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Abstract

South Korean multicultural education has a dual face which advocates two contradicting themes: ideologies of diversity and ethnocentrism. Given the nation's political and historical context, it has been often called as one of the most homogenous countries in the world. With globalisation and internal dynamics contributing to a rapid change in the demographic landscape of the nation, it hopes to eschew the old notion of being homogenous nation and simultaneously be dubbed as a multicultural, dynamic society. This research explores how the concept of 'difference' in the official Korean Moral Studies textbooks currently in use is represented in order to explore how 'others' are constructed in the dominant discourse of multicultural education. As a result, a clear boundary between Koreans and 'others' remains to be the underlying theme despite its recent curriculum revision. Thus, this research attempts to challenge the essentialised view of multiculturalism and argues for bringing in the critical approach of cultural diversity in future curriculum development and revision processes in order to resolve the paradox of multiculturalism in Korean education.

Keywords *Textbooks · Multiculturalism · South Korea · Diversity · Others · Ethnicity · Nationalism · Critical multicultural education*

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Abbreviations

Acronyms	Full names
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CM	Critical Multiculturalism
G3	Grade 3
G4	Grade 4
G5	Grade 5
G6	Grade 6
MCE	Multi-cultural Education
MoE	Ministry of Education
NK	North Korea(n)
SK	South Korea(n)

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Chapter 1 – Introduction

This research sees school experiences as critical part of young learners' lives as their understandings of and ways of being in the world are shaped. Educational curricula and practices can develop learners academically but at the same time discriminate and marginalise learners. In the latter case, recognition of the existing social prejudice and inequity becomes vital to bring about curricular changes and pedagogical practices of schools. This would require a shift in the mainstream, dominant perceptions of 'others' and difference (Banks, 2001). In order to uncover and deconstruct the dominant perspective of diversity, difference and culture, it is necessary to examine how multiculturalism is represented in school curriculum, especially in textbooks. Such analysis is particularly significant in South Korean (SK) context since classroom teaching is mostly evolved around textbooks that are censored and published by the government or local educational authorities (Lee and Misco, 2014).

Moreover, it was only in 2007 when the Ministry of Education (MoE) took the first action to revise textbooks to promote awareness about diversity and tolerance towards difference. The government included contents about “a different way of life of foreigners or difficulties of mixed race children” and announced plans to “remove the words from the textbook, which have connotations of superiority of a single race and homogeneous cultural tradition” (Kim, 2014, p. 113). While this was a step in the right direction, the revision was criticised by some scholars who stated that the degree of multicultural education (MCE) provided was rather superficial and unchallenging (e.g. Park, 2008). The nature of the MCE practiced tends to be assimilative as it required migrant children to learn Korean language and customs, but keeping silence on questions related to mitigating inequality, discrimination and power differentials among diverse groups (Olneck, 2011). Other scholars perceive the current approach of multiculturalism in SK as part of social integration strategy or migrant policy which

merely provides language, cultural and financial assistance for them to quickly adapt to the dominant culture (e.g. Nagy, 2014).

This indicates that the current understanding of multiculturalism in SK is based on the traditional migration frameworks revolving around control and management of entry of migrants, state-building and ethnocentric rationale to maintain its national identity (ibid). Such view can be problematic because it is not directly linked to an understanding of multiculturalism which encompasses the rights of all cultural, ethnic, religious and racial groups through a legal framework that ensures the protection of all citizens and residents from inequality such as discrimination (Kymlicka, 2005).

In 2012, the MoE established the “Plan for Advancement in Multicultural Education” which aimed to promote students’ understanding of diversity. Among the different policy measures under the plan, creating multicultural friendly textbook development and distribution was implemented. Recently, the moral studies textbooks (primary school 3-4 grades) were revised according to the 2009 revised school curriculum and published to be used in March, 2014. Taking these circumstances into account, the aim of the research boils down to looking at how discourses of diversity, difference and culture are represented in Korean primary moral studies textbooks and to critically explore how they are contributing to the understanding of multiculturalism. The textbook contents related to MCE will be analysed from the view of critical multiculturalism (CM) in order to problematise and deconstruct any representations of multiculturalism which implicitly reproduces social injustices and inequalities.

The aim of this study is guided by the core research question, ‘how is multicultural education within the moral studies textbooks recognised and issues of social equality addressed?’ This is going to be discussed in the next following three sections. The first section, Chapter 2, is the outer layer of this

research. It opens with a brief contextual sketch on how the discourse of MCE has emerged in SK. It then presents three classic theoretical frameworks of multiculturalism: 1) assimilationist; 2) liberal-pluralist; and 3) critical approach. Chapter 3 reviews the methodology and research design of this quantitative and qualitative study based on textual analysis of the four moral studies textbooks currently used in Korean primary schools. Chapter 4 unveils the inner layer of this research. It begins with discussing the findings of important themes that surfaced while covering the representations of diversity and others in the textbooks. Finally, the last section of this research concludes by suggesting some challenges and recommendations for future Korean moral education based on the critical approach of MCE.

Chapter 2 – Review of the Literature

2.1 Context

‘I hate communists’ was the typical slogan which the SK curriculum taught students even during 1980s and 1990s. I remember when I was at a primary school my classmates teased me about my family planning to leave for Uzbekistan, a former communist nation of Soviet Union. Back then, communists (especially the North Koreans) were represented as the nation’s enemies who were extremely evil and cruel. However, now the current curriculum, particularly the moral education emphasises that North Koreans (NKs) are part of our nation and family whom we have to be reunited with in near future. How did the NKs who once were the nation’s enemy become family? According to Castles (2009), the starting point for understanding how a nation-state handles difference especially dealing with internal ethnic minorities or immigrants depends on its historical experiences of a nation-state formation. In other words, the unity or internal homogeneity that a nation promotes is usually constructed out of the politics of difference and exclusion accompanied through the power relations (Bhabha, 1994; Hall, 1996).

To better understand SK’s recent enthusiasm on MCE, it is necessary to explore its historical context of nationalism. The idea of ethnic homogeneity characterises Korean nationalism because of the unusual political and historical circumstances such as the Japanese invasion (1920-1945), Korean War (1950) and North and South division (1953) (Han, 2007). In order to overcome great difficulties faced by traumatic experiences from the post-colonial, post-war and post-division of the nation, Korea had to resort to the idea of national solidarity based on sharing a common language and blood. Thus, the ideology of mono-ethnicity, ‘a sole/same ethnic group [한민족 or *han-min-jok*]’ or collective ‘we’

became the popular discourse in SK to promote nationalism for the purpose of building the nation from its historical, political, cultural and economic instabilities that have taken place for almost a century (Lee and Misco, 2014). Nationalism has served as a tool to defend itself from the imagined enemy and as a way to develop its economy to gain power in the world (Kang, 2010). Such nationalism served to reinforce Koreans' pride and affinity to their country, for the purpose of pursuing the unification of the Korean peninsula. According to Durrani and Dunne (2010), a singular nationalist discourse of 'Us' versus 'Them' also serves to diffuse internal divisions and inequalities such as those between men and women, upper and lower classes, the privilege of one region over the other. So even if SK has a strong tendency to be monoethnic, it does not mean that all SKs enjoy equal power in the society. Such discourses serve to take attentions away from power asymmetries within the nation (Dunne and Durrani 2010).

The belief in a monoethnic and monolingual nation has also been prevalent in public education in order to maintain and promote national unity, pride, loyalty and patriotism (Hong 2010). However, with the surge in the number of migrant workers, international marriages and the increasing exodus of NK defectors it became evident that SK can no longer be dubbed as monoethnic and homogeneous nation. According to the Statistics of Korean Immigration Bureau 2012, the estimated proportion of foreigners residing in SK had reached 2.6% (1.1 million people) of the total population (Heo, 2012). The number of children with multicultural background enrolled in schools in 2013 reached 55,780¹, with around 71% of them enrolled in primary schools (MoE, 2013). This number is five times higher since the first multicultural demographic survey was carried out in 2006 and the government estimates that soon the number will reach to 1% of the total number of school enrolment in Korea (MoE, 2013).

¹ Ministry of Education (2013) categorises children with multicultural background as children of interracial marriages (either born in Korea or brought from their mothers' country) and children of non-Korean passport holders.

Although various top-down educational policies have emerged under the name of multiculturalism due to the demographic changes (Ahn, 2012), they all tend to focus on the assimilation of Korean language and customs (Park, 2008). Such an approach has been much criticised for employing the ideology of multiculturalism as a handy tool of the nation-state to control immigrants and other ethnicities for maintaining its solidarity (Han, 2007; Nagy, 2014). Despite the inclusion of multicultural friendly contents in the new 2009 national curriculum revision, SK's multicultural reality is still subject to racial discrimination and exclusion from the mainstream society and even mistreated in their right to basic education (Song, 2014). Especially, children from different ethnic origins face socio-cultural and structural disadvantages in their schools. One research indicates that 34% of bi-racial children had experienced discrimination just because their mother was not a Korean, 20% because of communication barriers, and 18% because of their ethnicity/race (Seol et al., 2005). These children usually come from interracial families comprised of rural Korean men and foreign wives mostly from East and Southeast Asia (Lee 2008). One in every five of the new born children from international marriages is born in rural area (ibid). Thus, while growing up in poor and rural areas of Korea, these children may encounter obstacles to their social mobility and remain alienated underclass which risks more discrimination in the mainstream society.

Against this backdrop, it can be said that MCE in Korea is stuck between two opposing objectives - the desire to maintain its strong ethnic identity and the ambition to move on toward equipping children as global citizens. Given such dilemma, this research can provide an insight into how official perceptions of 'Us' and 'Them' are constructed in the moral studies textbooks and how that legitimised knowledge continues to reproduce school inequality under the name of MCE.

2.2 Theoretical framework

There are variations in the ways in which multiculturalism is interpreted and implemented. However, multicultural policies and education programs generally fall under three types of approaches: assimilationist, liberal-pluralist and critical multiculturalism. This section begins with an overview of assimilationist and liberal-pluralist basis of multiculturalism and problematises their stance on difference and diversity and their implications for the construction of ‘others’. Particular attention is paid to liberal-pluralistic multiculturalism to highlight the inadequacy of this framework for MCE practice because it does not attempt to challenge the structural inequalities that marginalise minority groups from institutional and social power. Then, by drawing on the framework of critical multiculturalism (CM), this section aims to explore some limitations of assimilationist and liberal-pluralist approaches in MCE. Finally, the last part of this section underscores the necessity to examine and interrogate the curriculum text in order to discern the multiple ways in which culture is represented.

2.2.1 Assimilationist and essentialist basis of multiculturalism

The notion of multiculturalism first emerged in Europe and North America during the 1970s in response to the growing and long-term presence of immigrants and new ethnic minorities (Schierup, Hansen, and Castles, 2006). However, as the initial notion was often developed through colonial practices, it had been much criticised for its association with terms such as assimilation, integration, or insertion (ibid). Some scholars categorise the assimilationist approach as conservative multiculturalism where its origin is traced to European and North American colonial and imperialist attitude (McLaren, 1995). Others refer to it as monoculturalism or cultural essentialism which is also referred to a new form of colonialist approach of white male supremacy (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997; May, 1999). Although the names vary, all of them tend to share a similar goal of integrating

minorities into the mainstream culture rather than recognising and acknowledging their differences and otherness (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997).

Within the assimilationist approach, immigrants and minorities are often classified as “add-ons” to the dominant culture (McLaren, 1995, p.122). To be “added on” to the dominant culture or “joining the club” would mean to accept a consensual view of majority culture as well as learning essentially patriarchal norms of the “host” country (ibid). In other words, immigrants have to persistently adopt the common culture through learning the national language and adopting the social and cultural practices of the host community. However, who determines the common culture? Who determines who falls inside and outside the boundaries of the common culture? The assimilationist position has been criticized much because it does little to explore where the common culture comes from and how it is constructed. Also, it also serves to hide internal differences within the ‘common’ culture.

Perspective on construction of diversity and difference

Assimilationist model of multiculturalism has a dualistic universe of ‘we’ as benign and homogenous individuals who are in need of protection from groups of heterogeneous ‘others’ (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). In this context, dominant groups would perceive *diversity* and *difference* as a threat to maintaining their national identity and cultural hegemony. For minority groups, *difference* is viewed as a source of discrimination in areas such as job employment and educational rights as well as other forms of exclusion in society and thus, such inequality can be overcome through a common national culture in which culturally and ethnically diverse individuals are assimilated (Banks, 2009).

The conventional MCE tends to ignore the diverse cultures that students bring to school and assume *difference* as deprived or disadvantaged (Banks, 2009). This is why immigrant students and their

families are often perceived as being culturally or linguistically deprived. Their different languages, customs and life styles are often regarded as obstacles in adapting and integrating effectively into the mainstream culture (Robinson and Diaz, 2006). This can be problematic because the failure for their integration is often attributed to the students themselves rather than structural inequalities of poverty, gender and racism and their effects on the educational processes and outcomes. Thus, school becomes an important place for compensating ethnic minority learners' intellectual and cultural deficits such as providing students with language course and teaching them mainstream culture and history (Castles, 2009). However, many would agree that this is in fact a myth and that equal chances in schools such as learning a language cannot guarantee one a place in the host country or offer a passport to social mobility.

2.2.2 Liberal-pluralist basis of multiculturalism

Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) argue that liberal and pluralist forms of multiculturalism share similar features as they both socio-culturally decontextualise the issues such as race and gender and fail to problematise the dominant power and inequality. The difference between the two typologies may be that the pluralist standpoint focuses on difference as opposed to liberalism's focus on sameness. Liberal standpoint of multiculturalism perceives that a natural equality exists based on the idea that there is intellectual sameness and cognitive equivalence among all races that allow them to compete equally in a capitalist society (McLaren, 1995). In other words, inequality exists not because of cultural deprivation or deficiency but because social and educational opportunities are absent to allow members of all groups to participate in the political, economic, and social spheres of the nation. The common problem of both liberal and pluralist approaches is that they essentialise culture without considering structural concerns. Such idealistic and naïve view on culture deludes oneself to believe that a

harmonious multiethnic society could be achieved if cultural differences are recognized and celebrated (Banks, 2009). The British antiracist educators such as Barry Troyna criticised multiculturalism, claiming that its preoccupation with superficial culturalism failed to address the core issues of culture such as racism and other forms of discrimination and inequality (May, 1999). The antiracist educators refer to ‘cultural difference’ as a ‘new racism’ where ‘race’ is disguised as a benign cultural and/or historical term (ibid). Moreover, the core problem of cultural essentialism is that culture is represented as authentic, unique, unchanging and fixed which come to reinforce group-based identities like ‘female’, ‘Asian’ and ‘African-American’ (Hoffman, 1996; McCarthy, 1998 cited in May 2009) and therefore tends to maintain, rather than challenge, power asymmetries within society. In addition, such view dismisses the understanding of culture as a result of wider hegemonic power relations (Giroux, 1997).

Perspective on diversity and difference

In relation to education, the liberal-pluralist multiculturalism promotes *diversity* at the level of changing attitude toward tolerating different languages, customs, values and behavioural patterns in which definitions of culture are conceptualised within fixed and definite boundaries and categories of ethnicity or race (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). A school curriculum emerging from this framework involves a superficial understanding of diverse culture, such as learning about other countries’ ways of behaviours and life-styles. Sleeter and Grant (2007) call such kind of approach as the ‘tourist curriculum’ which focuses on artefacts of other countries such as foods, traditional clothing, folk tales and household items. *Diversity* in the curriculum is seen to be achieved through “multicultural literacy” or through teaching about many different cultures which would enable individuals from mainstream and dominant culture to successfully tolerate subcultures or culturally diverse groups (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997, p.16). Another educational approach to promote *diversity* involves building pride and

highlighting the positive features of minority heritage and culture. In this way, MCE can reinforce the idea that individuals from minority groups also have the rights to enjoy equal opportunity as the dominant group and attain upper social mobility. However, Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) state that the long years of oppression and discrimination minorities experienced cannot be simply mitigated by reinforcing pride in their identity. Curriculum reform which involves simply removing stereotypes against race and gender, for instance, is not sufficient in understanding the root of discrimination and the structural nature of inequality. In other words, simplistic and superficial notions about *diversity* cannot give learners the necessary conceptual tools for understanding how inequalities are constructed and perpetuated by individuals, social groups and social structures.

The liberal-pluralist framework of MCE can be problematic in that students may perceive ‘others’ according to visible differences. School curriculum preoccupied with visible difference often results in avoiding engagement with issues of hidden inequalities and oppressions (Garrett, 1998). For example, representing skin colour or sex as the dominant signifier of difference can lead to misrecognition of other invisible diversities. In an experimental study by Robinson and Diaz (2000), students and teachers focused much on visible differences when they encountered children from diverse language and ethnic/racial groups, than when they met ‘white’ children from gay, lesbian and indigenous families who had less obvious physical differences. This study also indicates that children from socio-cultural minorities may face double or triple disadvantage. For example, children from ethnic/racial minorities with disabilities suffer from double disadvantage and black girls suffer from triple oppression of race, class and gender (Anthias and Yuval-Davis 1991). Therefore, *difference* is not something that can be tagged automatically because it is based on the complex, multiple identities that are contextually produced and located at the intersections of ethnic, racialised and gendered discourses and discursive practices (Robinson and Diaz, 2006).

2.2.3 Critical multiculturalism

Critical multiculturalism (CM) can provide a lens through which one can explore beyond the tip of the iceberg and see how social system, ideology or history conceals the processes which oppress and dominate people. As Giroux (1997) describes, it is a recognition and investigation of how culture or an individual is in relation with broader social, political and historical frameworks. Therefore, looking at a *culture* from the perspective of CM can suggest ways in which a learner is able to distinguish various forms of cultural representation that serve to reinforce the issues of discrimination and inequality inside and outside the school.

First, CM provides a framework which enables understanding of education within its socio-cultural and political context (Sleeter and Grant, 2007). Previous critical theories such as Neo-Marxist's unequal social class and economy structure, ideas of (re)production of hegemonic structure and cultural capital of dominant groups by Bourdieu, Gramsci, and Freire's critical pedagogy have provided insights into the field of critical MCE. They all claim that critical thinking in education cannot be promoted outside a social-political context. Moreover, learners are able to critically read various discriminatory practices in their lives and others by contextualizing inequalities and discrimination, which usually remain unchallenged in broader socio-political discourses (Giroux, 1996). Therefore, the most fundamental characteristic of critical MCE involves the effort to make the pedagogy socio-political (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997). That is, transforming school as a site of struggle for social justice where learners study how power shapes their lives and what they can do to resist its oppressive presence (ibid).

Second, CM perspective allows school curriculum to include the perspective and voice of the 'others'. Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) are one of the main CM scholars who advocate the inclusion of

subjugated histories and experiences within the dominant curriculum. They call this as “decentring the centre” or as viewing “whiteness from an outsider’s vantage point” (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997, p.245). Curriculum from the margins can operate differently from the dominant curriculum, for example, illuminating a certain historical event that has been ignored or distorted. This is why Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) emphasise the inclusion of multiple histories not only to uncover new dimensions and ways of seeing dominant culture but also to interrogate non-critical, mainstream education which tends to conceal the critical dimension and lived experiences of the minority such as immigrants and females.

Third, CM advocates inclusion of subjugated and marginalised knowledge in the curriculum which allows learners to broaden their view with critical thinking. To be critical, according to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997, p. 234), means “to take the mundane, hold it up to the light and look at it from another angle”. Without being critical, inequality such as racial and gender discrimination becomes merely a superficial struggle over representation which would still serve to veil the social relations of domination in which inequality is situated. The central function of a school curriculum must involve its ability to expose the naïve notion of the nature of racism and gender discrimination, such as the belief that they are simply attitudes that need to be changed or corrected. If not, the school curriculum would continue to promote cultural blindness and merely tackle superficial forms of inequality.

Lastly, applying CM in school curriculum promotes a learner’s critical thinking which allows reflectivity and thus encourages social change and transformation (McLaren, 1995). The notion of being reflective is similar to Freire’s (1970) humanist and liberal pedagogy. It is the idea that humans are capable of having inner power to pose problem and even resist as active social and cultural influencers through using his or her consciousness. Freire (1970) emphasises the political literacy in

which learners are able to use their consciousness and critically engage and reflect the reality. Although being reflective takes beyond acknowledging differences and removing stereotypes, it is not nearly sufficient to bring about school reform and change, which is the ultimate goal of critical MCE (McLaren, 1995). In other words, without any resistance to the current political status and promotion of social change, multiculturalism will fail to reclaim its purpose to deviate from accommodating to the larger social order (ibid). Therefore, CM underscores the importance of the role of teachers and curriculum designers whose knowledge is (re)produced based on their understanding of the social, economic and cultural structure which then has power to influence learners' perspectives (ibid). In this respect, transformation in curricular and pedagogical practices can occur if educators recognise and resist the social construction of knowledge and what is known as the justified universal truth or consensual views.

Perspective on diversity and difference

In terms of *diversity*, CM in education refuses to use the term as a panacea “to diffuse the social conflict [and as the consent of the minority to the mainstream] that inevitably emerges from domination” (Kincheloe & Steinberg 1997, p. 230). *Diversity* is seen as the “surface harmony heralded by the media, the government and education” and is merely an image in the minds of those who enjoy privilege in the dominant status (ibid). In this way, diversity serves as a way to cover up the present disharmony which was forged by structural forces (Giroux 1988). Thus, CM doesn't see diversity itself as a goal but rather argues that it must be affirmed within a politics of cultural criticism and a commitment to social justice (McLaren, 1995).

In a society where there is a presumed cultural homogeneity and group-based identity, *difference* is something that can be negotiated among culturally diverse groups (McLaren, 1995). However, in the

context of CM, difference is seen as occurring between and among groups and understood in terms of the specificity of its production. In other words, CM rejects the idea of homogenous/monoglot ethnicity grounded in a shared or common culture, which Bhabha (1990) describes as the regulation and normalisation of difference. Thereby, the common phrase reiterated by the liberal-pluralist approach of MCE, ‘we are diverse but we are all same and equal’ is actually served as a tool by the ‘host’ society as a way to assimilate ‘others’ to their dominant culture and create a false belief that equality can be achieved (Bhabha, 1990).

Culture in critical multicultural education

CM provides alternative ways to view culture and how it can be explained in relation to each other. The conservative and liberal standpoint of culture is based on the essentialist logic which is assumed to be “autonomous, self-contained and self-directed” (McLaren, 1995, p. 126). Under such assumption, culture is defined in terms of visible differences such as national/ethnic boundary and often perceived as the essential markers for indentifying one’s culture. In this respect, culture is viewed as a system of artefacts, values and traditions that is specific to each group. However, such assumption can be problematic as it disregards the fluidity of culture as well as the political and historical context constructed within the cultural relations (May, 1999). Erikson (2009) argues that culture has to embrace beyond the visible aspects such as language, religion and appearances particularly in relation to MCE. He further claims that “culture can be thought of construction – it constructs us and we construct it...[t]hus no single or determinative human world is a fixed point of reference” (Erikson, 2009, p. 38).

Thereby, critical MCE understands culture as the multiple, complex strands and influences that make up who we are, without dismissing the structural inequalities that still impact differentially on what diverse minority groups experience (May, 1999). Moreover, the intricate dynamic process of culture

shapes people's identity and is shaped by how they live and experience their everyday reality. That is, one's culture and identity is not structured around by few static essential factors but is forged within wider structural forces such as class, ethnicity, and gender stratification, objective constraints and historical determinations (McLaren, 1995). Therefore, as Edward Said argues, "no one today is purely one thing and [l]abels like Indian, or woman or Muslim or American are no more than starting points" (1994, p. 407).

2.2.4 The significance of analysing textbooks

Textbooks are the primary pedagogical tools used in classrooms and are one of the significant sources of classroom knowledge (Apple, 1993). This section reviews three main reasons why curriculum texts need to be scrutinised carefully.

First, curriculum content does not reflect the whole version of a broader society we live in (Sleeter and Grant, 2011). The reflection is usually a representation of a dominant power because the curriculum is influenced and selected by power-relations. In other words, the knowledge in curriculum provided to learners is distributed and exercised through power relations which determine and select which ideas and realms of knowledge are considered valuable. Given selective access to knowledge, learners may be predisposed to think and act in certain ways without critically engaging and enquiring other possibilities (Anyon, 1983; Sleeter and Grant, 2011). Cherryholmes describes the selective and restrictive process in this way:

Scholars...often have a variety of definitions from which to choose in writing textbook; teachers have fewer from which to choose, but often have more than one; and students usually, more so at lower levels, are given the opportunity to learn only one (Cherryholmes, 1988, p.52).

Hence, curriculum represents somebody's selection of what constitutes important knowledge and somebody's version of reality (Cherryholmes, 1988). Therefore, uncovering the curriculum texts can provide a clue to how a wider society is represented and the ways in which unequal power is maintained and (re)produced.

Second, curriculum texts cannot be conferred as neutral knowledge but to have contained official and authoritative knowledge which may grant legitimacy to a particular group as well as maintaining the social control. On this note, Anyon (1983, p. 51) argues that the knowledge legitimised in the name of education is "metabolised into power that is real when members of society in their everyday decisions support – or fail to challenge – prevailing hierarchies". Moreover, textbooks often dubbed as "official knowledge" (Apple, 1993) tend to be analysed by educators in terms of technical issues like how to teach efficiently and effectively rather than locating the knowledge in economic, political, cultural and social context we live in. Apple (2004, p. 1) continues his argument that curriculum content is not "neutral" and should be targeted to uncover the ways inequalities are remained unchallenged and (re)produced. Apple (2004) claims that in order to understand the structural inequality that exists in schools, for example, who succeeds and who fails, one must not see the representation of culture as neutral but as tacitly embedded in schools which in effect contribute to inequality. In short, inequality is not to be seen as an aberration to the norm. For example, the cause of a learner's low achievement in school is not to be solely blamed for his or her lack of ability but to recognise other factors of power relations which are legitimised and embedded in economic, cultural, and social context.

Lastly, the curriculum texts contain tacitly embedded representations which make it inevitable to look into carefully with critical perspective. Representations as text can play a significant role in that they consider what should be good and legitimate (Sleeter and Grant, 2011). However, usually those

representations are hidden as stated by Cherryholmes (1988, p.290)

Textbooks implicitly present meanings as fixed in structures, and sentences on pages, pictures, charts, and graphs do nothing to dispel this appearance of stability

Therefore, it is important to critically engage in how certain concept and ideology is represented within curriculum, especially in national textbooks, because education which is thought to be neutral can contribute to already existing unequal structure of the world we live in. In this regard, critical MCE can open up a possibility of reading school textbooks within socio-political context. Unveiling how the representations of 'others' such as diversity, difference and culture is constructed within the curriculum texts is vital in MCE.

Chapter 3: Methodology and Research Design

3.1 Introduction

This chapter begins with the methodological stance used in this research and the rationale for applying this particular methodology to interrogate the topic. The following section describes the research design, including the research questions, explanation of the data collection and analysis procedures. Finally, a discussion on the limitation and positionality of the research is offered.

3.2 Methodological perspectives

This research has mainly taken a qualitative approach which is “an overall research strategy” (Mason, 1996) containing multiple methods and ways of conducting research (Denzin and Lincoln, 2011), and accepts assumptions espoused by critical theory. Within the critical epistemological space, a researcher is able to uncover what is proclaimed essential, correct and natural by understanding that “all thought is fundamentally mediated by power relations [and ideology] that are social and historically constituted” (Kincheloe, McLaren and Steinberg, 2011, p. 164). Since “facts [or knowledge] can never be isolated from the domains of values” (ibid, p. 164) or from the socio-political context, critical theory attempts to challenge and transform knowledge that generates unequal power relations.

In order to problematise and reconceptualise existing knowledge which reproduces unequal dominance, a researcher needs to understand how language plays a pivotal role in “the formation of subjectivity” (Kincheloe, McLaren and Steinberg, 2011, p.164), which is “constructed through participation and positioning within multiple discourses” (Dunne, Pryor and Yates, 2005, p.38). In relation to the construction of subjectivity in both conscious and unconscious awareness, this research draws on

Hall's (1992, p. 291) claim which states that "all social practices entail meaning, and meanings shape and influence what we do". In other words, the main objective for discourse analysis is to explore the ways how certain concepts and ideologies are meaningfully constructed or represented to regulate the conduct of others. Thus, the representation of a certain word, terminology or image may contain power to "rule in" certain ways of looking at things and defining an acceptable way of talking about a topic, but also to "rule out" other ways of talking and perceiving (Hall 1997, p. 44).

With this particular stance in mind, this research problematises textbooks as having claimed to contain neutral and official knowledge and as embodying certain individuals and values as essential and universal, while rendering others hidden or unselected (Flinders and Thornton 2004). For this reason, textbooks need to be scrutinised carefully in order to see how specific concepts, ideologies and even topics are represented to give meaning and provide meaningful practices (Anyon 1979; Sleeter and Grant 1991). The content analysis of moral studies textbooks currently used in Korean primary schools is particularly important and necessary because moral education clearly reflects what society proposes young students to think and act in order for them to be considered moral and acceptable. According to the official document provided by MoE (1997, p.122-123), moral studies curriculum attempts to foster students with moral attitude and ability so that they would learn to live harmoniously together with other people in a community. Moreover, since Korean textbooks are revised, authorised and published according to the government policies and institutions, discussing the contents of moral studies textbooks can reveal a deeper understanding of multiculturalism and diversity in Korean education.

3.3 Research Design

3.3.1 Aim of the research

The primary purpose of this research paper is to look at how discourses of diversity and multiculturalism are represented in Korean primary moral studies textbooks. In order to do so, particularly groups who are portrayed as visible and invisible ‘others’ are examined through qualitative analysis of textual data extracted from the textbooks. Although the analysis is largely qualitative, some quantitative data analysis has also been carried out in order to find out which lexical items and images representing ‘others’ are used most frequently in the textbooks. Through these steps, this research aims to seek understanding of how the current location of MCE takes its position towards diversity and suggest ways to mitigate social injustice.

3.3.2 Research Questions

Below is a table with specific research questions this study seeks to answer, along with the kind of methods used.

Table 1: General methods used for data analysis

Research Questions (Focus of analysis)	Methods	
	Qualitative	Quantitative
1. What are the dominant ways in which ‘difference’ is used to represent ‘others’ in the textbooks?	v	v
2. In what ways the above representation of ‘others’ construct the mainstream identity?	v	
3. From the lens of critical multiculturalism, how is multicultural education within the textbooks recognised and issues of social equality addressed?	v	

3.3.3 Data Collection

The data collected for this research are from four primary school level moral studies (도덕 *Do-duk*) textbooks which are currently used to teach students in grade 3 to 6 in SK public schools (see Table 2). While the 3rd and 4th grade textbooks have been revised according to the latest National Curriculum Revision implemented by MoE in 2009, the contents of the 5th and 6th grade textbooks remain the same and are based on 2007 National Curriculum Revision. One of the major differences between the two versions of textbooks is that contents about children from multicultural families (다문화 ‘*dah-mun-hwa*’ families formed from international marriages) have been added in the recent revised textbooks while the 2007 MCE only targets cultures around the world and returnee or remigrant students from overseas (MoE, 2009). However, a comparison between the two versions is not discussed since the focus of this research is centred on the analysis of the overall location of MCE represented in moral studies textbooks.

Table 2: Korean primary Moral Studies (도덕, *Do-duk*) textbooks used in the research

Grade (Abbreviation)	Total pages	Year of publication	Authors	Publication Company	Copyright Holder
Grade 3 (G3)	246	1 st of March, 2014 (1 st edition)	Yoo, Byung- Ryul & et al.	Chunjae Education (천재교육)	Ministry of Education
Grade 4 (G4)	232				
Grade 5 (G5)	206	1 st of March, 2014			
Grade 6 (G6)	206	(4 th edition)			

3.3.4 Data Analysis Framework

The main approach used to explore the four textbooks was Fairclough's (2010) critical discourse analysis (CDA) which espouses close textual analysis as a way to discern what is in a text whether it is explicit or implicit and what is absent or unselected for the purpose of providing a critical perspective into what is taken for granted and consented. CDA approach not only locates discourse as ways of representing aspects of the world (Fairclough 1992), but can also place discourse in its social context to challenge and resist social inequities and find possible ways to mitigate them. In other words, it is finding out gaps between what particular societies or institutions claim to be and what they actually are. CDA also allows understanding ideologies to be ways of representing aspects of the world which establishes or sustains unequal relations of power. Thus, the ultimate goal of CDA is teaching learners 'critical language awareness' and 'critical literacy' (Fairclough 1992) so that they are able to recognise the non-transparent and opaque nature of discourse and culture suggested to them and challenge the existing knowledge which generates social inequalities.

3.3.5 Procedure

With this framework as analytical and methodological tool, the moral studies textbooks were examined in terms of not only how texts discursively construct meanings of 'difference' and identify 'others' but also how they contribute to (re)producing ideologies of identity of a certain target group or culture. For instance, special attention was paid to groups receiving or lacking attention and how those groups appeared and were portrayed, with a particular aim to uncover certain political and ideological values that might undermine or negate minority groups (Sleeter and Grant, 1991; Su, 2007).

The first step of analysis was conducted through a comprehensive and iterative reading of textbooks themselves, reading carefully through line-by-line and page-by-page of texts (including images). The next step was done through extracting and sorting passages according to the key words containing both explicit and implicit lexical items related to ‘difference’ and ‘sameness’. These selected passages were transcribed and then organised according to the main themes of Moral Studies subject which were: 1) Myself; 2) Family; 3) Neighbours; 4) Community; 5) Korea; 6) the World around us. Both explicit and associated lexical items of ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’ were highlighted in yellow and blue was highlighted for all the words and phrases related to ‘sameness’ or ‘oneness’ (see Example 1). Then, these categorisations were re-organised to sort out groups, ideals or symbols that signify ‘others’ and ‘us’ (see Example 2). Searching for repeated patterns of what was selected and omitted (of particular vocabularies, phrases and images) played a critical role in bringing up what particular goals, ideologies, and identities in MCE were being produced and promoted at the national level as official knowledge.

Example 1: A sample of selected texts transcribed with key words highlighted

Neighbours	<p>(3) 우정으로 하나가 되어요 세상에는 다양한 사람들이 함께 살아가고 있습니다. 나와 다른 생각을 하거나 다른 생활을 하였던 사람과는 어떻게 어울릴 수 있을까요? 함께 생각해봅시다...(p.42)</p> <p>Chapter 3: Let's become 'One' with Friendship We live in a world together with diverse kinds of people. How can we get along with people who think differently and live in different styles? Let's think about it together.... (p.42)</p> <p>다른 사람의 입장 되어 보기 역할놀이를 해 봅시다. 예시) 상황1: 외모가 다르다고 해서 놀림을 받았던 경우 상황2: 운동을 못한다고 해서 무시를 받았던 경우 → 능력의 차이 상황3: 다른 곳에서 살다 와서 말씨가 달라 놀림을 받았던 경우...(p.43)</p> <p>Let's do a role play and experience how it feels like to be in another person's shoes. Example) Situation 1: When I got picked on because I had a different look</p>
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	<p>Situation 2: When I was teased because I was not good at sports (difference in capability)</p> <p>Situation 3: When I was picked on by my different accent because I lived a different place....(p.43)</p> <p>우리와의 다른 입장을 가진 사람과 함께 어울려 살아가는 방법을 생각해 봅시다....(p.44)</p> <p>Let's think about the ways how we can get along together with people who have different positions from us....(p.44)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(G3, MoE, 2014).</p>
<p>Family</p>	<p>화목한 가정을 알아보아요</p> <p>가정의 모습은 다양합니다. 어떤 모습의 가족이든지 모두 화목한 가정을 위해 노력합니다. 화목한 가정의 의미와 중요성을 알아보고 화목한 가정을 만들기 위해서는 어떻게 해야 하는지 공부해 봅시다.</p> <p><u>Let's find out about a happy family</u></p> <p>Families are diverse. No matter how a family looks like everybody in the family try to build a harmonious family. We will learn the meaning and importance of a harmonious family and how to make a family harmonious.</p> <p>다양한 가족의 유형</p> <p>난 할머니와 단들이 살아요; 나에겐 입양한 동생이 있어요; 우리 아버지는 다른 나라에서 태어났어요; 우리 가족은 아버지와 오빠가 있어요; 우리 가족은 부모님과 동생이 있어요; 할머니, 할아버지와 함께 살아요...(p.60)</p> <p><u>Description of different kinds of families</u></p> <p>I and my grandmother are the only family; I have a sibling who is adopted; My father was born in another country; In my family, there is father and brother; I have both parents and a sibling; I live with my grandparents. .(p.60)</p> <p style="text-align: right;">(G3, MoE, 2014).</p>

Example 2: A sample of categorisation of groups/symbols/ideas that signify ‘others’

<p>Ideas/groups/symbols that signify difference or sameness (being together, harmonious)</p>	<p>Examples from the textbooks</p>	<p>Repetitively occurred concept</p>
<p>Different countries (i.e. Israel, Thailand, Brazil, New Zealand, USA, India, Spain, Nepal)</p>	<p>“Are there countries you would like to visit? Choose three countries you would like to travel and practice how people in those countries greet each other” (G4, p.193).</p> <p>“Let's compare our (Korea's) culture with diverse</p>	<p>Geographical border</p> <p>Cultural border = different ways of saying greetings</p> <p>Cultural border</p>

<p>- Life styles/ ways of living (i.e., different ways to greet people, eating habits, food, etc.)</p>	<p>cultures in the world” (G4, p.194).</p> <p>“I got to home-stay at an Indian person’s house in order to experience the Indian culture” (G6, p.131)</p> <p>“If we start living overseas, we would not feel comfortable at first. We would feel unstable in foreign countries because things are unfamiliar and strange for us” (G5, p.101).</p>	<p>Cultural border = ways of living</p> <p>Geographical border Difference = unfamiliar and strange</p>
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As for the third step of analysis, different approaches of multiculturalism (see Chapter 2) such as assimilationism, liberal-pluralism and critical multiculturalism provided analytical lenses with which to read the internal meanings of each discourse, as Fairclough (2010) and Wodak (2005) claim that no text is neutral. Moreover, visual images and pictures were also analysed as texts increasingly combine language with other semiotic forms such as visual images, sound effects and so on (Fairclough, 2010).

Finally, connecting the findings of textual analysis with the critical multicultural framework was helpful in drawing important distinctions, interpretations and further recommendations. The critical approach was useful to demonstrate how the selected world or a certain subject position was portrayed as being ‘right’ or ‘essential’ and thus to indicate the necessity to delegitimise the dominant discourse.

3.4 Limitation

Official textbooks carry immense institutional authority and legitimacy, and for that reason learners may take them at face value, ignoring their hidden messages. Their users, such as learners are compulsorily exposed to them throughout their formative years. In particular, officially produced and mandated “textbooks have a pervasive impact on students’ sense of ‘self’ and differentiation” (Durrani and Dunne, 2010, p. 19). However, the interpretations of what’s represented in textbooks can vary according to what learners and teachers bring into the classroom. For example, students’ gender, race, class, religion etc. interact with textbook messages which may lead them to accept, reinterpret or even reject what they read (Apple, 1993). Likewise, how teachers translate and transmit the given knowledge is important as they inevitably mediate and transform the textbook material even if they are attempting just to transmit those messages. Therefore, textbook analysis needs to move beyond textual analysis to explorations of how they are used in the pedagogic space of the classroom (Durrani and Dunne, 2010). While the aim of this research is to examine how textbooks portray the ‘other’, it acknowledges that textual analysis only provides partial understanding and that a richer picture is obtained how they are used in classrooms. Due to the time constraint, it was not possible to focus on classrooms, how teachers relay the textbook messages and how students negotiate with the textbook portrayal of ‘us’ and ‘them’. Thereby, the main limitation of this research is that it can only discover ideological processes solely through text analysis which may possibly overlook what text “consumers [readers, viewers such as teachers and students]” have to say on certain issues (Fairclough, 1995, p.72).

3.5 Positionality

This particular research on the analysis of national textbooks is affected by the positionality of the researcher based on the claim that “curriculum texts [are] analysed as constructions of experiences and knowledges” and are “read as a fluid relationship between author’s intention and readers’ interpretation” (Weiner, 1994, p.117). My positionality as a researcher in this study is multiple which stems from the intersection of my different identity locations such as cultural, economic, religious and political realities and is not merely based on nationality and ethnicity. My identity cannot be simply categorised just by my South Korean passport and my Asian looks. My identity is constructed through the multiple and complex nexus of personal life background and experiences. Having grown up in the diverse cultural backgrounds of East Asia, Europe and Central Asia, having been educated in both Western and Asian education systems and having encountered various kinds of cultures and people around the world, my identity is multiple, complex and fluid. As an insider and outsider of Korea, I was able to see through what was claimed to be naturalised and legitimised when reading and interpreting the text. Furthermore, by espousing the critical theory in this research, I was able to interrogate how construction of a Korean identity was (re)produced in the textbooks, rather than just looking into what it means to be Korean. Nevertheless, I do not claim to have unearthed the ‘truth’ regarding MCE in SK and acknowledge the possibility of multiple readings and interpretations of the textbooks I analysed.

Chapter 4: Findings

This section presents the findings under three main themes, with each theme responding to a particular research question. Theme 1 explores Question 1 by discussing the dominant ways in which ‘difference’ is used to represent ‘others’ in the textbooks. Theme 2 addresses Question 2 by presenting how the representation of diversity tends to project and strengthen the mainstream identity. Finally, theme 3 addresses Question 3 by analysing MCE presented in the first two themes through the lens of critical multiculturalism.

4.1 Theme 1: The dominant ways in which ‘difference’ is used to represent ‘others’ in the textbooks

To begin with, I first present the results of quantitative content analysis which was carried out to determine the frequency with which the issues of ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’ are mentioned in the four textbooks. In order to do this, word frequency was conducted for each chapter of the textbook, counting explicit words such as ‘difference’, ‘different’, ‘diversity’, and ‘diverse’. The result is summarised in Table 3 below.

Table 3: Word frequencies for each chapter containing words ‘difference’ and ‘diversity’

	Ch.1	Ch.2	Ch.3	Ch.4	Ch.5	Ch.6	Ch.7	Ch.8	Ch.9	Ch.10	Total frequencies
G3	11	12	3	4	3	0	7	6	no chapters		46
G4	1	4	4	6	1	0	3	39	no chapters		58
G5	0	7	9	0	16	5	5	0	5	6	53
G6	1	2	0	8	9	3	38	8	0	0	69

* The background colour of the cells represents the frequency of the issues of diversity. The chapters with the most frequency filled in orange and the following highest frequencies filled in peach.

As can be seen in Table 3, although the frequency counts across the four textbooks varies somewhat, all textbooks devote particular attention to ‘difference’, ‘different’, ‘diversity’ and ‘diverse’. Each grade contains one chapter which particularly shows the largest proportion compared to other chapters (figures filled in orange): 26% (G3); 67% (G4); 30% (G5); and 55% (G6). The contents in these chapters specifically focus on MCE which directly deals with issues of diversity and difference. So the examples from these chapters are mostly drawn on to discuss Research Questions 1 and 2 to find out the dominant ways in which ‘difference’ is used to represent ‘others’ in the textbooks and how they construct the mainstream identity.

The next step involved analysing the highest figures (the coloured cells) in Table 3 to identify which specific lexical items and images related to difference and diversity were most often used. The results of the analysis are summarised in Table 4 which provided important clues to this research in identifying the dominant signifiers of ‘others’.

Table 4: The most frequently appeared lexical items and images that project difference and diversity

Lexical items and images that signify difference and diversity	Categories (Visible indicators to ‘difference’)	Word Frequencies
Foreigners - e.g. Mother from another country, Marriage immigrant women, Foreign workers, Foreign relatives, Guests from other countries	Geographical boundary	93
Foreign country - e.g. Another country, travelling overseas, different nationality, overseas Koreans, Korean Diaspora)		
Ways/Styles of life - e.g. Types of food, eating habits, greeting ways, etc	Cultural boundary	82
Physical appearance - e.g. Different skin colour, darker skin, mixed race (multicultural) children	Physical/racial boundary	33

<p>Language</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - e.g. Multicultural students' deficient Korean language skills; differences between North and South Korean language 	Linguistic boundary	26
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According to the figures in Table 4 above, it can be seen that geographical, cultural, physical/racial and linguistic boundaries are used repetitively to depict 'others'. The dominant indicators of 'others' fall under the geographical boundary which include groups and countries labelled as 'foreign'. The next frequently mentioned 'others' appear to be those who have different ways and styles of life. Physical appearance (skin colour) seems to be another important indicator that marks Korean identity. Finally, the linguistic boundary is also used quite often to construct differences between Koreans and 'others'.

While the above quantitative data (Table 4) locates the ways the 'visible others' are constructed through marking out particular boundaries of geography, race, culture and languages, qualitative analysis indicates that these boundaries often intersected or overlapped rather than being categorised neatly. The boundary-making focuses on visible differences that classify who can be considered as 'others' and 'us'.

For example, below is a fiction story about a typical multicultural student who is perceived as different in the eyes of the majority students because of her darker skin colour and deficient linguistic competence in Korean language.

Example 3: <Kyung Soo's Dilemma>

Let's explore how we can live harmoniously without prejudice and discrimination.



Jinhee transferred her school to Kyungsoo's class on the first day of the 2nd semester. But, everyone in Kyungsoo's class thought that Jinhee was a foreigner. This is because Jinhee's father is Korean and her mother is from another country. Although Jinhee was born in Korea, her Korean language skill is not fluent and her pronunciation is a little awkward because she lived in her mother's country until she was nine.

... Sunjae and Jungeun [ethnic Korean students] made fun of Jinhee's different look and at her Korean language.

They said: "Hey, where are you from? Aren't you a foreigner, because you look different from us?" Jinhee: "No, I am Korean!"

They responded: What? You are ridiculous! You don't look like Koreans."

Jinhee: "No, I am really Korean!"

But Jungeun was annoyed with her response and pushed her and said: "No, you are not Korean because you look different from us!"

Jinhee's face became serious when she heard this. Jiwon hearing other friends said: "You guys are wrong. Because Jinhee is our new friend who will study with us. Appearance doesn't really matter." Then Jungeun responded: "No, we are not thinking wrong."

So friends went to Kyungsoo to ask whether who was right. "What is your opinion about what other people said to Jinhee?" Then Kyungsoo looked at Jinhee with a face of dilemma.

(G4, Ch.8: Diverse culture and harmonious world, p.197)

This short story about Jinhee is a typical portrayal of a multicultural student whose mother is a marriage immigrant and father is Korean and whom one may find easily in the classrooms today. The inclusion of such story in the textbook demonstrates how the authors have realised the changes in the demographics of Korean classrooms and the need to acknowledge such changes by including contents

about diversity. The authors describe three different reactions from the majority students (Koreans) towards Jinhee (a multicultural student): 1) those who consider her 'a foreigner' because she doesn't look 'Korean'; 2) those who accept Jinhee as their friend or as 'same' despite the fact she looks different; and 3) those who are in a dilemma.

The first reaction demonstrates how majority students in the classroom portray Jinhee as 'a foreigner' because of her appearance and the way she speaks. The name, 'multicultural children/family', was originally labelled by the government to refer to children having at least one foreigner (a different ethnicity or nationality) in their families. Given the long history of linguistic and ethnic homogeneity of the Korean people in the Korean territory, the word 'foreigner' is used commonly in everyday communication to refer ethnicities other than Koreans. So, even having attained Korean citizenship, people who physically look different from native Koreans are frequently labelled as 'foreigners'. This is why children and other immigrant members of marriage-immigrant families are often seen as 'non-Koreans' and even called as 'half-Koreans'. Thus, being categorised as 'others' cause them to become targets for discrimination.

In addition to the stigmatisation as racial and linguistic 'outsiders', children from multicultural families are often portrayed as socially vulnerable groups who are discriminated because of their difference and thus society requires the mainstream groups to give a particular attention to them to successfully integrate into the mainstream culture. This is demonstrated in the second reaction from a mainstream student who recommends other friends to accept Jinhee as 'same'. However, the story also indicates the onus to prove 'others' as 'us' lies with those who are perceived as different, like Jinhee. This is evident in Jinhee's reaction to the majority as she insists on her 'Korean' identity despite the fact other students reject her to be part of 'them'. So even with the Korean nationality attained through their

fathers, multicultural children are portrayed as ‘others’ who are subjected to assimilate to the mainstream culture and in the process to overcome burdens of prejudice and discrimination.

The last reaction toward Jinhee reflects the reality of Korean society today as it struggles to define its identity as multicultural society. Such struggle may continue with moral studies teachers who would have to make choice for students to represent a particular definition of multicultural students’ identity (Thompson, 2013). Despite the differences portrayed in the three reactions, they all recognise how multicultural students are perceived as ‘others’ because of the visual differences such as language and skin colour.

Another salient way signifying the ‘visible others’ is through linking culture with country. The textbooks often portray ‘others’ by pointing out discrepancies between countries or between Korea and other countries. Example 4 below demonstrates how various countries such as Israel, Thailand, Brazil, New Zealand and India (G4, pp. 192-194) are illustrated as having their “*own inherent and unique spirit. This is the reason we have to respect other cultures*” (G4, p.194). By using the word nation or Korea interchangeably with culture, it signifies ‘difference’ as located outside the boundaries of Korea, as opposed to the Example 3 where racial and linguistic difference are identified within the territorial boundaries of the nation.

Example 4 : A sample depicting 'visible others' through linking culture with country

1. We respect different cultures.

We live in a world where there are many diverse cultures. Let's understand why we have to understand and respect other cultures and think how we can counteract when we meet people from diverse cultures.

Boy: There is a country where people greet each other by rubbing their noses.

Girl: Yes, there is a country where people do not take off their shoes in their houses, different from us. I think there are many unique cultures in each country.

Q1: What other different cultures do you know which are different from ours?... (p.192)

Choose three countries you would like to visit and practice with a friend their greeting traditions (p. 193).

Q2: What are some things you should know before travelling the world? What are the diverse life styles in different countries?

- I hold my bowl of rice with my hand when I eat.
- I cover my head and face with fabric.
- I usually use my fork and knife when I eat.
- I eat fish raw.
- I do not eat pork... [etc.]



(G4, Ch.8: Diverse culture and harmonious world, p.192-194)

By associating 'country' with 'culture', it is implied that that the meaning of diversity is limited to superficial cultural aspects such as recognising similarities and differences of food, clothes, greetings and houses among the countries around the world, and celebrating and respecting those cultural

artefacts and traditions. Notice how the cartoon image of a girl in the Example 4 quotes: “*Yes, there is a country where people do not take off their shoes in their houses, different from us. I think there are many unique cultures in each country*” (G4, p.192). Thus, culture is represented as life styles that different countries have rather than differences among individuals. Moreover, comparing and contrasting between cultural artefacts and visual manifestations between countries can make students believe in a fixed, inherent and unique culture/nation. Such essentialised view of cultural identity can reify a ‘group-based (national) identity’ which tends to categorise those outside the group as ‘others’ (Brah, 1992). May (1999, p. 12) argues that this can serve as the hidden discourse of MCE in which “essentialist racialised discourses are ‘disguised’ by describing group difference principally in cultural and/or historical terms”. In effect, culture is often elided with ethnicity which Brah (1992, p. 129) terms as “new racism” that “posits ‘ethnic difference’ as the primary modality around which social life is constituted and experienced”. May (1999) also problematises such notion of cultural difference because in the end it is not much dissimilar from the conventional view of closed cultures, roots and traditions which tends to abandon individual choice, rights and responsibility. Further, such approach stands in direct contrast to much postmodern position on identities which underscores the unfixed and fluidity of identity formation.

While the textbooks emphasise the importance of respecting and tolerating other customs and ways of life in different parts of the world, they also stress Korean culture and values as well as encouraging Koreans themselves to take pride in their positive cultural values and traditions. Although the government claims to have revised the textbooks to be multicultural friendly, each textbook seems to contain messages promoting students to cherish and preserve Korean cultural traditions and values (see Table 5). Such approach works to highlight geographical boundary to signify ‘others’ from ‘us’.

Table 5: Chapters containing ideologies of nationalism

Grade/Chapter/Pages	Title
G3/Ch8/pp. 188-214	Proud Korea (자랑스러운 대한민국)
G4/Ch8/pp. 190-216	Diverse culture and harmonious world (다양한 문화, 조화로운 세상)
G5/Ch10/pp. 186-205	We are proud Koreans (우리는 자랑스러운 한인)
G6/Ch7/pp. 126-145	Diverse culture and happy world (다양한 문화, 행복한 세상)

The discourse disseminated in all of the four chapters above is very ironic in the sense it promotes two contrasting ideologies at the same time: respecting ‘diversity’ but also reinforcing ethnocentrism and nationalism. One example of a chapter in G6 shows how the two contrasting ideologies of diversity and ethnic pride are promoted simultaneously: “*Let’s find out ways we [our nation] can develop more through diverse cultures*” (p.143) and “*Let’s develop our culture but also respect other cultures*” (p.144). Here, the meaning of ‘diverse cultures’ does not carry a comprehensive connotation of ‘others’ but is limited to foreign countries or non-Koreans around the world.

On the other hand, foreign cultures are portrayed as those who admire and respect “our proud cultural traditions which have been passed down from the ancient times” (G3, p. 198) such as traditional food (e.g., *Bi-Bim-Bob*, mixed rice) and the Korean alphabet system (*Han-gul*) as being “internationally recognised” (G3, p. 199, 200). G4 (p. 208) explicitly describes the role of foreign employees working in Korea as “valuable guests who will return to their countries and make Korea known to the world”. Moreover, the textbooks encourage students to think about “what to do to further develop Korea as having an excellent culture” (G6, p. 143) and find Korean cultural aspects they feel “proud to introduce to foreigners” (G3, p. 198). Finally, the textbooks assert the role of mainstream students to “help their friends who have different cultures [referring to children from multicultural and immigrant families] to be proud of being Koreans” (G4, p. 203).

So far, I have shown that the ‘visible others’ portrayed in the textbooks can be associated with the liberal-pluralist MCE which defines diversity at the superficial level suggesting rather fixed and definite boundaries and categories of culture such as ethnicity or race (Kincheloe and Steinberg 1997). This was observed in all four textbooks which associate ‘diverse cultures’ with foreign countries which Sleeter and Grant (2007) call as the ‘tourist’ approach that focuses on each country’s unique and inherent cultural artefacts such as traditional foods and clothing. However, distinguishing differences between cultures based on visual aspects can result in the essentialised view of culture which may lead students to see this world through a lens of a dualistic universe of ‘we’ and ‘others’. Such idealistic and naïve view on diversity can create an illusionary harmonious multiethnic society which attempts to hide structural inequalities such as discrimination and marginalisation against various minority groups. For example, the textbooks demonstrate the most frequently used panacea for ‘visible differences’ as tolerance, overcoming prejudice and respecting others and providing positive connotations about difference without tackling the structural inequalities (see Table 6).

Table 6: Result of word frequencies related to attitude toward ‘others’ in chapters specifically designated to diversity and multiculturalism

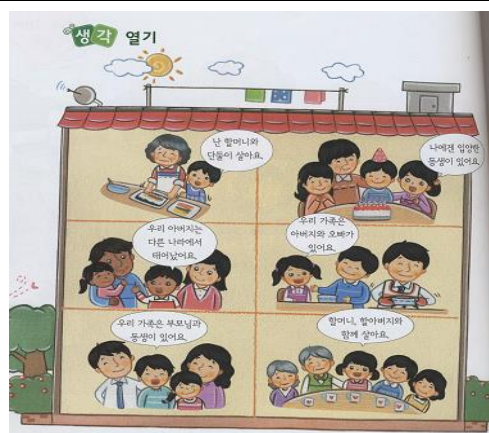
	G4, Ch.8	6G, Ch.7
Negative connotation about others (Stereotype, Prejudice, Discrimination, Argument/Conflict, Ignorance, Criticise)	16	18
Positive connotation about others (Respect, Overcoming prejudice and bias, Understanding, Tolerance, Making efforts, Embracing, Recognising, Having open mind)	29	89

*The most frequently appeared words were overcoming prejudice and respect

Having discussed the exploration of ‘othering’ through the representation of ‘visible others’ in the textbooks, I now move to the invisible/excluded ‘others’. Studies related to social minorities suggest that various realms of culture include gender, race/ethnicity, disability, religion, age, sexual preference and economic capability (Schaefer, 2010; Banks and Banks, 2009; Sul, 2013). However, as Examples 3 and 4 demonstrate, representations of ‘others’ in moral textbooks seem to focus much attention on the visible differences such as racial and ethnic traits of people in Korea and around the world. As it has been already mentioned in the literature review section (Chapter 2), putting forward skin colour or sex as the dominant signifier of difference can lead to misrecognition of other ‘invisible diversities’. For example, the issue of disabilities is only mentioned once in the text (G6, p. 78) and merely five images of people on the wheelchairs and crutches are included in all of the four textbooks (G6, pp. 24, 66, 81, 151 and 188). Also, in a chapter where it discusses about the importance of family, the textbook tries to illustrate various types of families that exist in Korea, but still omitting families consisting disabled, single mothers, NKs and immigrants (see Example 5). This is clearly based on a liberal-pluralist approach of viewing multiculturalism which represents culture as authentic, fixed, unique and thus reinforce essential, group-based identities as well as the dominant national identity (May, 2009). It believes in a harmonious multiethnic society without a framework of hegemonic power relations (Giroux, 1997) which reproduces racism by disguising it with benign cultural terms (May, 1999).

Example 5: Description of different kinds of families

“I and my grandmother are the only family; I have a sibling who is adopted; My father was born in another country; In my family, there is father and brother; I have both parents and a sibling; I live with my grandparents” (G3, p. 60).



4.2. Theme 2: How the representations of ‘others’ construct the mainstream identity

The discussion in Theme 1 has demonstrated that moral studies textbooks project and consolidate the ideologies of national unity and ethnic identity through the discourse of ‘visual others’. The textbooks continue to strengthen these ideologies through their depiction of ‘visible us’ or the Korean identity – specifically, NK defectors and immigrant ethnic Koreans settled overseas. The following section discusses in detail how ‘visible us’ are represented as sharing the same origin/race and thus locate them within the mainstream identity, despite their physical, geographical, cultural and linguistic differences. However, this research argues that merely emphasising ‘sameness’ cannot guarantee that ‘visible us’ such as NK defectors would be situated in the equal position as the mainstream. Further, the textbooks take the position of the liberal-pluralist MCE to use diversity as a tool by the host society to assimilate ‘others’ to their dominant culture and create a false notion that equality can be achieved (Bhabha, 1990).

North Korean defectors

Example 6: The description of North Korean defectors

Ideas/groups/symbols that signify difference or sameness (being together, harmonious)	Examples from the textbooks	Repetitively occurred concepts
Division between North and South Korea	“Due to the long division between the North and South Korea, their languages are becoming different” (G4, p.88).	Geographical/Linguistic borders
North Koreans	“Someday people in North Korea will live together with us. Although we are one ethnicity, the separation between us caused many differences such as life styles and values” (G5, p.86)	Shared ethnicity and origins Geographical/Cultural borders

Separated families between North and South Koreans	“People who have families in North Korea miss them a lot because they cannot meet them” (G4, p.86).	Shared ethnicity and origins Geographical borders
North Korean defectors	<p>“Because of a long history of the division, the language between North and South Korea is changing” (G4, p.88).</p> <p>“Understanding and helping these people [North Korean defectors] will be a good start in re-unifying our country” (G4, p.94).</p> <p>“Last time the teacher said that North Korean people like Suk-Chul are also Korean people. And South and North Korea are ONE in origin.” (G4, p.95).</p> <p>South Korean student: “I did not sympathize you (North Korean defector). You also know that there are differences between us. You also have your responsibility to overcome those differences” (G5, p.103).</p>	<p>Linguistic borders</p> <p>Understanding and helping others</p> <p>Shared ethnicity and origins</p> <p>Onus of bringing oneself within the boundaries of the nation is on those who are ‘different’</p>

From data analysis shown in Example 6, it can be inferred that differences between North and South Koreans originate mainly from the territorial boundary which has separated the two nations for over a half a century.

*Because of a long history of the **division**, the **language** between North and South Korea is **changing**” (G4, p.88).*

*Although we [North and South] are one ethnicity, the **separation** between us caused many differences such as **life styles and values**” (G5, p.86)*

Moreover, the differences in language, life styles and values are reiterated to highlight the fact that those gaps can be overcome because they share the same origin and ethnicity: “Last time the teacher

said that NKs like Suk-Chul are also Korean people. And South and North Korea are ONE in origin” (G4, p. 95). Although the ways their difference is recognised bear some similarity with the depiction of multicultural children and foreigners, they tend to be categorised as part of ‘us’ because they belong within the physical/racial boundary, sharing similar skin colour and race. So by emphasising the physical/racial similarity, the textbooks try to bridge the ‘visible differences’ by having tolerance to each other. Such an attitude is explicitly reiterated in the text: “Understanding and helping these people [NK defectors] will be a good start in re-unifying our country” (G4, p.94). It is also in the hands of ‘others’ to overcome and tolerate the differences to be assimilated and become part of the mainstream ‘us’. For example, a South Korean student in G5 textbook quotes: “I did not sympathize you [NK defector]. You also know that there are differences between us. You also have your responsibility to overcome those differences” (p.103). This indicates that the onus of bringing oneself within the boundaries of the nation is on those who are ‘different’.

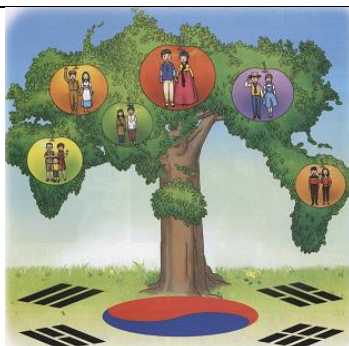
Although, NK defectors are represented as part of the mainstream identity, they continue to remain peripheral to the nation. This is because in reality, the social and cultural disparities between the two cultures are greater than simply language and values. For example, a study based on interviews of NK defectors claims that they would continue to face difficulties to adjust in the Korean society if various issues such as social, cultural and value differences, economic hardships, and psychological and emotional instabilities are not treated (Suh, 2002). Another study asserts that dropout number of children of NK defectors who enter public schools is six times higher than that of SK students and three out of four students tend to hide that they come from the North (Yoon, 2009). Despite such reality, the dominant discourse of NKs represented in the textbooks highlight the fact that they are ‘visible us’ because they have the same ethnicity and thus a harmonious society can be achieved if the majority understands and tolerates the visible differences. However, without including content about the reality

of NK defectors who experience discrimination and marginalisation daily, their struggle to be integrated into the mainstream culture may be intensified.

Immigrant ethnic Koreans living overseas

The textbooks distinguish immigrant ethnic Koreans as ‘visible us’ by referring them to Korean Diaspora and highlighting an ideological concept of ‘One Korea’. This is in direct contrast to the way authors of textbooks treat ‘visible others’ or foreigners (see Example 4 and 7). Particularly, lexical items such as family, one root, brothers and sisters are repeatedly used to encourage students to link their identity with ethnicity. Here, the discourse of difference in nationality and citizenship is seen as sub-ordinate to ethnicity/race which is the defining marker of Korean identity. In other words, ethnic similarity is capable of dismantling geographical/citizenship boundaries as the excerpt from the textbook directly quotes:

*“In this day and age, people from our nation live not only in Korea but around the world. **Although their nationalities [or citizenships] are different, we are one family, brothers and sisters.** When do we feel ONE with them? Let’s give more attention to the overseas Koreans and take a close look at how our culture has been preserved in their lives. Let’s study how we can contribute to the world peace as well as the ways we can all develop together by closely interacting and cooperating with them” (G5, p.186).*



An image of a tree portraying Korea Diaspora spread across the world (G6, p. 193).

One may see from the statement above that when it comes to the same race and ethnicity, differences recognised from living abroad seem to work as a way to build closer interaction and cooperation with them rather than barriers. Furthermore, the textbooks praise immigrant Koreans who have achieved success, and acknowledge their contributions to making Korea known in the world. This tends to promote ethnocentrism and nationalism. Students are also encouraged to learn from successful immigrant Koreans who have overcome difficulties and hardships they faced while settling down in foreign countries. For example, a whole page is dedicated to introducing Hines Ward, a Korean-American former American football player and a former hero at Super Bowl. It describes how he became successful with the support of his Korean mother despite all the hardships they experienced living abroad (G5, p.194).



An image of Hines Ward who has been referred many times in media to mitigate prejudice against interracial children in Korea. He is a Korean-American, born between African-American father (a former American soldier stationed in Korea) and Korean mother.

On the other hand, Example 7 below demonstrates how immigrant Koreans “take pride in being Korean” (G5, p.196) and “preserve our culture and tradition” (G5, p.189). Once again, the difference in nationality/citizenship is subsumed under the significant marker of Korean identity, which is ethnicity/race in order to underscore their aspiration for native land’s culture and development (G5, p.196). In other words, blood ties can exert power to overcome geographical/citizenship boundaries.

Moreover, the dominant discourse of MCE in this context does not embrace a comprehensive meaning of diversity but only drawing a clear line of demarcation between Koreans (us) and non-Koreans (others). That is, the primary marker of difference is the authentic and essential identity based on race and ethnicity. Thus, the main purpose of including content about immigrant Koreans around the world into the moral studies education eventually tends to reinforce and strengthen the boundaries between the Korean nation and its ‘others’ while promoting Korean nationalism and ethnocentrism in the students.

Example 7: Description of immigrant ethnic-Koreans who live overseas

Ideas/groups/symbols that signify difference or sameness (being together, harmonious)	Examples from the textbooks	Repetitively occurred concepts
Ethnic Koreans who live overseas: Koreans in Central Asia; Immigrants in Manhattan, USA; Mixed race Koreans (Hines Ward, a former American football player, born between African American father and Korean mother)	<p>“We [including people all around the world who have Korean ethnicity (Korean blood)] are proud Koreans” (G5, p. 186)</p> <p>“In this day and age, people from our nation live not only in Korea but around the world. Although their nationalities [or citizenships] are different, we are one family, brothers and sisters. When do we feel ONE with them? Let’s give more attention to the overseas Koreans and take a close look at how our culture has been preserved in their lives. Let’s study how we can contribute to the world peace as well as the ways we can all develop together by closely interacting and cooperating with them” (G5, p.186).</p> <p>“Our brothers and sisters live around the world including America, Japan and China and their number is around 7 million. They are people whom we share same origin [root] and they have preserved our culture and have been always interested in Korea”</p>	<p>Ethnicity Nationalism</p> <p>Physical border Nationality ‘Family’ metaphor used to encourage oneness. Preserving Korean culture Close interaction & cooperation with them</p> <p>Physical border Ethnicity/Race Same origin, race Citizenship/ nationality</p>

	<p>(G5, p.189).</p> <p>“We are one family. We are one and we grow together like a tree growing out of one, same root” (G5, p.193).</p> <p>“I realised that overseas Korean friends are citizens in their countries but also part of our race [actually, the word ‘same blood line’ was used] who wish Korea’s development” (G5, p.196).</p> <p>“We are One wherever we live” (G5, p.205.).</p>	<p>Origin/race</p> <p>Citizenship</p> <p>Race</p> <p>Physical border</p>
<p>Celebration of the “Day for Koreans around the World”</p>	<p>“Korean government designated 5th of October as the official “Day for Koreans around the World” since 2007. Overseas Koreans can reinforce their identity and pride as ethnic Koreans....Moreover, this celebration is meaningful in that it can promote strong cooperative system between Korea and the overseas Korean society” (G5, p.201)</p>	<p>Mutual identity and pride</p> <p>Cooperation</p>

To summarise the second theme of this research, the identity of the Korean ‘we’ does not reside in language, religion or other aspects of culture, but rather in the ‘pure blood’, ‘territorial root’ and the signature of ‘Korean’ physical origin, for instance, the skin colour. As Bannerji (2000) states that ‘colour of skin’ can become an essential quality and ideological signifier of who is considered as ‘we’ and ‘others’. Thus, the imaginary ‘others’ set by the mainstream community becomes targets for either assimilation or toleration.

The textbooks’ continuous emphasis on ethnic homogeneity should be understood in terms of Korean nation’s geopolitical position and historical context. Several studies suggest that due to the numerous invasions by neighbouring countries in the past and current conflict with those countries over a part of

Korean territory, it has been inevitable for Korea to promote a solid homogeneous identity to keep the nation together (Lee, 2006; So et al., 2012). Thus, ideologies of national unity and homogeneity are featured as essential themes in the elementary curriculum, especially in moral education (So et al., 2012). However, this study recommends that it is time for the nation to no longer hide behind the multicultural ideology and continue to synthesize its mainstream culture into a national 'we' and decide how 'others' should be tolerated or accommodated.

4.3 Theme 3: Suggestions for future multicultural content from the lens of critical multiculturalism

My intention of this research is not to depreciate or to devalue what authors of the four textbooks have framed multiculturalism to be, however, to challenge the dominant discourse of ethnocentric and nationalist identity offered to young readers/learners through their representations of 'others'. The major finding from interrogating the first and second research questions demonstrates that the term diversity in Korean moral studies textbooks not only contains a very limited dimension of 'others' but also explicitly and implicitly propagates the idea of national unity by drawing on ethnicity/race as the key boundary between 'us' and 'them'. Of course, school textbooks cannot and should not teach every cultural variety and difference that exists in the world, but it should aim to encourage readers to think critically and see through the articulations of the essentialist and normative discourses and the ways in which they serve to legitimise some students as Koreans and insiders, and also delegitimise others as non-Koreans and outsiders. Thus, this research concludes by suggesting ways the future Korean moral studies education can approach the issue of diversity and difference.

The first important step for future multicultural content is that textbook authors, editors and teachers need to understand and see through the hidden ideologies of nationalism, monoculturalism, racism and ethnocentrism, which have great potential to create the perspective of ourselves and others. As McDonald (2009, p. 305) suggests that “the taken-for-granted authority of nation as a collective source of identity” should be questioned like Edward Said asks, “[w]hat is a national identity made of?” (1994, p. xxv). In this respect, adopting a critical approach to the curriculum study can be useful in deconstructing or denaturalising the existing discourses of the mainstream. To be specific, adopting critical reflection on how one views and understands ‘self’ and the world allows unmasking illusions about the ‘self’ and ‘others’ (Papastephanou, 2002). Critical questioning of ‘self’, linked with multiple realms of diversity and unfixed identities will allow students and teachers in moral education to attain a wider perspective of multiculturalism that is not dependent on static definitions of identity or on an idealised and imagined understanding of others and ourselves. As Nussbaum (1997, pp. 10-11) suggests that we need to “think what it might be like to be in the shoes of a person different from oneself, to be an intelligent reader of that person’s story, and to understand the emotions and wishes and desires that someone placed might have”.

Another critical step for the next revision of textbooks is to apply various cultural perspectives coming from all diversities and levels of the society. In order to do this, the national curriculum should be able to include voices of authors, teachers, students and parents from multicultural backgrounds to provide more enriched multicultural contents that really reflect the lived experiences of ‘others’. However, in the current textbooks, the voice of the mainstream echoes loudly while groups who are signified as different remain silent throughout the textbooks. One example from the textbook clearly indicates how the voice of ‘others’ such as multicultural students are excluded in the content and thus, making their identities more invisible in the mainstream society (see Example 8).

Example 8: A story told from a perspective of a multicultural student

Read Jinhee's Diary and think about how you are going to act to friends like Jinhee.

My classmates make fun of my Korean pronunciation and my dark skin colour. I almost burst into tears when I remembered the day when I tried to make my face whiter by washing my face many times. I promised my father when I came to Korea that I won't cry and be bold even when friends pick on me. When I was in my mother's country, friends there made fun of me because I smelled like Kimchi [traditional Korean food]. I guess I neither belong to Korea nor my mother's country. Where should I live to be happy?

Questions stated after reading the diary

Discuss with your friends and decide what is the right thing to do.

- ⊗ What are the prejudices that Sunjae and Jung-eun [native-Koreans] have toward Jinhee [multicultural student]?
- ⊗ How would I act to Jinhee if I were Kyungsoo [the one who was in dilemma]?
- ⊗ What would you do if you find a friend who has been discriminated because he/she has a different look and life style?



(G4, pp.198-199)

The above excerpt is a fiction story that responds to the story mentioned in Example 3. Jinhee is a typical portrayal of a student from multicultural family who gets discriminated by her classmates because of her different skin colour and lack of the Korean language. The excerpt is supposed to be advocating Jinhee's position so that other majority students would be able to place themselves in her shoes and in effect be able to correct their attitude. However, the problem is that Jinhee's diary is told from the perspective of the mainstream and her personal real voice that may represent other multicultural students is veiled. In other words, it is not a complete picture containing both sides of the story and obviously disregarding the view of the one who is targeted. Particularly, the instruction of the story, which encourages students to "think about how you are going to act to friends like Jinhee"

provides no room to find out what 'others' really feel and think about this issue. Also, imagine how multicultural students would feel if they were to read this story in actual classroom!

More than fifty authors, mainly current primary school teachers, have contributed to writing the textbooks, though the list of authors' names suggest that they are all native Koreans and no single author whose name implies multicultural identifications. This research perceives this to be one of the main reasons why the dominant vantage point maintains at the centre throughout all four textbooks. This is also in direct contrast to the critical multicultural standpoint which tends to be more lenient toward including the voice of 'others'. Thus, critical approach to discourse of difference can illuminate views of the margins, their stories and experiences told from their angles. Such an approach can open up new ways of seeing the dominant culture and denaturalise the non-critical, mainstream education which tends to gloss over the lived experiences of others. Thus, incorporating different groups of authors who represent various levels of society may be one of the ways to enrich the current MCE.

Finally, since the targeted subjects are elementary students whose school experiences play a critical part of their perspectives of themselves as well as others, teachers have an immense role in shaping their understanding of multiculturalism and diversity. As Souto-Manning (2010, p.44) claims, "change on the institutional level takes time and must start from those involved", teachers can take initiative to question dominant values, experiences, perspectives, and practices that are taken for granted within a Korean society. Teachers also have responsibility to address the ideal representations of the social world through MCE in such a way to contribute to brining about more equitable world (McKinney 2005). Otherwise, it would be difficult to achieve a true meaning of the MCE which is supposed to be an educational reform and a process of transformation (Banks and Banks, 2009).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Looking through the lens of critical multiculturalism, this research interrogated how the concept of ‘difference’ constructed and located ‘others’ in moral studies textbooks used in SK classrooms. Through the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the data, this research discovered that dominant construction of ‘difference’ is signified through geographical, cultural, physical and linguistic boundaries. These were visible boundaries which signified ‘others’ by essential, static, fixed identities such as skin colour, ways of living, language, nationality and race. Because diverse groups were portrayed within these superficial boundaries, it was inevitable for the representations of ‘others’ to be confined as a homogenous category which disregarded their complex, plural and fluid identities. As a result, the textbooks seem to contain a rather narrow meaning of ‘difference’ by excluding many other realms of diversities such as gender, social class, disability and in turn, risking more potential for the invisible ‘others’ to be discriminated and marginalised in the mainstream society.

Furthermore, the concept of ‘difference’ in the textbooks is controversial because it encourages readers to tolerate ‘others’ but at the same time accentuates a strong sense of ethnic/racial identity. So the location of MCE in moral studies textbooks is in between the cultural homogeneity versus heterogeneity. In other words, to phrase it in Bannerji’s (2000, p.55) language, diversity “hides its assumptions of homogeneity under the cover of a value and power neutral heterogeneity [or politics of recognition and diversity]”. The discourse of diversity and multiculturalism in the textbooks is elaborated with positive connotations of difference such as tolerance, recognition, and overcoming prejudice but questions still remain as to how much difference they would actually make in the lives of people who have been demarcated as ‘others’. MCE is supposed to act as means to challenge structural forces such as class, ethnic and gender stratification, while in the moral studies textbooks it

acts to reinforce those hegemonic power relations. Thus, the position of multicultural content in the moral studies textbooks is paradoxical because it actively promotes the idea of ethnic homogeneity and cultural superiority of being Korean despite the acknowledgment of ethnic and cultural diversity.

This is the very reason this research applied the critical approach of MCE to examine the national curriculum text. As stated before, national curriculum rather than being neutral knowledge contains official and authoritative characteristics which are disposed to favour a particular group while neglecting others to maintain the status quo. Moreover, non-essentialist conception of multiculturalism which has potential “to unmask, and deconstruct...the supposedly universal, neutral set of cultural values and practices” (May 1999, p.30) has allowed more room to challenge an incomplete view of multiculturalism. Thereby, this research concluded by providing some implications for future textbook revisions. As the first step, the SK primary moral studies textbooks need to incorporate diverse cultural voices coming from all different levels of the society so that the subjugated knowledge may come into view. Further, the textbooks should allow students and teachers to engage in the issues of discrimination, prejudice and equity by reflecting on ‘self’ and asking what is it to be ‘Korean’? Only then, the superficial boundaries which visibly and invisibly tend to divide ‘others’ from ‘us’ can be broken down.

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