Identity Development of Mixed-Raced Students in a South Korean Multicultural School

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Abstract

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South Korea is undergoing a demographic change. Long term expatriates and immigrants are challenging how and to whom Korea provides public education. With new generations of mixed-Korean children, assimilation policies and practices in education can damage students who come from multicultural backgrounds if their diversity is not addressed intentionally and positively. This qualitative study examined biracial and biethnic students' experiences and the development of their positive biracial identities. It has implications for how educational environments, especially in South Korea, can be restructured to be more supportive of the development of positive biracial identities and how teachers who teach mixed-Koreans and educational spaces/climates can better facilitate these developments. Several individual interviews were conducted with nine mixed-race members of the SKA School community; the founder/principal, a teacher, two former students and four current students. The participants were

asked questions that were related to their personal identity, how they were perceived in Korean society, experiences and opportunities at SKA School and other ecological factors that influence identity development. Data was organized using Atlas Ti. It was first coded into groups which were created based on the conceptual theories and then coded a second time with themes that surfaced within the first coding. Several themes emerged from this investigation including school as an identity safe space verses school climate as an identity developmental safe space, United States multicultural education verses United Nations multicultural education and biracial identity development verse bicultural identity negotiation (navigation). Suggestions for future research and implications regarding biracial identity development in educational spaces/climates are discussed.

Keywords: mixed-Korean, bicultural, biracial, Korea, identity development, educational spaces, school climate

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I was six years old and my family was visiting my grandparents in South Korea. My 엄마 (mother) was going to visit the house my grandparents were having built. It was late. I asked my mother if I could go with her. She said “no”. As disappointed as I was, “no” was not what shocked me, it was her reason why. She told me it was dark and because I was mixed-Korean, it would be dangerous for me. I always wondered, why would being mixed be dangerous? For years I questioned if it was another reason for me to have to stay home? There were none, just race.

This and countless other racial experiences surrounding my biracial/bicultural background were important factors in shaping my interest in biracial identity development and multicultural education. This is also what has led me to pursue a Ph.D. at the University of Washington, Seattle. In the end, the combination of these experiences are what provided the inspiration and motivation for the topic of this dissertation.

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Finally, God again.

DEDICATION

To my wife and our future children.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Once known as the “Hermit Kingdom” because it closed itself off from the rest of the world, South Korea is undergoing a demographic change. The “[South] Korean Dream," similar to the "American Dream" concept of the opportunities for prosperity and success, has been both realized for some nationals, but nightmarish for many who immigrate to Korea seeking economic improvement (Olsen, 2008; Solis, 2008; Suarez-Orozco & Suarez-Orozco, 2002). The increase of mail-order brides, remigration of Koreans from abroad, and children of international marriages contribute to South Korea's multicultural population. In 2011 about one-third of all marriages in South Korea's rural areas were with migrant wives—a majority being from China and Southeast Asia (Faustino, 2011). According to Statistics Korea (http://kostat.go.kr) by 2020, the number of multicultural families in South Korea will outnumber dual-Korean families in rural areas.

Statistics [South] Korea also reported that in 2015 there were 22,462 international marriages. This is in addition to 130,000 international marriages which had tripled since 2003. However, this was an eight percent decrease compared to the previous year. Although the drastic rise of international marriages has lowered somewhat, the birth of mixed-race individuals increased from 2.9% in 2008 to 4.9% in 2014 (Lee, 2017). There are currently over 150,000 reported mixed Korean children with Korean citizenship and registered in schools (www.liveinkorea.kr). There are areas where a large number of mixed Korean children are attending Korean public schools. Mixed-race Koreans have the highest dropout rates among all students attending South Korean schools. Faustino (2011) attributes this to "discrimination, poorer language proficiency [if immigrants], and limited school support,” and notes that these

children face “above national average dropout rates of 20 percent in middle school and 40 percent in high school” (p. 4). These numbers increase as multiculturalism in the country increases. Little intervention has been made to correct the social problems that have stemed from the expansion of multiculturalism.

These statistics demonstrate an urgent need for something to be done. Ideally, reforming the South Korean educational system to meet the needs of all students, biracial and monoracial, would be the best approach. However, this study offers a possible intermediary solution and related data. One potential way to increase mixed-race Koreans school persistence is to help students develop a strong sense of self. Maslow (1943) stated that there is a hierarchy of human needs which are fundamental to one’s sense of identity. Sequentially, these are physiological (physical survival), safety, love, and belongingness through interpersonal relationships and esteem and self-actualization. These needs are applicable to mixed-Koreans developing a strong sense of self.

One essential part of any mixed-race Korean identity is biraciality. If the goal is to keep mixed-race Korean students from dropping out of school, then this requires more understanding of how biracial identity development is influenced and influences educational spaces, experiences, and outcomes. Thus, improved education conditions that support biracial identity development for mixed-race Korean student may increase graduation rates and improve overall academic performance.

This study is as much about identity development in educational environments as it is about helping mixed Korean students to be academically successful in both multicultural independent and public schools. How educational environments and experiences are transformed to address the needs of diverse student population better, depends on where the schools are

currently in creating safe spaces for all who make up the diversity of Koreans. This study was not undertaken to establish a template for schools with diverse student populations that can be just copied and implemented. Rather its intention was to create criteria for approaches that can be used to create educational experiences that support the development of strong positive biracial identities, accepting multicultural attitudes, and higher education achievement.

Biracial identity development research has focused a lot on the effects of family and cultural influences (Root, 1992; LaFromboise, T., Coleman, H. L., & Gerton, J, 1993). However, settings beyond the home in which identity is additionally influenced should also be addressed, particularly educational environments. These environments are important because students spend a great deal of time in classrooms and other formal educational spaces. According to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2011) students in its member nations spend an average of 791 hours in primary school and 907 hours per year in lower secondary schools in compulsory education. This does not include additional time outside of instruction, but still in educational settings. These social times are very critical factors in identity development for students in terms of their ecological contexts. South Korean students spend 134 hours more a year than the overall OECD average (OECD, 2012), with some students spending as much as 16 hours a day in some kind of structured educational environments. This number increases for secondary school age students who are preparing for the Korean national college entrance exams.

In South Korea, the number of mixed Koreans is increasing. Once the number of current mixed Korean children become of legal age, they will be a critical mass in demanding their own and others' rights to a Korean or dual identity. These numbers alone could be enough to politically justify the need for understanding the relationship between education and biracial

identity development. When the importance of positive identity development during primary and secondary education experiences is recognized, the social, emotional, cultural, and academic needs create a humanistic urgency to support it. This study builds on this importance and recognizes that there are different support needs that must be attended to for mixed Koreans. In the remaining part of this chapter the context of this qualitative study, multiculturalism in South Korea, and the purpose of the study are explained.

South Korean Multicultural Policies and Immigration

Multiculturalism has moved South Korean researchers, educators, social workers, and policymakers into several new academic fields of scholarly endeavors. Understanding how to address the educational need of decision makers and how to educate diverse student populations are important and necessary if South Korea continues to proclaim itself as an emerging multicultural society. South Korea began democratization in 1987 (Shin, 2010), and in the 1990s began the segyehwa (세계화) program, also known as South Korea's drive towards globalization (Kim, 2000). South Korea's emphases in globalization were mainly within the realm of politics and economics. Kim (2000) explained that "the argument that globalization is a threat to social stability, state…national and cultural identity has come from a wide range of competing interest…" (p.6). This debate has become more relevant in recent years as South Korea began to recognize the impact of globalization on race and ethnic identity.

South Korea is now struggling with what it takes to be multicultural in this age of globalization (Hyun, 2007). Its multicultural policies consider non-ethnic Koreans and mixed Korean children as the same. This can be seen in through the South Korean Policies on multicultural families. Berdnt (2017) stated,

> Most sections of this act [Support for Multicultural Families Act] are supportive measures which aim to help multi-cultural families adopting to South Korean society. Some of these clauses include educational support, family counselling, couple relationship education, parenting education, etc. (Article 6 and 7)

This perception, which does not accept any social or legal principle of racial classification based on a one-drop rule, has provided new understanding for what to do and what not to do when trying to address multiculturalism in a society whose government has chosen to embrace the concept. For example, in 2012 Jasmine Lee was elected as the first Filipina and naturalized South Korean as a proportional representative in South Korea's National Assembly election.

The increase of remigration of Koreans from abroad, mail order brides, and children born from international marriages has resulted in a significant demographic change in a previously self-proclaimed homogenous South Korea. This In 2015, the South Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs reported that there were over 22,400 international marriages in South Korea. This brings the total to over 305,500 international marriages. Although the drastic rise of the number of international marriages has slowed down over the years, according to the Korea Institute for Health and Social Affairs, the number of multicultural families in Korea is expected to rise to 740,000 by 2020 (Shim 2015). Fackler (2009) reported that "More than one in nine children could be of mixed background by 2020" (para 8). Lim (2011) reported that children with at least one parent of non-Korean heritage are expected to exceed 1.6 million by 2020.

The South Korean Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs reported that as of January 1, 2015, there are over 207,690 mixed-Korean children born to international marriages within South Korea. These numbers do not include international couples who reside in

South Korea but were married in another country, those who have remigrated to South Korea, or those who are not registered with Korean citizenship. The Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology (MEST) (2012) reported that approximately 50,000 students from multicultural families, including children from international marriages and of foreign workers, were attending schools in South Korea. Among them, 34,000 are currently enrolled in elementary school (72%), 9,600 in middle school (20%), and 3,500 in high school (7.5%). Approximately 16% of these multicultural students reside in Seoul, the capital of South Korea (Park, 2013).

The National Report of the Republic of [South] Korea (2008) identified the country's education goals as homogenous focused in response to historical events that impacted Korea's national identity. "Korea enjoyed an exclusive history and culture for a long time, and school education has acted as a mechanism utilized in the process of distributing social status in the aftermath of the Japanese colonization period and the Korean War" (p.11). Multiculturalism in South Korea has contributed to dramatic revisions in educational policies and curricula that move away from a homogenous identity.

There are currently two policies supporting multiculturalism and multicultural education in South Korea. The first is the Multicultural Family Support Act, which was passed in January 2014. It is aimed at helping multicultural family members lead a safe and stable life by improving the quality of life and social integration of multicultural family members (Support for Multicultural Families Act, 2010). A second multicultural policy focuses on reducing the educational disadvantage imposed on multicultural students and helping them adapt to Korean society; promoting cultural sensitivity and understanding among general students; and assisting students from multicultural families in becoming globally competent and bilingual (Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development, 2006; Cho et al., 2010).

The Korean government also revised the national curriculum in 2007 to include content on cultural diversity and human rights (Kim & Kim, 2012). Kim and So (2018) provided the following examples of this inclusion in both the Ethics (Moral) and Social Studies Curricula,

> Ethics Curriculum: Overcoming prejudices and presenting tolerance: Students have a right understanding of diversity. They should accept, tolerate, and respect different cultures. (Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development 2007, p. 10)
>
> Social Studies Curriculum: Different Cultures in Different Regions: Students should understand and respect different cultures in the world. Students learn and respect diversity through their interests in sports, movies, arts, and festivals, hosted in the world. (Ministry of Education and Human Resources Development 2007, p. 21)

So, Lee, Park, and Kang, (2014) also identified the revisions stated in the 2007 versions of Korea's national curriculum as:

> (a) support for immigrant families is indispensable;
>
> (b) multiculturalism should be used as a cross-curricular theme and incorporated into the school curriculum as well as extracurricular activities; (c) terms such as mono-race and mono-ethnicity, or "one blood" of the Korean race (Hanminjok, 한민족) should be deemphasized; and
>
> (d) embracing an understanding of diversity and multiculturalism should be highly encouraged".

Kim and So (2018) added that tolerance, acceptance, and respect were recognized in the 2007 curriculum standards as an attempt to replace ethnocentrism with cultural diversity and multiculturalism (p. 109). In the most recent 2015 curriculum revision, multicultural education also emphasizes the inclusion of gender, religion, and class. It is important to note that South

Korea has not clearly defined it's construction of 'cultures' in relation to mixed-race-ness or whether it is identified as an independent culture to be accepted, tolerated and respected.

Bicultural Identity and Classroom Performance

Bicultural, social, ethnic and racial identity has been linked to classroom performance. According to Miller-Cotto and Brynes (2016), "proponents of the racial-ethnic self-schemas framework have argued that the direction of the correlation depends on whether a positive or negative stereotype is present in specific achievement contexts" (p. 5). This means that depending on whether students are aware of a positive or negative stereotype about their identity (e.g., Asian Americans being good at math and science), there is an expected positive correlation between their ethnic identity and achievement. This supports findings by Costigan, Koryzma, Hua, and Chance (2010) that, "a secure sense of self that comes as a result of an achieved ethnic identity is believed to serve as a protective mechanism against the risk of poor academic achievement" (as stated in Miller-Cotto & Brynes, 2016, p. 53). According to Steele's (1992) stereotype threat theory, racial minority students who are aware of negative stereotypes perform according to the negative stereotype. These scholars have demonstrated that there is a relationship between racial (and gender) identity and academic performance.

Research has shown that high bicultural competency is beneficial for mixed-race individuals' identity (Aldarondo, 2001; LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993; Phinney, 2004). Multicultural education, that includes the cultures of several different races in an educational system, offers a strong argument for education that is both performance provoking and transformative (Banks, 2009). Korean education is as much about developing democratic citizenship, cultural socialization and a national identity as it is about ensuring that students meet certain academic competencies. Olneck (2011) stated:

> Belief in Korea as historically ethnically homogeneous and a concomitant belief in the distinctiveness and superiority of Korean culture constituted a prevailing ethnic nationalism that was an institutionalized value, and conveyed explicitly, including in education curricula. (p. 676)

Steele (1992) stated, “schooling must focus more on reducing the vulnerabilities [race and class] that block identification with achievement” (p. 18). In other words, in addition to creating and carrying out policies and curriculum changes that support mixed-Koreans as vulnerable members of its society, there also needs to be more research on understanding mixed-Koreans as members of the Korean diaspora rather than foreigners. This study was designed to contribute to this goal by presenting narratives of mixed Korean students who are attending or have attended a multicultural school in South Korea, and their experiences with developing a healthy bicultural identity. By understanding the attitudes of administrators and teachers who are also biracial and work in a multicultural school, and how their biracial identity contributes to the creation of a safe biracial development environment, the intent of this study was to help reduce the vulnerabilities that block identification and achievement for mixed children in South Korea.

Assimilation and Multiculturalism in South Korea

South Korea uses the terms "multicultural" and "multiculturalism" to describe the new diversity among Koreans and within its own unique context. This context does not necessarily fit Castles' (2007) dimensions of multiculturalism that include the recognition of cultural diversity and social equality for members of minority groups. According to Castles "Multiculturalism implies that members of such groups should have equal rights in all spheres of society, without being expected to give up diversity, although usually with an expectation of conformity to certain key values" (p. 24). If this definition is applied to South Korean educational policies, then there

should be more evidence of Korean public-school personnel positively supporting the inclusion of mixed-heritage Koreans. This means acknowledging the ethnic diversity among Koreans and accepting children's mixed-heritage and languages, as well as increasing the multicultural knowledge of mono-heritage Koreans. However, current perceptions reflect the assimilation of mixed-heritage Koreans as simply "Korean."

One reason for this approach is that Korean national identity and ethnic identity are not separated. The definition of "nation" combines the state 'kuk-ga' (국가), a people 'kuk-min,' (국민) and a race (ethnicity) 'min-jok' (민족) or 'gyu-lei,' (규례) which means people have the same ancestry, community, language, and culture. The western definition of "nation" allows for a separation of state, or a people, or a race (Kim, 2004). In one sense, assimilation instills a sense of Korean pride in students who are generally disregarded as not Koreans. However, this institutionalized homogeneity alone cannot create a Korean identity, especially when the larger society discriminates against mixed Koreans who do not necessarily fit the general concept of who is or what makes a person Korean.

Assimilation seems to be the default approach within South Korea's concept of national identity. However, the country's approach to assimilation does not fit the traditional forced assimilation approach. Kymlicka (1995) described this as "… coercively assimilated, [being] forced to adopt the language, religion, and customs of the majority" (p. 2). Assimilation is not by choice. It seems to be more of a passive forced assimilation. This approach is not explicit in forcing individuals to assimilate, but the social criteria for acceptance demand it. Regardless of whether other unspoken requirements for inclusion are excluded, assimilation is expected. This passive forced assimilation is used as South Korea's default approach. According to Kim and So

(2018), “[South] Korean multicultural policies still use an assimilationist approach that limits the immigrants’ universal human rights” (p. 112).

One way Korean assimilation is passively forced is through history textbooks. Although the purpose of Korean Social Studies textbooks is the "development of democratic citizenship," the concept of democracy is not a traditional one (Kim, 2004). This leads to inherent challenges as to how to promote the acceptance of diversity within South Korea so that everyone has equal opportunity. Within a multicultural society, assimilation can create a "disconnect" in family relationships, hinder sharing and transmission of cultural funds of knowledge, and complicate the identity development of mixed-heritage individuals (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992; Kiyama, 2010; Valenzuela, 1999). Assimilation policy supports Valenzuela‘s (1999) idea of subtractive schooling, which is "the erosion of students' social capital evident in the presence and absence of academically orientated networks…" (p. 30). South Korea's multicultural image has yet to be accepted among all Koreans, both abroad and domestically.

While South Korean assimilation is attempting to preserve its mainstream culture among its multicultural diaspora, at the same time it obstructs some essential tools that assist in the development of a strong bicultural identity and affect student school performance. Ogbu's (1999) Cultural Ecological Theory suggests that "there are two sets of factors influencing minority school performance: how society at large and the school treat minorities (the system) and how minority groups respond to those treatments and schooling (community forces)" (p. 156). The relationship between these two sets of factors and their influence on mixed-Koreans in South Korea is still unexplored.

In South Korea’s presumed homogenous climate, mixed-race individuals find it difficult not being distinguishable from the rest of the population (Castles, 2007). This is what has made

them targets of discrimination. As stated by Cho and Yoon (2010), “the rapid diversification indicates that the [South] Korea that was developed around a single people and culture needs to make changes” (p. 1). Thus, assimilation policies toward mixed-heritage Koreans could do more damage than good to the individual. The cost of the preservation of Korean culture is a denial of constitutional rights to a specific group of people. The constitutional provision states,

> All citizens shall be assured of human dignity and worth and have the right to pursue happiness. It shall be the duty of the State to confirm and guarantee the fundamental and inviolable human rights of individuals (South Korean Constitution, Article 10)

According to the South Korean Constitution, it is not only the right of South Korean citizens to be able to pursue happiness; it is the government’s responsibility to ensure that its citizens can pursue happiness. The government is responsible,

> to afford equal opportunities to every person and provide for the fullest development of individual capabilities in all fields, including political, economic, social and cultural life by further strengthening the basic free and democratic order conducive to private initiative and public harmony, and to help each person discharge those duties and responsibilities concomitant to freedoms and rights… (South Korean Constitution, Preamble)

Citizenship was a problem for Amerasians who were born between the 1950s and 2008. According to South Korea's family registration law, until recently, citizenship passed through the father’s name. The constitutional court in South Korea declared this “hoju” (호주) or “family headship system,” unconstitutional because it violated gender equality rights. The hoju system placed only a male member as the legal head of the family. The status of each family member is

defined by his or her relationship to the hoju. Mixed-Koreans who were not born to a Korean male or were not placed on the hoju dung lok (호주등록), (family record/family relationship certificate) were not given Korean citizenship. Regarding gender, this was somewhat contradictory because as Gage (2007, p. 96) explained,

> particularly through the reproduction of its citizens… The notions of ‘our women' as vessels of the nation-state or mothers of the citizens of the nation-state responsible for the health of the nation are violated in this regard. The women who violated the laws of state membership, by willingly or unwillingly having liaisons with foreign non-Asian men, are no longer considered full-fledged members of the state. This national insecurity is then extended to their children.

Since 2008, South Korea's family registry laws have changed, and now family members are defined as children of the mother and/or father. Since individuals regardless of gender can now submit family register documents, mixed-Koreans can be given citizenship. Thus, the constitution is violating their rights to develop a biracial identity as part of their right to pursue happiness, and the government must support that right.

South Korean society and government address the diversity of Korean by focusing on "race" and students from multicultural marriages, who generally have physical distinctions. Mixed-Koreans have a long history, but it has been kept out of the textbooks and is known only by a small group of researchers (Gage, Kang & Diggs, 2013). In addition, South Korea’s assimilation policy towards mixed-race Koreans has limited opportunities for bicultural development and fractioned mixed-Koreans, thereby eliminating the emergence of a combined mixed-Korean socio-political movement.

South Korean Teachers and Identity Development

Some South Korean teachers are seeking alternate ways to address the needs of mixed students (Watson & Lee, 2011). However, they are caught between trying to assimilate them and addressing diversity. In their study Ha, Hwang, Yeo, and Kang, (2014, p. 113) noted:

> [teachers] who had no or little prior experience with multicultural children tended to feel burdened and worried and had a difficult time figuring out how to teach them. Teachers who had gone through on-the-job training or other training programs seemed to have relatively greater confidence in teaching multicultural children and understood the needed programs for teaching multicultural children…. This phenomenon seems to be related to getting rid of teaching stress through multicultural training.

In addition, non-mixed Korean students in and outside of school (especially those with large numbers of mixed Koreans) discriminate against mixed Korean students based on their bi-ethnic households and their unique appearance. According to a report from the 2010 Humans Rights Commission of Korea, 42% of mixed Korean students were taunted because of accented language, 37% were ridiculed because of their mixed heritage, and 25% were insulted for their physical appearance. These numbers are supported by a more in-depth study performed three years prior to the Human Rights Commission report. Lee (2008) referred to Park Kyung-Tae, survey of 101 Amerasian respondents (Table 1 below). Park's study, "revealed that many [mixed Koreans] experienced physical and verbal abuse by peers and teachers. These numbers reveal that a high percentage of Amerasians were regularly ridiculed, beaten by their peers, and treated unfairly by their school teachers" (p. 61).

Table 1. Amerasians' Experiences During School Days

Experiences	Yes	No	N/A	Total
I have experiences of being ridiculed by friends.	75.2	24.8	-	100.0
I have experiences of being excluded from friends.	55.4	44.6	-	100.0
I have experiences of being beaten by friends	33.7	66.3	-	100.0
I have experiences of unfair treatment by school teachers.	43.6	53.5	3.0	100.1
I was totally isolated in school.	35.6	61.4	3.0	100.0
I fought a lot against other students in school.	40.6	56.4	3.0	100.0
I had no friend in school who understood me.	25.7	71.3	3.0	100.0
I have experiences of committing offenses for livelihood.	21.8	78.2	-	100.0

Source: Park Kyung-Tae, "Left Behind: Amerasians Living in Korea," in Conference Proceedings: "The Korean Nation and Its 'Others' in the Age of Globalization and Democratization." Univ. of Hawai'i, Center for Korean Studies, Apr. 20-21, 2007, p. 50.

Research also shows that some children of mixed parentage and of immigrants in South Korea have lower academic achievement and exhibit characteristics of emotional disturbance (Cho, 2006; Kim & Kim, 2012) and high dropout rates (Hong, 2010; Lim, 2011) These conditions may increase as Korea's multiculturalism increases, especially if there is no corrective intervention.

Activists and researchers have suggested solutions to help improve the educational experiences of mixed Koreans. One such solution is the establishment of separate multicultural schools. There are several, separate and unequal, multicultural schools in South Korea, without government support. Neither the multicultural nor public schools are prepared to handle these students' bilingual development needs, emotional needs and healthy bicultural identity development needs. In addition, there is now a need for research on the effectiveness of these alternative schools. As Olsen (2008, p. 152) noted, "it is a struggle between those who view the answer to diversity as conformity to a single cultural model and to a single language and those who view the survival of a multicultural community as relying on embracing the differences…".

This statement about schools in the United States resounds even louder in South Korea, a country that promotes a one-blood national consciousness.

South Korean education is concerned with cultural socialization and national identity development along with students acquiring certain academic competencies. However, the current goal of social studies education in South Korea appears to be limited to helping students acquire a national identity as Korean (Korean 9th National Curriculum). According to Renn (2003), "…identity development models focus more on the outcomes of development (racial identities) than on the process that lead to those outcomes" (p.386). In South Korea, citizenship and identity through education are some of the most important arenas to fight for multicultural acceptance.

School Environment and Identity Development

According to a 2011 OECD Report, students in the United States spend on average 1016 hours annually in secondary school which is far above the OECD average of 791 hours and above South Korea who spends 632 hours. A U.S. National Center for Education Statistics, Schools and Staffing Survey (SASS), "Public School Data File," 2007-08, United Stated students spend anywhere from 6-7 hours a day in school for more than half a year (180 days). The U.S. Hours are used because the multicultural school in this study follows a modified U.S. academic calendar.

This means that the majority of mixed-race individuals' interactions are with school peers, teachers and other educational professionals during their most formative development years. These hours do not include school-sponsored events or time with school peers outside. Root's (1999) middle lens, *community attitudes,* and *racial socialization* discusses how and what experiences influence the positive development of a biracial identity. According to Root (1990), "if the home is dysfunctional, the child may seek a home away from home among friends at

school…" (p. 117). Due to the amount of time children and adolescents spend in school, it is essential to look at how educational spaces, school environments, and classrooms influence or support the identity development of biracial identity.

Summary

Although there is research that describes the challenges to mixed-Koreans attending public school in South Korea, relatively little is known about the identity development of mixed-Koreans growing up as members of South Korean vulnerable population. Mixed-Koreans are pushing the boundaries of the historic homogenous Korean national identity. Biracial and bicultural development within the South Korean context is unique due to South Koreas homogenous and ethnocentric ideology. Understanding this mixed-Korean identity development occurs within the current sociocultural climate can lead to better serving mixed-Korean students in schools, and an understanding of how the future of the Korean national identity will be shaped. Education can cultivate the foundational attitudes of the next generation of South Korean leaders towards multicultural acceptance and diverse Koreans. It must teach for equity and equality, or it will support oppression.

This study examined approaches that may transform education so that students' bicultural identity can be positively developed, which in turn may lead to higher academic success. Chapter two includes a review of the conceptual framework, research, and scholarship that relate to biracial identity development, and how identity interacts with classroom performance. The methodology of this study, including the design choices and procedures, research questions, participants, and data analysis procedures are presented in chapter three. The findings are described in chapter four. Chapter five includes discussions and recommendations.

CHAPTER II

SELECTIVE REVIEW OF RESEARCH AND SCHOLARSHIP

A common misconception is that mixed individuals are ‘halfies’ and do not fully understand or exist in either culture. Although Morley and Street (2014) stated that the struggle to develop an identity among those with mixed-race backgrounds makes them susceptible to a higher risk for mental health issues, research has shown that it is the lack of understanding over what it means to be a mixed-race by people of a single race, that creates the conflicts (Berland, 1999; Morley & Street, 2014; Romero, 2007). Teachers are as much a part of the development of a healthy or unhealthy bicultural identity as the curriculum.

Browne (2012, p. 25) used the term “culturally courageous leaders” to describe teachers who address identity/conflict issues by

> incorporat[ing] more attention to addressing the learning and status needs of historically underserved students, regardless of their background… display genuine concern for the welfare of all students, and aggressively seek new knowledge/skills that would help them jump-start their own personal transformation. They would also display a no-excuses philosophy beginning with how they relate to peers and other school community stakeholders, especially historically underserved students and parents.

Browne (2012) highlighted the impact teachers' attitudes can have on the development of a healthy or unhealthy bicultural identity.

Culturally, South Korea does not directly confront individuals when a problem arises. Nor is overt racism commonly demonstrated publicly except for online comments. However, microaggressions or implicit discrimination do occur. In 1970 psychiatrist and Harvard University professor Chester M. Pierce coined the term, microaggression. In doing so he suggested that, "one must not look for the gross and obvious. The subtle, cumulative mini-assault

is the substance of today's racism" (p. 516). Racial microaggressions are one form of systemic everyday racism used to keep those at the racial margins within the confinements of those boundaries. South Koreans frequently exhibit microaggressions, due to the cultural practice of not addressing issues directly.

In recent years, the appearance of microaggressions in psychology, education, and counseling scholarship and practice has increased (Nadal, 2011). However according to Sue and colleagues (2007), racial microinsults and microinvalidations have always existed, but the infractions are being called out more as racism is being challenged more. Research supports the fact that people of color, as well as other minority groups, experience everyday microaggressions which have negative impacts on their lives, particularly mental health (Nadal, 2011). Other outcomes include physiological and academic adverse effects.

Racial microaggressions take the form of subtle verbal and non-verbal assaults that are sometimes automatic and unconscious. Microagressions can target race, gender, class, sexuality, language, immigration status, phenotype, accent, and surname. The current attitudes of South Korean teachers concerning race, continue to manifest themselves in educational practices and policies as structural and systematic discrimination and microaggressions.

A more in-depth look at the scholarship and research on factors related to identity development for biracial individuals through educational experiences is presented in this section. Biracial identity development is still an emerging field of study. Understanding how educational experiences contribute to biracial identity development, especially cross-culturally, still requires more academic investigation. This study combined salient aspects of several selective theories to create a framework that facilitates a clearer understanding of biracial identity development and the contribution of educational experiences to it.

Among the theories contributing to the conceptual framework of this study, six were most prominent. Critical Race Theory is a means for understanding how race and racism operate in the South Korean context. Social Cultural Theory and the Factor Model of Multiracial Identity Development (FMMI), identify factors that influence identity development. Mixed-race Identity Development theories and Bicultural Identity Integration (BII) are means to attain and measure a healthy mixed-race identity. Multicultural curriculum and instruction influence in the classroom provides guidelines for examining identity exploration within curriculum and instruction.

Social inclusion is an essential concept in identity development. Dovidio, Gaertner, Pearson, and Rick (2005) explained that "Once group identification has been established, maintaining a sense of inclusion and cohesiveness becomes tantamount to protecting one's own existence" (p. 3). Social inclusion is a key factor in how a nation defines who is or is not a citizen, and who is considered a model of expected behavior and who is not. What qualifies a person to be included in definitions of race and identity is harder because an individual can have both qualifying and disqualifying attributes.

The terms mixed-race, mixed heritage, and multiracial (used interchangeably in this study) raise the question of who can claim a mixed-race identity. This has challenged many researchers who study biracial identity development (Helms, 1995; Jacobs, 1992; Kerwin Ponterro, 1995; LaFromboise et al., 1993; Poston, 1990; Root, 1990; Smith, 1991). Although the level of mixture varies, from biracial to multiracial, regardless of how little physically is associated with given races, a claim to mixed heritage can be made.

For this study, the term biracial is used. Being "mixed" is an identity in and of itself, and when one does not have obvious physical racial features, then being "mixed" becomes a personal identification because no one will assume you are mixed. For many multiracial and mixed-race

individuals, this is the case. For first generation biracial individuals, their biracial and bicultural identity development is usually strongly influenced by parental factors.

In this study, biracial Koreans, Amerasian, Euroasian, Blasian, Southeast Asian Korean mixed and other biracial Kyopos (교포 - Koreans born abroad) are referred to as biracial and/mixed Koreans. One reason for using this identifier, is that place and environment are part of role identity association. Towsand, Fryberg, Wilkins, and Harkus (2012, p. 91), found that,

> members of groups with higher status in American society were more likely than those who were members of groups with lower status to claim a biracial identity, Specifically, Asian /Whites individuals were more likely than Black/White or Latino/ White individuals to identify as biracial, and mixed-race people from middle-class backgrounds were more likely than those from working-class backgrounds to identify as biracial.

A dual identity can reflect the degree of social inclusion or exclusion of one's group, and its meaning can vary as a function of the dominant social values in the context, as well as a function of one's motivations, priorities, and perspectives. When the dominant value in a given context is assimilationist, or if an individual has assimilation as a personal goal, a dual identity may reflect exclusion and be associated with negative attitudes toward other groups. In contrast, when the primary cultural, group, or personal value is pluralistic and integrationist, a dual identity may be more strongly associated with positive intergroup attitudes and orientations. (Dovidio, et al., 2005)

All biracials are mixed-race, but not all mixed-race are necessarily biracial. For example, a biracial individual's parents are from two distinctly different racialized groups such as Korean and African ancestry. A biracial individual can thus be mixed-race, but a mixed-race individual

who has one or both biracial parents makes the individual mixed-race such as Korean, African American and German or Korean, Japanese, Pakistani and Italian. In this study, biracial refers specifically to individuals with one Korean parent and another parent of non-Korean racial decent. An important assumption made is that not all mixed-race and biracial individuals are bicultural.

Table 1: A Mixed-Race Bicultural Matrix 1 visually depicts what is and is not included in a biracial and mixed-race identity. “NON” is used to signify the opposite of mixed or bi, but it does not limit the definition to only a single or mono identity. For example, in the case of "Can you be NON-biracial and mixed-race?”, the answer is "NO" because mixed-race can be biracial, and the only other option is to be monoracial. However, the question of "Can you be NON-Bicultural and bilingual?", the answer is “POSSIBLY” because you could be multicultural and bilingual or monoculture.

Can you be… and…?	Mixed-race	Bicultural	Biracial	Mono Culture	Bilingual
NON-Mixed-race		YES	NO	YES	YES
NON-Bicultural	YES		YES	YES	POSSIBLY
NON-Biracial	NO	YES		YES	YES
NON-Mono Culture	YES	YES	YES		YES
NON-Bilingual	YES	YES	YES	YES	

Table 1: Mixed-race Bicultural Matrix 1

Table 2: A Mixed-Race Bicultural Matrix 2 also visually depicts what is and is not included in a biracial and mixed-race identity. For example, in the case of "Can you be biracial and mixed-race?", the answer is "YES" because mixed-race can be biracial, or multiracial. However, the question of "Can you be bicultural and monocultural?", the answer is "NO" because monoculture refers to being socialized within only one culture.

Can you be… and…?	Mixed-race	Bicultural	Biracial	Mono Culture	Bilingual
Mixed-race		YES	NO	YES	YES
Bicultural	YES		YES	NO	YES
Biracial	YES	YES		YES	YES
Mono Culture	YES	NO	YES		YES
Bilingual	YES	YES	YES	YES	

Table 2: Mixed-race Bicultural Matrix 2

Critical Race Theory

South Korean multiculturalism employs two tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) as they apply to biracial, mixed, and bicultural Koreans. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2012), the major tenets of Critical Race Theory are racism is ordinary, not an aberrational; interest convergence; social construction; differential racialization; intersectionality and antiessentialism; and a unique voice of color. Although there could be arguments made for the applicability of all six of these propositions to South Korea, here I focus on the two that relate to biracial identity

development and educational support.

First, "racism is ordinary, not an aberrational" is one of the CRT tenets which can be used in the context of South Korea. That is, racism is normal, or "the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experience of most people of color in this country" (Kindle Loc. 275-276). Since the majority of South Korea is still considered homogenous, racism and discrimination based on race, appearance, and language may seem to not exist to the average South Korean. However, this is contrary to the experiences of mixed Koreans and others who do not fit the historical homogenous image of a Korean. In South Korean, racial discrimination occurs when the everyday lives of the majority encounter diversity. As stated by Vaught and Castagno (2008), "…racism is a pervasive, systemic condition, not merely an individual pathology" (p. 96).

Second, the "unique voice of color" tenet of CRT states that due to different histories and experiences with oppression people of color may be able to identify and communicate racist matters better than their privileged counterparts (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). However, even with South Korea's history of being colonized this premise does not hold true. South Korea was colonized for over 45 years by Japan and has a long history of fighting for independence and trying to create an identity beyond the shadow of Japan and China. Although one could claim that South Korea's desire to create its own identity justifies such a privileged monoracial attitude, Korea is not a novice in understanding tensions with ethnic cleansing, racism, discrimination, and legal systems to criminalized race in systematic ways.

The "voice of color" tenet also mandates that narratives be used for conveying personal racial experiences. Mixed Korean individuals who have experienced racism and discrimination based on their mixed-race identity need to tell their stories, not to evoke sympathy for their social

challenges in South Korea, but to bring to light the racist attitudes demonstrated by monoracial residents. These narratives, which have been ignored and misused, challenge South Korea's claims of homogeneity.

Social Cultural and Ecological Theories

Vygotsky (1978) argued that human learning is a social process and occurs through interactions between individuals and the cultural environments in which they live. Other researchers also have created other theories that take into account the influences environments have on learning and development. For example, Bronfenbrenner (1979) developed an ecological theory that has been the foundation for mixed-race researchers in understanding factors that influence biracial identity development. (Root, 1998 & 1999, Tomishima, 1999, Wijeyesinghe, 2001; Renn, 2003). He (1994) stated that the ecology of human development goes beyond direct observation of behavior, involves multiperson systems, and encompasses aspects of the environment beyond the immediate situation.

Bronfenbrenner's (1994) theory is based on two general propositions. Proposition one states, "human development takes place through processes of progressively and more complex reciprocal interactions between an active, evolving biopsychological human organism and the persons, objects and symbols in its immediate environment" (p. 38). Proposition two claims that form, power, content, and direction of the influences that affect a person's development vary systematically. Both immediate and distant, direct and indirect environments include situations and experiences or processes that influence the nature of developmental outcomes (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). In other words, human development does not occur in a vacuum; rather, it takes place in environments or contexts where everything plays a role in the process. These environments are not chaotic mixes of interactions but are systematic.

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Theory of human development (1977, 1979, 1994) consists of a microsystem, a mesosystem, an exosystem, a macrosystem, and a chronosystem. Individuals are at the center of these systems which guide, shape, support, interact with and influence them. An explanation of these systems is necessary to understand what is and should be taken into consideration when exploring social and cultural influences on biracial identity development.

The microsystem is composed of interactions between individuals and activities, and social roles and interpersonal relations, especially family. All experiences occur within particular physical, social, symbolic and face-to-face interactions (Bronfenbrenner 1994). The mesosystem "comprises the linkages and processes taking place between two or more settings containing the developing person…" (Bronfenbrenner, 1994, p. 40). Another way to understand the mesosystem is as interactions among the individual's different microsystem factors.

The exosystem consists of the people outside of the family, and places in which at least one of the setting does not directly include the developing person, but still has a sizeable indirect influence on lives. (Bronfenbrenner, 1994). This includes parents' workplaces, extended family members, mass media, and the neighborhood. The macrosystem, also considered the societal blueprint of a particular culture, refers to the belief systems, bodies of knowledge, material resources, customs, lifestyles, opportunity structures, hazards, and life course options that are embedded in each system (Bronfenbrenner, 1994).

The chronosystem "encompasses change or consistency over time not only in the characteristics of the person but also of the environment in which that person lives…" (p. 40). This is an important component to consider when using ecological theory as a lens to examine biracial identity development (Root, 1990, 1999; Wijeyesinghe, 1992, 2001). Identity is developed over time, and different aspects of it can be added and/or eliminated. Because Bronfenbrenner's

Ecological Theory describes processes of reciprocal interaction between one's environment and development, it can be helpful in understanding how biracial identity development interacts with the sociocultural contexts of South Korea.

Limitations of Single Racial Identity Development Theories

The scholarship on racial and ethnic identity development is extensive, yet there is not a unified understanding of how racial identity develops. Illustrative of this body of scholarship on self, racial, and ethnic identity are Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development (1980); Racial and Cultural Identity Development (Atkinson, Morton & Sue, 1979,1989, 1993, 1998); Components of Ethnic Identity by Breton, Isajiw, Kalbach, and Reitz (1990); and Kim's (1981, 2001) Asian American Racial and Ethnic Identity Development Model. Each one of these models can be understood in the context of single race or ethnic identity in the United States (U.S.). However, they may not be appropriate for mixed-raced individuals because the processes of identity development can be differently configured, especially in South Korea. This is partially so because mixed-race identity development challenges traditional perceptions of race and identity through the creation of a multiracial identity (Bernstein & De la Cruz, 2009).

It is debatable whether multiracial identity development is a new concept. Yet, currently there is still no conclusive research on how biracial identities develop (Wijeyesinghe, 2001). Poston (1990) and Walker (2009) suggested that the application of traditional models of racial identity development to biracial individuals does not capture the entire process of biracial identity development. Some of these identified by Walker included,

- At various stages of monoracial models, an individual must choose one group's culture or values over another.
- The rejection of the minority and then the dominant culture becomes problematic for

the biracial individual who is a descendant of both a majority and minority racial group.

• There is no allowance for the integration of several group identities. These models claim that biracial individuals can achieve self-fulfillment by integrating only one racial and/or ethnic group while accepting the other groups.

• There is a requirement of acceptance into the minority culture of origin in order for there to be successful completion of the identity development process. However, not all biracial individuals experience acceptance by the minority or dominant cultures.

Walker (2009) also noted that "understanding the process of biracial identity development can be beneficial to those individuals who may experience difficulty negotiating societal and familial hurdles" (p. 11). Thus, monoracial identity development and biracial identity development have different factors that must be considered in different social and cultural contexts.

Multicultural Education

Teachers' attitudes and beliefs in relation to race have been examined by several scholars (Kailin, 1999; King, 1991; Ladson-Billings 2000a; Fives & Gill, 2014). Teachers racial attitudes affect how they treat students from different racial and ethnic backgrounds. South Korea considers school a place for students to be protected, so if the institution is causing stress and harm, then the practices of the institution need to be examined. This is even more frightening when educators exhibit negative attitudes and related behaviors.

Multicultural curriculum and instruction practices recognize that students have different patterns of activities, social roles, and interpersonal relations experiences (Gay, 2002). The Korean Ninth National Curriculum states, "In Social Studies, it is important to understand our own land, to comprehensively recognize the history of our ancestors, to understand reality from a historical point of view, and acquire the identity of a Korean and the values of a global citizen"

(2007 revision, Social Studies, para 2). This focus of the Social Studies curriculum by default assimilates while polarizing mixed-heritage Koreans with an immigrant parent, causing them to feel excluded or feel that they should exclude their non-Korean parent.

Multicultural curriculum and instruction can help to promote biracial identity development according to contexts of different countries, and examining the racial majority versus racial minority status, the influence of US/Western cultural imperialism, and being biracial versus monoracial. It is through these lenses that this study attempted to identify and categorize how South Korean Amerasian (SKA) Schools' multicultural education practices created a supportive environment for the development of positive biracial identities.

As Ladson-Billings (1994) explained, Cultural Relevant Teaching is a pedagogy that recognizes the importance of including students' cultural references in all aspects of learning. Gay (2001) defined Cultural Responsive Teaching as "using the cultural characteristics, experiences, and perspectives of ethnically diverse students as conduits for teaching them more effectively" (p. 106). Thus, making it an instrumental tool of MCE. According to Gay, the five components of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy are:

- Developing a knowledge base about cultural diversity,
- including ethnic and cultural diversity content in the curriculum,
- demonstrating caring and building learning communities,
- communicating with ethnically diverse students,
- and responding to ethnic diversity in the delivery of instruction.

How these components play out in classrooms and schools is somewhat unique to each school's environment and climate.

Biracial and Bicultural Identity Development Theories

The "psychological wholeness to the development of a multiracial identity is a very recent phenomenon" (Wijeysinghe, 2001, p. 135). The initial theories that focused on identity development of mixed-race individuals include the Developmental Process of Asserting a Biracial, Bicultural Identity Resolution Development Model (Kich's, 1992), Model of Bicultural Competence (LaFromboise, Coleman & Gerton, 1993), Seven Stage Empirically-based Developmental Model (Kerwin and Ponterotto, 1995) and Stage Theory of Biracial Identity Development (Poston, 1990). However, these models have been critiqued for a variety of reasons. The general consensus was that these theories were not consistent in explaining mixed-race identity development or were no longer relevant.

Kich's (1992) Biracial Identity Resolution Development Model included three stages of awareness of differentness and dissonance, a struggle for acceptance, and acceptance of self as individuals with a biracial and bicultural identity. Although this model was limited to who claims biracial identity it had a mono-racial and deficit focus. It also did not clearly address differences between the development of multiracial identity and racial identity in multiracial people. "Multiracial identity" is a unique identity that is seen as a new racial category that has its own development process. "Racial identity in multiracial people" assumes that individuals' races are separate and that individuals navigate among the races as if racial code-switching. This means that multiracial individuals cultivate their multi-races separately.

In trying to understand how individuals perceive the relationship between two cultures Benet-Martinez et al. (2002) stated,

> Biculturals pose an interesting theoretical and methodological challenge to traditional cross-cultural psychological research. Little is known about how biculturals manage and

> negotiate their dual cultural identities…. it is not clear how bicultural individuals who are socialized into both East Asian and Western cultures manage these two attributional orientations (p. 494).

These authors examined how bicultural competency can be measured, especially how biculturals perceive their cultural identities as compatible or contradictory, how mixed-raced individuals develop bicultural identities, and how physical features and external factors contribute to how mixed-race individuals are perceived in society.

Poston's (1990) theory of biracial identity development has five stages. Stage one is *Personal Identity* in which individuals are aware of race and ethnicity, but ethnic background does not define their sense of identity. Stage two is the *Choice of Group Categorization* when individuals are forced to choose a racial identity. According to Poston, most will choose mono-racial identities. Stage three is *Enmeshment/Denial*. In this stage, individuals may feel guilt or confusion for choosing identities and could also experience self-hatred or a perceived lack of acceptance within one or more groups. At the same time, the development of an appreciation for all parental cultures begins. Stage four is *Appreciation*. Although individuals may still claim "mono-ethnic identity," there is a greater value of all identities. The last stage is *Integration* where individuals recognize and appreciate all of their racial ancestries and have a feeling of wholeness and integration. This value of multiple cultures leads to confidence in one's multiracial identity.

This theory was challenged mainly because of the variance in how individuals experience themselves and their identities. Some people choose multiracial identities throughout their lives or conversely choose mono-racial identities without experiencing identity confusion, guilt, self-hatred, and anger. However, Poston's theory does deserve some discussion here because it was

the premier theory of biracial identity development and fits well with the purposes and location of this study.

Another critique of Poston's theory was its implication that the stages are linear and each one needs to be accomplished before the next one begins. Although some stages can overlap, one is not fully in a stage until the other is completed. Also, individuals cannot go back to earlier stages. However, the Biracial Identity Development Model was considered a significant model in understanding biracial identity development.

Root (1990) posited that "there are aspects of mixed-race experiences that make inadequate a simple application of existing theory to the experience of multiracial people" (p. 19). To address the limitations of Poston's theory she introduced a path model that acknowledged the potential for a multiracial identity to be based on self-choices and social experiences. (See Appendix A). Root believed that identity can change over a lifetime in ways that do not follow a sequential stage process.

The impact of racism on identity could lead to a new biracial/multiracial identity group. This takes into the account the critical race theory tenet that racism is normal or "the usual way society does business, the common, everyday experiences of most people of color in this country" (Kindle Loc. Pp. 275-276). Root's resolutions for this dilemma involved understanding ecological connections to biracial identity development.

The phases of Root's path model are not sequential, and their order is not of importance. Instead, they are potential outcomes for identity claims. The first path leads to choosing a *monoracial* identity as assigned or labeled by others. This is usually associated with, the automatic assignment by the dominant culture to subordinate groups. Unfortunately, this assignment almost always follows a racial identity of lower status. The second path also involves

monoracial identity, but the individual chooses one racial group over the others. Individuals in this stage examine how an identity fits and is consistent with their experiences. This creates some difficulty socially if it defies the assigned identity imposed by others, especially if one's appearance is different from others' perceptions, or how one looks compared to one's parentage.

The third path involves *identifying with both parental* racial groups. This also comes with some difficulties, if some aspects of one's heritage are more salient, such as physical features. Identifying with both parental racial groups can be challenged by society and parents, if parental racial socialization messages contradict self-identification. The fourth path is identifying with a new biracial or multiracial group which has led to the acceptance of "mixed-race" as a new racial category. This is not the same as pressure to identify as one new race, but the freedom to self-identify within a racial construct as different or to identify completely outside of a racial construct.

The last path is s*ymbolic race* or *symbolic ethnicity*. In this path, individuals acknowledge ethnic roots and heritages but have no attachment to them through cultural practices or engagements. It was not part of Root's original model but was added a decade later. This path reflects history but challenges current notions of the meaning of identity choice. All paths can lead to a positive sense of biracial self.

Based on the preliminary results from a Biracial Sibling Project, Root (1998, 1999) created an ecological framework of racial identity development. (See Appendix B). It was an adaption of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory. According to Root (1998), "the ecological model of racial identity development acknowledges that there are many different ways people of mixed racial heritage may identify themselves…[and] may be situational simultaneous, or changeable throughout a life cycle" (p. 240). The updated version of the ecological framework of racial

identity development was renamed ecological framework for understanding identity development. This version uses regional history of race and ethnic relations, sexual orientation, gender, and class as contextual lenses to filter the meaning of situations and experiences to which mixed-raced individuals are exposed (Root, 1999). The updated framework uses a macro focus on experiences that could be more intense in shaping identity.

Root's (1999) two original micro lenses of *inherited influences* and *social environments* were reorganized into several middle lenses. Inherited influences now include *traits, social interactions with community, phenotype, and identity*. *Social environments* are now called *family socialization influences* and include external markers of identity such as language, nativity, given names, values, customs, parent's identity, family identity, the presence of extended family, and sexual orientation. These middle lenses also include *traits* which are, " tendencies combined with environmental influences such as temperament, social skills, talents (other social identities), and coping skills" (Root, 1999, p. 117). In Root's revised ecological framework *identity c*onnects with *phenotype,* which plays a significant role in the experiences of mixed-race individuals. The last middle lens is *community attitudes* and *racial socialization* that include a combination of personal and group relationships that occur at home, school or work community, friends, peers, and foreign communities.

The Factor Model of Multiracial Identity (FMMI) (See Appendix C), Wijeyesinghe (1992) simplifies Root's model while acknowledging the use of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological theory in understanding environmental influences on racial identity development.

Wijeyesinghe identified the ecological influences as racial ancestry, early experiences and socialization, cultural attachment, physical appearance, social and historical context, and other social identities. According to her, "[ecological models] describe a single social identity, race, as

multiply influenced, complex, and evolving, and affected by larger social constructs" (p. 87). Wijeyesinghe included in her model some considerations absent from Root's model, such as political awareness and orientation. Mixed-race individuals are influenced by their awareness and experiences of race, racism, and racial identity in larger historical, political, economic, and social contexts. Choosing a particular racial identity, whether multiracial or mono-racial, can indicate personal and political action, and commitment.

The idea of a national identity, but not physical appearance, is part of Bronfenbrenner's (1979, 1994) ecological theory. According to Wijeyesinghe (1992, p. 89),

> Physical appearance creates a strong context in which Multiracial people choose their racial identities. Characteristics such as skin color and tone, hair color and texture, eye color and shape, size and shape of facial features, and body structure are used by the general public and society to make assumptions about people's racial ancestry, racial group membership, and racial identity. Physical appearance can support some Multiracial people's choice of racial identity, and facilitate their acceptance into a particular racial community… However, appearance can also create barriers to the choice of certain racial identities.

The ecologically-based theories of Poston, Root, and Wijeyesinghe support the idea that multiracial and biracial identity development are affected in different ways, different factors. When looking at how educational experiences and settings, as ecological contexts, these theories of bicultural and bi- or multi- racial development may be insightful.

Bicultural Identity Development and Bicultural Identity Integration (BII)

What does it mean to be a whole of two different cultures? Being mixed-race is not just having and claiming multiple races. It also signifies the potential existence of dual heritages. The

term “potential” is used because it cannot be assumed that all biracial individuals can [or chose to] claim a bicultural identity. Bicultural identity development is the process of understanding the cultural norms of both ethnicities and making them work together. Even monoracial individuals can claim a bicultural identity.

Bicultural identity development and competency have been described as synthesized, fused, alternating, blended, and identity integration (BII) (Ramirez, 1984; LaFromboise et al., 1993, Birman, 1994; Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997; Benet-Martinez, Chen, & Harris Bond, 2002; Benet-Martinez, Leu, Lee & Morris, 2005). In other words, combining a number of racial, ethnic and ecological factors into a coherent whole to form an identity can be done in different ways, but still result in a bicultural/biracial identity. Current research on bicultural identity development among Koreans mainly focuses on Korean American adoptees and second-generation Korean Americans.

However, understanding bicultural identity development through the biracial lens of mixed Koreans in South Korea is different. This group differs from the other two because often racially and ethnically mixed-race individuals are part of two cultures, juxtaposed with the South Korean society, schools, and policies. In trying to understand how individuals perceive the relationship between two cultures the bicultural competency measure developed by Benet-Martinez, Chen, and Harris Bond (2002) is used. According to these Scholars,

> Biculturals pose an interesting theoretical and methodological challenge to traditional cross-cultural psychological research. Little is known about how biculturals manage and negotiate their dual cultural identities…. it is not clear how bicultural individuals who are socialized into both East Asian and Western cultures manage these two attributional orientations. (p. 494).

These authors examined how bicultural competency can be measured, by the compatibility or contradiction of cultural identities; how mixed-raced individuals develop bicultural identities; and how physical features and external factors contribute to how mixed-race individuals are perceived in society. Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2004, p. 1017) conducted a study on bicultural identity development to expand understanding of how people go about integrating and maintaining dual cultures. They did so by:

> Examine[ing] individual differences in the construction and integration of dual cultural identities to understand how these differences relate to particular personality dispositions, contextual pressures, and acculturation and demographic variables.

They also worked outside of the prevailing definitions of biculturalism and the descriptive nature of understanding bicultural development. Benet-Martinez and Haritatos (2004, p.1044) found that there were,

> Two distinct and little understood bicultural identity constructs: attitudes regarding the conceptual organization of dual cultures (i.e., cultural distance) and feelings associated with the emotional process of navigating one's position within and between each culture (cultural conflict), each with a mostly different personality and sociocultural antecedents.

The Racial and Ethnic Identity Models created by Aldarondo (2001) also informed this study. Aldarondo discusses the importance of addressing the needs of biracial individuals and understanding how mixed Koreans students improve their individual identity, how bicultural negotiations work, and how achieving a balance between dual heritages is accomplished.

Identity Development and Education

Tatum (1992), contended that movement through all the stages of a racial identity development does not necessarily occur for every student within a school year, but the beginning

transformations can be observed. An awareness of the existence of this process can help teachers to support students' biracial/bicultural identity development. This awareness can have a tremendous impact on the classrooms and academic success as they related to identity development.

Research on academic success and how certain subjects interacted with identity development has proven how aspects of students racial/cultural identity influence their ability and desire to participate in the learning process (Jimenez, 2000; Hazari, Cass & Beattie, 2015; Egalite, Kisida, & Winters, 2015; Galassi, 2017). Egalite, Kisida, and Winters (2015) found, "overall…teacher[s] has[d] positive and potentially policy-relevant reading achievement impacts for black and white students, and significant math achievement impacts for black, white, and Asian/Pacific Island students" (p. 17).

The interaction between education and identity development shows a positive correlation between academic performance and identity. This is also supported through the research on understanding identity development influences and the creation of a safe classroom atmosphere. Steele and Cohn-Vargas (2013) discussed how to positively affect student learning, attachment to schooling, and elicit their social identities as assets rather than barriers to success in the classroom.

Cultural-Ecological Model of School Climate (CEMSC)

Cultural-Ecological Model of School Climate (CEMSC) combines factors from previous research and theory that are of interest to this study. The CEMSC was created to provide an ecological approach to researching ways school climates impact students' experiences (La Salle, Meyers, Varjas and Roach, 2015). La Salle, Meyers, Varjas and Roach, (2015) CEMSC focuses,

on the characteristics of the individual, family, school, and community that influence

> student perceptions of school climate… there has been little research examining the relationships among personal, cultural, and contextual factors including, but also extending beyond, the school and classroom… CEMSC [is] for "examining the universal and nonuniform cultural variables that shape student educational experiences in varying and important ways. (p. 157, 158).

CEMSC can provide valuable information to schools about student's perceptions of the school and classrooms contextually. According to La Salle et al. (2015), the CEMSC as a methodological application should be replicated in schools, "in order to identify the individual, cultural, and contextual variables that have an impact on their student populations; it is then that targeted strategies can be derived, analyses with a different population or within different contexts may yield different results" (p. 162, 164). This framework allows researchers to recognize what factors vary and are salient in how school climates, impact students' experiences.

The CEMSC strongly influenced the framing of this study since it too addressed how school climate, or educational spaces, impact biracial identity development. The key concepts used to analyze the data for this study are depicted in Figure1. They include curriculum, teachers, principal, social context, and the school environment. Figure 1 depicts the multidimensional ecological variables that are the focus of study in analyzing the influences the SKA School on the development of a resilient biracial identity for mixed Korean students enrolled there. Each of the elements of this conceptual framework is explained briefly.

Conceptual Framework

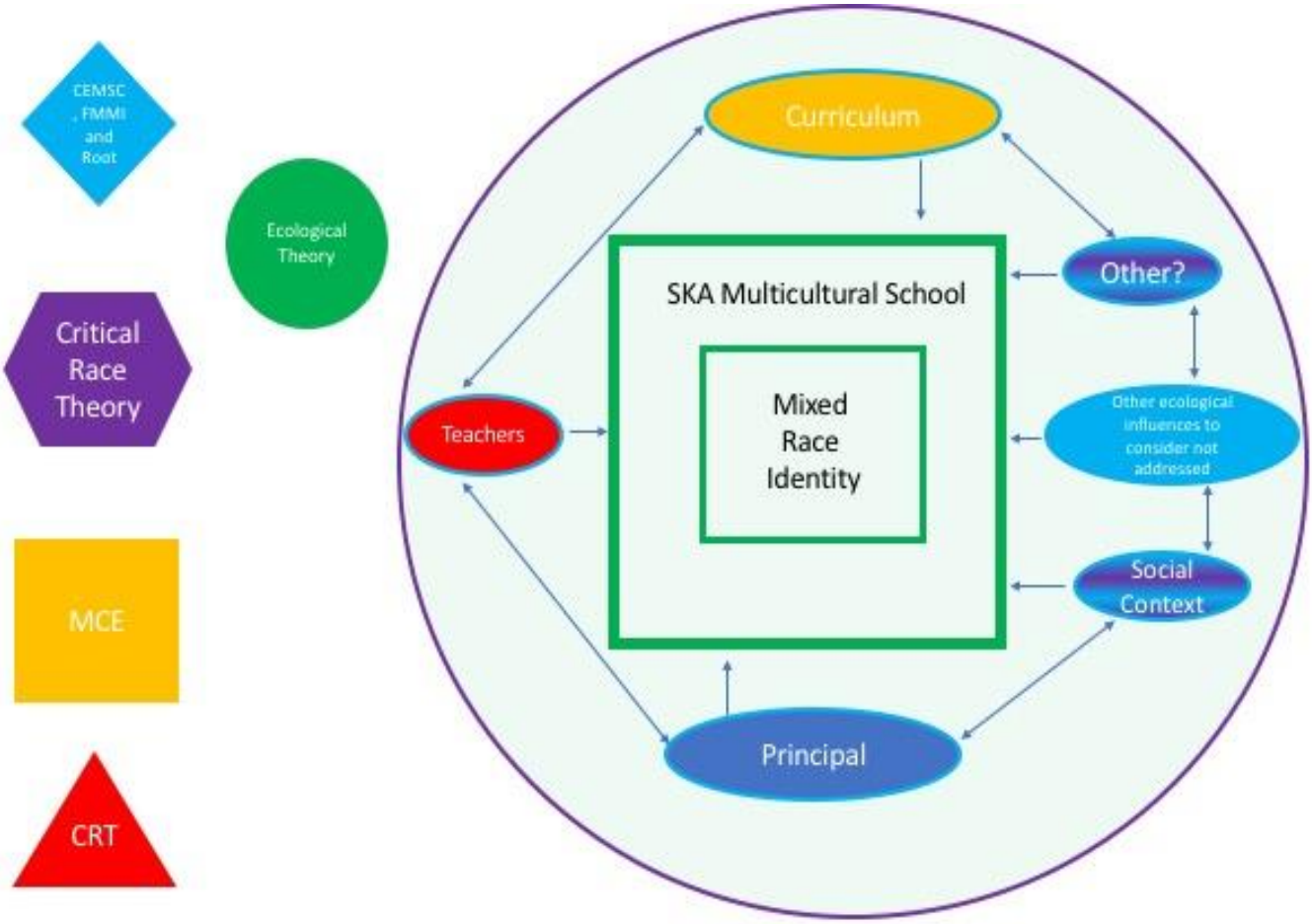

Figure 1. Ecological Model of a Multicultural School and the Influence on the Development of Biracial Identity

The green circle, outlined in purple, represents the ecological system of a mixed-race individual. The purple outline represents the Critical Race Theory lens which is used to understand the social context of race within South Korea. Mixed-race individual identity is at the center of the model (small green outlined square). This is similar to Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory (Appendix D) which revolves around individuals as the center of their ecological systems.

In this study SKA Multicultural School (a pseudonym) in South Korea was the context for understanding influences on mixed-raced identity development (large green outlined square

which encompasses the individual's Mixed-race Identity). The presumed factors within the South Korean context (the larger green circle) that could potentially impact students at SKA school are identified by several oval shapes. All of these are outlined in light blue to represent modified elements of ecological theories of mixed-race or biracial identity development. Components of these modified theories were used to enhance understanding of the identified factors.

This study assumed that teachers' racial and ethnic identification, personal attitudes, and beliefs can affect mixed-raced students' identity development. In Figure 1 they are symbolized by a red oval to convey ideas of their Cultural Responsive Teaching (CRT) practices, these were examined to identify teachers' relationships and interactions with their own personal identities and the influences they have on the targeted students' biracial identity development.

Curriculum appears as a yellow oval in Figure 1. It is a significant component of any educational institution. Identifying the school's explicit, and implicit norms, values, beliefs, and content conveyed in classrooms and social environments are necessary for understanding how educational contexts influence identity development. *Multicultural Education (MCE)* within SKA School was used to examine how curriculum and /or instruction contributed to or obstructed the development of a resilient biracial identity among students. Key concepts in this examination are ethnic identity, racial identity, cultural identity, social justice, CORE academics, multicultural competence, cultural responsive teaching, and agency. These concepts are not identified separately in this framework but are embedded in MCE Curriculum Theory.

The principal and the founder of SKA Multicultural School is mixed-race. His personal experiences growing up in South Korea and Midwest USA (Chicago, Illinois) had a tremendous impact on his vision for SKA school. His visions and experiences may have influenced mixed-

race students' identity development and were among the factors examined to understand the ecological environment of the mixed-race identity of the students at SKA school.

Identity is not solely developed in a classroom. Although this study focused on the impact that a multicultural school has on the development of a biracial identity, there are factors in the social context that can influence a student's identity development. Some of these factors, identified in both Root's and Wijeyesinghe's models, include physical appearance, other social identities, family functions and given names.

Some social contexts could be addressed within or be challenged by the school environments and how individuals process these influences. The exosystem, may not impact the individuals directly, and the relationship may lack any significant effects. For example, if the law dictates that migrant parents have exhausted their working visa renewals and cannot stay in the county after their contract is over unless married, then the result of parent and work relationship will impact the child in various ways. Thus, this and other potential social contexts can help in understanding how classrooms support biracial identity development.

Unknown factors also can be present when researching identity development. The blue and purple ovals in Figure 1, labeled "other?", represent potential unknown or not understood ecological influences. These factors or identities could include gender, sexual, society, morality, and religious identities. However, this study only focused on racial and ethnic identity.

Each component of Figure 1 is connected with a one-direction or bidirectional arrow. These arrows show the assumed interactions among the various factors (shapes) and how they impact the SKA School and mixed-race identity. The one-directional arrows denote how that factor impacts SKA school and students' biracial identity. Although there could be an influence back on the factor, this study did not explore the reverse influence. The bidirectional arrows

denote that all the factors in the system are interconnected and all contribute to the SKA School environment.

Summary

This chapter provided a review and critique of the existing scholarship on various aspects of biracial identity development that are relevant to understanding mixed-race and biracial individuals in a South Korean context. Critical Race Theory, Ecological theory, and Biracial and Bicultural Identity Development frameworks were identified as providing frameworks for examining influences on the biracial identity development of mixed Koreans in a South Korean educational context. The conceptual framework also was presented. Research on biracial identity development is increasing. However, previous scholarship review demonstrates that there are still areas of identity development for mixed-race individuals that need further explanation and research, especially those outside of the United States. This study may contribute to the body of knowledge by developing a better understanding of the influences of educational experiences on the biracial identity development of biracial individuals.

Chapter III

METHODOLOGY

The fifteen-yard walk up the driveway to SKA Multicultural school gives one ample time to ask if you are at the right location. It is not until you reach the end of the driveway where you see the playground and the signs identifying the building as SKA School. If the playground is not filled with students, you can often hear the bell and voices from the neighboring Korean public school a few blocks away. This makes you ask why a small K-9 school is here, when there is a much larger public Korean school in the same area. An answer to this lies in the what Olsen (2008) observed as "a struggle between those who view the answer to diversity as conformity to a single cultural model and to a single language, and those who view the survival of a multicultural community as relying on embracing the differences…" (p. 152). This statement about schools in the United States is applicable to South Korea, a country where diversity is valued less in order to promote a one-blood national consciousness. As a result of this lack of or inability to entirely conform racially and culturally in South Korea, multicultural schools such as SKA School exist as havens for biracial/bicultural students. I volunteered and taught at SKA School. My foundation M.A.C.K. (Movement for the Advancement of Cultural Diversity of Koreans) supported SKA School with programming, donations, and student scholarships. Through these connections, I developed a relationship with the school and the students, both current and former. As a result, I was able to explore from both an insider and outsider perspective on how biracial/bicultural identity development was supported at SKA School.

Research Purpose

This study explored experiences that contribute to biracial/bicultural identity development within a South Korean school context and how these experiences may impact the

establishment of a resilient biracial/bicultural identity. The site of the study was a non-traditional educational, multicultural non-government funded public school setting, which was created to support mixed Korean individuals in South Korea. Other purposes included understanding what aspects of this educational environment contribute to the process of biracial/bicultural identity development, and how biracial identity development of mixed Korean bicultural individuals was supported.

Research Questions

Korean multicultural education, schools, teaching practices, and curricula are often not explicit about how they support mixed Koreans bicultural and biracial identity development. By not addressing how to support mixed Koreans as part of the Korean diaspora and treating them as foreigners in the country, South Korean education is missing the opportunity to cultivate non-mixed Koreans' multicultural acceptance attitudes. Thus, the education policies and practices continue to promote intolerance, second-class citizen status, othering, and discrimination. To possibly find an example of how South Korean education could shift its educational trajectory towards being more genuinely multicultural and to accomplish the goals of this study, the following research questions were explored:

- In what ways does attending SKA impact the experiences of mixed-race students, especially regarding their bicultural identity acceptance?
- In what ways does SKA School curriculum, culture, and faculty engagement illustrate the school's impact the experiences of its students, which contribute to the development of a positive biracial/bicultural identity of mixed Koreans?

In order to accomplish these goals, this study used a case study approach. Cases cannot be devoid of their context and this study attempted to achieve a greater understanding of how

biracial identity development is influenced within a multicultural school. The rationales for used bounded multiple case study research technique are introduced in the next section.

Research Design and Methods

This study used a qualitative research design. Qualitative research focuses on "how people interpret their experiences, how they construct their worlds, and what meaning they attribute to their experiences" (Merriam, 2009, p. 5). Glesne (2011) added that "qualitative researchers tend to be concerned with social structures, individual experiences, and/or the relationship between them" (p. 39). The goal of qualitative research is to gain a deep understanding of human behavior and the factors that influence this behavior, thus contributing to a greater understanding of perceptions, attitudes, and processes (Glesne, 2011). Patton (1995) explained that qualitative research is:

> An effort to understand situations in their uniqueness as part of a particular context and the interactions there. This understanding is an end in itself, so that it is not attempting to predict what may happen in the future necessarily, but to understand the nature of that setting – what it means for participants to be in that setting and what lives are like, what going on for them, what their meanings are, what the world looks like in that particular setting- and in the analysis be able to communicate that faithfully to others who are interested in that setting. … The analysis strives for depth of understanding. (p.1)

Philosophically positioning qualitative research among other methodologies, Merriam (2009) stated that "interpretative research, which is where qualitative research is most often located, assumes that reality is socially constructed, that is, there is no single, observable reality. Rather, there are multiple realities or interpretations of a single event" (p. 8). This study explored the realities and interpretations of multiple participants about biracial identity development

within a South Korean multicultural school.

Qualitative inquiry is often contrasted with quantitative inquiry; however, quantitative and qualitative researchers do use some similar elements. Their methods should be seen on a continuum rather than as a dichotomy (Merriam, 2009). How the elements on the continuum are put together creates the distinction between the two research methods. Johnson and Christensen (2013) stated, "in quantitative research, it is assumed that cognition and behavior are highly predictable and explainable. Traditionally, the assumption of determinism, which means that all events are fully determined by one or more causes, was made in quantitative research" (p. 80). The nature of this study did not allow for quantitative research methods. It did not assume predictability, nor did it combine elements which represent quantitative research. It does not meet the 'fitness for purpose.'

In explaining "fitness for Purpose" in research methodology, Richards, Morse, and Janice (2007) discussed the idea of 'fitness for purpose,' they stated that "the choice of a method for any particular study is never arbitrary" (p. 24). These qualitative techniques were most appropriate for this study because of the focus on thick descriptions and interpretations of naturally occurring events (Miles & Huberman, 1994) conducted through interviews. I have chosen to work qualitatively because the complex, unstructured data from interviews will derive new understandings (Denzin and Lincoln, 2005).

The interpretivist paradigm best suited this study because of the focus on the participants' lived experience and subjective opinions about how they thought SKA School influenced their biracial/bicultural identity development. The strength of qualitative research is the ability to describe how people make sense of the world through experiences, feelings, belief systems, behaviors, attitudes, and relationships (Glesne, 2011; Campbell & Hammersley, 2012). The

research question explored “understanding the meaning people have constructed” (Merriam, 2014, p. 13). According to Yin (2002), "the first and most important condition for differentiating among the various research strategies is to identify the type of research question being asked" (p. 7). In trying to understand in what ways the educational experiences of mixed Korean students impacted biracial and bicultural identity acceptance, one way of making sense of this phenome is to understand the educational processes at SKA School, what is experienced in the classroom and the educational environment, and how those experiences impact one thinking about a biracial/bicultural self.

This study also required qualitative research methods, because the data is of primary interest. Richards and Morse, (2007) explained that "the data analysis will also be influenced by the kind of qualitative study that is being undertaken” (p.7). Qualitative research methods are beneficial in describing factors such as personal experiences, cultural norms, gender, race, religion, political ideologies, and belief systems. Some of these data can only be obtained through the use of qualitative methods. Qualitative methods are properly responsive to compiling these kinds of thick data from interviews of a few participants.

Richards and Morse (2007) observed that “qualitative data often focus on smaller numbers of people than quantitative data, yet the data tend to be detailed and rich (p. 461). I chose qualitative inquiry for this study because of the importance of the narratives and experiences of participants in understanding the impact of educational experiences and settings on biracial/bicultural identity development. “Thus, the goal of interpretive research is an understanding of a particular situation or context much more than the discovery of universal laws or rules” (Willis, 2007, p. 99). Since qualitative research does not attempt to generalize to larger

populations, it is an appropriate method for understanding this phenomenon within the context of SKA School.

Case Study

Qualitative research can use a variety of methods, and there are various methodologies that can be used to study mixed Korean students. Yin (2006) described two situations when the case study should be applied, "…when your research addresses either a descriptive question (what happened?) or an explanatory question (how or why did something happen?) and when you "want to illuminate a particular situation, to get a close (i.e., in-depth and firsthand) understanding of it" (p.112). This study met both criteria in exploring how educational experiences supported the biracial/bicultural identity development within a multicultural school.

Case study as a form of qualitative research also focuses on providing a detailed account of one or more cases (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). According to Richards and Morse, (2007), "there is no one single or correct way to analyze and present qualitative data; how one does, it should abide by the issue of fitness for purpose (p. 253). This case study focused on understanding biracial/bicultural identity development and how this is affected by experiences that were created, supported and experienced at SKA School. This fits Yin's (2014) conditions for the appropriateness of case study research, which are concerns about how and why issues or events occurred; a researcher has little or no control over behavioral events being studies, and the focus is contemporary issues. Since this study centered on the self-descriptions of biracial/bicultural identity development of mixed Koreans living and growing up in South Korea, and how a specific multicultural school contributed to it, fits Yin's criteria of a case study. Such a methodological option also, "contribute[s] to our knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena" (Yin, 2014, p. 60).

This study sought to provide in-depth descriptions and analyses of a bounded system (Merriam, 2009). This bounded system is biracial/bicultural identity development of mixed racial students within a multicultural school in South Korea. This case study was heuristic in that it was designed to increase understanding of the relationship between school environment and identity development (Merriam, 2009). It included in-depth conversations with a few select individuals and to examine how their school experiences influenced their development of a biracial/bicultural identity.

The participants in this study shared how they describe the various experiences with family, classmates, school activities, friends and several other real-world aspects affected their biracial/bicultural identity. This data technique and source fits Yin's (2014) viewpoint that, "a case study allows investigators to focus on a 'case' and retain a holistic and real-world perspective—such as in studying individual life cycles, small group behavior, organizational and managerial processes, neighborhood change, school performance, international relations…" (p.60). They also are consistent with Denzin's and Lincoln's, (2018) stated, perceptions that, "a case is an instance, incident, or unit of something and can be anything—a person, an organization, an event, a decision, an action, a location like a neighborhood, or a nation-state" (p. 600). Furthermore, it aligned with Swanborn's (2010) case studies within the microsystems (personal and interpersonal relations) mesosystems (organizations and institutions) and macrosystems (communities, democracies, societies) of ecological theory. This allows the study to explore multiple factors involved in biracial/bicultural identity development.

By identifying how classrooms and educational experiences affect biracial identity development a relational correlation between education and mixed-race identity development could be identified. Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, (2007) support the use of case studies

because “one of their strengths is that they observe effects in real contexts, recognizing that context is a powerful determinant of both causes and effects” (p. 253). The use of case study method could help to identify relationships among influential factors on human behaviors.

Positionality

According to descriptions provided by from Glesne (2007), I was a participant observer in this study for several reasons. First, my research epistemology was based on critical race theory, social-cultural theory, and biracial identity development theory. It was necessary for the experiences which contribute to biracial identity development of mixed South Koreans to be comprised of their own narratives and given equal status in South Korea. As a mixed Korean my own identity development experiences were situated in sociocultural environments. The experience of growing up in the U.S. and living in Korea also influenced my point of view. Thus, understanding how sociocultural ecology through case studies influences other mixed Koreans and their identity development was an important objective of this study. As stated by Willis (2007, p. 99) "the goal of interpretive research is an understanding of a particular situation or context much more than the discovery of universal laws or rules."

The fact that I taught several of the participants in this study and was chairman of the board of the SKA School also influenced my perspectives (Peshkin, 1988). Over ten years of volunteering, teaching, mentoring and serving on the board in different capacities provided unique insights into how SKA School impacted the students both academically and personally. For example, I had first-hand knowledge of the school’s vision and challenges. Based on these perspectives and experiences, I identified as a participant observer during the study. This role provided both challenges and benefits for the study. However, as Glesne (2007) stated, “a

participant observer must constantly analyze his, her or their observations for meaning and for evidence of personal bias" (p. 68).

Although removed from full participant status, my inclusion in the microsystems and mesosystems of the participants made me conscious of how my bias may influence what was said in interviews. This was an advantage in getting at the intersections and gaining a deep understanding of the participants. However, if not checked the tension between participation and engagement could have distorted the data collected (Glesne, 2007; Peshkin, 1988). Being continually cognizant of my potential biases and position as the researcher was mandatory. This was addressed by using triangulation to ensure that I revealed what the data actually indicated, not what I wanted (Datnow & Yonezaw, 2004; Merriam, 2009). Triangulation also tested the validity of the findings through the use of multiple methods or data sources that contributed to a comprehensive understanding of phenomena.

Being part of the community and having some similar experiences as those of the participants allowed me to ask specific questions that might have been beyond the comfortability of another observer. My relationship with this particular multicultural school also may have impacted recruiting participants since I had access to students, the principal, and teachers, who may not have been available otherwise. Still, I needed to ensure that the participants explained their own contexts and experiences. As Glesne (2010) explained, "a participant observer does all of this because it is instrumental to the research goals, which is to say that the observer is present somewhere for a particular reason" (p.68).

Research Settings

SKA School is the first Amerasian (multicultural) school in South Korea. Beginning in 1999, it has since established an environment that is conducive to learning and preparing

students for success in local and global worlds. It is located near one of South Korea's most historic camptowns, Dongducheon, and home of many Korean Amerasians which made this site both culturally and academically appropriate for this study. Yuh (2002, pp. 21-22) described the site where SKA School is located as follows:

> The Paju area northwest of Seoul, militarily crucial due to its proximity to the DMZ … contained the highest concentration of U.S. troops until 1971. Nicknamed the 'GI's Kingdom,' …*t*he largest camptown during this period was Tongduchon, nicknamed Little Chicago and located just east of Paju and north of Seoul…During its height in the mid-1960s, some seven thousand women in Tongduchon worked as prostitutes serving the U.S. military.

SKA School is located in Dongducheon, Gyeonggi Province, South Korea. Dongducheon is located just north of Seoul, the capital of South Korea. It is an important city because it is strategically located for defending the country's capital. This is why the main camps of the United States Second Infantry Division (2ID) are positioned in the Northern part of the city. It is also very near the city of Paju where many U.S. and Korean military bases exist. Due to the U.S. Military bases in Paju, camptowns became popular, and many Amerasian were born and grew up in the area. Although not the oldest organization established to provide opportunities for mixed Koreans in South Korea, SKA School is the longest operating school established for Amerasian children.

The principal and founder of SKA School is a mixed-heritage Korean. He was born and lived in Korea until he was eleven years old and then immigrated to Chicago, Illinois. His religious background, as a Christian, guided his work with Amerasians in South, Korea. After graduating from college in the United States, he returned to South Korea to do mission work for

mixed Koreans in Dongducheon, which resulted in the establishment of SKA School. It is the only school in Korea that still has Amerasians and a large number of other mixed-heritage Koreans, as well as national and non-national Koreans and international students. Two cultural norms coexist at SKA School. American style education is taught within the South Korean culture that students encounter both on the campus and when not in school.

SKA School changed physical locations three times before occupying its present site which is the somewhat dilapidated Shalom House Christian Center for U.S. Military Service personnel. It has a semi-permanent existence at the Shalom House. It can use over 80% of the building and has a permanent playground fixture in front. Due to the constrictions of the rental agreement, any additional evening or weekend activities are held at the SKA School affiliated church.

The school population is made up of approximately 100 students from kindergarten to 12th grade, and by 2018 had graduated over 50 students. It is also categorized as a missionary school because the curriculum is based on U.S. Christian ideology, but is classified as a multicultural school by South Korea because of its student population. The school's ethnic and racial distribution includes Peruvian, Korean, Russian, Pakistani, Bangladesh, Black, White and LatinX Americans, both monoracial and mixed-race students. SKA School is not accredited in South Korea and has purposely refused accreditation to keep its unique approach to serving the students and to avoid governmental regulations that restrict the school's approaches to serving its diverse population. The school is also not accredited in the United States, but the students do take the California Achievement Test (CAT) annually which, along with their diploma, serves as verification of their academic progress and completion. There is a Scholastic Aptitude Test (SAT) class to prepare students to take the United States SAT because many of the Amerasian and

mixed Korean and American students either return to the U.S. with their family or for college. Students who will not go to the United States to attend university participate in a 종합 교육 개발 (Korean General Educational Development or GED) class. Many mixed Korean students are afforded special opportunities from local universities and international satellite campuses in South Korea, because of their mixed-race status.

SKA School is a microcosm of diversity within South Korean society. It includes a large number of diasporic Koreans including Amerasians, other mixed Koreans, international Koreans, bicultural Koreans, and immigrant children (not included in this study). The students who currently attend the school include 14 different nationalities. The number of nationalities of students who have attended SKA School but have graduated or have left the school exceeds 30.

Participants

The data collection was carried out in two phases. The first phase was conducted in South Korea at SKA School and focused on how students saw themselves in South Korean history. The second phase was conducted in person and through video conferencing. It focused on how the students identified themselves and how the teacher and principal felt their teaching and the school culture contributed to a biracial identity development. A descriptive profile of all the participants is presented in Table 1.

Table1: Participants

Previously Obtained Data **Newly Obtained Data**

Pseudonym	Racial Identity	Gender	Korean Parent	Year in School	Religious Affiliation	Role
Betty	Korean & White American	Female	Mother	High school	Christian	Student
Bobby	Korean & White American	Male	Mother	High School	Christian	Student
Yoon-ho	Korean & Pakistani	Male	Mother	Middle School	Muslim	Student
Jun-un	Korean & Pakistani	Female	Mother	High School	Muslim	Student
Ji-won	Korean & Pakistani	Female	Mother	High School	Christian, but the father is Muslim	Student
Mary	Korean & Pakistani	Female	Mother	ALUMNI	Christian, but the father is Muslim	Former Student
Yu-bin	Korean and White American (German heritage)	Male	Mother	Graduate	Christian	Former Student
Ms. Ester	Korean & Guatemalan	Female	Mother	N/A	Christian	Teacher
Mr. Jim	Korean & African American	Male	Mother	N/A	Christian	Principal

Student Participants

All names of the participants are pseudonyms. Betty is Korean and American (White) female who was in high school. She attended SKA School with her younger brother, Bobby, who was also in high school. Both strongly resembled their non-Korean father but were still very

noticeably mixed-race. Their father was a contractor with the United States military in South Korea. Both Participant two and five had attended SKA School since early elementary school.

Yoon-ho was a middle school male. His father is Pakistani, and his mother is Korean. He grew up in South Korea and attended SKA School for all of his schooling. His sister, Jun-un, also attend SKA School as a high school student. Their family was Muslim, so Jun-un wore a hijab and was very soft spoken. She did not appear to dress in any other formal Muslim manner and was more social. Their home, although culturally Korean, had strong Muslim traditions.

Ji-won was also Pakistani and Korean. She was a high school student. Her father is Pakistani and mother Korean. She is the younger sister of Mary who graduated from SKA School in 2014 and is now attending college in the United States. Ji-won also has a younger brother who attended SKA elementary school. Ji-won's appearance is very Korean whereas Mary looks mixed-race.

Yu-bin attended SKA School off and on between elementary and high school but did not graduate from SKA School. He transferred schools in late middle school and attended school on a U.S. military base in Seoul Korea where he graduated. He currently resides in the state of Washington. His mother is Korean, and his father is White American of German heritage.

Principal and Teacher

Mr. Jim, the principal and founder of SKA School, is a mixed-heritage Korean (Amerasian), who was born and raised in South Korea until he was eleven years old and then immigrated to the United States. He returned to Korea after graduating from college in the United States to do mission work for mixed Koreans in the Dongducheon, which resulted in the establishment of SKA School in 1999.

Ester is Guatemalan and Korean. She grew up in Texas and was an elementary teacher with SKA School for over five years. She was considered a missionary teacher with the school. Her work with the students went beyond the classroom and her assigned grade level. She is currently an elementary school teacher in the United States.

Data Collection

Consent to conduct this study was obtained from the University of Washington, Institutional Review Board (IRB). All interviewed participants were over the age of 18. However, permission was also obtained from the University of Washington IRB to use previously collected data. The six students in the previous inquiry were under the age of 18. Consent forms were signed by each participant and his/her guardian. Only unanalyzed data from the previous study were used in this study.

Traveling back and forth to South Korea was not an option for this study. Fortunately, all of the participants were now in the United States, and I was able to connect with them in person or through audio/video conferencing software such as Skype and FaceTime. The following data collection approaches were used at different stages of the study:

- Individual interviews with students.
- Individual interviews with the school principal, faculty and staff (previously collected).
- Personal notes and memo on the interviews.

As stated by Jick (1979) “more than one method should be used in the validation process to ensure that the variance reflected that of the trait and not of the methods” (p. 602). For this particular study, I analyzed personal interviews and field notes on the interviews to triangulate the findings (Datnow & Yonezaw, 2004; Merriam, 2009). Each interview was designed to last

between 45-75 minutes. Merriam (2009) supports this form of data collection indicating that, "interviewing is…the best technique to use when conducting intensive case studies of a few selected individuals…" (p. 88). The personal interviews allowed participants to talk through their experiences as a student or teacher at SKA School as it related to biracial identity development. These interviews, according to Glesne (2010) "elicit[ed] data needed to gain an understanding of the phenomenon in question… contribute[d] different perspectives on the issue…" (p. 48).

Data Sources

The participants for this study were recruited through personal contact through emails, phone calls, text messages, and in-person requests. They were initially given a brief overview of the goals of the study (See Appendix J). If they agreed to participate then a written overview of the study, a consent form and a request for the best available time to Skype were emailed to them (See Appendix K). If the participant was local, a meeting time and location were arranged through telephone calls and text messages. There was no incentive for participating in the study. However, participants were offered a copy of the study and an invitation to the presentation of the findings of the study.

Of the four participants interviewed in the second phase, two were former students. One was a former teacher and one is the current principal. Two interviews were conducted in person. The other two were conducted through Skype video conferencing software. Each interview lasted approximately 45-75 minutes. Probing and summarizing comments throughout the interview were made to ensure the accuracy of the participant's narrative. Notes were taken during each interview to capture any significant ideas that stood out in the conversation.

Each participant was interviewed once except for the teacher. Participants were told they would be given pseudonyms to protect their identity. All interviews were audio-recorded via

audio recorder or Skype. Afterward, the audio files were sent to Rev.com, one of the largest professional online transcription service providers, transcribed and sent back to me.

The initial data for this study were a secondary analysis of previously-collected research data. They were collected from the middle and high school students at SKA School. Their ages ranged from 11-17. Middle and high school students were chosen to improve the number of participants. Merriam (2009) called this purposeful sampling, "when the investigator wants to discover, understand, and gain insight and therefore must select a sample from which the most can be learned" (p. 77). Additionally, the interview with the founder (principal) was included to achieve a better understanding of how the school environment was created and supported.

Among the secondary analysis of the previously-collected initial data, seven students and the principal were interviewed about their experiences with SKA School. All student participants and the principal identified as mixed Korean and have one non-Korean parent. Each one had a different story about the experience of being mixed-race in South Korea and SKA School's contribution to their personal identity. Participants highlighted in red (Table. 1) were taken from a preliminary pilot inquiry and were used to create a demographic file. Since their participation did not contribute to thick data, their data were limited in the analysis, with the exception of Mr. Jim.

Participants were asked a series of questions about their background, how they identified racially, personal experiences in South Korea and SKA School, and their racial-ethnic identity. The research questions were explicitly targeted to understanding what aspects of this educational environment contributed to the process of biracial identity development and determining how biracial identity development of mixed Korean bicultural individuals was

supported. Racial identity was explored by asking about critical experiences which occurred while attending SKA School.

Three sets of interview questions were developed. One set of questions was for former students who had graduated or attended the school and transferred (Appendix E). The questions asked ranged from one's biracial identity, SKA classroom experiences and SKA teachers. Some examples were:

- Have you had others ask what are you/ where are you from/ or what is your ethnic background?

    Probe: What has been their reaction?

    Probe How do you react to that reaction?

- Was there ever a time at SKA that you felt or were told you had to choose one identity over the other?
- Did you have any mixed-race teachers while at SKA?

    Probe: Men and women?

    Probe: What did you learn about being mixed Korean from them?

    Probe: How did your experience with mixed-race teachers help you in your understanding of your identity?

A second and third set of questions was for teachers at SKA School (Appendix F) and a set of follow-up questions for the teachers about multicultural education generally (Appendix G). The questions asked ranged from racial/ethnic identity and reflections on whether teaching practices or the school's curriculum aligned with Bank's (1993) Five dimensions of Multicultural Education dimensions. For example:

- Tell me about a time when at SKA that you had a discussion with faculty or students

about your identity as mixed Korean?

Probe: Are there other times you had these kinds of conversations?

- How would you describe your teaching experience at SKA?
- How did you feel you as a teacher supported your mixed-race students' biracial identity?

Probe: Has any students ever talked with you about their biracial identity?

Probe: What were some challenges you recall?

The interviews conducted were semi-structured to explore open-ended questions regarding how the students identified racially and ethnically, if they had mixed -Korean teachers, and their overall school experiences (Appendix E, F, and G). The questions for the initial inquiry of the students and principal are included in Appendix H and Appendix I.

All questions were open-ended to explore how their experiences related to the students' biracial and bicultural identity. In addition to open-ended questions, probing questions were asked to assist the participants in explaining more deeply about their experiences (Appendix E, F, and G). According to Rubin and Rubin (2005) probes "help you manage the conversation by regulating the length of answers and degree of detail, clarifying unclear sentences or phrases, filling in missing steps and keeping the conversation on topic" (p. 164).

Semi-structured individual interviews were used to understand the experiences of mixed-heritage students and how they contribute to the development of biracial and bicultural identity. (For example, do you feel like your school experience supported a biracial identity? How?) According to Cousin (2009, p. 72), "semi-structured interviews are … structured around a set of themes which serves as a guide to facilitate interview talk." The interview theme questions, biracial identity, SKA classroom, and SKA teachers (Appendix E) were created to guide the participants back to their time as middle and high school students at SKA School and discuss in

specific experiences related to their identity development. The interview theme questions for teachers involved racial/ethnic identity, reflections as to whether teaching practices or the school's curriculum aligned with Bank's (1993) five dimensions of multicultural education (Appendix F and G). They were created to guide the participants back to their time as a teacher at SKA School and how specific experiences related to their teaching and classroom.

Data Analysis

Miles and Huberman (2014, p. 30) stated that "one major feature of well-collected qualitative data is that they focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a strong handle on what 'real life' is like." The means that qualitative research helps researchers to make sense of the meanings people place on their own experiences. The ability to be confident in the understanding is "buttressed by local groundedness, the fact that the data were collected in close proximity to a specific situation." (Miles & Huberman, 2014, p. 30). The best person to explain about a phenomenon is a person who is part of the phenomenon. This is why qualitative research was chosen for this study.

The data were analyzed using open coding with Atlas Ti software, a powerful workbench for the qualitative analysis used to arrange, reassemble, and manage data systematically. This software helped to go through the transcript and identify themes and categories from the participants' statements.

According to Miles and Huberman (2014) "data condensation refers to the process of selecting, focusing, simplifying, abstracting, and/or transforming the data that appear in the full corpus (body) of written-up field notes, interview transcripts, documents, and other empirical materials." (p.31). Although the sample number of participants was small, I was still able to

identify a saturation point, when there was redundancy in the data, and the addition of more participants did not provide any new data.

Upon completion of each interview, I spent time reviewing the notes. I highlighted parts of the notes, as they referred to the conversation, which were strong leads. I listened to the recorded interviews and looked at my notes to make sure I did not miss other potential points. Over a few days, I listened to the recording of the interviews a few times to see if there were any comments, ideas or topics that stood out. After receiving the transcriptions of the interviews. I read the transcriptions several times. I also listened to the recording as I read the transcriptions in order to fill in any transcribed portions of the interview. Each interview transcription was then uploaded into Atlas.ti. The Atlas.ti software provides tools to locate, code, and annotate findings in qualitative data material and to visualize relations between data. I did open coding where thirty-eight initial descriptive and color codes were created. This allowed me to begin grouping identified concepts and create data categories and subcategories according to reoccurring themes. Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe (2010, p. 1) referred to open coding as "the initial interpretive process by which raw research data are first systematically analyzed and categorized.".

After the data were reviewed multiple times in Atlas.ti and themes which emerged from the coded data categories and subcategories were identified using selective coding or patterns, I grouped the data into core concepts. Mills, Durepos, and Wiebe (2010, p. 3) referred to selective coding as "…the stage in data analysis where core concepts are identified, and then abstracted… during selective coding, previously identified discrete concepts and categories are further defined, developed, and refined and then brought together to tell a larger story." Pattern codes among the core concepts were based on factors from this study supporting theories. These

provided a useful coding schema which was applied at the final stage of the data analysis to determine patterns or hidden meanings of information.

The validity of a study is a significant component to understanding the data. In order to support the validity of this study, the data were triangulated. There were two triangulation methods used to cross-check the finding. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2018), the four kinds of triangulation are data, methods, investigator, and theory. For this study, I used theoretical and methodological triangulation. Denzin, (1970/1978, p. 297) described theoretical triangulation as, "approaching data with multiple perspectives and hypotheses in mind…. various theoretical points of view could be placed side by side to assess their utility and power". Cohen, Manion, and Morrison, (2007, p. 161) referred to methodological triangulation as using "either the same method on different occasions or different methods on the same object of study." The same interview protocols were used for all participants according to their relationship with SKA School. (See Appendices E, F, and G) This aligns with methodological triangulation, using the same method on different occasions. According to Willis (2007), "the essential idea of triangulation is to find multiple sources of confirmation when you want to draw a conclusion." (p. 219). To ensure validity, triangulation across sources of information were used to establish meaning to the data collected.

After analyzing the data, I was able to support the findings with the chosen theories of Multicultural Education, Critical Race Theory, Cultural Responsive Teaching, Ecological Theory, CEMSC, FMMI, and Root's identity development theories. Johnson and Christensen (2013, p. 13) stated that,

> Interpretive validity…refers to the degree to which the qualitative researcher accurately understands research participants' viewpoints, thoughts, feelings, intentions, and

> experiences and portrays them in the research report. … Accurate interpretive validity requires that the researcher get inside the heads of the participants, look through the participants' eyes, and see and feel what they see and feel.

As an insider in the community of my participants, both as mixed Korean and supporter of SKA School, combined with my role as a qualitative researcher, helped me to understand things from the participants' perspectives and thus provide a valid account of these perspectives.

Summary

The chapter discussed the research purpose, questions, and methods used for this qualitative case study. It also discussed the research design used to understand how educational experiences help in the development of biracial identities. This study took place at SKA School in Dongducheon, South Korea. Dongducheon is the location of the U.S. military base 2ID, which means that there is a large camptown near the base and SKA School.

Participants were chosen based on their biracial make-up and their experiences with SKA School. The principal provided an in-depth understanding of SKA School. The teacher gave insight into how teaching and the curriculum were used to support biracial/bicultural identity development. The student participants were chosen because of their age, time spent at SKA School and accessibility.

Interviews were conducted in person, by Skype video conferencing software and FaceTime. Four of the participants' interviews analyzed, provided thick data and the additional seven taken from the initial inquiry was limited in analysis. Notes on the interviews were taken, and all interviews were audio recorded. The data were reviewed and coded using Atlas.ti qualitative research analysis software. The collected data were validated using methodical and

theoretical triangulation methods. The study was designed to contribute to understanding how biracial/bicultural identity development is influenced in classrooms and other educational spaces.

Chapter IV

FINDINGS

This study examined biracial/bicultural identity development within a multicultural South Korean school context. The experiences of several former and current students, teachers and the founding principal of SKA School, provided insights into the support of biracial individuals in the school's climate. Several techniques for supporting mixed-race identity development were confirmed, as well as some new insights gained about what contributes to a positive biracial/bicultural identity. All transcripts were coded by the primary investigator using Atlas.ti software. The themes that were developed and evidence supporting each one is presented in this chapter. The results are presented using quotes from participants who responded in accordance with particular themes. Participants are identified by the pseudonyms created to protect their actual identities. The significant findings from this study are organized according to what the data said about the ecological factors the participants experienced that contributed to their mixed-Korean identity before entering and during their time at the school, and what within the school affected their biracial/bicultural identity development.

The interview data in which the participants discussed different aspects of their educational experiences illustrated principles of ecological theory, CEMSC theory, and biracial/bicultural identity development. The findings also supported theoretical claims that educational climates and experiences influence impact biracial identity development. Although this study did not address educational outcomes associated with the development of positive biracial/bicultural identities, there was support for the use of Multicultural Education and Culturally Responsive Pedagogy in creating educational opportunities that support the development of a positive biracial /bicultural identity. All seven students considered themselves

biracial and bicultural. The interview questions focused on the development and support of a Korean identity, an 'other' identity, and a biracial/bicultural identity. The principal and teacher also self-identified as biracial and bicultural.

The conceptual framework of this study assumed fluidity among factors affecting identity development in educational contexts. Thus, the data generated were coded in multiple ways. Initially, 38 descriptive and open codes were created. After grouping according to identified concepts, data categories and subcategories were created according to reoccurring themes. With the themes identified using selective coding, several core concepts emerged. Pattern codes were then created based on factors from Multicultural Education, Critical Race Theory, Ecological Theory, Culturally Responsive teaching, FMMI, CEMSC, and Root's identity development theories. The data were then analyzed using those frameworks to support the findings. The results are presented in order based on their frequency of occurrence in the data sets.

South Korea and Cultural Context

A group of immigrant mixed-Koreans in Seattle, Washington were approached by a White male who asked, "What language the group was speaking?" and "What country the group was from?" As a member of the group, I (the researcher) told this individual we were speaking Korean, and we were Korean. The gentleman, even in his inebriated state, was shocked and appeared to be taken off guard. While in the military he had visited South Korea, but our self-identification did not match his schema. His reaction was common when mixed-Koreans tell non-Koreans that Korea is a multicultural country. This is understandable since South Korea has only recently begun claiming a multicultural national identity. This is also important in understanding how South Korea's cultural context contributes to what happens within SKA School that affects its students biracial/bicultural identity development.

The participants in this study agreed that they were victims of racism repeatedly experienced outside of SKA School and that it affected their sense of identity. These feelings were evident in the following comments:

Bobby said,

> To be honest, I feel like many people in Korea are racist. I've seen many racist people and I've seen them talk racist…They just don't like anyone else than Asians. They just speak offensive. They say something about skin color, and they just don't like that.

Yu-bin added other ways in which racism occurs in South Korea:

> It's just a look…Probably curiosity…Like if they see a Korean, if Korean sees a Korean, they will just walk by. If they see [an] Amerasian like me, they will [watch] me until I go by… I don't want to say this so harsh[ly], but Korean[s] ... I don't know, every people has [ve] that eye just staring at you, or I know they talk about me in their language. I could just sense it.

Mr. Jim, founder and principal of SKA School, explained how racism, lack of support, and inhumanity toward mixed-Koreans are embedded in governmental policies. He noted that:

> The Korean government will tell you, you are multicultural, and you might even get a benefit, but as a person, you are not. They could label you and that's totally different. Being a multicultural person is different from someone labeling you as a multicultural, so I want them [SKA students] to be a person, a being is important I think, rather than someone telling you, 'Oh, you're multicultural."

Mr. Jim also connected South Korea's racism to an ideology that explains how Korean, as a race came about, but this does not explain culture,

> They don't want to mention about foreigners being an influence here and they want Korea to be homogeneous and they even started with mythical Tangun, right? Yeah. I mean, it's a myth, but some history books start with that, so … they don't want to acknowledge that the Mongolians came, and they started, you know, it's all the Korean pride is there.

The mixed-Korean present and former study participants of SKA School, who have experienced racism, provided some more graphic and detailed descriptions of these situations. For example, in her presentation during a visit with some other students to the U.N. in South Korea to share their stories about being mixed-Koreans Mary explained:

> Most of you might have a general idea or concept on what multiculturalism is, … and are here to be educated on this complicated matter. … I want to start off by giving you one of the definitions of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism is a doctrine that several different cultures coexist peacefully in a single community. President Franklin Roosevelt, the 32nd president of the United States, best-defined multiculturalism in one of the articles in the *New York Times* back in 1945, "Today science has brought all the different corners of the globe so close together that it is impossible to isolate them one from another. If civilization is to survive, we must cultivate the science of human relationships. The ability of all peoples of all kinds to live together in the same world at peace."
>
> However, contrary to the definitions above, the lives of multicultural people are not defined as peaceful most of the times. Along with some benefits of being biracial, the lives of a lot of children born in such families contain different kinds of struggles. First, the inability to fit in. Second, discrimination. Third, confusion and identity. Fourth, cultural differences and lastly, lack of support from the government can also be a hassle

> in these children's lives. For example, in Korea, unless a husband in an international marriage is Korean, the children are not supported by the Korean government.
>
> This shows me the narrow perspective the Korean government has on multiculturalism. Kim [Tonhyung], my distant cousin is a multicultural child of a Korean Father and Uzbekistani Mother. He doesn't speak any Uzbek and barely knows the culture of the country. Living and growing up his whole life in Korea, his Uzbekistani traits are highly apparent in him. When I had an interview with him a couple of days ago through a phone call, he said that 'Sometimes I have to remind myself that I'm a biracial person. None of my friends see me as multicultural, they think of me as a Korean,' … Just to summarize, I have a Pakistani father and a Korean mother whereas Kin Tonhyung, my cousin has a Korean father and an Uzbekistani mother. I speak Urdu and Korean plus English and ... That's a mistake, I speak a lot of English out of school too, whereas Kim Tonhyung speaks only Korean.

Biracial/Bicultural Identity Development in a South Korean Context

Although physical appearance is a factor of identity development, in this study there was a stronger connection with the reactions and interactions with others in the context of the country in question. For example, several participants did not feel the same pressures when asked about how they were perceived outside as within South Korea. When asked how he identified himself and what makes a person Pakistani, Ji-won said, "If I go to Pakistan, they look at me as Japanese or Chinese, so I don't know which I am."

Identifying with either ethnic background seemed to affect the acceptance of the participants. Understanding their bicultural/biracial identity through parentage was discussed, by

the participants' as the way to justify being Korean. Yoon-ho, Mary, and Jun-ho expressed similar responses when discussing how and why they were Korean, Yoon-ho said,

> I tell them when they ask me, "Where are you from?" I say, "We are Pakistani." They ask me, "Your mother is Pakistani?" I say, "My mom's Korean, my dad is Pakistani."

Mary explained that,

> I would go to shops or restaurants and would speak Korean, and they would tell me, "Oh. You speak really good Korean." And then I'd have to tell them, "No. I'm Korean. My mom's Korean." So that tells me that at first glance… people … don't see me as Korean. They see me as something else.

Jun-ho added, "I love Korea because it's my mom's land. … she was born there. Former teacher Ms. Ester, a biracial/bicultural (Korean and Guatemalan), also claimed a Korean identity through her parent's and not her own experiences. She explained:

> I have my mom's Korean culture and somewhat of my dad's ... Guatemalan culture. Being in such a large Mexican community, I'm definitely influenced by that culture. Hanging out with my Mexican friends growing up and stuff. I think just American culture in general. I don't feel like I can just say I am this or that or I identify with this or that. That's why I say multi, you know what I mean.

Although Korean citizenship requires knowledge of Hangeul (한글), Korean language is not a criterion for Korean identity. However, for the participants in this study, speaking Korean was a part of their criteria for being Korean, but it was not a reason for exclusion. They attended an English-speaking school and there were some mixed-Koreans who claimed a Korean identity but did not speak Korean. All the participants were bilingual or trilingual. Bobby originally listed three criteria for being Korean. These were "Blood, look, and speak." After further probing, he

began to change his answers allowing some aspects to be excluded so one's claim to a Korean identity could be non-discriminatory. He persisted that the only non-negotiable was "blood," meaning being racially Korean was enough.

Mary provided more details in her answers. When asked to describe how she thinks Korea or Korean society identifies her, and why she thinks Korean society identifies her as such, she responded,

> I think I'm a foreigner to most Koreans until they have a conversation with me, and they realize that I'm more Korean than they think. But at first glance, or even to some Korean friends that I've been friends for the past four years, three years, whatever, I'm still a foreigner to them. And they don't see me as ... full Korean. They might see me as someone who has Korean influence on some. But I feel like the society too, while I lived there, I was seen as a foreigner. And I was always asked, even if I spoke Korean, … So that tells me that at first glance, or even just how people perceive me. They don't see me as Korean; they see me as something else.

It was difficult for Yu-bin to explain what being Korean meant. He finally settled on emotions and feelings. When Yu-bin was asked about what makes someone American his response was vague, but he excluded language, saying "I don't know…. It's never language". Yoon-ho's response was different. He felt language and citizenship were important to being Korean but did not require one to be Korean biologically.

> Researcher: Do they have to speak Korean to be Korean?
>
> Yoon-ho: Yes.
>
> Researcher: Do they have to have Korean citizenship to be Korean?
>
> Yoon-ho: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

Researcher: Do they have to have Korean blood to be Korean?

Yoon-ho: You don't need to.

Betty, who identified as mixed, felt she was Korean because "I speak Korean language, I look more Korean, more Asian. I probably have more Korean friends." She based her Korean identity on her physical appearance, language and social network.

Language and a Korean Identity

Some participants felt their fluency in Korean indicated they were considered Korean. Although this was important in developing part of a positive biracial/bicultural identity (developing the Korean side). No one tells monoracial Koreans who grew up in Korea that they speak Korean well or better than expected. This attitude is expressed toward bicultural Koreans who have grown up aboard, and mixed-Koreans when there is an assumption that Korean is their second language, or that one does not speak Korean at all. Yoon-ho's statement reflected this:

Researcher: Okay. How do you think Korean society sees you? When people in Korea, when they look at you, how do they see you? Do they see you as Pakistani? Do they see you as Korean?

Yoon-ho: Korean.

Researcher: They see you as Korean?

Yoon-ho: Yeah, because when I speak, they say to me, "You're good at speaking Korean."

Norton (2010) contended that language and identity are inseparable, and that "language is thus theorized not only as a linguistic system, but as a social practice in which experiences are organized and identities negotiated" (p. 351). When one is mixed-Korean, the idea that one's Korean language comes from one or both parents seems to be difficult for others to understand.

Valdes (2000) stated that heritage learners are "individuals raised in homes where a language other than English is spoken and who are to some degree bilingual in English and the heritage language" (as cited in Kagan & Polinsky, 2007, p. 369). Yu-bin related language to his identity. When asked, what is the difference between American-Korean, and Korean-American he responded,

> There's a lot of difference there. American-Korean knows Korea, knows Korean language, but not as fluent…For my definition, if I think so. American-Korean is opposite from me. Yes, Korean-American, for me, it is, for elders, I show respect. I'm not saying that American-Korean does not show respect, but ... I think Korean-American knows a little bit more of Korean culture than American-Korean people.

Whether it defined or excluded one's connection to Korea, language was important to the participants' own identity, but was not a requirement for them in accepting others' self-identification as bicultural Korean or mixed-Korean. However, there was still a differentiation in how close one is to their Korean-ness.

Ecological Contributions to Identity Development

The most important ecological components that contributed to the bicultural identity development outside of SKA School included friendships, media, family, Korean national identity, how one is perceived in Korea (biracial identity), and criteria for Koreanness.

Friendships. All participants did not have mixed-Korean friends outside of school, but expressed the importance of friendships as outlets for discussing frustrations and challenges of being mixed-Korean, and as a measure of their Korean-ness. Yu-bin and his friend Deidra were close even after he left SKA School. Although they met at SKA School, both maintained a friendship outside of the SKA environment. He explained that "I didn't talk about being

Amerasian, or being mixed to anybody except Deidra, because I was close with her." Betty felt her Korean friendships were indications of how she identified her Korean-ness. When asked "what makes her Korean on her Korean side?", she responded,

> Betty: I speak Korean language, I look more Korean, more Asian. I probably have more Korean friends.
>
> Researcher: Okay. Friends have a lot to do with how you identify?
>
> Betty: Yeah. …I lived most of my life in Korea.

Betty was also excited when meeting other mixed-Koreans outside of SKA School. She explained, "I'm like, 'Oh. You're mixed too'?" Thus, among the participants, friendships served as an outlet and added to the sense of community among mixed-race Koreans.

Media. Most of the participants did not report seeing any mixed-Koreans in the media. At least not enough to feel like the mixed-Koreans in the media had a strong impact on their biracial and bicultural identity. For Jun-un, responding hypothetically to seeing mixed-Koreans on television resulted in her reflecting on their experience as mixed-Koreans in Korea. Jun-un said, "I think I would compare how they live and how I live."

There are several mixed-Koreans who have been visible in South Korea media regularly, such as In, Soon-ni (인순이- singer), Daniel Henny (actor), Kang, Soo-il (강수일 - professional soccer player) and Hines Ward (U.S. football player). However, seeing other mixed-Koreans in South Korean media was the least influential factor in biracial/bicultural identity development for this study participants.

Family. Immediate and extended family experiences were more salient for the identity development of the participants. They never discussed the potential cultural difference in their families as negative or awkward. Except for religion, their Biracial Identity Integration (BII) was

high. The participants perceived their dual cultures as highly integrated. Yoon-ho who identified as “both” felt more connected with his Pakistani heritage because of the number of cousins he has. When asked, why he identified with Pakistan more than Korea, Yoon-ho stated, “Because there are so many other [monoracial Pakistani] cousins than [in] Korea." While he acknowledged his biracial and bicultural identification, he preference or connection with one identity was also present.

Yu-bin was more neutral. He also identified as biracial and bicultural, but preferred to use the term Korean-American claiming he is more Korean than American while others might be American-Korean because their Americanness is the more dominate ethnicity of the two. However, he had no recollection of his parents bringing up his identity. When asked about, how his parents or guardians identified him, he responded,

Yu-bin: I don't know.

Researcher: You're just her son.

Yu-bin: Her son, yeah. I'm her son.

Researcher: Grandmother

Yu-bin: Nothing.

Researcher: Okay.

Yu-bin: I never heard anything.

Mary’s experience with family was somewhat different from Yu-bin’s. However, it was similar too in the sense that her family never talked about a mixed-race identity and what it means. Instead, the bicultural differences came up situationally when her individual identity challenged a parental expectation. In explaining how her parents identified her, Mary said,

> I don't know the answer to that. I think my dad would see me as more Korean than Pakistani. To my mom, I think, she really encourages me being both Korean and Pakistani. But yeah, I think my dad sees me more as Korean because he knows that he has certain expectations for me as a Pakistani Muslim father. And he knows that I'm not comfortable with that. He knows that my brother and sisters aren't comfortable with that because we weren't grown in that mentality. So maybe that's why he doesn't see me as fully Pakistani.

Mary differed from her parents in identifying herself, because,

> …after I came to America, when I went back home a couple of times, I found myself arguing and disagreeing with them a lot more. And I think it's because I was exposed to a new culture, and in Korea I was expected to be ... not expected to be, but I just was a certain way. And I don't know if it's a Korean way or what, but it's ... I don't know. I just find myself disagreeing with them a lot more now that I'm exposed to the American culture. I don't know why that is.

Mary's bicultural/interracial family appeared to be able to absorb the bicultural/bicultural identity of her and her siblings. It was not until a third cultural identity was introduced, which was neither of the parent's heritage nor a hybrid of the two bicultural identities, that presented a challenge within the family.

Religion. Although Mary and her family are Muslim her mother's identification is connected to her race and ethnicity whereas her father's is connected to his religion. Mary's experience demonstrated how religion and ethnicity are connected and can influence bicultural identity. Religion was the only factor that created some tension in the home of several

participants, mainly those with Muslim fathers. Mr. Jim explain the complexity of this dynamic thusly:

> I'm not sure if they [students] notice it, or if they're doing anything to do that, but the fact that they could just mingle together ... being friends together, but sometime[s] they do talk about serious issues what they go through, the difficult times they go through. I have heard that and that they have a friend that they could share their pain and the friend's that are going through a similar situation.
>
> For example, we have some students who are half Pakistani, half Korean, and females. And they go through similar things at home that no other multicultural students go through. Their fathers are Muslim, but they live in Korea. They don't want to be Muslim, but sometime[s] they are forced to [be] Islamic. Yeah, just … a lotta things that they are forced to do, and they don't want that. And so those girls, come together, and they share those kinds of pains they have.
>
> One day I asked them, 'If you had a chance to marry a Muslim man from Pakistan, or a Korean man in the future, who would you choose'? They all said Korean man. The reason was that they didn't want their children to go through what they're going through now, internal. No, fathers are not abusing them physically, nothing like that, but there's an internal struggle there. They don't want to be known as a Muslim and they don't want to wear certain clothes that a Muslim female needs to wear in Korea. Because Koreans will look at them and it's all those struggles. And they also see what their moms are going through still now, the struggles they're going through. … During lunchtime, after school they go out to drink coffee and so they're actually comforting one another. Actually, they help one another more than I realized.

Mary's experiences were consistent with Mr. Jim's analysis. When asked if she thought, her father viewpoints have a lot to do with her different religious perspective, or was it just the way her dad saw her, she responded,

> I think religion does play a huge part in it because I know religion's a huge thing for him and my dad's side of the family. And it was kind of what brought all of them together in a way. But he doesn't force it upon us. He doesn't expect us to be Muslims, but I think it does create a disconnection between us. I hope not, but maybe it causes him to not see us fully as ... a Pakistani kid. I'm not fully Pakistani, or fully Korean to them. I feel like it's just ... Which I am, I am a mixture.

In the case of identity and religion, Jun-un thought South Korean's did not see her as Korean and considered her mixed-ness as something bad. She thought this was not just discrimination, but a direct attack on attacks her biracial/bicultural identity and religion as evident in:

> Jun-un: When they ask me, where are you from?
>
> Researcher: Do you tell them you're Korean?
>
> Jun-un: Yes.
>
> Researcher: Do you tell them you're both or do you just say I'm Korean?
>
> Jun-un: They say you look like Malaysian and look funny sometimes, but I told them I'm Korean.
>
> Researcher: Why do you think they see you as bad?
>
> Jun-un: Because of my religion?
>
> Researcher: So, you think it's more for religious prejudice than Pakistan prejudice?
>
> Jun-un: I'd say both.

Criteria for Korean National Identity. South Korea has a few general and special naturalization requirements which entitles individuals to become legal citizens. However, citizenship alone does not make one Korean. South Korea's identity is grounded in language, heritage, parental citizenship, phenotype, and, in some extreme cases, birthplace. The responses of the participants reflect the legal and unspoken physical appearance criteria for Korean identity. Bobby had a lot to say about who is accepted as Korean and who is not. His reflections reveal pride in his biological Korean identity.

> Well, in my opinion, if [mixed people] get citizenship, they have Korean citizenship so even if they don't really speak Korean, they do have Korean citizenship. And if you have Korean citizenship, you would probably get a social security number for Korea. Then they should… be accepted as Korean citizenship because they don't have any Korean blood. Their whole family was not Korean, maybe American or the UK or anywhere. But they should have fair benefits for being in Korea.

Bobby's criteria for Korean-ness were blood (biological parent), language, and physical appearance. However, he put more emphasis on the biological component. As he explained further in this conversation with me:

> Bobby: If you have Korean blood and you look Korean and you speak Korean [then you are Korean].
>
> Researcher: What if you don't look Korean, but you're half Korean?
>
> Bobby: Well, if you don't and you're Korean, I mean, it's fine.
>
> Researcher: Does that still make you Korean?
>
> Bobby: Yeah, it does, because it's who you are. You have Korean blood in you.
>
> Researcher: So does it have to be all three? Blood, look, and speak?

Bobby: No, it could just be blood.

Researcher: ... Do you think are levels of Korean-ness? Like could someone be more Korean than someone else?

Bobby: No. If you just have the blood, you're Korean?

Researcher: And you don't need to be pureblood? You just need to have some blood.

Bobby: Just half the blood, you're Korean.

Interestingly, Betty and Bobby are siblings and their ideas of being accepted as Korean were different. Betty felt that being mixed-Korean was a status you are put in. She felt one could not change that status, and one cannot join a Korean status, if you do not look like the average Korean. At first, she did not think other Koreans see her at all. Then she though some see her as "one of the mixed kids in Korea" and "out of line" but "most people think I'm Korean."

In the following exchange, Ji-won's comment's focused on discrimination against mixed-Korean.

Researcher: How do you think Korea sees you?

Ji-won: Like I don't know anything about Korean, and I can't speak Korean.

Researcher: They see you as a foreigner?

Ji-won: They stare at me in different ways.

Researcher: Why do you think they see you like that?

Ji-won: Because we're different.

Researcher: Any other reasons why you think they see you like that?

Ji-won: Because we're just really different. I know how to speak Korean, I listen. Right?

Researcher: Mm-hmm (affirmative).

Ji-won: They say bad things about different countries. They think Korea is the best. But

> still I know what they are saying. I just ignore [them].

Jun-un placed more importance on societal responses that physical appearance. He said, “I don't care, but people care." Although nationality in the Republic of Korea is prescribed by law, the constitution does not list race or any other criteria of Korean identity other than Korean being the national language. However, due to social pressure, physical appearance does serve as a social criterion for being seen and accepted as Korean. Ms. Esther also supported this perception:

> In Korea, your identity is … Super important. You know, everybody physically looks the same, hair and clothes. Everybody physically has the same stuff. Everybody has to act a certain way, and we just didn't have those rules there [SKA School]. We just didn't have those rules. I mean, we've probably had our own rules but like, a different kind? Does that make sense?

South Korea’s self-proclaimed multicultural identity does not share the same history of racial, cultural or ethnic diversity as other multicultural countries (such as the United States, Brazil, and Canada), at least for the time being. This is an essential component for understanding the context of South Korea. In the South Korean context, physical appearance is a barrier to acceptance into a claimed Korean identity, but not always a barrier to one’s personal identity. Sims (2016) reiterated the importance of physical appearance in his study of mixed-race individuals.

School Climate and Classrooms

According to La Sale et al. (2015), school safety includes both physical and social-emotional dimensions experienced by students. This was a resounding aspect of SKA School that resonated

with the participants. In this study, Mr. Jim felt this was the most important aspect of the school. As he explained:

> I think the teachers have to really be on top of things. Like... as soon as there's teasing or bullying, a teacher [has] to step in right away and that's a lot of hard work. I understand, but it's a teacher's job. When the students feel uncomfortable to go to school because someone's teasing them, then education is broken. The school should be a safe place where students love to go and learn. But if you cannot create that, then… what is it then? I think that teachers have to create the environment where students feel safe, or my teacher could protect me....

Ms. Ester shared the following ideas about what made SKA School safe for diverse students, including mixed-race ones:

> Their families accepted them, but then when they went amongst other Koreans [they encounter], 'Oh, you're different.' No matter how Korean you look, or you act, or you sound, you're different. Then when you came to our school, none of that mattered. It was just we're gonna teach you this stuff and we're gonna all hang out. We're gonna be a family. We're gonna treat you based on your behavior, not based on the way you look or based on the way that you talk or act. Since everybody was so different, there wasn't any mold [at SKA School] that everybody had to fit into. That allowed you to be free, to be who you wanted to be. I don't want to step on anyone's toes, but I do think that part of the charm and the reason that SKA works is because we don't have a lot of full Koreans in our school. I know that that's changing. There's nothing wrong with allowing full Koreans into our school, but when you have a majority, they're gonna start to change the culture of the school, unfortunately. Regardless of what leadership does, regardless of what you try.

> I think that's why SKA works so well and why students felt so comfortable there 'cause you're not gonna be treated based on your race. You're gonna be treated based on your behavior. If you act dumb, we're gonna let you know you act dumb. If you act well, you're gonna do that.

Mary and Yu-bin expressed feeling safe at SKA School, that echoed Ms. Ester's, opinions that SKA School is somewhat of a refuge from what happens outside of the school climate. Mary said,

> It was more on the experiences that I had outside of SKA that made me feel safer in SKA. In SKA, I was comfortable, and I had people who knew me as half Pakistani, half Korean, but I would go out and then I would be a complete foreigner to them. And in the SKA, I'm speaking Korean, people know I speak it. It was just ... when I stepped out. Just simple things, [It was] just foreign to them that someone who looks like me would speak their language ... not perfectly, but decently. So that's when I realized, it was like a reality check every time I would go out. It would make me realize that ... I can count on SKA to be open about what I am. And not just me, but other people as well.

Yu-bin agreed with Mary's opinion:

> Yeah, I agree with that, totally agree with that, because if I go out, I'll get that look, I'll get mad, I'll get offended. It's just the same routine. Yeah, but in SKA, I didn't have that… Getting goosebumps here. Yeah…. Because I never thought of SKA as a safe-zone, but after you [said] that, it was a safe-zone to me.

SKA School served as a refuge for biracial and bicultural students from the threat of judgment, discrimination and the constant need to explain their existence and defends their

bicultural heritage. Yu-bin recalled his mother sent him to SKA School because he had been discriminated against by his peers,

> I got into a lot of fights, so my mom said, stop fighting and I will send you to SKA…They talked about my hair because my hair was kind of yellow back in the day … because of the sun. I think it looked kind of blondish, or yes, yes, some bleach. They called me, 외국 사람 [Foreigner], which I really didn't like, and I warned them because my mom told me to warn before whatever you do, and I did. I warned them three times, and I took action.

A safe social-emotional environment is not limited to having little or no discrimination. It also is a space where students have the opportunity to say what they believe or say something is wrong or unfair without fear and retaliation. Yu-bin's experiences reflected this. He never told his teachers about the teasing when he attended Korean schools,

> I never talked to my teacher in my Korean school. I never have because it was just ... my ego, or I don't want to bring this problem ... up to the teacher.

This changed when Yu-bin started attending SKA School. Principal Jim discussed ways that SKA School provided a safe environment for him and other mixed-Koreans.

> I cannot say there's no teasing 100%. I mean, it happens among the kids, but they don't tease because you're multicultural. You know, the kids don't have to be afraid to go to school because someone's teasing them, or reluctant to go to school because kids are making fun of them, you know. They could come here, and you would not see that.

This safe haven would be potentially negative if one viewed SKA School as a runaway refuge. Principal Jim stated,

> When parents come to our school to register, I talk with them fully about the positive side of it, also the negative side of it. So, they're not just running away from a Korean school to here. We don't want that…but the downside is … are [students] just hiding out from the Korean society, the bullying. Because if you run from it, when you become an adult, will that really help.

SKA School did not just protect students from the challenges of South Korea's self-proclaimed homogenous attitude. It also approached teaching and learning differently from typical South Korean schools, in both structure and approaches. Bobby felt he would not fit in if he went to an all Korean school because,

> I would be very uncomfortable.… just being around all Koreans that don't speak English, and they probably won't even play the stuff that I play. And we would have different interests. And I won't be able to get used to the education system from the Korean school because I have never learned in that style because my whole life since kindergarten I was in SKA.

Mary echoed this same sentiment when she discussed her siblings who transferred to a South Korean public school:

> They feel like they have more options in the Korean school… But then... both of them said that the environment is completely different. It's very structured, [the] relationship between the teacher and the students; it's almost no relationship. Or at least, from what they went from. They went from SKA where the teachers prayed for you, the teachers are very involved in your life, they try to be at least, to a Korean school where the teacher might not even know your name maybe. So yeah, that was the biggest thing I think….

Mixed-Koreans in South Korea, at times, experience feelings of exclusion and being less than equal (especially for reasons beyond their own control). This is damaging to their self-esteem, dignity, and identity development. The physical and emotional safety SKA School provided was an important part of the school climate that promoted the development of a positive biracial/bicultural identity.

Teaching and Learning Contributions

SKA School did not have any formal training for its teachers on teaching mixed-race students or culturally responsive pedagogy. It uses a Christian curriculum based in the United States. From the perspective of an educator, who has been formally trained in the United States, at first glance SKA School would seem to be questionable in its effectiveness. Even more striking would be a comparison between SKA School and a South Korean public school's structured educational system, prescribed curriculum, trained teachers, and school environment. However, SKA School was able to successfully address the students' academic and social and emotional needs, as well as demonstrate culturally responsive pedagogy. In commenting on this success, Principal Jim said,

> I think that our teachers are kind of guiding them. That's why time to time we have special lecturers come in and talk about this issue because I feel it is very important. I didn't have that, so I had to struggle. If there [had been] someone who guided me, I think it could be a lot better. Less struggle, but no one was there to guide me. But now I'm here to guide them and I always tell them that, 'Hey, you know, you guys live in Korea, but also you need to look at your father's or mother's culture and history. It's very important that you know that and also know the language.'

This also was reflected in the teacher's attitudes. In explaining how SKA School supported students' Korean identity and other identities, Ms. Ester said,

> Those of us who are biracial or what have you at the school, our common ground was being half Korean. You did have Koreans who did come in and help the school and do things like that. I think SKA didn't do as much. I think before I came, I did see where they would do stuff to support that, and then toward the end when I was leaving, they were supporting the Korean GED, Korean history, learning Korean. In the middle there, was not so much, but I think that they're starting to now.
>
> I don't know that we necessarily [taught other identities] ... I think we tried to. The hard thing is that when you have so many other identities and there's so many little things dropped into those, it's hard to know how to support that. I think it was more like, 'Okay, yes, you have these two identities, but you need to know how to just live as a person in general here on the earth no matter where you are.' It was more of that.

To a degree, it was the unique structure and climate of SKA School that allowed it to be successful in helping mixed-race Korean students develop a strong biracial/bicultural identity. According to Ms. Ester SKA School was supportive of teachers and students developing both of their identities.

> 100%. In fact … there's a scholarship at the end of the year given to students who really show pride in who they are, and they seem comfortable and they don't try to hide or anything. They embrace both sides. I think we do talk about that with them. Then the whole thing with Mr. Jim and doing the UN thing, and taking them out like that. I think that really helped support that. Also, we never told [the students] that they should hide or anything like that. We wanted them to be who they are.

Mary also recalled times when SKA School encouraged her to develop both of her identities. She stated,

> I think I would say most of the time, I felt both because I know SKA emphasizes that a lot, on embracing both sides. And I remember going to a lot of forums. … all that were organized by [the] M.A.C.K. Foundation. Or you guys [the M.A.C.K. Foundation] would take us. And I think those were the moments where I felt like that's my moment, like this is not about me, but this is what I am. And I remember speaking at a forum this one time with a whole presentation about what I am and what different backgrounds and stuff. So, I did feel both Pakistani and Korean in SKA.

Not only did teachers feel SKA school addressed the student's academic, social and emotional needs, but the students did as well. Mary demonstrated this in reflecting on how the school impacted her identity development. She said,

> The people I was surrounded [with] were very open... like my friends and my family and my teachers. We were very comfortable with the idea of multiculturalism or biracial children, bicultural families and stuff. So, I felt more comfortable there. …I think it's just like it clarified a lot of things for me. It made me more open to both of my cultures. I feel like I was too Pakistani before I came to whatever that seems. I was very much influenced by Pakistan. And then I came to Korea, to SKA, and SKA helped me still preserve my Pakistani identity. But it also encouraged me to be Korean, I guess.

Yu-bin echoed Mary's about how SKA School accepted students' bicultural identities and experiences. When asked, "if he was expected to be, just Korean," he responded, "No. No, they accept me as Amerasian".

No school or district is perfect or never in need of improvement. However, when harmful attitudes and behaviors exist toward students there is need for concern. SKA School provided both positive and negative experiences for students. Mary

> felt really protected. I felt very comfortable…. But in a way, I almost felt like I was in a bubble, which I'm realizing sometimes that I was. And yeah, I felt very comfortable. I felt more myself than I am right now. For me, it was a very positive experience. I know friends who would disagree with their experiences. But for me, I think I really enjoyed being who I am at SKA. It helped me a lot to just identify myself.

However, some of Mary's peers felt the bubble challenged their thinking about a biracial and bicultural identity. She recalled,

> friends who wanted to be one race more than the other. And SKA really emphasized being biracial and embracing both your ethnicities.... SKA has and had a lot of students who weren't biracial but were bicultural or multicultural. And it was ... I don't know if it was difficult, but it was a complication for them too, 'cause it's like, "Do I really fit in here?" But they did have influences from other countries. They'd lived in different countries. They're just not biracial. And then Koreans who grew up as Korean and they're exposed to SKA, and that's the most biracial or multicultural it got for them. So, I know there were different types of people. I think that's what made it very diverse. It was a lot of people. But there were people who had come from all these different backgrounds. But for me, I think it was a pleasant experience and I felt very comfortable in my skin. And I loved that I was part of these two countries and that I could fit in SKA.

In terms of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy, Ms. Ester understood its components when explained but was not able to completely identify with the practices. She said,

> I don't think I've got a deep multicultural knowledge, of how-to chit chat, or how to interpret that, but one of the things that drives me insane is when schools will do culture appreciation day and it's just like bring a food from someplace. So that's about it. Maybe … you think that's okay. I don't know how you feel about it. But to me … I've always thought culture should be more than that. It's more than just food or whatever. That's a great starting point, but, what else is there? Yeah, we would have the women bring in their food or we have those International days where people would dress up with that from their own cultural backgrounds, or when we had the junior UN or whatever it's called. I know that students might specifically pick their countries and where their family comes from and so they're able to represent them in that way. So, I do think that those within the school itself, encouraged all that.

Commenting further Ms. Ester distinguished between the cultural appreciation days of her own school experiences and the International Days at ska school as follows:

> I think that the people who are bringing whatever cultural theme that they're bringing, they're representing themselves. So, it's something to take pride in for yourself and who you are. Now granted someone from another school, like you said, a predominantly Hispanic or whatever, it might spark an interest in other cultures which is great, but they're not necessarily ... Like for me it never did. It was never like, 'Oh look, there's Irish food I want to know more about.' It was just like, 'Oh, there's food.' Of course, I love to eat, but it's a different story. So, I do think it was a little bit different at SKA.

In response to whether SKA School's International Days, Fall Festival, and U.N. events were by design or chance, Ms. Ester responded, "I think that Mr. Jim likes to celebrate the different cultures that SKA has and had before."

SKA School also built positive relationships with the students and their families. Parents were informed in advance what to expect from their children if they attended SKA School. Ms. Ester explains it as,

> I think that our students living in Korea, especially those who are biracial… have to fit into that specific mold like I was talking about before. 'Cause when you're in Korean society, from what I've noticed, you have to act a certain way, you have to be a certain way. Then when you come to our school, you're free to be yourself. You're free to just let all of the pretenses go and just act not however you want to, you know what I mean? But in a sort of way that it's just freeing. I remember Mrs. Cheong telling me that when she would talk to parents…she would tell them, "Your child's gonna come here and they're gonna change. It's gonna be different because they're gonna see how different it is. That we're more, I guess, Americanized as opposed to the Korean culture. You're gonna be arguing, you're gonna be fighting, and there's gonna cause problems at home. Are you sure you want to send your [children] here?" Because there is a change when students come to SKA…. Whether they're biracial or not, whether they're Korean or not, there is a change. Not always for the positive, unfortunately …

Yu-bin mentioned that having a school (SKA) created by mixed-Koreans and for mixed-Korean was "…pretty unique," because,

> Most Americans go to American school. Most Koreans go to Korean school. Amerasian is for everybody. If you're Korean, if you're American, it doesn't matter, but we're in the same school.

Summary

Evidence supporting several themes that emerged from the data analyses were presented in this chapter. The themes are South Korea and Cultural Context, Biracial/Bicultural Identity Development in a South Korean Context, Language and Korean Identity, Ecological Contributions to Identity development, School Climate and Classrooms, and Teaching and Learning at SKA School. The cultural context of South Korea was a significant factor affecting the participants bicultural and biracial identity.

Understanding the participants' unique biracial/bicultural identity development involved taking into account societal messages they received about who is and what qualities one as Korean even before entering SKA School. Language and a Korean identity arose as a major theme in the participants' experiences of identifying as mixed-Korean and developing a biracial/bicultural identity. There were numerous ecological contributions to the biracial/bicultural identity development of this study's participants allowing this theme to emerge as salient. Although SKA school was not the focus of the study, the participants' experiences there and its overall climate made significant contributions to a mixed-Korean identity. The data highlighted the impact of teaching and learning at SKA School which made significant contributions to understanding the development of a biracial/bicultural identity among the participants.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, DISCUSSIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

This study used ecological system theory to better understand biracial/bicultural identity development within a South Korean school (SKA) context. It examined SKA School, a non-traditional, multicultural, non-government funded public institution, established to support biracial students, in the South Korean Dongducheon area. Other purposes of this study were to understand what aspects of this educational climate contributed to the support of healthy biracial and bicultural identity development of mixed-Korean individuals.

Summary of Major Findings

Three significant findings emerged from the data collected (through interviews) from participants. The participants were students and former students, the founding principal, and a former teacher at the school. The findings from the study were grouped into the major categories of school climate, contributions to biracial/bicultural development, and biracial/bicultural identity development support.

The first significant finding addressed whether the educational experiences of mixed-race students who attended SKA School elucidated the impact of the school on their multicultural competence and bicultural identity development. One particular finding related to this question was the idea of school as a safe space and a supportive climate for positive biracial identity developmental. Steele and Cohn-Vargas (2013) stated that,

> Identity safe classrooms are those in which teachers strive to ensure students that their social identities are an asset rather than a barrier to success in the classroom. Acknowledging students' identities, rather than trying to be colorblind, can build the foundation for strong positive relationships. This, coupled with challenging opportunities

to learn, can help all students begin to feel they are welcomed, supported, and valued as members of the learning community.

SKA School provided such a space, climate, and opportunities for its students, according to all participants in this study. SKA School recognized that students were growing into their biracial/bicultural identities which have different behavioral manifestations. Its climate and learning experiences addressed some aspects of Root's (1990), Path Model. These included acceptance of the identity society assigns, acceptance of a chosen identity, and identification with both racial groups. The climate SKA School provided supported biracial/bicultural identity development process through its commitment to multiculturalism and biculturalism. The data suggested that being in such a supportive space for such a substantial amount of time did positively impact the students biracial/bicultural identity development.

The second major finding addressed how the SKA School curriculum, culture, and faculty engagement contribute to students' positive biracial/bicultural identity development as mixed Koreans. This issue was explored through several related inquiries about experiences at SKA school and biracial/bicultural identity choice, ways the school was unique, and times when race or identity was discussed at SKA school.

Although the data did not reveal whether curriculum impacted the participants' identity development, the culture and faculty engagement at SKA school were positive for all of the participants. Biracial/bicultural identity choice was strongly supported without being an explicit part of the school's founding principles. "Amerasian" is a part of the school's name and identified whom it served.

The support of diverse cultures within the SKA School environment did contribute to the participants' biracial/bicultural identity development. SKA School began with the desire to

protect mixed-race children in South Korea from discrimination based on their biracial make-up. This set the tone for an identity developmental safe and supportive school culture. Not just safe to develop a biracial identity, but as a refuge from the discrimination of the proclaimed homogenous society.

Additionally, the educational environment of SKA School allowed students to explore their bicultural identity without judgment. Mixed-race Korean children could get an education and support from those who understood the harsh realities of a homogenous oriented Korean society while allowing both heritages of students to be accepted, valued and celebrated.

Supporting the development of students biracial/bicultural identity through faculty engagement was also revealed through the data. All participants felt SKA School had teachers who understood what it means to be mixed-Korean in South Korea. This revealed that biracial/bicultural support was crucial in helping students negotiate their mixedness. The students felt comfortable exploring their biracial/bicultural identities, whether with teachers or peers. They were not alone in going through the biracial/bicultural development process. There was no theory or instructional manual as to how to become what the students at SKA School were able to accomplish concerning a positive biracial/bicultural identity. Thus, an environment and the support of others who have developed or are in the process of developing a biracial/bicultural identity is beneficial. The students recognized what it meant to be racially mixed-Korean in South Korean from the discussions with others. They learned different strategies for navigating South Korea as mixed-Koreans through these encounters. The contributions provided by SKA School through discussions, experiences, and examples of biracial and bicultural identity development were salient.

Discussion

Three insights gleaned from the findings of this study are worthy of considerations. First, mixed-race identity development includes factors not always considered for monoracial individuals. Second, multicultural education and its correlating pedagogies are applied differently according to cultural contexts, purposes, and recipients. Third, negotiation (navigation) of bicultural identities is a process versus a development.

Supportive Identity Development Environments

The identities of the participants in this study were in the process of changing and the school climate influenced in the ways they changed. Steele and Cohn-Vargas (2013) assume that all students have preset social identities. Yet, these identities are not permanently fixed, but change by contexts. The process of change is not always in response to social or environmental shifts but is always impacted by them.

Merely accepting an identity in a context, such as a classroom, is not the same as a classroom supporting the growth and change of identity. Considering school environments as supportive environment for psycho-emotional identity development means that individuals can be free from the constrictions of established social identities. As Root (1990) and Renn (2000, 2003) suggested, a biracial/bicultural individual's identity is not preset according to constrictions of established social identities. Instead, they are influenced by ecological systems and guided by experiences, personality, available support, and the messages they receive. In the case of biracial/bicultural individuals, identity development supportive environments allow for this growth to occur.

As a safe space, the SKA School environment ensured that students' social identities were not a barrier to their academic success. The climate created at SKA School was a supportive environment for

biracial/bicultural Korean identities. Although students entered the school with established identities, these identities are not permanently fixed. They evolved, shifted and were nuanced differently because of the climate of the school.

Multicultural Education Outcomes

SKA school demonstrated some, but not all aspects of MCE. Its most prominent advocacy was ethnic and cultural identity preservation and enhancement. One example of this was through SKA School's International Day Festival where students celebrated the diversity at SKA School. The International Day Festival celebrated the diversity of the student's non-Korean heritage by sharing cultural foods, music, dance, cultural activities and practices, and traditional clothing. These activities fall under what Derman-Sparks (1993) calls tourist-multiculturalism which describes lessons/activities that simply visit a culture. In the case of SKA School, the International Day Festival did not just visit cultures, that is it did not trivialize, patronize, or stereotype cultures. Rather it allowed the students to share their own cultures, the reality of everyday life from people of that culture were seen through the students themselves. It allowed them to promote understanding and celebrate their biracial/bicultural identities. This was combined with other activities and practices that promoted cultural identity preservation and enhancement.

South Korea and the SKA School connect their commitment to multiculturalism to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights. The United Nations considers multiculturalism as having three interrelated, but distinctive, referents. The demographic-descriptions refer to the existence of ethnically and racially diverse segments in the population of a society or state. Programmatic (political) refers to specific types of programs and policy initiatives designed to respond to and manage ethnic diversity. The ideological (normative) dimension acknowledges

the existence of ethnic diversity and ensures the rights of individuals to retain their cultures as part of their full access to participation in, and adherence to, the constitutional principles and values of a society. The data demonstrated that SKA School students were encouraged to embrace their own and others bi- and multi- cultural heritages. The participants at SKA School did not study cultures; they lived and shared them.

Negotiating (navigating) Bicultural Identity

In this study, all participants self-identified as biracial and bicultural. So, trying to understand the development of the two identities, separately, was a challenge. They seemed to spend more time determining how to negotiate a bicultural identity within South Korea's multicultural identity and the traditional national sentiment of what it means to be a Korean. Their biracial identities were strongly associated with bicultural identities. Their bicultural identities were not symbolic, it came directly from their dual ethnic backgrounds.

All participants mentioned how they were perceived in South Korea and how they identified themselves. The negotiation between perception and self-identification supported the descriptions provided by Benent-Martinez, Leu, Lee, Morris (2002) of how individuals integrate both cultures. The first approach was to identify with both cultures, even if not at the same level. The second approach was to keep the two cultural identities dissociated, making it easier to be either, but hard to be both at the same time. However, the participants' negotiation process was more complicated than choosing between two cultures, or to be both.

Racial identity is the process by which persons of color develop a positive sense of self in the context of a society that discriminates against them (Parham & Helms, 1981). Being biracial did not put the students in a non-Korean racial category. They were in one way or another somewhat Korean. Being biracial in South Korea meant being put into one of three categories. A

diasporic Korean (mixed-blood) which has identity markers that include physical appearance, questionable language fluency, and parental ethnicity. An "other" identity acknowledged the Korean heritage based on the degree of Korean physical appearance. A kyopo (ᄀᆨᄑᆞ) identity, or a Korean who was born or grew up outside of South Korea, also known as a foreign Korean. If none of these options applied, one was simply dismissed as being Korean all together. These options should be considered as choice impacts in Root's (1998) Path Model for biracial identity outcomes.

Korean was the national identity, and one was Korean, or one was not. The Korean diaspora spectrum includes foreign-born Koreans, those raised abroad, and mixed Koreans, who are still racially connected with Korea fully or partially. In South Korea, there was no socially constructed biracial identity associated with a set of specific ethnic markers. The participants were still in some way part of Korean identity. The data showed a preference and comfortableness with one culture over another, and in most instances that was the dominant Korean culture. This meant the participants had to put forth effort and time in navigating their bicultural identity when the Korean biracial identity was strong.

Limitations

The primary limitations of this study included travel funding, the factor of time, lived experiences interpretations, a small number of participants in one school, and the positionality and bias of the researcher. The first limitation was travel funding. Going back and forth to South Korea was not feasible, so using video and audio-conferencing technology to connect with the participants for interviews was necessary. These methods of conducting interviews could have limited the depth of my engagement, what I paid attention to and what the participants remembered. Interviewing participants in person and at the SKA School site could have yielded

different information. In addition, returning to South Korea and SKA School could have allowed me to interview younger participants who were currently experiencing SKA School, and to observe SKA School in practice. Conducting classroom observations could have provided valuable information.

Time can influence how memories are remembered and told. The amount of detail with remembering or explaining past experiences, as well as how one feels or thinks about particular experiences change over time as the intensity of experiences fade. Since the participants were asked to remember past experiences at SKA School and in childhood, the factor of time was considered a limitation to this methodological approach.

Another limitation was how the participants' lived experiences were interpreted. Lived experiences are personal and how one interprets and processes them depend on the individual. This self-interpretation can fuel the intensity of biracial identity development. For example, if a migrant parent is not married to the Korean parent, he or she would be repatriated, leaving the mixed-race child with only one parent. The degree to which this law impacts the individual, in terms of intensity, is great, even though existing conceptual models do not account for it.

The small number of participants in one school was another limitation of this study. This study was conducted at a single school and could be considered a convenient sample site. However, the demographics and mission of SKA School made it an ideal location for this research because of the number of students of mixed-Korean heritage and its educational environment. The study is also limited to individuals whose heritage is of Korean and "other" but did not include other mixed-race people. That is individuals who are mixed-race, but one of those races is not Korean. Also excluded were Korean mixed with Japanese or Chinese. Due to the physical similarities of these groups, the study limited its scope to those who also had

physical characteristics that were different from the average Korean appearance. A single research site provided limited perspectives on what broader aspects of school environments may contribute to biracial/bicultural identity development. Since this study was qualitative, the results can only be generalized to theory. Therefore, the results are not generalizable to larger populations and other school sites.

Finally, the positionality of the researcher may have affected the results of the study. I brought my own experiences, opinions, and beliefs as a mixed-Korean to the design and understanding of biracial/bicultural identity development. My positionality as mixed-Korean and my connection with SKA School may have skewed my interpretations of the students' experiences, understanding of SKA School, and the teachers' perceptions. These experiences and beliefs occurred during conversations and interviews and were implicitly present throughout the study. While all of these limitations to the study are worthy of consideration, the results still offer some meaningful insights into how educational settings influence biracial/bicultural identity development.

Recommendations for Future Research

Although, research examines how experiences influence identity, categorizing the experiences according to how they affect biracial identity development is missing. I propose a conceptual model for categorizing the experiences that were produced in this study. The Identity Trajectory Shift model states that the intensity of certain experiences, regardless of context, will either influence or shift the trajectory of an individual's self-identity. In this model "influence" or "shift" have defined nuances that lead to different outcomes.

Understanding that identity development is an ongoing fluid process, the Identity Trajectory Shift model allows one to examine how past and present experiences impact self-

identities. For mixed-race individuals, these trajectory shifts may cause them to change identities at different times, and choose identities based on experiences. Thus, all experiences can lead to potential biracial/bicultural identity outcomes. This model also can help researchers to understand why certain identities are not chosen and why other experiences contributed to a biracial/bicultural identity. By identifying the intensity of an experience, researchers can then begin to organize them according to what, when and how they impact biracial/bicultural identity development at different times.

Identity Trajectory Shift Model

Identity development experiences	***Description of Identity Development Contributions***
Important Influences	Influences that lead and guide the thoughts and emotions associated with the experience. These influences are usually unexplored; they operate in the background creating a norm for the individuals. For mixed-race individuals in biracial and dual ethnic homes, this could be seeing both parents' religious views affecting the family dynamics.
High Impact	These experiences tend to solidify current ways of thinking about one's self or how one is being identified. These experiences have strong emotional connections, individuals do some reflection on these experiences, and may discuss with others about how one is interpreting and understanding the experiences.
Trajectory Shift	These experiences are similar to those of High Impact, but instead of solidifying one's current thinking about self, individuals shift their identity. There is a strong emotional connection with the experience or a long duration of an experience that causes the individual's thinking about one's self and identity.

Based on the results of this study it was not possible to identify where and when these experiences occur during a lifetime or how frequently or infrequent, they occurred. However, these trajectory shift experiences can occur at different times in life, and can occur more than once, leading to more than one identity being claimed. It contributes to the understanding of the power of experiences as they shape one's thinking about biracial/bicultural identity. Understanding the association between intensity of emotion associated with certain experiences allows researchers to examine how experiences in different contexts, such as classrooms, influence biracial/bicultural identity development and other choices made about self-identification.

In South Korea, an individual can develop a biracial identity, but the Korean identity is expected to be present in public. By expecting mixed-Koreans to accept a singular Korean identity, makes being Korean, performative rather than based on one's own culture, and concede to all of the discrimination and negative experiences of being mixed-Korean. These demands and expectations can be conflictual for mixed-race Koreans.

Since South Korea has yet to specify what multiculturalism means at the citizen level, this study suggests the need for additional research on how biracial/bicultural identities develop within different multicultural societies. The results could yield different theories and practices that are more appropriate for different national and cultural contexts.

Much of the research and scholarship on biracial and bicultural identity development within South Korea is relatively new. It tends to focus on helping South Korean teachers work with foreign diversity in the classroom and how to support multicultural families at the programmatic and policy levels. This study offers insight into the type of research that can be done to explore how to address teaching mixed-Koreans how to form a bicultural/biracial

identity development approach, rather than as non-Korean heritage foreigners within their own country and culture.

Implications for Practice

As the diversity of the Korean diaspora in South Korea increases, there are not enough multicultural schools to meet the needs of all mixed-Koreans. South Korean public schools will eventually need to include more multicultural education practices to accommodate mixed (and other) students. This type of research could help educators better design educational programs and practices that support mixed-race Koreans biracial/bicultural identify development, and improved academic performance by providing insight into the challenges that mixed-Koreans in South Korea face in developing a biracial/bicultural identity.

This study also adds to the body of research on interactions among biracial/bicultural identity development, identity development safe educational context, and other ecological influences. Thus, it may inspire education policymakers and practitioners to create interventions to help South Korea develop approaches to multicultural education for achieving strong multicultural competency among mono-racial and mono-cultural students, as well as develop positive biracial and bicultural identities among mixed-Korean students.

Conclusion

Mixed-Koreans in South Korea experience some extremely challenging obstacles in developing biracial and bicultural identities. This is combined with attitudes and actions that restrict being accepted as wholly Korean. Multicultural schools in South Korea serve as a refuge for mixed Koreans, but also create an “other” label, especially when allowing non-Koreans to attend. Privately owned, but for the public, not all multicultural schools are created with the same understanding about the biracial/bicultural experiences of mixed-Koreans. SKA School’s climate

could possibly serve as an example for other multicultural schools but should not be replicated. Replication takes away the ability to adapt the school's climate to the students who attend. SKA school's climate also may be used to help improve Korean schools with a mixed-race student population to develop curriculum, instruction, environment, and policies where a biracial/bicultural identity can be supported and developed.

More research needs to be conducted on how school climates impact biracial/bicultural identity development and the construction of biracial/bicultural identity development in different national contexts. The mixed-race population is growing globally and having a deeper understanding of students with these heritages and identities is vital for improving their academic and personal success, as well as the benefits derived by the various societies in which they live.

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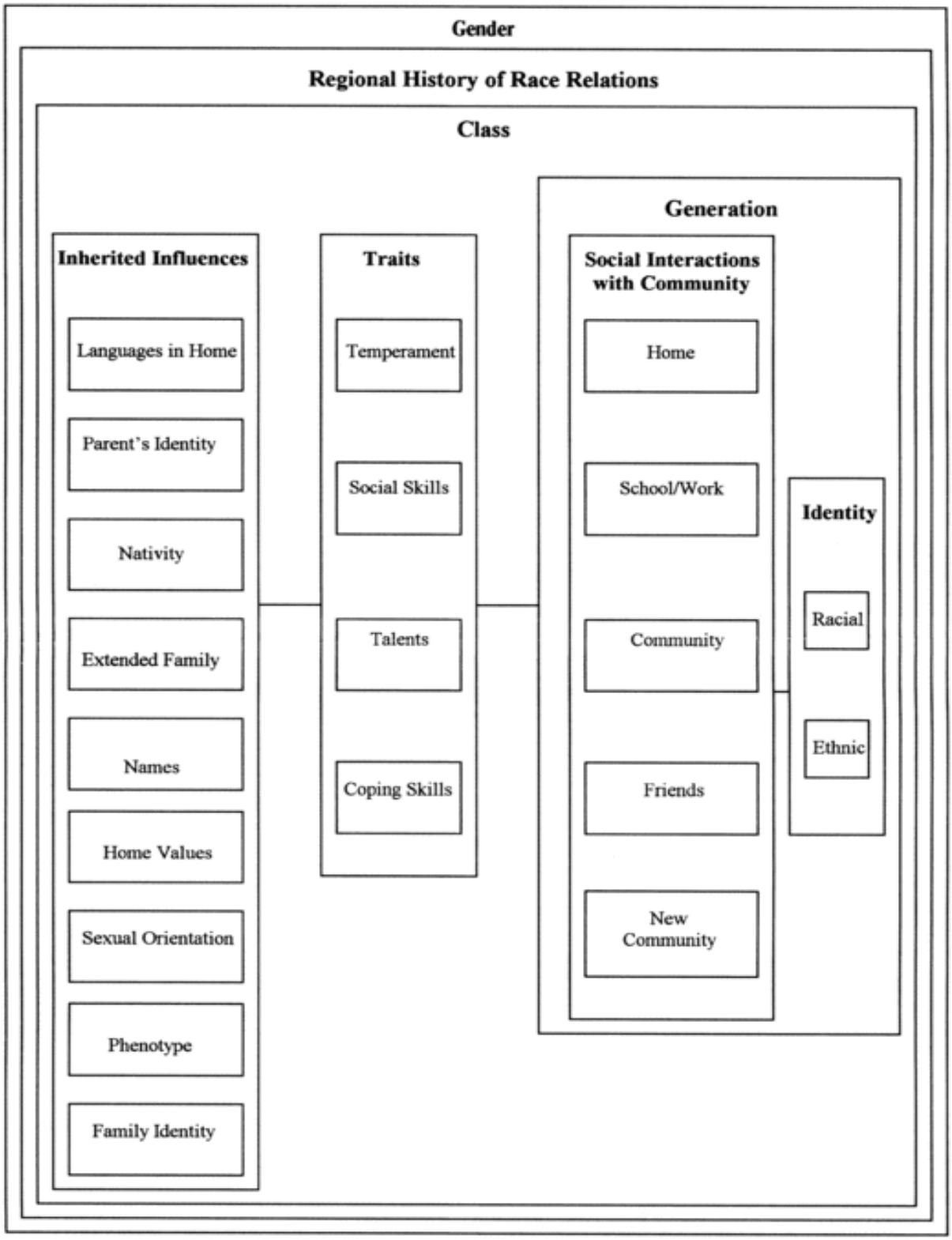
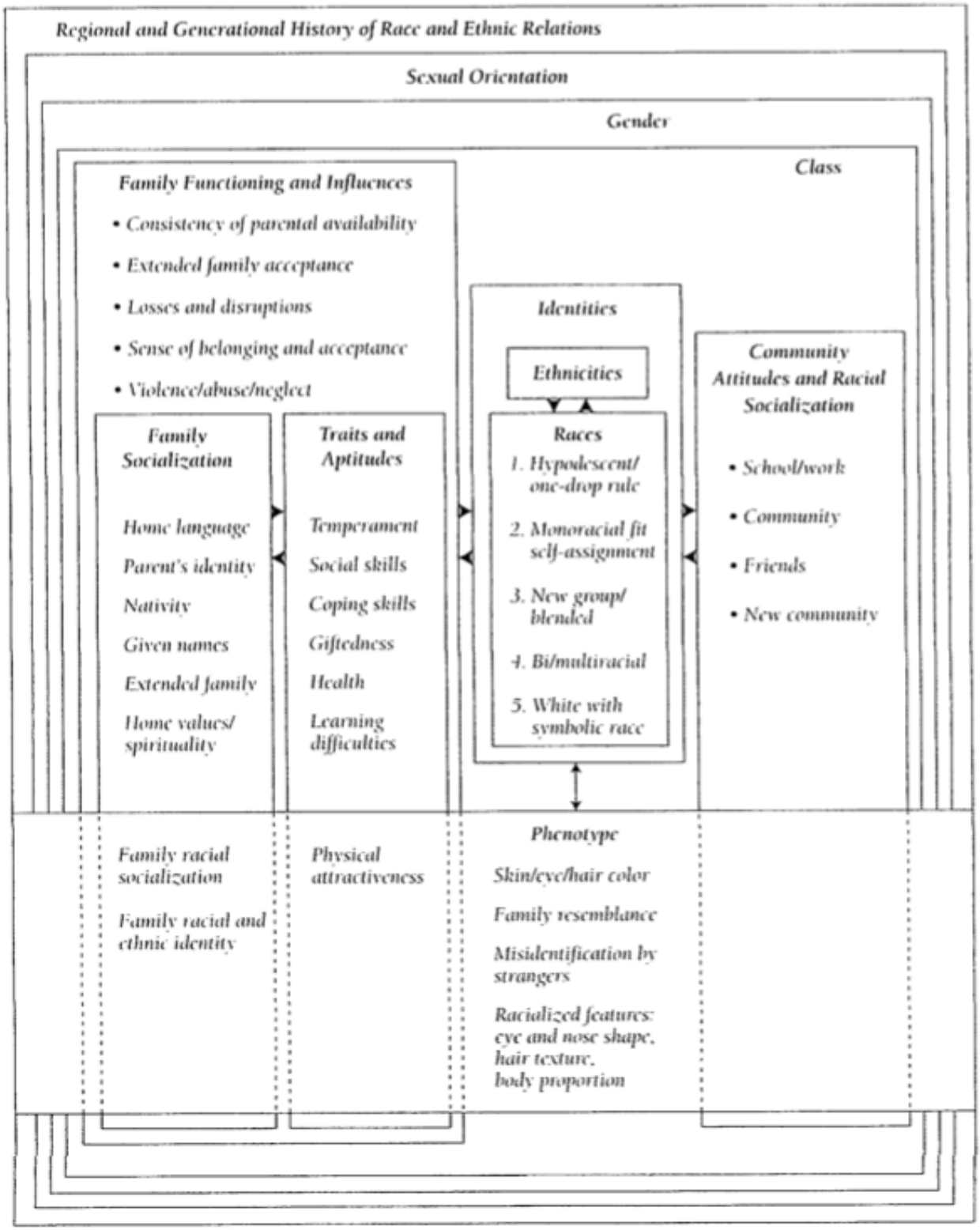
Appendix A

Root' s Ecological Framework of Identity Development



Appendix B

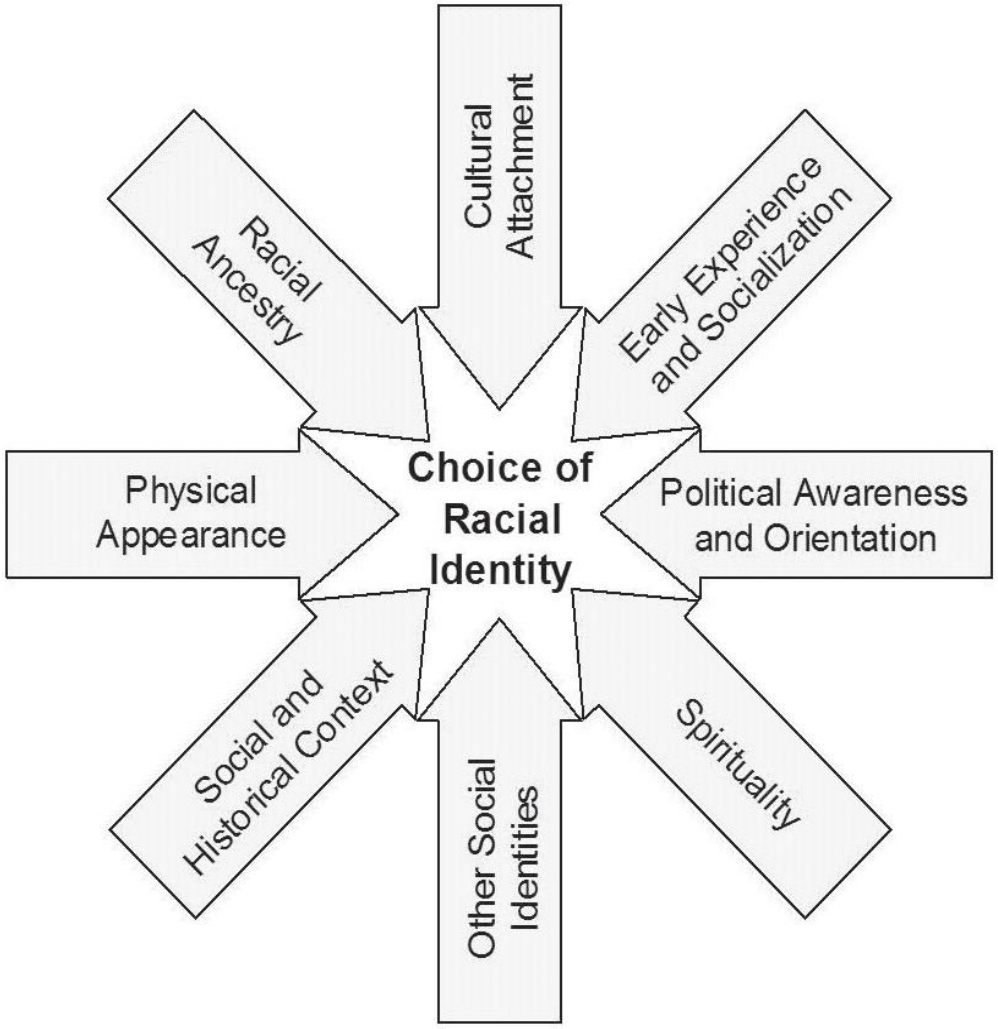
Root' s Ecological Framework for Understanding Identity Development - Updated



Appendix C

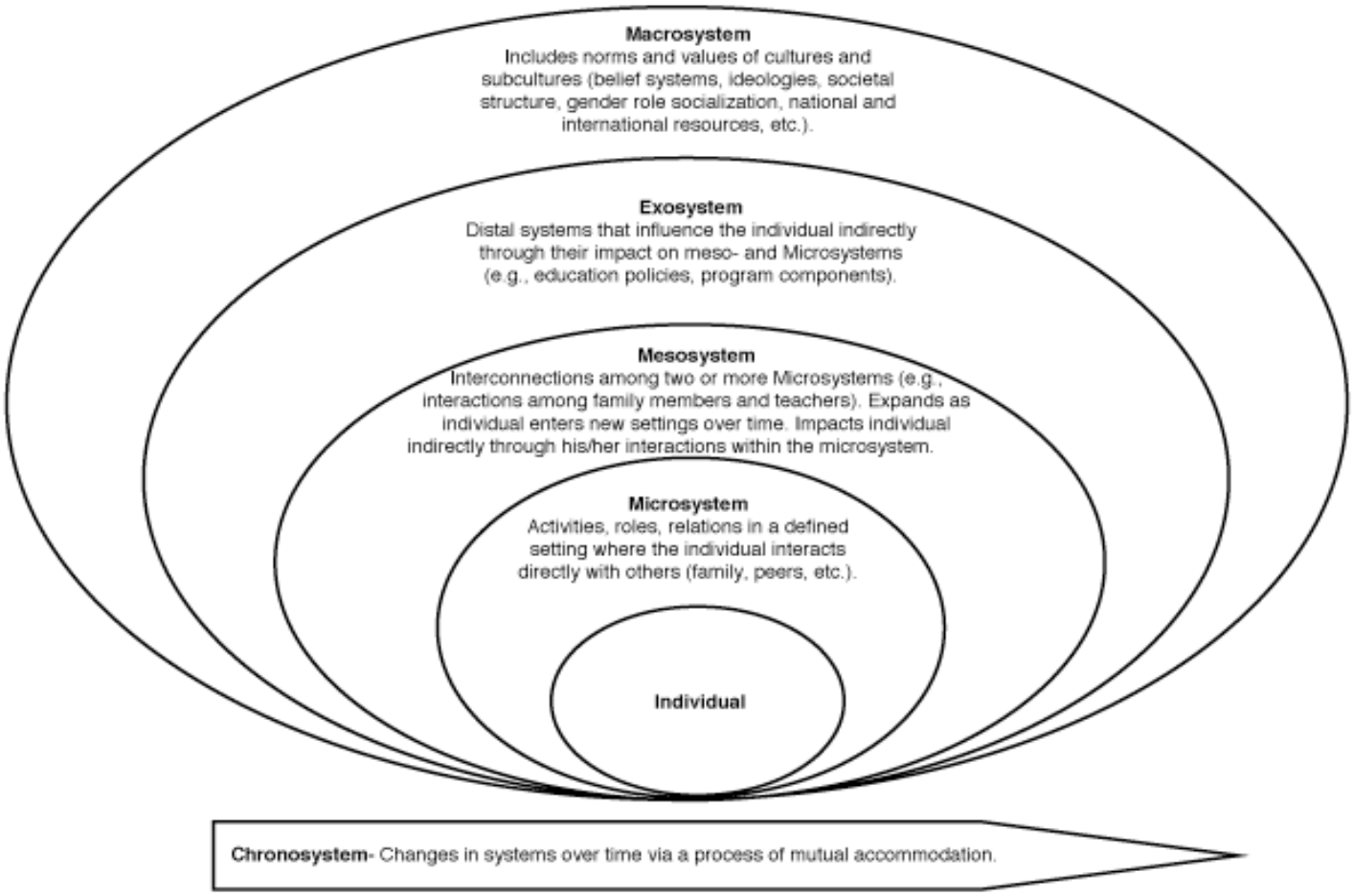
The Factor Model of Multiracial Identity (FMMI)

Charmaine L. Wijeyesinghe, Ed.D. 2001



Appendix D

Bronfenbrenner's Ecological System's Theory from the Institute on Community Integration



Appendix E

Individual Interview Questions (Student Participant)

Opening:

How old are you?

What are you doing now?

When did you attend and graduate SKA?

What are your two ethnicities?

Probe: Do you feel you are biracial and bicultural or monoracial?
Probe: How does your parents identify you?
Probe: Do you differ from how your parents identify you or agree?

Biracial Identity:

Have you had others ask what are you/ where are you from/ or what is your ethnic background?

Probe: What has been their reaction?
Probe How do you react to that reaction?

Has anyone challenged your claim to your _____ or Korean or mixed-race identity?

Probe: How did you feel when that happened?
Probe: How did you respond?
Probe: How do you feel that impacted yourself about your identity?
Probe: Positive or Negative? How?

Could you describe what makes someone Korean?
Probe: Could you describe what makes someone _____?

Could you describe what makes you Korean?
Probe: Could you describe what makes you _____?

Could you describe how you think Korea (Korean society) identifies you?

Probe: Can you explain why you think Korean society sees as _____?

Could you describe how you think _____ (_____ society) identifies you?

Probe: Can you explain why you think _____ society sees as _____?

Of the ways to describe your ethnicity How would you describe yourself?

Racially: 1. Biracial: Korean and _____ 2. Korean 3. _____ 4. None 5. Multiracial 6. Other: Describe

Culturally: 1. Bicultural: Korean and _____ 2. Korean 3. _____ 4. Multicultural 5. Bicultural 6. Other: Describe

SKA School

What are some moments you felt Korean while attending SKA?

Probe: What are some moments when you felt _____ while attending SKA?

Probe: Were there any moments you felt you were both?

Tell me about a time when at SKA that you had a discussion about your identity as mixed Korean?

Probe: Are there other times you had these kinds of conversations?

would you describe your school experience at SKA?

Were there any activities or clubs that you remember that helped you develop your identity as Korean and _____?

I have heard others who attended SKA say it was a safe place to be mixed Korean. Do you Agree or disagree?

Probe: What do you feel like that?
Probe: Were there some experiences that made you feel this way?

What kind of impact do you feel SKA had on your identity as _____?

Probe: Do you feel like it supported your Korean identity? How?
Probe Do you feel like it supported your _____ identity? How?
Probe: Do you feel like you were encouraged to be both your identities?

Were there ever a time at SKA that you felt or were told you had to choose one identity over the other?

When you took the CAT did it ask you about your race? If so how did you answer?

Do you feel like your school experience supported a biracial identity? How?

How likely are you say, if someone challenged my Korean or _____ identity it would not impact how I see myself?

1 Not likely at all
2. Somewhat likely
3. Likely
4. Very likely
5. Extremely likely

How much would you say identity it would not impact how I see myself?

1 Not likely at all
2. Somewhat likely
3. Likely
4. Very likely
5. Extremely likely

In your own words, what would you say makes SKA a unique school?

SKA Teachers

Did you have any mixed-race teachers while at SKA?

Probe: Men and women?
Probe: What did you learn about being mixed-Korean from them?
Probe: How did your experience with mixed-race teachers help you in your own understanding of your identity?

How did you feel your teachers supported your mixed-race identity?

Probe: Were you ever told to feel one way or another or both?

Were there any classes or lessons that you remember that helped you develop your identity as Korean and _____?

Ending

Now that you are an adult how do you feel about your racial and ethnic identity?

Anything else you want to share?

Appendix F

Individual Interview Questions (Teacher Participant)

Opening:

How old are you?

What is your current occupation?

When did you teach SKA?

What grade and subject did you teach?

What other activities were you involved in as a teacher?

What are your two ethnicities?

Probe: Do you feel you are biracial and bicultural or monoracial?
Probe: How does your parents identify you?
Probe: Do you differ from how your parents identify you or agree?
Probe: Do you feel your own identity influenced your understanding of teaching students who were also biracial Korean?

Teachers Self Identity:

Have you had others ask what are you/ where are you from/ or what is your ethnic background?

Probe: What has been their reaction?
Probe How do you react to that reaction?

Has anyone challenged your claim to your _____ or Korean or mixed-race identity?

Probe: How did you feel when that happened?
Probe: How did you respond?
Probe: How do you feel that impacted yourself about your identity?
Probe: Positive or Negative? How?

Of the ways to describe your ethnicity How would you describe yourself?

Racially: 1. Biracial: Korean and _____ 2. Korean 3. _____ 4. None 5. Multiracial 6. Other: Describe

Culturally: 1. Bicultural: Korean and _____ 2. Korean 3. _____ 4. Multicultural 5. Bicultural 6. Other: Describe

What are some moments you felt Korean while teachingSKA?

Probe: What are some moments when you felt _____ while teaching SKA?

Probe: Were there any moments you felt you were both?

Tell me about a time when at SKA that you had a discussion with faculty or students about your identity as mixed Korean?

Probe: Are there other times you had these kinds of conversations?

How would you describe your teaching experience at SKA?

Were there any activities or clubs that you remember organizing that specifically focused on helping students develop a mixed-race identity as Korean and _____?

Probe: Any that addressed being mixed Korean that you did not anticipate but just Happened naturally?

I have heard students who attended SKA say it was a safe place to be mixed-Koreans. Do you Agree or disagree?

Probe: What do you feel like that?
Probe: Were there some experiences that made you feel this way?
Probe: Do you feel you contributed to this in any way? How? Or why not?

What kind of impact do you feel SKA had on your student's identity as _____?

Probe: Do you feel like it supported students's Korean identity? How?
Probe Do you feel like it supported student's _____ identity? How?
Probe: Do you feel like you were encouraged to be both your identities?

Was there ever a time at SKA that you told a student to choose one identity over the other?

Do you feel like your teaching experience supported a biracial identity for the students? How?

In your own words, what would you say makes SKA a unique school?

SKA Teachers

Were you the only mixed-race teacher at SKA during the time you taught?

Probe: Men and women?
Probe: Was there a connection amongst the mixed Korean teachers?
Probe: Did your experience with mixed-race teachers help you in your own understanding of your identity?

How did you feel you as a teacher supported your mixed-race students biracial identity?

Probe: Has any students ever talked with you about their biracial identity?
Probe: What were some challenges you recall?

Were there any classes or lessons that you remember that you developed to help your student's identity as Korean and _____?

Were you trained to told about how to teach biracial students?

What do you feel you had in terms of training or curriculum that could have helped you teach the students in terms of their biracial identity?

Ending

Anything else you want to share?

Appendix G

Individual Interview Questions (Teacher Participant) – Part 2

Please listen to what the 5 dimensions of MCE are. Do not hesitate to ask any questions.

There are 5 dimensions of Multicultural Education

James A. Banks's *Dimensions of Multicultural Education* is used widely by school districts to conceptualize and develop courses, programs, and projects in multicultural education. The five dimensions are:

(1) content integration;

(2) the knowledge construction process;

(3) prejudice reduction;

(4) an equity pedagogy; and

(5) an empowering school culture and social structure.

Although each dimension is conceptually distinct, in practice they overlap and are interrelated.

At least three categories of research that describe the effectiveness of multicultural education can be identified:

(1) research that describes the effectiveness of multicultural curriculum interventions such as Banks's 2001 research review;
(2) research on the effects of cooperative learning and interracial contact, such as Robert Slavin's 2001 research review; and
(3) research on how culturally responsive teaching influences student learning, such as Carol Lee's 1993 study and Gloria Ladson-Billings's 2001 work.

As I read you an explanation of each dimension please reflect as to what whether you felt your teaching or the school's curriculum fits these dimensions.

Content integration. the extent to which teachers use examples and content from a variety of cultures and groups to illustrate key concepts, principles, generalizations, and theories in their subject area or discipline. The infusion of ethnic and cultural content into a subject area is logical and not contrived when this dimension is implemented properly.

The knowledge construction process. describes teaching activities that help students to understand, investigate, and determine how the implicit cultural assumptions, frames of references, perspectives, and biases of researchers and textbook writers influence the ways in which knowledge is constructed.

Prejudice reduction. seeks to help students develop positive and democratic racial attitudes. It also helps students to understand how ethnic identity is influenced by the context of schooling and the attitudes and beliefs of dominant social groups.

An equity pedagogy. exists when teachers modify their teaching in ways that will facilitate the academic achievement of students from diverse racial, cultural, socioeconomic, and language groups. This includes using a variety of teaching styles and approaches that are consistent with the range of learning styles within various cultural and ethnic groups, such as being demanding but highly personalized when working with American Indian and Native Alaskan students. It also includes using cooperative learning techniques in math and science instruction to enhance the academic achievement of students of color. An equity pedagogy rejects the cultural deprivation paradigm that was developed in the early 1960s.

Culturally Responsive Teaching/Pedagogy (CRT)

Teachers practice culturally responsive teaching when an equity pedagogy is implemented. They use instructional materials and practices that incorporate important aspects of the family and community culture of their students. Culturally responsive teachers also use the "cultural knowledge, prior experiences, frames of reference, and performance styles of ethnically diverse students to make learning encounters more relevant to and effective for them" (Gay, p. 29).

An empowering school culture. involves restructuring the culture and organization of the school so that students from diverse racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, and language groups experience equality. Members of the school staff examine and change the culture and social structure of the school. Grouping and labeling practices, sports participation, gaps in achievement among groups, different rates of enrollment in gifted and special education programs among groups, and the interaction of the staff and students across ethnic and racial lines are important variables that are examined and reformed.

Appendix H

Invitation to Participate

College Of Education,
University Of Washington
Box 353600 Seattle, WA 98195-3600

Dear _____,

I am writing to ask you to take part in a research study and to allow me to spend some time gathering information about your experiences at Amerasian Christian Academy (ACA). The goal of the study is to examine how your experiences in middle and high school influenced your biracial identity development. I want to examine what types of experiences you had academically and socially at ACA and determine if they had an impact on a development of a biracial identity? I am planning to conduct this study via Skype.

I am undertaking this study to inform my doctoral dissertation at the University of Washington. In this study I hope to conduct a recorded interview with you. The study is not in any way evaluative of ACA, and it will hopefully inform future curriculum development plans for ACA, South Korea's future national curriculum and potentially other multicultural schools in South Korea. I hope to also understand how a resilient biracial identity is developed. I will take steps to ensure that the study is not intrusive.

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You can stop at any time, and all information is confidential. The results of the study will be published and/or presented. I will not use the names of people, name of the school, or any other information that would identify you or the school. If you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, Please contact Dr. Geneva gay at the University Of Washington College Of Education 206-221-4797.

Thank you for considering this opportunity. I will be contacting you shortly by phone to discuss this with you further, and to seek a brief letter of cooperation from the school. Should you have any questions or concerns, please feel free to contact me by phone (206) 372-9853 or via email at diggsyng@uw.edu.

Yours sincerely,

Gregory Diggs-Yang
Doctoral Candidate
Curriculum and Instruction, Multicultural Education

College of Education
University of Washington
Email Invitation Version 1 (04-16-18)

Appendix I

Study to Examine How School Spaces Influences Biracial Identity Development of Mixed-Race Koreans

Investigator: Gregory Diggs
Curriculum and Instruction, Multicultural Education
diggsyng@uw.edu
Phone: 206-372-9853

Faculty Advisor: Dr. Geneva Gay
ggay@uw.edu (206-221-4797)

Investigator's Statement

I am asking you to give permission to use your interview in a research study. The purpose of this consent form is to give you all the information you will need to help you decide whether or not you will give permission to be in the study. Please read the form carefully. You may ask questions about the purpose of the research, what I would ask you to do, the possible risks and benefits, your rights as a volunteer, and anything else about the research or this form that is not clear. When all your questions have been answered, you can decide if you want to be in the study or not. This process is called "informed consent." I will give you a copy of this form for your records.

PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The purpose of this study is to examine how your experiences in middle and high school at ACA influenced your biracial identity development in South Korea. I want to examine what types of experiences you had academically and socially at ACA and determine if they had an impact on a development of a biracial identity?

PROCEDURES

I would like to interview you about your feelings about your identity and what you feel contributed to your biracial identity development. This interview will last no more than 75 minutes. For example, I will ask you, "describe your feelings about your identity?", "What do you think makes a person a Korean?" And, "How do you feel about your dual ethnicities?"

With your permission, I would like to audio record your interview so that I can have an accurate record of our conversation. Within 8 weeks of the interview, I will create a written transcript of the conversation that will identify you by a pseudonym only, and then I will destroy the original recording, leaving only the coded transcript of the interview. Only I will have access to the recording, which will be kept in a secure location. If you would like a copy of the interview transcript, I will gladly provide you with one.

RISKS, STRESS, OR DISCOMFORT

Some people feel that providing information for research is an invasion of privacy. I have addressed concerns for your privacy in the section below. Some people feel self-conscious when notes are taken, or interviews are recorded.

BENEFITS OF THE STUDY

You may not directly benefit from taking part in this research study. One indirect benefit of this study is the possibility of developing new insights and gain valuable information that could help you develop a positive self-identity within, a country that has a non-accepting social climate for mixed-Koreans. Another benefit may be the opportunity to reflect on your own personal feelings about yourself.

OTHER INFORMATION

Taking part in this study is voluntary. You can stop your participation at any time. You can stop at any time. Information about you is confidential. I will assign you a pseudonym and code the study information. I will keep the link between your name and the pseudonym code in a separate, secured location until December 31, 2020. Then I

will destroy the information linking you to the pseudonym. If the results of this study are published or presented, I will not use your name, or any other identifying information.

Government or university staff sometimes review studies such as this one to make sure they are being done safely and legally. If a review of this study takes place, your records may be examined. The reviewers will protect your privacy. The study records will not be used to put you at legal risk of harm.

I may want to re-contact you for future related studies. Please indicate below whether you give me permission to re-contact you. Giving me permission to re-contact you, does not obligate you in any way.

If you have any questions about this research study, please contact Gregory Diggs at the telephone number or email listed at the top of this form. If you have any questions about your rights as a research subject, please contact Dr. Geneva Gay at the University of Washington College of Education 206-221-4797.

_____

Signature of investigator Printed Name Date

Participant's statement

This study has been explained to me. I give permission to take part in this research. I have had a chance to ask questions. If I have questions later on about the research, I can ask the investigator listed above. If I have questions about my rights as a research subject, I can call Dr. Geneva Gay at the University of Washington College of Education 206-221-4797. I will receive a copy of this consent form.

____ I give permission for this researcher to audio record my interview.

____ I DO NOT give permission for this researcher to audio record my interview.

____ I give permission for the researcher to re-contact me to clarify information or for future possible studies.

____ I DO NOT give permission for the researcher to re-contact me to clarify information or for future possible studies.

_____

Signature of Participant Printed Name Date

Copies to: Investigators' file
Participant

Participant Consent Form Version 1 (04-17-18)

10721 MERIDIAN AVE N. APT 305C SEATTLE WA 98133
MOBILE 206.372.9853 • EMAIL DIGGSYNG@UW.EDU

GREGORY LEE DIGGS
(AKA YANG, CHAN-WOOK)

EDUCATION

***University of Washington*, Seattle, Washington, 2019**
Doctoral Candidate - Curriculum and Instruction: Multicultural Education
Dissertation: "Identity Development of Mixed-Raced Students in a South Korean Multicultural School"

***University of Los Angeles California*, Los Angeles, California, 2003**
M.Ed. in Education Administration

***San Antonio College*, San Antonio, Texas, 2001**
A.A. (incomplete) Drama

***Illinois State University*, Bloomington/Normal, Illinois, 1999**
B.A. in Junior High/Middle School Education

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

GenOM Project: ALVA Program **Seattle WA.** **Mar. 2014 - Present**
Alliances for Learning and Vision for Underrepresented Americans (ALVA) Program Coordinator

- Coordinated all communications, planning, hiring, and programming for ALVA summer program.
- Developed and implemented social justice class for summer ALVA program.
- Trained and supervised summer counselors.
- Assisted in student advising and support.
- Assisted in REDCAP data collection and NHGRI grant report and renewal.

M.A.C.K. Foundation **Seoul, South Korea** **Oct. 2009 - Jun. 2013**
President/Founder

- Restructured organization's internal operation framework.
- Developed and implemented various programming, forums and fundraising events.
- Provides support, scholarships and programming for the Amerasian Christian Academy.

TEACHING EXPERIENCE

UW College of Education **Seattle, WA.** **Sept. 2017 - Present**
EDUC 310, Identity Development Theory and Education, Instructor

- Created new course on identity development and educational influences.
- Established engaging and effective classroom learning environment.
- Created and maintained open communication and approachable relationship with students.

UW College of Education **Seattle, WA.** **Sept. 2016 - 2017**
EDUC 310, International and Comparative Education, Instructor

- Taught and examined international education through ecological systems theory.
- Established engaging and effective classroom learning environment.
- Created and maintained open communication and approachable relationship with students.

UW College of Education **Seattle, WA.** **Sept. 2014 - 2016**
EDUC 310, Comparative Education, Teachers Assistant

- Created and taught lesson on Korean Education through comparative education lens.
- Implemented international education informational poster exhibit.
- Maintained grading and managed Canvas learning management system.

Amerasian Christian Academy (ACA) **Dongducheon, South Korea** **Feb. 2013 - July 2013**
7th and 8th Algebra, Science and Literature Teacher

- Taught pre-algebra and algebra using creative and engaging approaches to reinforce students understanding of major concepts.
- Presented radio dramas and games to encourage students to engage in literature.
- Engaged students in hands-on group and individual science activities.

Seoul National University IETTP **Seoul, South Korea** **Sept. 2008 - Feb. 2013**
Curriculum Coordinator -Visiting Professor

- Coordinated instruction and curriculum
- Designed and facilitated contained classroom ESL classes.
- Developed and instructed presentation for teacher course.
- Created and facilitated technology for teachers' course.

Seoul National University LEI **Seoul, South Korea** **Mar. 2008 - July 2013**
Language Instructor

- Created and instructed English conservation classes for Seoul city employees.
- Developed and instructed undergraduate English conservation classes.
- Organized and facilitated presentation and conservation classes for campus employees and graduate students.

English Program in Korea (EPIK) **Gyonggi-do, South Korea** **2003 - 2007**
English Language Instructor

- Supported and assisted Korean English teachers in improving communication in English.
- Assisted in the creation and editing of teachers training material.
- Designed and implemented English workshops for teacher training.
- All elements of course design and delivery.

Sam Rayburn Middle School **San Antonio, TX.** **1999 - 2002**
Sixth Grade Science Teacher/Coach

- Team Leader – Lead multidisciplinary team in supporting and improving student learning and implementing the most effective teaching strategies.
- Student Advisory Team – Advised school administration on fiscal budget, facility management, master scheduling, and campus-specific issues.
- Goal Setting Leader/Coordinator – Lead student/teacher team in creating a campus - specific mission statement and student social support advisory program.
- Coach – Improved the overall athletic condition of girls' volleyball, basketball, and track athletes.
- Served as Textbook Committee Representative

UNIVERSITY SERVICES

Associated Students of the College of Education (ASCE) Seattle, WA. 2013-2015
Member at large, Domestic Diversity Representative

- Ensured that the diversity of the College of Education community was represented and respected through attendance of ASCE meetings.

University of Washington, GPSS Seattle, WA. 2013-2014
Graduate Professional Student Senate – College of Education Senator Representative

- Advocated on behalf of graduate professional students through University of Washington official student government.

Office of Residential Life UCLA Los Angeles, CA. 2002-2003
Summer Program Coordinator/Assistant Residential Hall Coordinator - Canyon Point

- Ensured that the diversity of all our community members was represented and respected through educational programming.

PUBLICATIONS AND PRESENTATIONS

- "Becoming Korean, While Growing Out My Afro: A Personal Narrative about a Moment in My Own Identity Development as a Mixed Korean and Black American" Presented at Critical Mixed Race Studies Conference, Los Angeles., Feb. 2017.

- "Just Add Black: How The Success Of Mixed Korean And Black Musicians Has Challenged The Korean Diaspora For A Position In The Question Of Who Is Considered Korean?" Presented (Roundtable) at KAERA Washington, D.C., April 2016.

- Essay: "Before there was "Asian American," There was "Amerasian": Applying Critical Pedagogy to Argue for Cross-Racial Bridging." Sue-Je L. Gage, James Kang-McCann and **Gregory Diggs-Yang**, AALR Special Edition on Mixed Race, September 2013.

- "Citizenship and National Identity, Challenges of the Diversity of Koreans." Paper presented and panelist at Korea's International Multicultural Conference in Seoul Korea, April 18 - 22, 2013.

- "Teaching Through Mindsets for the Globalization Era." Presented at the KATE (Korean Association of Teachers of English) International Conference in Seoul, Korea, May 2011.

- "Footprints of Korea with Chan-wook." Co-hosted weekly radio segment about multiculturalism and diversity in Korea on Arirang Broadcasting (International), Seoul, Korea, January – August 2011.

- "Working with International English Teachers." Presented at the GETA Conference (Gyonggi-do English Teachers Association) in Gyonggi-do, Korea, November 2005.

LANGUAGES

- Korean – Advanced Proficiency
- Urban Black Vernacular (UBV) - Fluent

PROFESSIONAL MEMBERSHIPS

- Critical Mixed-Race Studies, 2018
- American Educational Research Association, 2013-present
- Korean-American Educational Research Association, 2013-present
- National Association for Multicultural Education, 2012 - present
- Phi Delta Kappa International, 2002 - present
- Iota Phi Theta Fraternity Inc., 1999 - present

CERTIFICATIONS/AWARDS /HONORS/GRANTS

University of Washington, Doi Doctoral Research Award 2018

Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship (FLAS), 2016-2017

Graduate Opportunity Minority Achievement Program (GO-MAP) Keynote Speaker,

Prospective Student Event, 2017

Husky 100 (Nomination) 2016-2018

TEFL Certification

Golden Apple Scholars of Illinois, 1994

Teaching Certificate from the state of Texas K-8

Science, Reading, Math, Social Science and Language Arts endorsed

Teaching Certificate from the state of Illinois K-9

Science, Reading, Math, Social Science and Language Arts endorsed

California Preliminary Administrative Services Credential (Tier 1)

United States Army – Completion of Service Honorable Discharge (Veteran)

Who's Who among American College and University Students

American National Coaching Certificate

Illinois Minority Teacher Scholarship

Minority Professional Opportunity - Student of the Year

Yonsei University Language Institute – Korean Certificate of Completion

Ewha University Language Institute – Korean Certificate of Completion