One day, I was told by one of my kids, ‘Teacher, we learned about these skills today. So, I guess we will actually do [actual practices] tomorrow, right?’ I realized that these kids were really taking a leading role in their learning. It enhanced my belief that learning is building a community. Teachers often detail what they want student to do, but it’s not based on the agreement of students. In my

¹⁰ In Korea’s elementary social studies standards and textbooks, each sub-unit is compatible with each standard.

class, when I describe my plan for specific curriculum standards, students sometimes say, ‘Teacher, I think it’s quite similar to what we learned the other day.’ Then, I opt it out and ask them about what they want to discuss in relation to that standards. It not only facilitates them to learn effectively, but also it contributes to constructing cooperative classroom climates and learning community.

Furthermore, Sue helped the students understand how textbook content would be referenced in a standardized exam. For example, at the end of instruction, she informed the students that they needed to “come back to the textbook and fill out the blanks” because it helps them to be successful in standardized exams. At the same times, she made the reason more explicit. She pointed out that “this is not the only way to learn, but this can be a good way to look back on what we learned. Plus, as you guys know, we often need to take this way of learning due to the reality of Korea’s evaluation system.” These strategies helped her avoid situations in which she might teach critical literacy at the expense of functional literacy and vice versa.

Challenging Authority

Sue’s commitment to teaching skills for taking actions at individual and collective levels often conflicted with the conservative nature of South Korea. In order to deal with this dilemma, she created opportunities for students to practice individual and collective social actions within the classroom. For example, she asked the students to create a mock Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), and then design a flyer to advertise for new members. In the post-observation interview, she stated that she wanted students to learn how to “raise the awareness of

the public, gain support from the public, and make an ally” which would become very significant skills when they are about to make a change for social justice outside the school walls.

In regards to the individual level of actions, Sue was aware of the possible conflicts between teaching dissent and following mainstream values and behaviors. As a strategy for dealing with this conflict, she created an imaginary situation where students could challenge those in power. One day, she was teaching “practical strategies to combat other people’s prejudice”. She provided opportunities for students to challenge a school nutritionist who is biased against Mongolian foods, a student who is prejudiced against Indian table manners, and Korean businessman who has little understanding of the Islamic culture (all hypothetical). What made her teaching remarkable was that she played these three roles, and asked the students to collectively refute her claims. She said “I am just one person, but you guys are a group. And now you will refute my biased claims.” When she was asked about this practice, in the post-observation interview, she stated,

In order for my kids to be able to challenge the status quo, I believe, they should have the courage for dissenting, the courage for challenging authority, adults. But, as you know, in this conservative Korean society, it is very difficult for them to have opportunities to refute someone who has authority such as teachers, parents, and adults. That’s why I created the imaginary situation, defined myself as a person full of biases, and invited my kids in combatting my prejudices.

Won created imaginary encounters by using a drama methodology, but her strategy was driven by a different aim. In examining about fair trade, she focused on empathizing with African children working in chocolate factories. However, the students did not discuss the

institutional/social structural problems in depth, nor recognized possible challenges they might face when taking actions for social change.

Summary

This chapter discussed four major findings that emerged from six cases. First, the participating teachers generally identified five social justice literacies as fundamental goals of multicultural education, but they were grouped into two categories according to whether or not they were committed to teaching critical literacy. Second, non-committed teachers used particular contexts to justify the inappropriateness of teaching critical literacy, while teachers committed to teaching critical literacy faced two types of dilemmas in their classroom-based multicultural education practice. These dilemmas were between two contradictory beliefs (Type 1), and between belief and context (Type 2). Third, teachers who did not resolve the dilemmas either did not teach critical literacy at all or taught critical literacy as secondary. Fourth, a democratic school and community, and a teacher's strategies for dealing with contextual obstacles, helped her overcome the dilemmas and more actively advocate for teaching critical consciousness. Based on these findings, a substantive theory outlining different stages of teacher beliefs and practices in classroom-based curriculum reform for multicultural education is described in the final chapter.

Chapter V

Summary, Discussion, and Recommendations

From Premises to a Substantive Theory

Five major findings emerged from the data analysis in this study. Each of these findings was presented as a premise so that they contribute to building a substantive theory. The teachers taught in classrooms where majority students were native South Korean; and their beliefs about and practice of multicultural curriculum reform were mainly targeted to these majority students. The findings were

- Generally, the teachers identified five social justice literacies as fundamental goals of multicultural education, but they were grouped into two categories according to whether or not they were committed to teaching critical literacy.
- Non-committed teachers used particular contexts to justify the inappropriateness of teaching critical literacy, while teachers committed to teaching critical literacy faced two types of dilemmas in the classroom-based multicultural education practice. These dilemmas were between two contradictory beliefs (Type 1), and between belief and context (Type 2).
- Teachers who did not resolve the dilemmas either did not teach critical literacy at all or taught critical literacy as secondary.
- A democratic school and community, and a teacher's reflections and strategies for dealing with contextual obstacles, helped her resolve the dilemmas, and more actively advocate for teaching critical consciousness.

These findings were used in constructing an initial theory supported by the six cases. Also, this theory was in accordance with the idea of “theory as an ever-developing entity, not a

perfect product” (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 32). Eventually a revised theory evolved that outlined three stages of teachers involved in multicultural curriculum reform practice.

Discussion

Prior to describing each stage, I identified two types of dilemmas (Type 1 and Type 2) teachers might encounter when envisioning teaching critical multicultural literacy. Type 1 dilemmas were caused by contradictory literacies within individuals’ beliefs. In the context of multicultural curriculum reform, teachers’ beliefs in teaching critical literacy often conflict with those of teaching functional and/or relational literacy. By comparison, Type 2 dilemmas are caused by conflicts between teachers’ beliefs toward teaching multicultural education as critical literacy and various contexts which discourage those beliefs. For example, the conservative nature of South Korea, the national standards and textbooks, and the assumptions about students’ incapability to learn critical literacy were identified as obstacles. These two types of dilemmas are not mutually exclusive but often overlap in multicultural curriculum reform practice.

A final theory outlining three stages of teachers’ beliefs and practices in classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform is presented in Table 5.1. These stages include pre-encounter stage, encounter stage, and post-encounter stage.

Pre-Encounter Stage

If teachers are not devoted to using critical literacy approaches to teaching multicultural education, they rarely encountered either Type 1 or Type 2 dilemmas. Consistent with the current standards, they believed the most important goal of multicultural education was to develop relational literacy such as the ability to effectively communicate with people from other cultures, recognize the value of diversity, and build a positive community.

Table 5.1: Three Stages of Beliefs and Practices in Multicultural Curriculum Reform

Stage	Pre-Encounter	Encounter	Post-Encounter
Description	Do not experience dilemmas	Experience dilemmas	Encounter dilemma but have resolved it by building an integrative perspective and useful strategies
	<p>Type 1 Dilemma (belief vs. belief) critical literacy vs. functional literacy critical literacy vs. relational literacy</p> <p>Type 2 Dilemma (belief vs context) critical literacy vs. a conservative nation critical literacy vs. national standards critical literacy vs. students' developmental stage</p>		
Beliefs	<p>Regard relational literacy as the most important goal of multicultural education, but also consider functional, democratic, and visionary literacy as important.</p> <p>Have little commitment to teaching critical literacy</p> <p>Use contextual factors (i.e. a conservative nature of South Korea, national standards, students' developmental stage, etc.) in justifying little commitment to teaching critical literacy</p>	<p>Regard relational literacy as the most important goal of multicultural education, but also consider functional, democratic, and visionary literacy as important.</p> <p>Have a commitment to teaching critical literacy</p> <p>Identify contextual factors (i.e. a conservative nature of South Korea, national standards, students' developmental stage, etc.) as obstacles</p>	<p>Regard relational literacy as the most important goal of multicultural education, but also consider functional, democratic, and visionary literacy as important.</p> <p>Have a commitment to teaching critical literacy</p> <p>Identify contextual factors (i.e. a conservative nature of South Korea, national standards, students' developmental stage, etc.) as obstacles, but know how to overcome</p>
Multicultural Curriculum Reform Practice	<p>Include relational literacy as primary and Rarely include critical literacy (if it is not in national standards)</p> <p>Not intentionally include functional, democratic, and visionary literacy, but these social justice literacies are often observed in a form of implemented curriculum rather than planned curriculum</p>	<p>Include relational literacy at the expense of critical literacy or Include relational literacy as primary, and critical literacy as secondary</p> <p>Not intentionally include functional, democratic, and visionary literacy, but these social justice literacies are often observed in a form of implemented curriculum rather than planned curriculum</p>	<p>Create a third space to integrate relational and critical literacy</p> <p>Not intentionally include functional, democratic, and visionary literacy, but these social justice literacies are often observed in a form of implemented curriculum rather than planned curriculum</p>
Sample Practices	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Illusion of harmony 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Not teaching critical literacy or teaching critical literacy as a secondary factor • Silencing • Resulting in an unintended mismatch 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Including controversial issues that are relevant to students' lives • Using teachable moments created by students • Using textbook for active and analytic reading • Challenging authority

Teachers' conceptions of multicultural education at this stage is in accordance with intercultural education or intergroup education. Although they were primarily concerned with building relational literacy, they also believed multicultural education contributes to developing functional, democratic, and visionary literacy. Functional literacy and visionary literacy were perceived to be especially relevant for ethnically, culturally and socio-economically underrepresented students.

Teachers at the pre-encounter stage also tend to use contextual factors in justifying their little to no commitment to teach critical literacy. For instance, this tendency was conveyed through comments like "we should not teach critical literacy because we are expected to be politically neutral as state officials". This belief, however, reflected a misunderstanding of critical literacy. They tended to confuse critical literacy with political indoctrination. Teachers at this stage also believed that they were permitted to teach critical literacy only if it was in the standards; and it was inappropriate because elementary students are not able to understand institutional/social structural problems.

In classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform, they placed top priority at teaching relational literacy, such as toleration, caring, and empathy. They often explained that caring for others is powerful enough to solve most societal problems and build a harmonious society (*illusion of harmony*). Even though they did not intentionally plan to include functional, democratic, and visionary literacy in their multicultural curriculum reform, these social justice literacies were often found throughout their actual teaching practices in general. They did not include critical literacy in curriculum reform, unless it was part of the national standards.

Encounter Stage

When teachers begin to build a commitment to teach critical literacy, they face Type 1 and/or Type 2 dilemmas. Practices at the encounter stage were similar with those at the pre-encounter stage in that relational literacy was identified as the most important goal of multicultural education. But they also considered functional, democratic, and visionary literacy as important, and were willing to help students develop critical consciousness.

At the encounter stage many multilayered contexts discouraged critical literacy teaching. Rather than being incapacitated by these, the teachers regarded them as obstacles that they should wrestle with in order to teach critical literacy. As observed from two participants of this study (Heejin, Won), teachers at this stage would say, “I am committed to teach my students critical consciousness, but it’s not easy to do because it seems too progressive in this conservative society.” “One student in my class raised a question about social structural problem, but other students just don’t get it. So I had to limit our discussion to the legal problems.” Or, “I wanted to teach what poverty causes while I was teaching about caring, but 80 minutes were too short to discuss both. I couldn’t help but give up teaching about how poverty is socially and institutionally structured.”

When engaging in multicultural curriculum reform, these teachers tend to include relational literacy at the expense of critical literacy, or include relational literacy as primary and critical literacy as secondary. When they failed to engage with or further develop those moments students posed questions or made comments related to the institutional/social structural level injustices, the teachers silenced the students, in effect giving up on teaching critical literacy. The result was less integrated curriculum in which students learn critical literacy while being encouraged to develop relational multicultural literacies. For example, students learned about

international laws prohibiting the exploitation of child laborers and the child labor system. What followed was not individual or public actions (i.e. agency) for challenging the status quo (i.e. civil complaint, campaign, rally, etc.) but merely making a donation to child laborers.

Post-encounter Stage

Although teachers consistently face Type 1 and Type 2 dilemmas about teaching critical literacy, various strategies can be used to deal with these dilemmas. A teacher at the post-encounter stage refers to those who resolved these dilemmas by building an integrative perspective on teaching critical literacy along with other types of social justice literacies in a given context.

Like teachers at the other two stages, the teacher at the post-encounter stage selected relational literacy as the most important goal of multicultural education. She also shared a general consensus with the teachers at the encounter stage in that they felt obliged to teach critical literacy. Therefore, they recognized particular contexts such as the conservative nature of Korean society, national standards, and students' developmental stage as barriers to teaching critical multiculturalism. However, the teacher at the post-encounter stage had knowledge and skills to overcome these contextual obstacles.

One of the strategies that could be used was to create a third space to integrate relational and critical perspectives into multicultural curriculum reform. Four examples illustrate this capacity. First, teachers could introduce controversial issues relevant to students' daily lives so that they could better learn critical literacy-related skills. For example, at the upper elementary level, teachers could raise questions about "what causes the exploitation of child laborers" and "what causes school closing". At the lower level, students could discuss whether it was just to keep and train animals in a zoo. Second, when a student asks questions and make comments

related to institutional/social structural injustices, teachers could use that critical moment by sharing the student's ideas and discussing them in more depth. Third, teachers could prompt and challenge students to become more active when reading textbooks. This strategy helps students read textbooks critically and analytically, a skill that might contribute to improving their academic achievement in the current standardized testing system. At the same time, this strategy helps students recognize the value that that these mainstream school knowledge offers them, as a means to empower themselves to make the world better. Even though the content is not multicultural, the thinking processes could later be applied to issues of ethnic, racial, cultural, and social diversity. Fourth, post-encounter teachers could set up imaginary situations in which students are allowed to *talk-down* to their teacher in order to practice challenging authority. In a role-play, teachers become those with prejudice, and students as a group are expected to challenge those prejudices.

The three stages model provides insights into understanding how teachers' beliefs about the goals of multicultural education are different from one another; how these beliefs influence their ways of dealing with the dilemmas; and how they shape their practices in multicultural curriculum reform. It is noteworthy that teachers' practices are not always derived from their beliefs. The relationships among beliefs and practices in each stage need to be understood as complementary, contradictory, or dialectically intertwined with contexts.

Significance

This study produced new insights into teachers' beliefs about and practice in multicultural curriculum reform for elementary social studies. The remainder of this section discusses how this study extends, elaborates, and challenges existing scholarship.

First of all, this study indicates that different types of literacies reflect a relatively distinct feature of teaching for social justice, but they are not mutually exclusive. The findings of this study suggest a coexistence of contradictory beliefs within an individual (Poole, Reynolds, and Atkinson, 2011; Zheng, 2013). Although each teacher's commitment to teaching relational literacy often conflicted with her commitment to teaching other social justice literacies, it was possible for her to address more than two literacies simultaneously. In particular, some teachers perceived relational, functional, and critical literacy, which are often regarded as conflicting with one another, as fundamental to promoting social justice through multicultural education. This study also suggests a paradigm shift in understanding the relationship between functional literacy and critical literacy. Even though the conventional views on social justice literacies emphasize frequent conflicts between the two, Sue was a good example of how these two literacies can be supported simultaneously in the classroom.

In North's study (2009), although she recognized dilemmas caused by the conflicts among social justice literacies, she described teachers' conceptions of teaching for social justice in a way that one specific literacy is coupled with one specific teacher. Her attempt to couple each of the teachers with one specific social justice literacy was necessary because her primary concern was to conceptualize different types of social justice literacy. This study, based on complexity theory perspectives, extended her theory by illuminating the relationships and interactions among these social justice literacies that existed in the individual teachers' beliefs and practices.

Another noteworthy contribution of this study is affirmation of previous research findings (Zheng, 2013; Tisdell, Hanley, & Taylor, 2000) that similar contexts are interpreted differently as sites for teaching critical social justice literacy. Teachers' personal beliefs tended to determine

whether they would identify particular contextual factors as obstacles, and how they would be used in justifying the inappropriateness of teaching critical literacy. This result confirms Tatum's (1997) notion of teachers' convenient excuses to silence and avoid difficult conversations about certain kinds of diversities. Although the six teachers shared several similar contexts, such as teaching in a conservative society, national standards and textbooks, and students' developmental (in)appropriateness, the teachers who were willing to teach critical multicultural literacy sought out ways to overcome these perceived obstacles. Those who were not willing to do so used these contextual factors to rationalize their avoidance.

This study indicated that a school context itself has a significant impact on teachers' practice of multicultural education. Although all of the participants taught in the public elementary schools within the capital areas of South Korea, Sue was more confident in her commitment to teaching multicultural critical literacy because at her school there was a broad consensus on the values of democracy and diversity among the students, teachers, parents, and principal. The results of this study also support much of existing scholarships that multicultural education is not a single act, but a comprehensive reform for social justice (Banks, 1994; Sleeter & Grant, 1999; Schoorman & Bogotch, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1995)

Teachers' commitment was as important as contexts. An important question then is what motivated that commitment. The findings of this study indicated that teachers' knowledge and experience in multicultural teacher education might helped them (or not) to become aware of unequal power relations between majority and minority populations, care about the rights of minorities, and establish a strong belief in teaching critical multicultural literacy to elementary students. The teachers were divided into two groups according to whether or not they felt responsible about cultural diversity and teaching critical consciousness. Teachers committed to

teaching critical consciousness had further experiences engaging in formal or informal teacher development for multicultural education that focused on a critical feature of multicultural education and one's critical reflection on it. For example, while specializing in multicultural education, Won had the opportunity to learn about the different goals of multicultural education, and compare each of them with her personal and professional beliefs. Heejin also had a similar experience with Won through her engagement in research on elementary multicultural education. Sue did not specialize in multicultural education, but her thesis study on democratic education and long-time engagement in gifted education programs that included teaching the value of diversity provided her with the opportunities to realize the apparent contradiction between the ideals and realities of social reconstructionist education.

The other three teachers participated in coursework for multicultural education, but these experiences did not provide them with opportunities to engage in personal reflection and transformation (Gay, 2010a). Their learning experiences to teach diversity were usually focused on teachers' administrative work for ethnic/cultural minority parents, intercultural competence without the recognition of unequal power relationships, or superficial approaches to cultural diversity (i.e. foods and festivals). It is no wonder then that there are a number of factors (i.e. gender, age, years of teaching, etc.) that influenced their beliefs about not teaching critical literacy about cultural diversity. Nonetheless, it is notable that teachers' exposure to the wide spectrum of multicultural education (from more conservative to more liberal and critical) and their reflections on it emerged as one of the most compelling factors that motivated them to teach critical multicultural literacy. This supports previous research findings (Gay & Kirkland, 2003; Rosenberger, 2000; Choi, 2015; Cho, Choi, & Lee, 2015) that teachers' participation in inquiry-

based multicultural teacher education programs combined with reflective teaching practices led them to take more transformative approaches to multicultural education.

In addition, the teachers devoted to teaching critical multicultural literacy were different from the other three teachers in that they were teaching at schools in which the democratic principles were actively supported for curriculum development and implementation. These schools included two Innovate Schools where the government provided financial and administrative support for the operations of independent curriculum (Heejin, Won), or the school where there is a strong agreement among the school community members on a critical aspect of diversity (Sue). Particularly, Sue's recognition of the democratic school climate helped her more actively develop various strategies to create a third space in which students learn five social justice literacies in a given context.

The findings of this study indicated that a broad consensus on critical multicultural literacy among students, teachers, parents, and school leaders has a paramount impact on helping teachers develop various skills needed to confront and resolve dilemmas that might be caused when teaching critical multicultural literacy. The other three schools placed emphasis on relational literacy (Soyoung's school, Mina's school) or functional literacy (Jury's school), but there was little concern on developing critical multicultural literacy. It implies that teachers' beliefs and practices in multicultural education are filtered largely through school environments.

Although some teachers had a strong willingness to integrate critical literacy into multicultural curriculum reform, they still felt difficulty in applying it in practice. This study demonstrated that even the teachers who were devoted to teaching critical consciousness often ended up with poorly conceived and inappropriate approaches (i.e. learning about the institutional and social structural injustices that perpetuate the exploitation of child laborers, and

then making a donation to child laborers rather than challenging the status quo). These results support Westheimer's and Kahne's (2004) claim that although many school programs committed to democratic education may pursue both humanitarian "participations" (i.e. raising food trucks for homeless people) and "justice" (i.e. critically analyzing what causes poverty), this outcome is not guaranteed (p. 6). They argued that it is so difficult to integrate these two purposes that it often requires a political choice (i.e. whether to educate students to become participatory citizens or justice-oriented citizens). The uses of *humanitarian participation* and *justice* are in accordance with relational literacy and critical literacy, respectively. Their findings as well as those from this study indicate that in actual practice of teaching and learning critical analysis is not always followed by relevant social participations (Westheimer & Kahne, 2004).

At the same time, however, this study did extend the results reported in Westheimer and Kahne (2004) by envisioning alternative approaches that facilitate the integration of relational and critical multicultural literacy in elementary teaching. Although Sue did not encourage her students to participate in actual rallies, campaigns, or civil complaints outside the classroom, she helped them practice important strategies for individual/public actions by creating a third space in the classroom (i.e. Mock-NGO, talk-down role play, etc.). These findings imply that engaging in critical analysis can be integrated with the further development of the commitment or the ability to participate in pertinent social actions by teachers' careful curriculum design and implementation.

More fundamentally, one might criticize the developmental perspective on teachers' beliefs about and practice in multicultural curriculum reform. Burbules and Berk (1999) distinguished critical thinking from critical consciousness, and described that the latter is often criticized (or misunderstood) by liberals as political indoctrination. Johnson (in press) also

compared emancipatory educators with pluralists, and suggested that pluralists' primary concern is "the development of rational agency", but "the development of economic equality as a moral imperatives" remains as secondary (n.p.). In this regard, those who have pluralist views would disagree with the framework of this study about the stages of beliefs and practices in multicultural curriculum reform. They would rather define the different beliefs and practices as *types* which individual teachers can choose depending upon their political and ideological interests.

As located in critical pedagogy, however, this study considered the different beliefs and practices as developmental rather than political choices. It recommends that education should move beyond developing rational agency (critical thinking) towards developing critical consciousness. By engaging in critical analysis, students will be able to better address important question of *who benefits?* As noted by many critical educators such as Freire (1973), Giroux (1983), McLaren (1997), and Sleeter and Grant (1999), *dialogue* and *praxis* are powerful pedagogical method. Therefore, student participation in a recursive process of social interactions, public actions, and reflections need to be more nurtured in multicultural curriculum reform.

In spite of the significance of critical consciousness, it is still debatable whether elementary students are developmentally ready to deal with issues such as racism, equity, and social justice. Hodges' (2015) findings indicate that elementary teachers tend to avoid bringing these issues into the classroom because they cause students to feel guilty about being part of mainstream culture; and these issues are too political to be discussed with young students. However, as Sue, one of the participants of this study, argued "it is always better for teachers to open the door because they will see that darkness in the very near future. It's better to talk than leaving them ill-prepared". As observed in Mina's classroom, even fourth graders recognized

there was something wrong with slumism, housing shortages, and unemployment, which cannot be attributed to one's bad luck or laziness.

One might raise another question of whether elementary students are capable of understanding the institutional/social structural level of injustice. The findings of this study suggest that they are able to understand by teacher's scaffolding (i.e. choosing issues relevant to students' daily lives). Also, in the classrooms of Sue, Won, and Mina, there actually existed students who were interested in and/or understood some institutional/social structural problems. These students envision that elementary students are able to deal with these issues as well as raise a question of "who benefits" and "who are exploited"; they can thus be better prepared from the learning of critical consciousness at an early age.

Implications of the Theory for Practices

This study provided important insights for the practice of multicultural teacher education, social studies curriculum, and school reform. First, teacher educators need to offer differentiated multicultural curricula to preservice/in-service teachers at different stages. The findings of this study indicate that teachers are located at different stages in terms of their beliefs about and practices in multicultural curriculum reform which imply that individual teachers need differentiated scaffolding that built upon their current stage of understanding an investment in multicultural education. For example, teachers at the pre-encounter stage need instruction on the importance of critical consciousness in multicultural education, while those at the encounter stage would need to be provided with useful strategies for teaching critical multicultural education in the classroom settings.

Although differentiated instructions (DIs) and culturally responsive teaching (CRT) are highly emphasized in the context of P-12 classrooms, teacher educators often overlook that

teachers/teacher candidates are from academically, socially, and culturally different backgrounds. If teacher educators placed emphasis on how elementary teachers can effectively teach critical multicultural education, those who have not even built their own rationales for teaching critical literacy may not embrace these ideas. However, teachers with a strong commitment to teaching critical literacy need practical strategies to integrate it along with other types of social justice literacies in multicultural classroom teaching and other multilayered contexts (i.e. students, school, community, nation, etc.).

Current social studies standards need to include the development of critical multicultural literacy in South Korea. In this study, the teachers who had a strong commitment to teaching critical multicultural education struggled with the national social studies standards in which socialization and harmony are strongly emphasized. If curriculum goals, content, and instructional materials supporting the learning of critical literacy were more embedded in the current standards and textbooks, it would help teachers to move forward to the post-counter stage of multicultural education practice.

Finally, school leaders need to nurture a democratic school community. The findings of this study indicate that teachers are not the only agents in multicultural curriculum reform practice, but they can better prepare students with social justice literacies when the values of democracy and diversity are shared by students, parents, principals, and other school staff. If multicultural education is a school reform effort that requires the active participation of diverse stakeholders (i.e. policy-makers, administrators, teachers, school leaders, community members, students, etc.), they need to be actively involved in promoting multicultural curriculum reform practices rather than merely expecting teachers to take all responsibilities.

Limitations of the Study

Several strategies were used in this study to establish its authenticity and credibility. These included (1) making judgments explicit by explaining the analysis processes in detail as advised by Ryan and Bernard (2003); (2) using member checks to enhance the quality and accuracy of findings, as well as meet ethical obligations; (3) comparing the data collected from interviews, observations, and documents; (4) asking an expert in the field to participate in analyzing a sample of non-identifiable data collected in the interviews; and (5) comparing the data collected at different stages (Denzin, 1978). Although this study followed the sequence of qualitative case study outlined by Merriam (1998) and Lightfoot (1983), and the data were analyzed and triangulated as suggested by other scholars (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Parker & Gehrke, 1986; Charmaz, 2014), they were still subjected to my own epistemological stance and positionality.

In spite of the quality control efforts, several limitations were apparent. In regards to sampling, since the participants were already interested in multicultural education, this study did not include teachers who have little or no interest. This choice of sampling strategy was motivated by recommendations from scholars in case study research that the sample should be selected for practical significance rather than for statistical representation (Merriam, 2009). The assumption was made that teachers who have more interest in multicultural education would be more likely to provide richer information than those who have little interest. These assumptions and selection criteria need further testing and verification with larger and more varied participant samples.

The inclusion of only female elementary school teachers who implemented multicultural curriculum reform for social studies remains as one of the limitations of this study. Male

teachers, secondary teachers, and teachers who practice multicultural curriculum reform for other subjects were excluded from the study. This limitation would be compensated in future research studies designed to take a closer look at different pools of teachers and/or subjects.

Also, student composition of classes studied were all mainstream. Although the number of ethnic and culture minorities among students population in South Korea is increasing, this study was conducted in schools in which students were predominantly native Korean. Even though this demographic is typical of public elementary schools in South Korea, the results of this study are limited because they did not explain teachers' instructions for and interactions with ethnic/cultural minority students. To compensate for this limitation, I used supportive devices to help teachers imagine working with ethnic minority students, and articulate their beliefs and desired practices for these students. Despite these efforts, this study was not able to observe their actual engagement in developing ethnic/cultural minority students' multicultural literacies. Therefore, exploring difference cases where student demographics are more ethnically, racially, and culturally diverse is recommended for future study.

In terms of contextual factors, although this study illuminated the teachers' beliefs and practices in relation to the multilayered contexts in which they are involved, the national context of South Korea would need to be more systemically examined as a significant variable. At the social structural level, South Korea is based on neofamilism in which social promotions are quite dependent upon school-ties, region-ties, and blood-ties rather than the merits of individuals. This neofamiliar social structure often prevents Korean democracy from becoming fully consolidated (Ha, 2007). This brings us to the paradox, which contrasts the need to help students understand how neofamilism benefits particular groups of people at the expense of the rights of other groups of people and how they can challenge it on the one hand with the need to prepare them to engage

in the actual neofamiliar society on the other. Each of these contextual factors and situations may contribute to constructing the unique terrain of teacher beliefs and practices in multicultural education. Further investigations on how this macro socio-political structure mediates teachers' beliefs, practices, and other contextual factors (i.e. education policy, school, community, etc.) are needed to better understand the uniqueness and dynamics of the South Korean case.

Another limitation of this study is embedded in the nature of qualitative case study methodology. Due to its descriptive and particularistic nature, researchers in qualitative case studies often take a risk that readers draw their own conclusions and generalize them to larger populations. Also, in many cases, findings are "trivialized by readers who are unable to make connections implied, but not made explicit, by the researcher" (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 267). Two strategies were used to compensate for this limitation. First, assertions that emerged from the data were described in relations to the contexts. Hopefully, this strategy helped avoid making non-contextual assertions which "may be more distorting than illuminating" (Patton, 1990, p. 423), and facilitated more thoughtfulness in dealing with dilemmas between the complexity of reality and the simplification of those complexities. Second, descriptions of the cases was complemented with constructing categories and themes by exploring their relationships. These themes, integrated with existing theories, contributed to building a different substantive theory. Nonetheless, the small size of the samples still remains as a significant limitation of this study. It prevents generalizing the results to larger populations. Further studies are needed to test the findings of this study with large-scale quantitative research to determine if they can be transferred to other contexts.

Concluding Remarks

This qualitative study sought to understand what South Korean elementary teachers believed about the goals of multicultural education and how they practiced in multicultural curriculum reform. In South Korea, although discussions about multicultural education have been increasing recently, teaching for social justice and critical consciousness has been sparse in those discourses. Furthermore, as one of the participants explained, South Korea is currently going through “difficult times” in which freedom of expression is getting more constrained under the guise of promoting national security. The six teachers, nevertheless, were courageous enough to walk in this journey to a better understanding of themselves and multicultural education for social justice.

Before I was invited to their stories, I had been surrounded by a typical portrayal of South Korean female elementary teachers’ perceptions and practices in multicultural education, emphasizing the diversity of *foods, festivals, and flags*. During the times of our journey, however, I found myself repeatedly confronting this image and reconstructing it to create a more genuine and accurate story with the six teachers. Now I have a lens to see their dilemmas of the day-to-day teaching and learning, and have a better understanding of their struggles to prepare children for a multicultural democratic society. I am grateful to the teachers for their stories which helped me acquire a deeper understanding and appreciation that “teaching is a contextual, situational, and personal process; a complex and never-ending journey” (Gay, 2010b, p. 22).

I was also excited by the hope the students envisioned in the classrooms. They raised issues that are difficult but important, and were open to sharing their personal concerns and desires for the betterment of society. I hope this study will invite elementary teachers to be more

diligent on creating and crafting exciting opportunities for empowering children to realize the vibrancy of multicultural education in social reconstructions.

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Appendices

Appendix A:**Nomination Letter**

1. Self-Nomination Letter
2. Expert Nomination Letter

Appendix A-1: Self-Nomination Letter¹¹

Dear (Teacher),

I am writing to invite you to participate in a research study I will be conducting data collection from November 2015 through April 2016. The goal of the study is to see how Korean elementary teachers interpret multicultural education and teaching for social justice and implement multicultural curriculum reform.

I am doing this study as part of my doctoral program in Curriculum and Instruction at University of Washington. This study will be the focus of my dissertation and, may lead to further studies at the university or publications.

In this study, I would like to have 6-8 teachers to participate in the case study. I am hoping that you might be interested in volunteering. The commitment would be to participate in two interviews, one at the beginning of the study, and one at the completion of the study. Interview questions would focus on your definitions of multicultural education and teaching for social justice and how you implement them in multicultural curriculum reform. Following the interviews I would like to observe you in your classroom four times, one along with times of transaction and class meeting. The observations will not involve talking to students, just observing. The final component is a classroom environment. I would like to observe your walls.

Participation in the study is voluntary. Also, all written transcript from interviews and field notes will be shared with you to make sure if there is anything incorrect. Once you are pleased with those data, my analysis will begin. If you choose to participate and then at a later time decide that it isn't going well or you do not have time, you may opt out at any time. If the results of the study are published or presented, pseudonyms for the district, the school and your name will be used.

Lastly, teachers who participate in this study will be provided a gift card.

Thank you for your consideration in participating in this study. I am available by phone, text, and email if you have any questions you would like answered before making a decision to participate.

Sincerely,

Hyunhee Cho | PhD Candidate
University of Washington | Curriculum & Instruction | Multicultural Education
hyunhc@uw.edu | 508-685-9285 (USA) 010-8580-6425 (KO)

¹¹ This self-nomination form was originally designed by Hodges (2015), and modified based on the purpose of this study. This form was translated into Korean before sending.

Appendix A-2: Expert Nomination Letter¹²

Dear Professor _____

This is Hyunhee Cho, a PhD Candidate at the University of Washington embarking on my dissertation and your previous advisee from 2010 to 2012 as well. I am looking for nominations for participants in my study, which will be conducted from November 2015 through April 2016. The goal of the study is to see how Korean elementary teachers interpret multicultural education and implement multicultural curriculum reform. I am hoping you have someone in mind who may enjoy participating in the study.

The commitment would be to participate in two interviews, one at the beginning of the study and one at the completion of the study. Interview questions would focus on definitions of multicultural education and teaching for social justice and how they are implemented in the classroom; the participants' story and background; and teaching philosophies and practices. Following the interviews I would like to observe in the classroom a few times, one of which would include times of transaction and class meeting. The observations will not involve talking to students, just observing. The final component is a classroom environment. I would like to observe the print on the walls. Some of the characteristics and experience that nominees would have include the following: Teacher who

- currently teach students in elementary school;
- have knowledge and interests in multicultural education; and
- have experience of implementing classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform.

If you know of Korean elementary teacher who has these characteristics and experience, please fill out and send in the attached nomination form to the address listed below.

Sincerely,

Hyunhee Cho | PhD Candidate
University of Washington | Curriculum & Instruction | Multicultural Education
hyunhc@uw.edu | 508-685-9285 (U.S.) or 010-8580-6425 (KO)

¹² This expert nomination form was originally designed by Hodges (2015), and modified based on the purpose of this study. This form was translated into Korean before sending.

Appendix B:**Interview Questions**

1. Eligibility Interview
2. Semi-Structured Interview
3. Stimulated Recall Interview

Appendix B-1. Eligibility Interview

1. Why are you interested in multicultural education?
2. What is your definition of multicultural education?
3. Please share an example of how you implemented multicultural curriculum in your classroom.
4. What is the most important goal of your implementation of multicultural curriculum?
5. Here are five pictures. Which photos do you think are describing your understanding of multicultural education? Please select all photos that apply. ›Why did you select them? ›Please order the selected photos by its importance in multicultural education. Why did you order in that way?



Appendix B-2. Semi-Structured Interview

a. Background and Context

1. Please describe what caused you to become an elementary school teacher.
2. What kind of teacher education program did you go through?
3. How long have you been teaching?
4. How many ethnic/cultural minority students do you have in your classroom? What is your relationship with them like?
5. Please describe and explain the school in which you currently teach.
6. Tell me about students in your school.
7. Now, let's shift the focus from your school to the community in which it is located. Please describe the community.

b. Beliefs about the Goals of Multicultural Education

1. Please describe "multicultural education" in a metaphorical way and explain your metaphor in detail.
2. Please describe what you want your students to know, be able to do, and want to do as a result of multicultural curriculum you teach.
3. Now you are seeing three cards (McDonald, 2008). Please select the cards that you think are related to your understanding of multicultural education. ›Why did you select them? ›Please order the selected cards by its importance in multicultural education. Why did you order in that way?

Meeting individual students' needs and providing them with differential support when necessary
Recognizing students' opportunity to learn as informed by their identification with specific types of groups such as KLLs (Korean Language Learners and SDs or by their affiliation with specific social or cultural
Addressing the broad institutional inequalities presented in society

4. You are seeing five cards describing different goals of education (North, 2009). Please select the goals that you think are related to your understanding of the goals of multicultural education. ›Why did you select them? ›Which one do you think the closest to your understanding of the goals of multicultural education? Why?

Students develop the ability to appropriately function living as an autonomous and informed citizen.
Students develop the ability to challenge the universal paradigm of knowledge, question institutionalized power relations, and build strategies to act for equity and social justice.
Students develop the ability to respect others without bias and prejudice; and care for others on their mutual connection with others within and beyond school walls.
Students develop the ability to nurture the common good, and resolve various conflicts without resorting physical force.
Students develop the ability to develop a story for one's personal lives and the wider world, do the best to realize that story even in a difficult time.

c. Other Related Beliefs

1. What is the thing that pops in your mind when you hear the term “teaching for social justice?”
2. Please describe “social justice” in a metaphorical way and explain your metaphor in detail.
3. Please describe what social justice (or just society) means to you.
4. What is your definition of equity?
5. How could education (or school) contribute to promoting equity?
6. What do you think about classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform?
 - What kind of curriculum content do you want to teach when practicing multicultural curriculum reform in the class?
 - What kind of instructional styles do you want to use?
 - What kind of classroom climates do you want to create?
 - What do you think is an ideal relationship between teacher and students?
 - In what way do you want to assess students?
7. What do you think about Korea's multicultural education policy?
8. What do you think about standards and textbooks?

9. What does your principal expect of you?
10. How will you deal with the possible mismatches between what you want to teach and what you are required to teach?
11. What do you think about elementary students' developmental state (cognitive, emotional, and social)?
12. What do you think about teacher neutrality?

d. Questions for the Latter Three Participants (second round)

1. Which one would you place priority between teaching ethnic/cultural minority students Korean culture and teaching them their home culture? Why?
2. Which one would you place priority between teaching ethnic/cultural minority students Korean language and teaching them their home language? Why?

[prob] If you had Russian student who want to speak Russian in school, how would you deal with it?
3. Let's imagine that you are supposed to discuss *Sewol* Ferry issue with your students during instruction time. Where would you focus on?

[prob] Which one would you place more emphasis on between making a donation to the victims and analyzing institutional/social/structural problems related to the *Sewol* (i.e. the government's culpability)?
4. If you had a student raised by LGBTQ parents, would you be willing to discuss issues related to LGBTQ people in class? If no, why? If yes, why and how?
5. How do you evaluate popular uprisings such as June Gwangju Uprising (1980) and April Uprising (1960)? If Korea were in a similar situation, what would/wouldn't you discuss (or do) with your students?
6. Tell me about, if any, obstacles or limitations that you might face when practicing classroom-based multicultural curriculum reform.

Appendix B-3. Stimulated Recall Interview

1. Now you have my field notes in which I described your teaching practice of multicultural curriculum.

Please read this field notes and let me know if there are any descriptions that you think incorrect.

2. Please recall and describe the beliefs underpinning this highlighted practice (actualized during the times of observation) in the class. What motivated you to do this?

3. Please describe anything that facilitated your implementation of multicultural curriculum reform.

4. Please describe anything that constrained your implementation of multicultural curriculum reform.

Appendix C:
Observation Guide

Appendix C. Observation Guide

Observation Guide: Five-Fold Framework of Teaching for Social Justice (a goal of Multicultural Education)

	Functional Literacy	Relational Literacy	Critical Literacy	Democratic Literacy	Visionary Literacy
Concept	Students develop the ability to appropriately function living as an autonomous and informed citizen.	Students develop the ability to respect others without bias and prejudice; and care for others on their mutual connection with others within and beyond school walls.	Students develop the ability to challenge the universal paradigm of knowledge, question institutionalized power relations, and build strategies to act for equity and social justice.	Students develop the ability to nurture the common good and resolve various conflicts without resorting physical force.	Students develop the ability to develop a story for one's personal lives and the wider world, do the best to realize that story even in a difficult situation.
Key Idea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • basic knowledge and skill • higher-order thinking • academic achievement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anti-prejudice • care • critical care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reading injustice • action for social justice 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • argument with evidence • discussion for the shared understanding • deliberation for the common good 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reflection • hope

Appendix D:
Literature-Based Codes

Appendix D: Literature-Based Codes (North, 2009)

Categories	Functional Literacy	Relational Literacy	Critical Literacy	Democratic Literacy	Visionary Literacy
Concepts	Students develop the ability to appropriately function living as an autonomous and informed citizen.	Students develop the ability to respect others without bias and prejudice; and care for others on their mutual connection with others within and beyond school walls.	Students develop the ability to challenge the universal paradigm of knowledge, question institutionalized power relations, and build strategies to act for equity and social justice.	Students develop the ability to nurture the common good, and resolve various conflicts without resorting physical force.	Students develop the ability to develop a story for one's personal lives and the wider world, do the best to realize that story, and maintain hope even in a difficult time.
Codes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • basic knowledge and skill • higher-order thinking • academic achievement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • anti-prejudice • care • critical care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reading injustice • action for social justice (Wade, 2007) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • seeking of common ground <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - discussion for the shared understanding (Parker, 2006) - deliberation for the common good (Parker, 2006) • seeking of opportunities for multiple and competing perspectives to be voiced and heard • making arguments with evidence • dissent (Stitzlein, 2014) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • reflection • hope

Appendix E:
A Final Code Set

Functional Literacy	Relational Literacy	Critical Literacy	Democratic Literacy	Visionary Literacy
F1: become an autonomous citizen in Korean mainstream society	R1: cultural understanding 1. understand oneself and one's culture 2. understand people from different culture	C1: construct the concept of fairness/justice 1. distinguish differentiation from discrimination 2. feel a sense of injustice	D1: develop dispositions for participatory citizenship D2: postpone judgement	V1: self-respect V2: self-reflection
1. understand the mainstream knowledge, behavior, and values 2. become fluent in mainstream language	R2: intercultural competences 1. recognize difference 2. embrace vulnerability 3. feel emotional empathy 4. feel cognitive empathy	C2: challenge the universal paradigm of knowledge C3: critical consciousness C4: dissent (right and skills)	D3: make arguments with evidence D4: engage with others who have different perspectives for in-depth examination of issues (seminar) D5: engage with others to deliberate better decision (deliberation)	
F2: become an active (autonomous) learner	R3: combatting prejudice 1. become aware of one's prejudice against others 2. become aware of other's prejudice against us 3. understand the source of prejudice 4. take action to combat prejudice	C5: participate in social action for social justice and equity C6: make an ally		
F3: build community of learning	R4: building of community (individual/micro level) 1. to disclose conflicts 2. understand reason for conflicts 3. resolve conflicts 4. develop group-problem solving skills 5. build positive relationships R5: living together (macro level) 1. understand public issues 2. understand beliefs (philosophy) underlying issues (phenomena) 3. take action to care for others 4. understand how to resolve conflicts peacefully R6: crucial care (equalize power relation between teachers and students)			

Hyunhee Cho**EDUCATION**

PhD Candidate, Multicultural Education (C&I), 2012–Present, University of Washington, Seattle, WA.

Dissertation (in process)

Crafting a third space:

Teacher beliefs and practices in curriculum reform for multicultural education

Dissertation Committee

Geneva Gay (Chair), Walter Parker, Kenneth Zeichner, and Yong-chool Ha

M.A., Elementary Education, 2012, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea

Thesis

Effects of multicultural education curriculum on students' intercultural sensitivity:

A model based on the multicultural curriculum of Bennett

Bachelor of Arts & Bachelor of Public Health (dual degree), 2009, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea

Majors: Elementary Education & Health Education

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE**Eunpyeong Elementary School, Seoul, South Korea**

Elementary School Teacher, 2009 - 2015

- Developed grade-level curriculum in accordance with Korean Ministry of Education Frameworks
- Led classroom instruction in all basic subject areas for multiple grade levels (2009-2011) and English subject for 6th grade level (2012)

Programs Director, 2010 - 2012

- Designed and implemented an “edu-care” programs for 23 elementary students from cultural minority groups
- Participated in and led school-wide reform efforts with focus on implementing welfare program for students from low income families
- Designed and implemented the in-service teacher training program and elementary student/college student mentoring program

Counselor, 2009

- Worked as a counselor for students who are members of Korean Scouting

Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea

Research Assistant, 2012-2014

- Conducted mixed method research, “Elementary Teachers’ Implementation of Multicultural Curriculum: From the Perspective of Depth of Implementation (Document #: NRF-2012S1A5A2A01018673)”, with the principal investigator and four doctoral students

Ewha Womans University's Center for Gifted Education, Seoul, South Korea

Program Developer and Lecturer, 2010 - present

- Designed curriculum and taught 5th-6th grade class of gifted students
- Instructed and assisted four gifted children and won the second prize in the Creativity Contest held by the Seoul Metropolitan Office of Education
- Designed and presented multicultural lessons for 3rd- 4th grade students from low income families

Lead-Instructor (homeroom teacher), 2011

- Played a leading role in teaching and evaluating gifted children in Humanities & Social Studies class and communicating with parents

Ewha Womans Univeristy Elementary School, Seoul, South Korea

Student Teacher, 2010 - 2011

- Taught core curriculum for 2nd grade class
- Recognized as the most creative and organized curriculum design by Ewha Womans University Elementary School and demonstrated an open class to preservice teachers and professors in an elementary education workshop

SELECTED PUBLICATIONS

Book

Choi, J., Lee, K., & Cho, H. (2010). *Teacher education for globalism: A mentoring program for multicultural students*, Ewha Womans University Teachers College Curriculum Research Center.

Thesis

Cho, H. (2012). *Effects of multicultural education curriculum on students' intercultural sensitivity* (Thesis, Ewha Womans University). Retrieved February 1, 2012, from The Graduate School of Ewha Womans University: Full Text. (Publication No. 936-11 MA 0347).

Referred Journal Articles

Choi, J., Cho, H., & Lee, S. (2014). Analysis on multicultural education policy and implementation in South Korea based on multicultural education approaches. *The Journal of Elementary Education*, 27(4), 295-322.

Cho, H., Choi, J., & Lee, J. (2015). Exploring South Korean elementary teachers' implementation patterns of multicultural curriculum. *Korean Journal of Teacher Education*, 31(3), 121-141.

MANUSCRIPTS IN PREPARATION

Cho, H., & Choi, J. (2016). South Korean elementary teachers' beliefs about teaching for social justice in the context of multicultural education.

Cho, H., Chu, Y., & Heung, L. (2016). Comparison of elementary social studies standards of China, Taiwan, and South Korea on multicultural education.

Cho, H., Park, S., Park, H., Cheon, N., Myeong, H., & Kim, J. (2016). Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice. (G. Gay, Trans.). (Original work published 2010)

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

Conferences

Cho, H., & Choi, J. (2016). "I'll work for it in private": Prospective teachers' conceptions of teaching for social justice in South Korea. Paper session presentation at the 2016 American Educational Research Association Annual Meeting (AERA), Washington D.C.

Cho, H., & Choi, J. (2015). Investigating South Korean elementary teachers' beliefs about teaching for social justice in the context of multicultural education. Ewha Womans University Teacher Education 100th Anniversary Celebration Ceremony and International Conference, Seoul, South Korea.

Cho, H. (2015). The role of the state in reforming multicultural education and developing civil society in South Korea. The European Conference on Education, Brighton, U.K.

Yeon, S., Cho, H., & Hodges, S. (2014). Teachers' beliefs on multicultural social justice teaching: A case study of four U.S. elementary teachers. 2014 Korea Association for Multicultural Education International Conference. Seoul, South Korea.

Workshops

Cho, H. (2015). "U.S. K-12 Education Workshop". Organization of Student Diversity and Inclusion, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, U.S.A.

Cho, H. (2012/2013/2015). "Integrating multicultural curricula into elementary social studies". Department of Elementary Education, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea

Cho, H. (2013). "Understanding education for social justice and implementing multicultural social justice education." Won-Kwang Elementary School, Seoul, South Korea

Cho, H. (2008). "Integrating multicultural education into core curriculum for 2nd grade class". Department of Elementary Education, Ewha Womans University, Seoul, South Korea

Departmental Presentation

Cho, H. (2013, February). Teachers' Beliefs towards Multicultural Education in South Korea. Paper presentation at the Winter Quarter 2013 Research and Inquiry Presentations, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA.

AWARDS & LEADERSHIP

Scholarship

- College of Education General Scholarship, University of Washington, 2012-2013
- Graduated from college with honors, Ewha Womans University, 2009
- Honor Scholarship, Ewha Womans University, 2008 1st / 2nd Semester; 2006 1st / 2nd Semester; 2005 1st / 2nd Semester; and 2004 2nd Semester
- Travel Grant, University of Washington College of Education, 2014

Leadership

- Vice President of Student Council, Department of Public Health Education, Ewha Womans University, 2006
- Diversity Ambassador for Organization of Student Diversity and Inclusion, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, 2015-2016

VOLUNTEER WORK & INTERESTS

- Mentored Master in Teaching (MIT) applicants in Application Boot Camp, 2016, College of Education, University of Washington, Seattle, WA, U.S.A.
- Assisted with English Worship for foreigners living in Korea, and helped immigrants to adjust to a new environment, 2012, Dong-an Church, South Korea
- Cared for babies in an orphanage, 2008 – 2009, Sungrowon, South Korea
- Taught children separated from parents, 2004 – 2006, Seodaemoon Welfare Center, South Korea
- Assisted with camping program for autistic children, 2004, Seodaemoon Welfare Center, South Korea
- Taught Korean language to ethnic Koreans living in China, 2004, Youngsang Church, South Korea

CERTIFICATES & SKILLS

- National teaching license for elementary education, South Korea
- Certification in School Counseling, South Korea
- Proficient in Word, PowerPoint, and Excel
- Proficient in working with software packages for qualitative/quantitative research including SPSS Statistics, STATA, AMOS, Atlas.ti, Dedoose, and N-VIVO
- Qualified with regression analysis, multivariate analysis, measurement development and validation, social network analysis, and panel data analysis (Korea University, Seoul, South Korea)