

The University of San Francisco
**USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library |
Geschke Center**

Doctoral Dissertations

Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects

2012

A Participatory Action Research Study with Bi-ethnic Children in South Korea on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

Jeong Min Lee
baboco79@hotmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: <https://repository.usfca.edu/diss>

 Part of the [Bilingual, Multilingual, and Multicultural Education Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Lee, Jeong Min, "A Participatory Action Research Study with Bi-ethnic Children in South Korea on Bi-ethnic Identity Development" (2012). *Doctoral Dissertations*. 52.
<https://repository.usfca.edu/diss/52>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Theses, Dissertations, Capstones and Projects at USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. It has been accepted for inclusion in Doctoral Dissertations by an authorized administrator of USF Scholarship: a digital repository @ Gleeson Library | Geschke Center. For more information, please contact repository@usfca.edu.

The University of San Francisco

A PARTICIPATORY ACTION RESEARCH STUDY
WITH BI-ETHNIC CHILDREN IN SOUTH KOREA
ON BI-ETHNIC IDENTITY DEVELOPMENT

A Dissertation Presented
to
The Faculty of the School of Education
International Multicultural Education Department

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

by
Jeong Min Lee
San Francisco
December 2012

THE UNIVERSITY OF SAN FRANCISCO
Dissertation Abstract

A Participatory Action Research Study with Bi-ethnic Children in South Korea
on Bi-ethnic Identity Development

The purpose of this research was to explore how bi-ethnic children in South Korea understand their identity using a participatory action research (PAR) method. The number of bi-ethnic/multicultural families and children is increasing in South Korea, matched with a rising xenophobia towards these groups. Thus, the need for research that captured the inner thoughts and feelings of children, through their own voices, seems of paramount importance for a more secure and authentic identity development. The findings from this research provided evidence through their own storybooks that bi-ethnic Korean children had individual identity experiences in different contexts through diverse development processes. The PAR methodology enabled children to make their voices heard in the academic field through reflections and dialogue, producing a new genuine knowledge connected to their own lives. There is a hope that this study will empower the underrepresented bi-ethnic Korean children to develop their consciousness, make their own voices heard, and change their status.

Key words: children's voice, bi-ethnic identity, PAR

This dissertation, written under the direction of the candidate's dissertation committee and approved by the members of the committee, has been presented to and accepted by the Faculty of the School of Education in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Education. The content and research methodologies presented in this work represent the work of the candidate alone.

Jeong Min Lee

Dec 5, 2012

Candidate

Date

Dissertation Committee

Dr. Shabnam Koirala-Azad

Dec 5, 2012

Chairperson

Date

Dr. Susan Roberta Katz

Dec 5, 2012

Date

Dr. Sarah Capitelli

Dec 5, 2012

Date

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First and foremost I would like to gratefully and sincerely thank Dr. Shabnam Koirala-Azad for her advice, support, and encouragement from the very early stage of this dissertation writing. She was the one who introduced me to PAR, and I was extraordinarily fortunate in having her as my professor and advisor in my life. I would also like to thank Dr. Susan Roberta Katz and Dr. Sarah Capitelli who provided me great information resources and constructive comments on this dissertation.

My special thanks go in particular to my classmate, Page Hersey, and my old friend, Walter T. Oerlemans. I have benefited by valuable input and unflinching encouragement from Page. She boosted me morally and spurred me on whenever I was struggling during this lonely journey. I am much indebted to Walter for his kindness, friendship and moral support. His mentorship was paramount in surviving what could have been a somewhat stressful environment.

To my bi-cultural child participants, it was a pleasure to collaborate with you. Our team has been a source of friendships and good collaboration. I am grateful in every possible way and hope to keep up our relationships in the future.

I am most grateful to my family for all their love and encouragement. For my parents who raised me with their caring and gentle love supported me in all my pursuits. My parents-in-law have shown persistent confidence and faith in me, for which my mere expression of thanks does not suffice. Finally, and most importantly, I would like to thank my husband, Prem Subramanian. His unequivocal support, unending encouragement, great patience, and unwavering love have taken the load off my shoulder. Without his unyielding devotion and love, I could never have gained so much drive to tackle challenges and complete this monumental journey. I love you.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

I: INTRODUCTION.....	1
Background and Need for the Study.....	3
Statement of the Problem.....	5
Purpose of the Study.....	7
Research Questions.....	9
Educational Significance of the Study.....	9
Theoretical Framework.....	11
Definition of Terms.....	14
Summary.....	17
II: REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	19
Introduction.....	19
Ethnic Identity Development.....	20
Ethnic Identity Development in Underrepresented Group.....	20
Ethnic Identity Development Models.....	22
Ecological Perspectives.....	23
Ethnic Identity Development of Bi-ethnic/Biracial Children.....	24
Lack of Attention on Bi-ethnicity.....	24
Bi-ethnic/Biracial Identity Development Models.....	25
New Perspectives.....	27
Language and Ethnic Identity Development.....	29
Relationship between Language and Ethnic Identity.....	29
Absence of Voice in Identity Research.....	31
Ethnic Identity of Bi-ethnic Children in South Korea.....	32
Previous Studies on Identity Issue of Bi-ethnic Children in Korea.....	33
Understanding Bi-ethnicity in the Korean Context.....	36
Ethnocentrism and Racism in Korea.....	36
Patriarchal Domination.....	38
Education System.....	40
Efforts or Policies at the Government and Institutional Level.....	42
Participatory Action Research with Children.....	46
What is Participatory Action Research (PAR)?.....	46
Goals.....	49
Benefits.....	50

Challenges	53
Summary	54
III: METHODOLOGY	57
Introduction.....	57
Background and Role of the Researcher.....	58
Research Design.....	61
Doing PAR with Children	62
Phase 1: Initial Organizing, Individual Discussion, and Co-defining Problems.....	62
Phase 2: Co-designing Research Method.....	63
Phase 3: Taking Action: Storytelling	64
Phase 4: Participatory Assessment.....	64
Research Setting and Participants/Co-Researchers	65
Data Collection	67
Data Analysis	68
Validity	69
Protection of Human Subjects	70
Limitations and Delimitations.....	70
IV: RESEARCH FINDINGS.....	72
Introduction.....	72
Profiles of the Participants	73
Green Tea	73
Question Mark.....	74
Cream	75
Bob	75
Results.....	76
Pre-meeting with Mrs. Wang	77
Building Trust as Essential to Dialogue	79
Validation of Difference.....	90
The Complexities of Self-identification	102
Double Consciousness.....	108
Factors that Influence Bi-ethnic Identity Development	112
Reflections on the PAR Approach	119
Undiscovered Truth.....	125

V: ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION.....	127
Introduction.....	127
Analysis.....	129
1. How do Bi-ethnic Children in Korea Self-identify?	129
2. What are the Attitudes of Bi-ethnic Children towards their Ethnic Identity?	129
Korean Identity	129
Bi-ethnic Identity	130
Korean Implicit in Bi-ethnicity	130
“A-Third Space” Identity	131
Null Identity.....	131
3. What are the Factors that Influence the Identity Formation of Bi-ethnic Children?	132
Self-determination	133
Involvement of Others	134
Society	136
Self-determination and Involvement of Others	141
Prejudice and Society	142
Self-determination and Society	142
Creation of A Third Space.....	144
Private Space	146
Unawareness.....	146
4. Does an Engaged Process of Inquiry like Participatory Action Research Facilitate Identity Exploration in Children?	148
Discussion.....	152
Issues of ‘Multiculturalism’ in Korea	154
Other Factors	155
Recommendations for Further Research	156
Conclusions.....	157
REFERENCES	160
APPENDIX.....	173
A: DRAWING ACTIVITY: MY FAMILY	173
B: ACTIVITY: MY FUTURE.....	174
C: ACTIVITY: CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS.....	177

D: FEEDBACK ON PAR PROJECT178

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

South Korea has long been a homogeneous country, which has maintained its own language and culture. However, a rapid increase in the number of migrants, such as foreign workers, immigrant brides, and international students, has been changing the demographics since 1990 (Choi, 2008; Kim, 2009). Kim (2009) projected the continuation of current demographic changes in Korea:

The presence of such a large number of migrant workers, along with a sizeable number of foreign brides and professional foreign workers, marks a significant departure from the proverbial image of Korea as an ethnically homogeneous society. Although the proportion of foreigners in Korea represents a little over 1 percent of the total population of 48 million as of the end of 2005, chances are...that the country will become a multiracial and multiethnic society in the near future. (p. 71)

According to recent statistics (Korea National Statistical Office, 2011), the total number of migrants at the end of 2010 was 1.2 million, which is 2.5 percent of the total population in South Korea. Among these migrants, the number of intermarriages has also increased continuously from 5,534 in 1992 to 33,300 in 2009. Of the 33,300 intermarriages that took place in 2009, 25,142 involved Korean men with foreign women (Korea National Statistical Office, 2011).

In most cases, intermarriage in Korea is synonymous with *mail-order brides*. Often

men in rural Korea marry non-Korean immigrant women primarily from developing Southeast Asian countries such as the Philippines, Vietnam, Thailand and China through international marriage brokers. The emergence of this unique intermarriage pattern is mainly the result of two cultural and historical shifts: sex ratio imbalance, and rapid rural-urban migration of Korean single women (Kim, 2009).

Kim (2009) argued that Korea has maintained a family-oriented culture where the eldest son was expected to be the most responsible person in the family. This engendered a general preference for sons over daughters. According to Kim (2009) and Kim (2004), medical development has played a major role as a catalyst of sex-ratio imbalance at birth by allowing Korean women to abort unwanted daughters. This created a gender imbalance where the number of Korean men is far greater than the number of Korean women.

The second reason is the rapid industrialization and rise of capitalism in Korea after the Korean war of 1950 to 1953, which led to urbanization and major societal changes (Cho, Seol, & Lee, 2006). One result of these changes was an increase in women city dwellers. Women in rural areas preferred to join the urban labor market and to participate in the formal economy. Many single women who did not have family responsibilities moved to urban areas. Moreover, many of those women have been

reluctant to marry men, mostly farmers, who live in the countryside. As a result, male farmers in rural and remote areas continue to struggle with the lack of females for marriage, leading to their search for spouses from other countries.

Background and Need for the Study

Korean ethnocentrism negatively impacts many immigrant wives and their bi-ethnic children who comprise an underrepresented group in South Korea. Both wives and children are up against the dominant expectations of Korean family traditions, language, culture, education, and employment (Lee, 2003). Most previous studies on this population (Choi & Choi, 2008; Kim, 2007; Na, 2008) mainly focused on the adjustment of immigrant women and the lack of openness and acceptance of this population by many native Korean people. The Korean social structure and educational system have been designed to *Koreanize* bi-ethnic children and their families (Kang, 2010). Very little research has been conducted on identity loss and formation in bi-ethnic Korean children and their struggles with identity in formal schools.

Most research on identity development has focused on racial identity in mono-racial or mono-ethnic populations (Nuttgens, 2010; Poston, 1990). Furthermore, there is a general dearth of studies on identity development and formation in biracial or bi-ethnic children since most scholars perceive that identity is established in adolescence (Erikson,

1968; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, & Harris, 1993; Marcia, 1980; Poston, 1990).

Existing studies on child identity (Brunsma, 2005; Kerwin et al., 1993; Phinney, 1989, 1992; Qian, 2004; Roberts et al., 1999) have been empirically conducted with parent and child surveys or interviews, which simply measured the developmental stages of children's individual identities. These surveys and interviews did not leave space for open-ended discussions about identity. Quantitative analyses alone on child development are limiting since they do not capture the voices and feelings of children and their parents. It is important to explore why children choose particular ethnic categories for themselves and what is involved in their process of identity negotiation. By using participatory action research as the guiding methodological design, this study used communication and reflection with children to bring their voices to the forefront of the identity discourse.

Given that identity development is a lifelong process, understanding children's identity from a very young age is important. Experiences during childhood influence the positive establishment of self-perception and self-esteem in adolescence, which continues into adulthood (Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990). Poor self-image or misidentification may cause an adjustment problem (Phinney, 1989). Therefore, a positive identity formation may shape children's attitudes and behaviors toward equality and dignity of all human beings regardless of race and ethnicity in the multicultural

society.

Children from multicultural families in South Korea have not had the opportunity to share their voices or identity stories regarding this process of identity loss and formation (Lee, 2003). Since the number of bi-ethnic families and children is on an increase in South Korea and is matched with a rising xenophobia towards these groups, the need for research that captures the inner thoughts and feelings of children seems of paramount importance with very significant implications for a more secure and authentic identity development into adolescence. This study seeks to address this lack of engaged research with bi-ethnic children in Korea on the topic of identity development through a participatory research project in which the children and their families are integral participants.

Statement of the Problem

According to surveys and interviews of Korean children's identity by Lee, Kang, and Kim (2008), about 50% of children from multicultural families think they are Korean, 32% are "confused" (p.33) about identity, and only 10% think of themselves as bi-ethnic. Bi-ethnic children receive little support in learning multiple languages and understanding their identity because policies around bilingualism and bi-ethnicity are not sufficient at the government and institutional levels.

Despite demographic changes in Korean society, Lee (2009) argued that many migrants, foreigners, or bi-ethnic children have experienced Koreans' xenophobia and racial discrimination. Oh (2009) conducted six in-depth interviews about child-rearing practices of multicultural families. One interviewee who is a foreign mother mentioned that she did not want her child to be known as bi-ethnic because of stigmatization and bullying by Korean children. "Mihwa Kim forced her children not to reveal her identity as Chinese to prevent them from any societal discrimination. In fact, because of Kim's ethnicity, her elder son went through discrimination in school" (p. 152).

In addition to issues of discrimination, about 60% of intermarriage families are of low socio-economic status (Korea National Statistical Office, n.d.). Lee et al. (2008) pointed out that about 55% of intermarriage parents spend one hour or less with their children at home per day because of their heavy workload. It also showed that foreign spouses often do not have enough time to learn the Korean language and culture, and they still struggle with communication breakdowns (Lee et al., 2008). This situation leads bi-ethnic children to have limited opportunities to access to their mother's language and culture. Likewise, given that bi-ethnic children become *Koreanized*, their mothers may feel isolated in family relations.

Factors such as Korean social structure, Koreans' attitudes towards non-Koreans,

the low socio-economic status of multicultural families, and challenging relationships between immigrant mothers and children have exacerbated a lack of identity awareness in bi-ethnic children in Korea. In addition, Korean culture, in which young people are supposed to respect an adult's opinion with silence, impedes self-identifying of bi-ethnic Korean children. Thus, the overt marginalization and discrimination of bi-ethnic families and children demand greater attention, awareness, and appropriate intervention.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was to explore how bi-ethnic children in South Korea understand their identity using a participatory action research method. An individual's identity formation as a member of society is a complex process. Therefore, this research questioned, carefully and critically, the identity formation of bi-ethnic Korean children based on interrelated issues of self-identity formation, peer relations, parents' involvement, school experiences, and the impact of the dominant society.

In Korean culture, which has been largely influenced by Confucianism, children are forced into obedience to adults (Jambor, 2009). Children are not supposed to speak up if they have a different opinion from adults; therefore, silence of children is a part of the culture and values in Korea. In addition, the relationship between parents and children is very strong. Parents regard their children as their property and shape them by infusing

their vision into their children's minds (Kim & Choi, 1994). In this regard, Korean children are, physically and psychologically, accustomed to "learned silence" (Koirala-Azad, 2008, p. 256). Furthermore, there are additional power differentials between underrepresented bi-ethnic children and "pure" Korean children due to different ethnic and societal categorizations. Bi-ethnic children in Korea are emerging as a doubly oppressed group, who are dominated by adults and discriminated against by "pure" Koreans.

Therefore, the ultimate goal of this study was to create ways in which underrepresented bi-ethnic children in Korea gained their own voices and understood identity formation as a process influenced by structural agents and institutions within society. The voices of children have been generally unheard and excluded in the professional research field. Through a participatory action research process, this study employed a storytelling method in which children reflected on their own experiences and took action by making their own storybooks. In doing so, this study created the opportunity for underrepresented bi-ethnic children to engage in a process of identity exploration, which was generally not a part of their schooling experience. Engaging in this process of self-exploration validated their complex identities, further boosting their self-esteem. This study seek to bring to light complexities around bi-ethnicity in Korean

society through children's stories, in a quest to integrate Freire's (1970) idea that "the oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption" (p. 54). It is my hope that my experiences as a teacher helped facilitate safe and honest dialogue with the children.

Research Questions

The questions were designed to explore the identity formation of bi-ethnic children in South Korea. Research questions:

1. How do bi-ethnic children in Korea self-identify?
2. What are the attitudes of bi-ethnic children towards their ethnic identity?
3. What are the factors that influence the identity formation of bi-ethnic children?
4. Does an engaged process of inquiry like participatory action research facilitate identity exploration in children?

Educational Significance of the Study

The study of identity of bi-ethnic Korean children has received little attention, despite the fact that the population is growing. Statistics (Korea National Statistical Office, 2011) show that the number of multicultural children in Korea has increased from 25,000 in 2006 to 103,000 in 2009. In addition, 86% of these children are under the age of 12 (Ministry of Public Administration and Security, 2009). Even though the

educational system in South Korea has recently emphasized multiculturalism and globalization (Choi, 2008; Kim, 2009), current teachers are struggling with gaining an understanding of what it means to serve a diverse student population.

The findings from this study revealed details of the ethnic hierarchical structure and discrimination in families, schools, and society. Based on the results from participants' dialogues or stories, there might be implications for educational reform in terms of bilingual programs, ethnic studies, critical pedagogy, dialectical relationships between children and parents or teachers, which are imperative ways of reaching to multicultural education (Banks & Banks, 1995). By hearing children's own voices, this study may bring to light the needs of these children, making parents, educators, counselors, and policy makers aware of changing realities and needs.

The participatory action research method, which has not commonly been used in Korea, was both a research and teaching tool in my work with the children. The exact methods employed are discussed in detail in CHAPTER III. Scholarship on engaging in the participatory action research process suggests that, in the process of inquiry, critical consciousness can be developed. This critical consciousness transforms passive subjects into active participants engaged in inquiries that affect their own lives (Freire, 1970). Therefore, it is anticipated that the current Korean educational system, which was

designed to be test-oriented and has prevented children from critical thinking, may be inspired by the philosophy of the participatory action research method.

Theoretical Framework

Children have been considered a silenced group in academic areas because researchers have perceived them to lack the capacity to form informed opinion and make decisions (Moinian, 2009). Researchers have largely ignored children's self-identity development because identification by others, such as parents, is believed to play a more important role in identity formation of children (James & Prout, 1997). I begin by discussing childhood development theory, which views children as social actors. Then, I combine this framework with a critical theory by Heron and Reason (1997) who categorized the participatory worldview as ontology, epistemology, methodology, and axiology. They emphasized the practical knowledge generated by participation.

When it comes to the paradigm of domination, children are considered to be the most oppressed group according to hooks's (1988) theory of power construction in which she elaborated on different types of power dynamics. People of color are ruled by white men; women are oppressed by men; and finally children are dominated by adults. Historically, research on children has focused on psychological development, which was measured by experiments, testing, or parents' involvement because researchers believed

that children are not mature enough to make their own voices heard in academic professional study (James & Prout, 1997). However, James and Prout (1997) established a new paradigm of childhood based on the notion of the child as a social actor, not a passive agent.

First, James and Prout (1997) claimed that childhood is socially constructed and that previous researchers have relied heavily on developmental psychology, which conceptualizes children's nature as immature, incompetent, or asocial, given biological facts; therefore, childhood is to be regarded as "the period of apprenticeship" to enter the social world of adults (p.10). However, this perspective fails to explain ontology as one of Marxian and Hegelian views of human beings; all human beings are equally historical beings and exist in the world and with the world through interactions (Freire, 1970). From this perspective, children, if they are considered as human beings, must be able to acquire experiential knowledge like adults. Childhood experiences should be viewed based on individual diversity, not universality (Young & Barrett, 2001).

Second, children *are* able to actively construct their own social lives with self decision-making skills (James & Prout, 1997). This framework is consistent with epistemology, which refers to critical consciousness. Critical theorists argue that a democratic society allows individuals to be in the process of consciousness so that they

are able to think critically (Heron & Reason, 1997). A state of critical consciousness will lead individuals to develop reflective knowledge. The goal of critical consciousness is to initiate self-reflection and self-determination within individuals' own social lives (Bohman, 2010; Freire, 1970). Because children also live in relation with others through communication in a democratic society, they will be able to reflect on their lives and identity.

These two concepts of childhood, ontology and epistemology, lead to the third framework: children are considered as social actors (James & Prout, 1997). Individuals who have experiential knowledge and reflective knowledge can present dialectical knowledge with others and with the world through a cooperative process. Children also encounter their world through experiential knowledge and define problems through reflective knowledge. They exchange experiences and feedback with others through a collective process. These processes refer to Heron and Reason's (1997) definition of methodology as "collaborative forms of action inquiry" (p.7).

Lastly, children *can* create a direct voice and participate in academic research (James & Prout, 1997). As autonomous social actors, children have their own rights to actively participate in communicative action, not from adults' perspectives, but through their own decision-making. This framework is based on an axiology worldview, which is

accomplished by acquiring practical knowledge (Heron & Reason, 1997). The three participatory worldviews: ontology by experiential knowledge, epistemology by reflective knowledge, and methodology by dialectical knowledge, are operated in a cycle and finally are aimed at gaining axiology by practical knowledge. Human beings exist in the world, interact with the world, and change the world to improve their status, which may be oppressed by dominant ideologies. The last framework is a valuable practice as a critical subject living with the world (Freire, 1970).

Rahman (1991) clearly explained that people are capable of generating knowledge through their own reflective capacities, and they have the right to use this knowledge to take action. My own work as a teacher of young children has shown that children are not different from adults in this regard. In academic fields as well, they can define the questions, identify themselves, name the problem, and take action through communication and reflection. Therefore, in this study, children explored their own identity development through their own voices. By sharing their stories and participating in the research process, children were able to gain and contribute experiential, reflective, dialectical, and practical knowledge as full human beings.

Definition of Terms

Da-mun-hwa (Multicultural) family, Da-mun-hwa Children (Children from multicultural

family). ‘Da-mun-hwa’ is a Korean expression translated from the English word, multicultural. Multicultural families in South Korea refer to families, which include a member or members who are foreign migrant workers, intermarriage migrants, refugees from North Korea, and foreign residents (Kim, 2007). However, the term *Da-mun-hwa* is more used as an implicit meaning of the underrepresented in South Korea.

Ethnic identity (cultural identity). Ethnic identity is developed from common patterns of culture, religion, geography, and languages with members in the same group because of similar traditions, behaviors, beliefs, and values (Ott, 1989; Torres, 1966).

Hybrid identity. People develop hybrid identities in a space in which different cultures exist so that ethnic identity negotiation has to be performed (Moinian, 2009). Bhabha (1994) calls it ‘the third space,’ especially for understanding identity development in underrepresented groups.

Identification (Identity as others). Given that identities are constantly under controlling images created by others (Rolon-Dow, 2004), individuals are identified by others in specific contexts (Yon, 2000).

Identity. As Erikson (1968) and Tatum (2003) mentioned, an individual’s identity is a complex one which is established by individual characteristics and relations with others, within the historical, political, cultural, and social context through reflection with the

continuum between the past and the future in time and space.

Koreanization. Underrepresented ethnic groups of people in South Korea may become Koreanized because of the assimilation policy by the Korean government (Kang, 2010).

Narrative identity. Ricoeur (1992) emphasized the significance of history and its connectedness in the context of human time when it comes to personal identity. In the story, individuals create the characters of self and others through imagination and experiences along with interaction with listeners (Ricoeur, 1992). Narrative identity is built by this process of articulation, which is a form of an action based on individuals' reflection (Ricoeur, 1992).

Personal identity. From the psychosocial and cognitive perspective, personal identity is shaped by two different notions, idem and ipse, according to Ricoeur (1992). Idem, which is identity as sameness, refers to the permanent identity regardless of the time dimension, whereas ipse, which is identity as selfhood, refers to the temporal identity with a possibility of change depending on time and relationship with others (Ricoeur, 1992). Personal identity is developed by dialectical relationships between idem and ipse (Ricoeur, 1992), which construct self-esteem, self-worth, and interpersonal competence (Cross 1987).

Racial identity. According to Helms (1993), racial identity is a sense of collective identity

that individuals perceive with the same racial group members.

Self-identity (self-identification). According to Rockquemore, Brunsma and Delgado (2009), self-identity refers to the state of individuals identifying themselves, not being identified by others.

Social identity (group identity). Tajfel (1982) defined social identity as “that part of the individual’s self-concept which derives from his/her knowledge of their membership of a social group together with the value and emotional significance of that membership” (p. 24). According to Tajfel, individuals tend to join groups that are positively perceived and reject those that are looked down upon.

Wang-dda (an outcast). It is a slang term used extensively in Korea, referring to an individual who is treated as an outcast by bullying and exclusion from the group. This bullying practice became a social issue by generating school violence, psychological problems, and even an increase in the teenage suicide rate.

Summary

This qualitative study attempted to establish foundations for understanding identity development of underrepresented bi-ethnic children in South Korea within a challenging dominant context. Through a participatory approach, children expressed their opinions on being bi-ethnic and were actively involved in uncovering the realities of bi-ethnicity as

participants and researchers. Therefore, this study was based on the theory that a child is a social actor and a subject in society.

This study also investigated the lack of visibility and voice of bi-ethnic children and families in South Korea. My research contained the novel quality of participatory design that made the children co-researchers in uncovering the realities of bi-ethnicity in South Korea. Therefore, this study challenges traditional theories of child development that deem children as unable to be active participants in understanding their identity development. It has the potential to make invisible problems of identity more visible and to empower underrepresented bi-ethnic Korean children to be at the forefront of addressing the urgent need for a multicultural awareness.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

The purpose of this literature review is to investigate carefully and critically the process of identity formation of children from bi-ethnic families based on previous studies. This literature review is divided into three parts. The first part deals with a historical overview of development in studies of ethnic identity. I start with a review of ethnic identity development in underrepresented groups, followed by a more concentrated look at ethnic identity development of biracial or bi-ethnic children. I focus more on grouping literature on hybrid identity caused by intermarriage, immigration, and globalization. I also examine the role of language in ethnic identity development and research writing. The relationship between language and ethnic identity development as well as the absence of participants' voices in identity research is explored.

In the second part, I narrow down the studies of bi-ethnic children in South Korea along with related issues. The review of the previous studies is a guide to understanding how bi-ethnic children's identities are viewed and developed in Korean society, whether voluntarily or involuntarily. Then, other issues, like racism and the educational system in Korea, are considered to better understand bi-ethnicity in the Korean context. In addition,

efforts and policies of the government or institutions in South Korea are investigated from a human rights perspective.

The third part deals with the meaning, goals, benefits and challenges of the participatory action research method, especially with child participants. As mentioned in Part I, children are viewed as social actors capable of having their own voices without the need for an adult's interpretation of their ethnic identity. This part clarifies why a participatory action research design is used for this study on bi-ethnic Korean children's identity development.

This review of literature is from the viewpoint of *post-structuralism*, which states that truth exists only through experiences and interpretations by the person concerned (Norton, 2010), *postmodernism*, which is concerned about crises in consciousness, ideology, culture, and history (Sandoval, 2000), and *postcolonialism*, which focuses on hybridity re-created by more than one culture (Bhabha, 1994).

Ethnic Identity Development

Ethnic Identity Development in Underrepresented Groups

As the rate of intermarriage, immigration, and transnational movement has increased since the 1960s, the issue of ethnic identity has received greater attention in research (Phinney, 1992). However, the terminologies that explain related ethnic identity

are not clearly defined and have been used with different meanings by different scholars because of the complex characteristics of ethnic identity. For example, ethnic identity formation is involved with *ethnicity*, *self-identity*, and *identification* by others. Bhabha (1994) also adopted the term *hybrid identity*, as a new concept, to explain the complexity of ethnic identity in the globalized world.

Ethnic identity is defined as “a sense of belonging to an ethnic group” (Phinney, 1990, p. 338). In other words, ethnic identity is a social construct developed from common patterns of culture, religion, geography, and languages that are shared with others because of similar traditions, behaviors, beliefs, and values (Ott, 1989; Torres, 1966). Ethnicity is defined as “objective group membership as determined by parents’ ethnic heritage” (Phinney, 1992, p.158). Phinney emphasized that *ethnicity by self-identity*, which is the ethnic label that individuals can decide for themselves, should be distinguished by *ethnicity by identification*, which is the way of having one’s ethnic label categorized by others (Rockquemore, Brunsma & Delgado, 2009). Ethnic identification may influence one’s self-ethnic identity development as well.

In addition to this complexity of ethnic identity formation, Bhabha (1994) and Moinian (2009) redefined contemporary identities as hybrid identities, which are engendered through negotiation of different cultural symbols in “a Third Space” (Bhabha,

1994, p. 53). According to Bhabha, “a Third Space” is a place where different cultures coexist or new culture is created as a result of migration, intermarriage, relocation, forced displacement and so on; therefore, in this complicated context, new forms of cultural or ethnic identity can be developed.

Ethnic identity development models. Major traditional theorists (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980; Phinney, 1989) constructed similar stages of ethnic identity development in underrepresented adolescents. For example, Marcia (1980) established four stages: *diffuse*, where adolescents are not aware of the concept of ethnic identity; *foreclosed*, where they may have negative or positive feelings of their ethnicity; *moratorium*, where they are confused about their own identity; and *achieved*, where they develop a clear understanding of their ethnic identity.

Based on ethnic identity development models, most identity researchers have employed qualitative questionnaires or interviews (Brunsma, 2005; Kerwin, Ponterotto, Jackson, & Harris, 1993; Phinney, 1989, 1992; Qian, 2004; Roberts et al., 1999), which did not include underrepresented participants’ own interpretation of their ethnic identity process. Instead of hearing participants’ voices, researchers simply concluded that many underrepresented youth are struggling with being aware of their ethnicity at the beginning stage of ethnic identity development (Phinney, 1989).

Ecological perspectives. Chavez and Guido-DiBrito (1999) took a different approach and argued that identity development is not just psychosocial or cognitive work. Grotevant (1987) also claimed that contextual factors should not be neglected in the process model of identity formation. Culture, history, and society may shape individuals' expectations and beliefs. People are also influenced by their family and peers through communication and interaction. Besides individual characteristics such as self-esteem and cognitive ability, the role of the context which cannot be controlled by individuals should be considered when it comes to ethnic identity formation.

In that sense, ecological models by Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) seem to be more appropriate to identity formation of underrepresented racial and ethnic groups.

Spencer and Markstrom-Adams described the ecological framework:

The largest environment, the macrosystem, contains some of the most important but difficult factors to assess in ways related to individual outcomes (e.g., attitudes, values, ideologies, and beliefs). The stereotypes that accompany minority-group status most often emanate from this macrolevel and are given structure and reality as they permeate the various levels of the ecosystem within which minority youth and their families must operate (p. 293).

Thus, as human beings, especially underrepresented individuals who seem to be judged based on stereotypes, the contextual factors play a major role in the development of their ethnic identity.

This idea is also in line with Ricoeur's (1992) concept of narrative identity, which

emphasizes the important function of history. Ricoeur claimed that attitudes, beliefs, and ideology are established through history in the society where people interact. People look at themselves by looking at others who are also influenced by culture and customs constructed through history. One's ethnic identity cannot be developed without consideration of these ecological perspectives.

Therefore, the establishment of an underrepresented individual's ethnic identity is not only limited to their own personality, self-esteem, and mental health (Phinney, 1989; Poston, 1990; Spencer & Markstrom-Adams, 1990), but also to their history, culture, ideology, and other individuals' ethnic identity development process. It is also influenced by attitudes in their own ethnic group or otherwise and internalization of negative perspectives of the dominant society (Erikson, 1968; Poston, 1990).

Ethnic Identity Development of Biracial/ Bi-ethnic Children

Lack of attention on bi-ethnicity. Individuals whose parents are of different cultural or racial backgrounds may be referred to as bi-ethnic or biracial. Brunnsma (2005), Hud-Aleem and Countryman (2008), and Qian (2004) claimed that growing numbers of intermarriages have led to a demographic change caused by the emergence of cross-cultural children. For example, Herman (2004) illustrated that U.S. biracial babies, who marked one percent of children in the 1970s, comprised more than five percent by 2000

(as cited in Brunnsma, 2005, p. 1131). Although the population is rapidly increasing, it is often reported that these children suffer discrimination by the dominant society because they cannot fit into any specific ethnic group (Herman, 2004). Therefore, their bi- or multi-ethnic identity development has been considered as different and more complex from mono-racial identity development (Poston, 1990).

Many scholars (Hirschfeld, 1995; Kerwin, et al., 1993; Poston, 1990; Qian, 2004; Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2003; Shih, Bonam, Sanchez, & Peck, 2007) have studied biracial children in the United States from the perspective of the historical race dichotomy between the black and white communities. As compared to the U.S., where race has presented a complex challenge for understanding identity and where relatively substantial research exists on biracial identity development, other historically homogeneous contexts have been under-researched since biracial or bi-ethnic individuals were regarded as minority populations. Yet, since common issues such as discrimination and power imbalance between dominant and underrepresented groups can be found in both contexts, studies on biracial identity development in the U.S may help shed some light on issues of bi-ethnic identities in Korea, which has traditionally been homogeneous.

Bi-ethnic/ biracial identity development models. Biracial identity development models have been theorized in various forms through the years. For example, Poston

(1990) constructed a model of five stages of biracial identity development: *personal identity*, which is children's initial unawareness of their mixed heritage; *mono-racial identity*, which is feeling forced to choose one ethnic identity; *enmeshment* or *denial*, which is denying to choose one ethnic group and identifying with both; *appreciation*, which is a stage of appreciating one's multiple identity; and *integration*, which is valuing and fully embracing one's multicultural identity. Kich (1992) also similarly developed three stages based on age. These models are not much different from ethnic identity development models of underrepresented mono-racial individuals given that both are predictable linear processes in which they develop ethnic identity from identity unawareness to identity clarification.

In addition, most research conducted in the U.S. simply theorized the characteristics of biracial children or emphasized the areas where these biracial children would struggle. For example, Brunsma (2005) and Qian (2004) found, through survey and data collection, that the identity formation of biracial children is influenced by parental socialization, socioeconomic status, language usage, and neighborhood compositions. Bowles (1993) and Herman (2004) concluded that biracial children's identity confusion was caused by poor parental rearing practices and discrimination by peers. However, it is questionable that all cross-cultural children would experience the

same ethnic identity development process given that they have different experiences in different contexts.

New perspectives. Against traditional model theories, Root (2003) suggested an ecological framework of multiracial identity, which claims that multicultural people build different racial identities based on their own historical, cultural, and socio-economic contexts. Root's approach is also in line with ecological models of mono-racial identity by Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) and hybrid identities by Bhabha (1994). Rockquemore et al. (2009) pointed out that the identity development process varies, even among multi-racial people. Some biracial individuals identify themselves with one of their races while others blend two or more races to create a blended identity. Some often shift their identity based on context and time, community, or the people with whom they are interacting.

In addition, biracial identity often changes as biracial children grow up through their unique experiences, which are influenced by more than two cultures (Shih et al., 2007). This development process is not predictable because each biracial individual lives in different contexts with different histories. Therefore, Rockquemore et al. (2009) asserted that we cannot theorize identity formation of a multicultural population based on the previous theories that may not explain the variation. As Rockquemore et al.

emphasized, social, cultural, and spatial context should be considered and applied to each individual to understand the identity of multicultural people through an interdisciplinary approach.

Rockquemore et al. (2009) also claimed that biracial individuals may have different ethnic identities based on a given situation: self-ethnic identity, ethnic category, and ethnic identification. Bi-ethnic people may identify themselves differently from what they mention in a survey or what other people perceive their identity to be. For instance, a bi-ethnic Korean child may mark as Korean in a survey, while he or she self-identifies as a bi-ethnic individual. At the same time, others may consider him or her as non-Korean.

The social stigma connected to bi-ethnic and biracial identity is socially constructed (Rockquemore & Brunsma, 2002; Spickard, 1992). In the post-modern era, given that identity formation cannot be encapsulated in a fixed model, theory construction is a process that produces the sets of dominant ideologies (Rockquemore et al., 2009). In order to discover truths and realities from the experiences of underrepresented children on ethnic identity development, researchers should investigate this issue from interdisciplinary perspectives and include subjects' narratives, which would help to avoid the assumptions produced by previous theories (Rockquemore & Laszloffy, 2003).

Language and Ethnic Identity Development

Relationship between language and ethnic identity. In sociological studies of language, researchers have focused on how an individual's identity is developed through the use of language (Bucholtz & Hall, 2007). Phinney et al. (2001), Valdes (2004), and Lee et al. (2008) have demonstrated that the speaker's language plays an important role in constructing and maintaining their racial or ethnic identity.

For example, Phinney et al. (2001) investigated the relationship between language and ethnic identity of adolescents in immigrant families by measuring language proficiency, peer interaction, and ethnic identity. The results of the study showed that their ethnic identity is mostly influenced by ethnic language proficiency, which is affected by parental cultural maintenance and in-group peer interaction. By conducting this scientific research to measure and assess identity, the researchers concluded that language is the most important contributor to ethnic identity development.

However, I found a point of irony in two research studies recently conducted in Korea. One study showed that most bi-ethnic children struggle with Korean language acquisition primarily due to their foreign mother's Korean language deficiency (Sun, 2010). Another study by Lee et al. (2008) revealed that more than 50% of bi-ethnic Korean children consider themselves Korean. From these two studies, one question

comes to my mind: If there is a positive relationship between language and identity, why are bi-ethnic children in Korea identifying themselves as Korean, while simultaneously struggling with Korean language proficiency?

Researchers such as Duff (2002) and Valdes (2004) in the U.S. have analyzed the reasons for silence maintained by immigrant children in the classroom. The silence was often interpreted as a lack of motivation to learn a dominant language or attributed to general learning difficulty (Duff, 2002). Researchers also theorized that language deficiency leads to poor academic performance and confusion of identity (Lee et al., 2008; Valdes, 2004). However, this result fails to fully explain the relationship between language and identity because the studies did not consider any other variables such as culture, societal structure, educational system, or politics on these underrepresented children. Instead, the research has shaped the structured image of an underrepresented racial group and has contributed to a stereotype.

Language speakers have a complex identity as shown earlier; bi-ethnic Korean children identify themselves as Korean even though their Korean language proficiency level is not high. This result may be explained by the theory of Rockquemore et al. (2009), who argued that biracial individuals may express a different identity by situation: ethnic identity, ethnic category, and ethnic identification. I connect this assertion to the

situation of bi-ethnic children in Korea. It is possible that bi-ethnic Korean children might identify themselves as Korean in a survey, while they do not self-identify as Korean. It is also possible that language may not have positive relationships with ethnic identity formation.

Absence of voice in identity research on children. The missing part of the research on the ethnic identity development of underrepresented bi-ethnic or biracial children is the absence of their own voices. Most studies have been interpreted not by children's explanations but by researchers' observations and understanding. While the importance of narrative inquiry in identity research has been increasingly valued and used in research on adults and adolescents, children's narratives are scarce. Many researchers have employed methods such as surveys, data collection, or concise interviews where child subjects might differently describe their ethnic identity depending on the research environment (Rockquemore et al., 2009).

Language scholars, such as Bakhtin, Bourdieu, and Hall, asserted that language cannot be conceived of as neutral (Norton, 2010). Most research has been written by adult researchers and the language used in research is not exactly the same as the subjects' language. Researchers may interpret data differently from the subjects' intentions. Considering that researchers investigate the research problem and write it up in their own

language, the power relation between the researcher and the researched cannot be equally distributed. It is questionable whether the voice of subjects is correctly conveyed in research writing.

Bakhtin (1986) emphasized that oral and written forms of utterances are not static but, rather, dynamic, because they are completed with an active combination of language, addresser and addressee. From his perspective, language is not only the result of one individual, but is instead an interaction between speaker, writer, and readers. Researchers, or writers, may be influenced by contemporary beliefs and ideologies and may theorize the phenomenon when they transfer to writing in their own language. Bakhtin claimed that language cannot be interpreted without consideration of the interaction between addresser, addressee and contexts such as social interaction, culture, history, politics, ideologies, and so on. Namely, interpretation of language requires considering the involvement of the researched, the researcher, and the context in the research process and its writing.

Ethnic Identity of Bi-ethnic Children in South Korea

The accelerated influx of foreign wives from neighboring countries into Korea has resulted in a demographic change in the population of the nation. Much research has been devoted to the study of how multicultural families resolve their challenges in adjusting to

a homogeneous country. However, most of the problems discussed in previous research (Hong, 2007; Kim 2006; Seol et al., 2005) are related to the inability to speak the Korean language, ignorance of Korean culture, or the low educational background of foreign wives. When it comes to bi-ethnic children's identity, these visible issues are raised more frequently and other potential factors have been ignored. Therefore, I would like to investigate, more deeply and broadly, issues related to ethnic identity development of bi-ethnic Korean children from ecological perspectives.

Previous Studies on Identity Issue of Bi-ethnic Children in Korea

According to Yoon (2004), children from multicultural families are ridiculed by peers at school because of the way they look. They also have difficulty with home education because of their mothers' lack of mastery of the Korean language as well as low socio-economic status (Yi, 2003). Hong (2007) indicated that bi-ethnic Korean children struggle with understanding the Korean language; because of the failure at school, the dropout rate of these children has increased.

In Lee's (2009) study, the researcher interviewed five foreign mothers of bi-ethnic children who attended elementary school. Three of the mothers said they did not want their children to be known as bi-ethnic because they might face discrimination from Korean children. While the mothers showed the desire to expose their own culture and

language to their children, the fear of discrimination forced them to identify their children as Korean.

Lee et al. (2008) conducted a study using surveys and interviews to understand the identity of bi-ethnic Korean children in elementary school. Surprisingly, the interview showed that 85% of bi-ethnic Korean children were satisfied with their academic performance and school life. Eight percent of children responded that they had many friends. The survey indicated that bi-ethnic children had a strong social identity. They demonstrated a strong degree of social identity when family income and the mother's language proficiency was high. In terms of ethnic identity, more than 50% of students responded by identifying themselves as Korean. The research concluded that bi-ethnic Korean children, in general, have a strong identity and their socioeconomic status has a direct bearing on their identity development.

Based on these studies, the research findings are not consistent. Some researchers are concerned about bi-ethnic children's struggles with language, culture, school performance, and relationships, while others discovered that bi-ethnic Korean children are satisfied with their school life in general and maintain strong social identity. All children have their own experiences and backgrounds based on their history and culture. Implicating bi-ethnic children as those with problems may perpetrate existing

discriminatory attitudes and behaviors towards them. It may exacerbate difficult relationships with Korean friends. On the contrary, these findings, showing the children's satisfaction and strong degree of identity, may influence teachers and researchers to ignore or disregard the fundamental issue of bi-ethnic Korean children's identity development.

Therefore, it is crucial to provide children's own voices in the research (Lee et al, 2008). Research has not clearly explored why bi-ethnic children maintain a strong identity and what factors may influence their ethnic identity development. While some of these studies begin to address the complexities of bi-ethnicity in Korea, none of the studies provide in-depth understanding due to the absence of qualitative data and narratives.

Many Koreans are currently concerned about the identity of bi-ethnic Korean children who may be suffering from identity confusion. The researchers believe that this confusion is caused by a lack of knowledge of the Korean language (Lee et al., 2008; Seol et al., 2005). Educational policy makers (Korea's Ministry of Health, Welfare and Family Relations, 2008) have been attempting to reinforce Korean language learning for these children and their foreign mothers. It seems that bi-ethnic Korean children will develop a strong ethnic identity if they practice more Korean language and culture in

order to be Korean. However, two questions arise at this point: what are the factors to construct an individual's ethnic identity? And, is it a human rights violation to force ethnic minority children to have a particular ethnic identity? Therefore, this study aims to explore what influences bi-ethnic Korean children's identity formation from an ecological perspective and through the narratives of the children themselves.

Understanding Bi-ethnicity in the Korean Context

From an ecological perspective, any social issue cannot be considered without other related issues because contemporary society is complicated (Bhabha, 1994). When we think about the ethnic identity of bi-ethnic Korean children, it is neither just a psychological process nor an outcome of parental influence. History, ideology, culture, politics, school system, and people also affect their ethnic identity development process. Therefore, it is imperative, historically and culturally, to investigate the Korean context which may affect the struggles of bi-ethnic Korean children's ethnic identity formation.

Ethnocentrism and racism in Korea. Korea is well known as an ethnically homogeneous country with a strong pride in national identity. Expressions such as 'one nation,' 'our country,' and 'one bloodline' (Lee, 2009) have been commonly used in politics, academics, and mass media to evoke a collective identity and emphasize the notion of ethnic purity. In this section, I examine, in a historical context, the reasons for

the development of ethno-nationalism, which negatively impacts racial and ethnic discrimination in South Korea at this time.

Korean history begins with the mythology of Dangun, a founding father of the Korean nation. From childhood, even in elementary school history textbooks, students learn the story of Dangun. In the story, the concept of one bloodline arouses a collective identity as pure people. Because of this ideology and Confucianism, Koreans have never invaded other countries and have maintained a homogeneous language and culture.

However, Korea has been affected by Western powers since the late 19th century and was colonized by Japan from 1910 to 1945. Under the oppression of the Japanese colonial regime, Koreans were prohibited access to the Korean language and culture and suffered inhumane treatment. This caused extreme fear and hatred toward foreigners. In addition, in the wake of independence (1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953), U.S. soldiers occupied South Korea and the Western concept of racism was added to Korean's ethnocentrism; white people were considered to be a superior race and mass media projected them as heroes. Korean society was negatively influenced to discriminate and look down on dark-skinned people from the Philippines, Thailand and other such countries.

After the dramatic economic development under the autocratic leadership of former

president Park (1961-1979), undocumented migrant laborers streamed from Southeast Asia into Korean sweatshops where Korean owners mistreated them with violence and low payment (Kim, 2011). Today, even though the demographics continue to change in Korea due to the influx of foreign workers and the soaring number of intermarriages, racial discrimination towards migrant workers, foreign wives, and mixed-blood children is still prevalent because of historical practices of xenophobia and ideology of the one-bloodline notion (Choi, 2008).

The Korean government has attempted to protect these underrepresented groups through legislation and financial support. NGOs, local organizations and small social movements have emerged to help them assimilate to the Korean culture (Kim, 2011; Kang 2010). However, it is, in effect, another form of racism if bi-ethnic children from a bicultural heritage are led to assimilate only to their Korean father's culture without adequate opportunity to access their mother's culture.

Patriarchal domination. Confucianism, as one of the major ideologies in Korea, significantly influenced gender hierarchy, creating distinct power differentials between husband and wife (Seol et al., 2005). One of the high values in Korea from the Confucian view is 'respect' for elders and husbands; therefore, husbands take for granted that they will have more power and will be respected by their wives. Despite globalization and the

infusion of Western ideologies, traditional gender differentials are still very much prevalent, especially in rural areas, generating inequality based on ageism and sexism (Jambor, 2009). Lim (1997) confirmed that Koreans are raised under the strong influence of “patriarchal cultural traditions” (p. 32).

Based on Confucian beliefs, gender roles in Korea were highly specified: the man goes out to work and has responsibility to financially support his family, while the woman stays at home doing housework and child-rearing. Lim’s (1997) study showed that even though the feminization of labor is starting to change some of these dynamics, women’s time on housework is about three times more than that of men. In addition, caring for children is still solely the mother’s responsibility; therefore, if the results of the children’s education are not successful, it is the mother who takes all the blame.

These patriarchal traditional gender roles are arguably exacerbated in intermarriage circumstances. In a study on stresses on migrant women in Korea, Na (2008) asserted that the main reason for immigrant wives’ stress is the Korean husbands’ dominance which sometimes causes domestic violence. Wives are not only considered lower class but are also expected to fulfill multiple household roles.

These studies showed the complex issues facing a multicultural family in South Korea. Korean fathers have more power than mothers in general. Immigrant mothers are

not familiar with Korean language and culture. Because of the low socioeconomic status in multicultural families (Seol et al., 2005), mothers also work and have little time to spend with their children. However, foreign mothers, who have less power than the fathers, have more responsibility for child rearing. This complex context may confuse their bi-ethnic children in their ethnic identity formation.

Education system. The Korean educational system is still heavily teacher-centered, involving memorization and a strong emphasis on test scores (Kwak, 2004). Globally, Korea is glorified with students' high achievement in math and science, leading to advancement in the technology industry (Sorensen, 1994). However, the educational system is also criticized by progressive educators for its lack of creative, innovative, and multicultural approaches (Kim, 2002; Shin & Koh, 2005). This section will examine possible reasons why Korean education still sticks to the traditional teaching methods, which are influenced by Confucian ideology, rapid economical development, and political structures.

Since 1443 when King Se-Jong created the Korean alphabet, Han-Guel, Confucian ideology has been deeply rooted in Korean society (Yum, 1987). Confucianism is considered in this section as defined from the view of ageism (Jambor, 2009) among five moral principles. According to Yum (1987), it is defined as a strict hierarchy between

elders and youngsters. For example, in domestic and school contexts, children and students are not supposed to have different opinions from parents and teachers. Teachers are respected by students and have absolute power. This ideological framework established the hierarchical relationship between teacher and students in the classroom setting and became an obstacle to students' critical thinking, dialectical relationships with teachers, and discussion practice based on problem-posing approaches.

In addition, Korea has undergone dramatic economic development and political change since the end of Korean War in 1953 (Kim, 2002). Former President Park ruled as a dictator with absolute authority over the rapid change in the economy during 1967-1979. With regard to education, he focused on financial and military training so that Korea could escape from the poverty and danger of invasion. Most of the schools in Korea followed a curriculum in which mathematics and science were emphasized and other subjects were ignored (Sorensen, 1994). The Park administration established a college entrance examination system which consisted of three subjects: Korean, English, and mathematics. This examination comprised only multiple-choice questions and required students to memorize everything from textbooks. This educational system impeded students' creativity and prevented them from opportunities for group work to share ideas and learn from each other (Shin & Koh, 2005).

Regarding political structure, Korea continued to be influenced by the Japanese colonization era when autocracy was maintained through militant government. The powerful classes, even after the end of colonization, were deeply embedded by a dictatorial political system and insisted on military-style education (Shin & Koh, 2005; Sorensen, 1994). The educational system encouraged teachers to follow whatever the government ordered and students obeyed whatever teachers instructed. According to Kim (2002), central government regulations on educational policies hinder schools' autonomy and students' creativity. In the classroom setting, students are still reluctant to ask questions of teachers and are not used to collaborative activities.

In this educational environment, Korean children may not have enough time to think about themselves and may not know how to express their opinions or themselves to others because they are used to adults' instructions. It might be even more difficult for bi-ethnic Korean children due to their language difficulties and minority status both at home and school.

Efforts or Policies at the Government and Institutional Level

All children, regardless of their ethnic or cultural identity, have rights under international law. South Korea ratified the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) in 1990,

Article 1:

- All peoples have the right of self-determination. By virtue of that right they freely determine their political status and freely pursue their economic, social and cultural development.

the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990,

Article 8:

- States Parties undertake to respect the right of the child to preserve his or her identity, including nationality, name and family relations as recognized by law without unlawful interference.
- Where a child is illegally deprived of some or all of the elements of his or her identity, States Parties shall provide appropriate assistance and protection, with a view to re-establishing speedily his or her identity.

Article 30:

- Minority children have the right to learn about and practice their own culture, language and religion. The right to practice one's own culture, language and religion applies to everyone; the Convention here highlights this right in instances where the practices are not shared by the majority of people in the country.

and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial

Discrimination (ICERD) in 1997.

Article 7

- States Parties undertake to adopt immediate and effective measures, particularly in the fields of teaching, education, culture and information, with a view to combating prejudices which lead to racial discrimination and to promoting understanding, tolerance and friendship among nations and racial or ethnical groups, as well as to propagating the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the United Nations Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination, and this Convention.

In spite of the Korean government's endorsement of these international laws,

human rights violations, in the form of discrimination of underrepresented children from intermarriage couples, remain problematic. First, according to an NGO report under ICERD *Republic of Korea* (2007), the Committee indicated that racial discrimination still exists in Korea where people are ethnically homogeneous (Paragraph 4, 5 and 6). Nevertheless, discussions between NGOs, the National Human Rights Commission, and amongst government agencies have not been sufficient on that issue (Paragraph 71 and 74).

One problem is that the Korean government, which has the power to initiate legislation, has not taken action to enact the Discrimination Prohibition Act, and the National Human Rights Commission does not hold power in terms of the legal framework. In paragraphs 81 and 82 under the section “Mixed-Bloods” (NGO report under ICERD *Republic of Korea*, 2007), the Committee indicated the lack of accurate survey data on mixed-race people, because the current government only focuses the policy on assimilation of married migrant women. Therefore, the ICERD recommended that the Korean government establish long-term plans for human rights as well as policies for “mixed-bloods” to relieve biases against these children (Paragraphs 83 and 85).

After the NGO Report under ICERD *Republic of Korea* (2007), the Korean government made efforts to establish ‘a law to support multicultural families’ enacted by

Korea's Ministry of Health, Welfare and Family Relations in June, 2008, as well as 'a policy plan to support children from multicultural families' by the Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology in March, 2009. One of the examples of the educational plan to support bi-ethnic children is by introducing *a multicultural curriculum* including Korean language classes, afternoon extracurricular activities, cultural experience, and counseling (Kang, 2010; Lee et al., 2008). However, in reality, little research on bi-ethnic Korean children has been conducted, and no major changes to the multicultural curriculum were found at schools (Suh, 2011). According to Kang (2010), bi-ethnic children face more discrimination in after-school programs, which segregate them from ordinary Korean children.

Problems with educational policies from the government have been identified in previous studies conducted by Korean scholars (Jeon, Jung, & Lee, 2007; Lee et al., 2008). Jeon et al. (2007) pointed out that the structure among government, NGOs, and local communities is not effectively organized. Since the immigration issue is a recent phenomenon, the Korean government has not been aware of the reality and has presented only superficial policies, such as 'a policy plan to support children from multicultural families'. Still, most policy makers and arbiters are educational administration officers at the government level (Lee et al., 2008). Therefore, local communities have limited

capacity to help multicultural families in terms of policy and funding (Lee et al., 2008).

In addition, the approach to support bi-ethnic children at the government level is not practical. For example, the government organizes a 'going-out' activity, which entails going to an amusement park with bi-ethnic children, or a counseling program by Korean college students. It could be argued, however, that college students apply for the program not to help children from the heart but to earn college credits. The number of bi-ethnic elementary children has increased from 5,332 in 2005 to 15,805 in 2008 (Kang, 2010). However, there is a general lack of systematic education around changing demographics and the need for equitable treatment. The employment of a more democratic form of research for this study is a deliberate choice given the depth and complexity of the issue.

Participatory Action Research with Children

What is Participatory Action Research (PAR)?

An alternative paradigm of research, PAR, has emerged as a result of critiques of both quantitative and qualitative research (Nygreen, 2006). Quantitative research has been empirically conducted by a scientific method such as testing or surveys. On the other hand, qualitative research, such as an ethnographic study, emerged and started including the researcher's narrative from objective perspectives (Nygreen, 2006). For both types of research, it is the researcher who identifies the research problem, tests the

data, interprets the findings, and produces new knowledge in the name of objectivity without any intervention of the subjects who indeed provide true knowledge and information from their experiences. However, feminist researchers have expressed concern with power imbalances in the research process. They emphasized the imperative roles of both the researcher and subjects in knowledge production (Ansley & Gaventa, 1997; Fine, 1994; hooks, 1988).

In the early 1970s, the first participatory research project was conducted in Tanzania. The term “participatory action research” was first used by Orlando Fals Borda who carried out action research in Colombia, conducted in the same manner as what was previously called Participatory Research (Hall, 1992; Williams & Brydon-Miller, 2004). Researchers who worked with underserved communities have emphasized the reproduced power relation between researchers and the researched in the research process, raising the questions, “Whose research is it? Who owns it? Whose interests does it serve? Who will benefit from it?” (Smith, 1999, p.10).

According to Dyrness (2007), PAR is described as a research process rather than research products. The process, in which participants become aware of their reality and are able to take action to transform their status quo, is considered more important than the research findings. In line with this framework, I will enumerate the main characteristics

of PAR based on participatory research literature. Firstly, PAR challenges issues of power and representation in traditional research. PAR unravels the traditional research methodologies by engaging in a democratic practice of research (Park, 1993). It is co-conducted with the researched through a collective process based on dialogue, reflection, and action in a democratic way. In this sense, PAR transforms the traditional power relationship between the researcher and the researched toward aiming to co-design the research with the participants (Dyrness, 2007; Park, 1993).

Secondly, PAR engages participants themselves in the process of inquiry.

“Participatory” means *participation or engagement* of the subjects in the process of the research. Participation is accomplished in a democratic process, and this democratic process cannot be operated without critical thinking (Fals-Borda, 1991). Through reflection and dialogue based on critical thinking, participants will identify the problem that needs to be solved.

Thirdly, PAR encourages the co-creation of new knowledge and solutions to issues that directly affect the lives of participants. Williams and Brydon-Miller (2004) called this collective practice a “truly democratic processes of community decision-making and action” (p. 246). This method is designed not for elites but for common people because new knowledge and transformation are generated by people who have been oppressed or

marginalized in their lives.

Goals

Therefore, one question arises at this point: Why would a PAR design be used for this study of bi-ethnic Korean children's identity development? Many participatory researchers presuppose that human beings maintain their pre-existing identity, which is structuralized by ideologies such as capitalism, patriarchy, and globalization (Cameron & Gibson, 2005). PAR is designed for underrepresented individuals to read the world and overcome this oppressive status quo.

At the personal level, this research process is aimed at developing critical consciousness (Maguire, 1987; Nygreen, 2006). hooks (1988) clearly articulated this purpose in her book, *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*, under the section about self-recovery. For the first step, individuals need to identify themselves by naming the problem to be changed. Asking the youth *why* questions during the research may develop their critical thinking skills (Cahill, Rios-Moore, & Threatts, 2008). Therefore, to foster critical self-awareness in underrepresented youth is a starting point to investigate the self and reality (Lewis-Charp et al., 2006).

The second purpose of the PAR is to encourage political engagement of participants (Nygreen, 2006). Traditional social science studies have been criticized due

to inequity of knowledge distribution and theoretical characteristics. On the contrary, participatory action researchers attempt to connect the study to participants' lives and social movements that aim to create a better life (Apple, 1994). PAR with youth also aims to practically empower underrepresented young people as active citizens to realize their democratic values and practices by making their own voices heard (Ginwright, as cited in Cammarota & Fine, 2008). In PAR with children, there have been attempts to make political changes in children's rights (Clark, 2004; Young & Barret, 2001).

These purposes of PAR are ultimately aimed at transforming the power relations and societal structures to improve the lives of the oppressed (Apple, 1994; Maguire, 1987). Especially for youth, the goal of this research process is focused on education-based transformation by developing their critical consciousness and subjectivity (Cammarota & Fine, 2008). The research process involving students, parents, teachers, and policy makers impacts on educational reform and youth development (Cammarota & Fine, 2008).

Benefits

Students, especially Korean students, spend most of their time studying for admission to a good college in order to have a better job and better life. Even though this extracurricular PAR project may be regarded as a time-consuming work for students, the

benefits, as detailed below, far outweigh the effort that they put in for this research.

As emphasized in Part 1, students make their own voices heard in a PAR project.

Adult researchers will directly listen to children's voices and learn new information from their perspectives. These facts produced by the children are genuine and validated.

Simultaneously, child participants share the common experiences and feelings by using the same language with peers. Unlike participation in interviews with adult researchers, children are more likely to be open and honest with peer researchers (Kirby, 1999). By doing so, child participants also share and learn new information from peers.

PAR also creates a new community in which students can learn in a different context from the classrooms of public schools (Nygreen, Kwon, & Sánchez, 2006). The number of participants is much smaller than that of students in a class, which usually consists of more than 40 students in South Korea. In a small group, each young researcher has more equal opportunities to make their voice heard. In addition, the community focuses on children's interests. The hope is that PAR motivates children to be engaged, and this project becomes practical in their own lives (Watts & Guessous, 2006). Sharing common interests and experiences may build relationships and trust for community solidarity (Watts & Guessous, 2006).

Although PAR is not based on the school curriculum, it is pedagogical (Cahill,

Rios-Moore, & Threatts, 2008). In the process of PAR, children learn communication skills by listening to and speaking with other members of the group. Through organizing the community and designing the research, child participants develop leadership skills and understand teamwork culture. As researchers as well as participants, they foster a sense of responsibility and initiative (Clark, 2004). Since PAR is ultimately geared towards social transformation, young participants will identify ways in which they can put their new learning and realization into appropriate and feasible action (Lewis-Charp et al., 2006).

Lastly, this whole process of PAR can help to develop a positive identity for underrepresented youth (Lewis-Charp et al., 2006). Reflecting on their experiences and sharing those with peers who are struggling with a similar process of identity formation may build solidarity and networks which will help children develop a positive ethnic identity. Therefore, PAR with children may be a stepping-stone for formation of a positive identity in adolescence, by practicing critical thinking, reflection, and communication.

Very few studies using PAR have been conducted with children (Young & Barrett, 2001). In contrast, conventional methods rarely engage children in the research process, instead constructing childhood theory from the adults' perspectives. However, this PAR

with underrepresented children is an engaging, pedagogical, and self-recovery research paradigm.

Challenges

PAR has its own set of challenges, especially in its application with children. First, Nygreen (2006) emphasized practical challenges such as divergent interests and different agendas between researchers and the researched. For example, in a PAR with children, unpredictable outcomes are possibly produced because research ideas are often derived from adults who may reduce children's motivation and participation (Kirby, 1999; Nygreen, 2006). Based on her own experiences, Maguire (1993) described great demands on researchers; for instance, specific struggles with timelines, building trust with participants, and receiving outside support may emerge.

On the other hand, Nygreen (2006) drew attention to the potential challenges of avoiding reproduction of power differentials between researchers and co-researchers. It is possible for both researchers and child participants to unconsciously keep reminding each other of their position as the researchers and the researched. In the Korean context, where adults and teachers have absolute power, balancing power relationships with children is a great challenge. Rahman (1991) warned that this may influence the process of decision-making. Even among the researched, there might be power relations where some voices

are valued and heard more than others on a consistent basis (Maguire, 1987).

Lastly, ownership and distribution of knowledge should be considered. Most research products are shared in public as articles, dissertations, or presentations at conferences. These outside research contexts become the places in which political changes are decided (Couch, 2004). Interpretation of the research and final decision-making are still controlled by people of power. The end of PAR does not mean the research problem is solved. Both researchers and the researched need to keep considering how the new knowledge will be shared and how the transformation will be accomplished even after the research process is completed.

Summary

Upon the review of the literature, I wish to summarize three points. Firstly, empirical or ethnographic research using surveys or interviews has been commonly used in studies of child ethnic identity development of underrepresented biracial or bi-ethnic children. Based on the findings, most researchers constructed the ethnic identity development theory and categorized the stages of identity development depending on children's age or degree of assimilation to the dominant culture. This process of research has placed reliance on the adult's interpretation of children's viewpoint instead of including the voices of underrepresented children. However, PAR directly lends a voice

to the language that the children wish to speak. PAR method may help the research to be more reliable by engaging child participants in the process of inquiry.

The second point is the lack of research on bi-ethnic Korean children's ethnic identity issues. Little attention has been paid to bi-ethnic identity development in Korea. Furthermore, different research showed inconsistent data and studies have not been conducted from an ecological perspective, considering other issues like participants' historical, political, and cultural context. Despite the dearth of information on these children, the Korean government has developed plans and policies for multicultural families. It is questionable in what ways and degrees these plans would be helpful. However, this study is participatory, using bi-ethnic children's narratives and interdisciplinary context. A broader understanding of real-life experiences and contexts is required to appreciate the process of identity development in bi-ethnic Korean children.

Lastly, racial discrimination towards underrepresented bi-ethnic children in Korea may be considered a human rights violation, if the society consciously or unconsciously asks children to identify themselves by a certain ethnicity, based on NGO report under ICERD Republic of Korea (2007). This research is not only my personal interest and concern, but is also legally supported by the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the Convention on the Rights of the

Child (CRC). More weight should be given to human rights issues in conducting research with underrepresented children. PAR methodology, which is new to Korea, may encourage bi-ethnic Korean children to reflect on themselves and explore their ethnic identity.

Research on identity showed that ethnic identities are becoming fluid and hybrid from increasing migration and displacement due to globalization. There is a great need to bring a compelling understanding of this to the Korean context given its history of homogeneity and the dire need to address the growing needs of a bi-ethnic population, especially children. It is an important time to give due attention to the identity development process of bi-ethnic Korean children so as to help them understand and appreciate their identity before they become adults.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This study adopted a Participatory Action Research (PAR) design to explore the identity development of bi-ethnic children in South Korea. The adoption of this design was inspired by the philosophies of Ricoeur's (1984) 'time and narrative' theory and Freire's (1973) 'conscientization'. According to Ricoeur (1984), a story is made not only by the teller's present memories, but is also influenced by her past experiences as well as future expectations. As children tell their stories in the PAR process, they will reflect their experiences and current identity as bi-ethnic children through the narrative constructs of identity. The present ethnic identities of underrepresented children, which have been developed from the past, may have a lasting influence on their future life, including career decisions and marriage. 'Conscientization' is a process of human beings becoming aware of their reality through reflection and action in a collective way (Freire, 1973). In children's storytelling, children are encouraged to reflect on themselves and share stories with others to understand themselves better. Based on these two theories, storytelling in PAR proved a powerful method for underrepresented bi-ethnic Korean children to develop their personal and cultural identity by making their own voices heard

and engaging in the process of inquiry.

Since the children in this study came from different cultural, political, social, and economical backgrounds, the process employed for this methodology was modified through dialogue with participants depending on the context. The research did not attach any value to a specific culture, and all child participants were given equal respect regardless of their background.

Background and Role of the Researcher

I struggle with the notion that I can be completely objective in my dissertation journey and in my research.

Lorraine Code (1991) poses the question, Does the gender of the knower matter in the construction of knowledge? She contends that it does. I assert that along with the gender of the knower (the researcher), the race, ethnicity, language, class, sexuality, and other forms of difference work to inform his or her relationship to knowledge and its production (Ladson-Billings, 2000, p. 266).

The reason why I identify myself in this part is two-fold: I must first understand myself in order to understand the *other* as an outsider. I also hope to help readers understand my relationship to knowledge production on this study as Ladson-Billings (2000) pointed out.

Throughout the process of my participatory action research on identity development of bi-ethnic Korean children, I identify myself as a researcher, educator, organizer, and participant.

As a researcher, I conducted this research for my doctoral dissertation at the University of San Francisco. As a Korean who has been raised in a homogeneous culture for almost 30 years, I first became aware of the complexities of multiculturalism when I came to the U.S. in 2009 to study ‘International and Multicultural Education.’ Learning theories of multiculturalism in classes and living with diverse groups in the city of San Francisco opened my eyes and enhanced my critical thinking skills. I decided to apply the experiences of multiculturalism to my research to better understand bi-ethnic children in the Korean context.

My second role for this participatory research was as an educator. I obtained my master’s degree in TESOL at New York University in 2006. Since obtaining my bachelor’s degree from Korea in 2003, I worked for six years in Korea as an English teacher to Korean children. I also served as an education coordinator in charge of making curriculum and training foreign English teachers. I have always preserved, consciously and unconsciously, these educational perspectives in any context.

Not only being a researcher and teacher, I also identify myself as an organizer and motivator. Korean culture has reinforced the hierarchical relationship between adult and child and between teacher and student. In school culture, students are reluctant to express opinions and are accustomed to “banking education” in which students receive

knowledge from teachers without communication (Freire, 1970). Based on my overseas experiences in education, I encouraged my child participants to create a dialectical relationship with me and make their own voices heard.

I am also in this research for personal reasons. As a teacher working with children, I always wished I had a better understanding of how to negotiate the insider/outsider tensions. I participated in the identity development journey to discover who I am and where I stand by placing myself in a similar position as my bi-ethnic child participants. As a participant, I situate myself as a member of a multicultural family. Although I was born and brought up in South Korea in an all-Korean family of middle socio-economic status, I am married to an Indian. As a result, my new family is categorized as a multicultural family. Clearly, my position as a multicultural family community member would not be the same as the other multicultural families who were involved in my research, given that my marriage was not the result of the mail-order bride system. Nonetheless, my husband and I also have experienced racism and discrimination while he was working in Korea. As a future mother of bi-ethnic children, I hope that Korea will become a multicultural society in which all individuals, regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, class, or age, appreciate diversity and enjoy equal rights. My personal passion for children, education, and multicultural family strongly influenced this participatory action

research.

Research Design

PAR is designed with the purpose of reflection, action, and transformation based on the needs of participants (Dyrness, 2007; Maguire, 1987; Park, 1993). Unlike traditional methods of social science research, it is not only the researcher who decides on the research design, but participants co-design the research with the researcher to solve their own problems. Through this democratic approach, my child participants were able to actively participate in this three-month research process and learned how to make their own voices heard.

Although this research design was inspired by Maguire (1987, 1993) and Sánchez (2006), I modified my methods to suit child participants rather than adult or youth participants. Also, the context used in my study was Korea and not the U.S. For students in South Korea, PAR studies were not easily accepted by parents because they were reluctant to allow their children to allocate time for activities unrelated to school work. In order to provide a tangible service to the participants while engaging in research, I taught English after each PAR meeting. The participants and I were allowed to use both Korean and English during the project. In order to relieve any concerns about what might be seen as ulterior motives in providing English education, I was upfront with all participants and

their parents about my own research goals.

Doing PAR with Children

Questions may arise around how I engaged the Korean children in the PAR process, given that the concept was new to them and they were normally used to following instructions from adults. My study was inspired by Sánchez (2006) who produced a children's storybook through the PAR approach by actively engaging youth. She found that the PAR process "was an informative and less intrusive way of becoming a part of their busy lives" and "a critical tool in seeing more of their lives and also understanding how they saw themselves in this back-and-forth space" (p. 6). Even though her participants were older than the children that I was working with, her research design could still apply to my project because the children in my research were 11-12 years old and reaching adolescence soon. Based on her findings and my previous experiences of working with children, I was confident that doing PAR with bi-ethnic Korean children would help them to engage in the process of dialogue and explore their ethnic identity.

Phase 1: Initial organizing, individual discussion, and co-defining problems. In the first phase, I met with the director of the Uri-Hamkke Multicultural Community Child Center, Mrs. Wang, to establish relationships with community group members, including bi-ethnic children. Mrs. Wang helped recruit bi-ethnic child participants. After I

explained the objectives of the research, Mrs. Wang showed the consent form to children who desired to be involved in the project to let them finally decide whether they agreed with doing the research.

After participants were selected, I held a meeting with participants so that we could introduce ourselves to get to know each other better. During the meeting, some participants provided me with their private stories and the others did not. When the research actually began, the research problem was defined with participants through group dialogue.

Phase 2: Co-designing research method. The purpose of this study was to explore identity development of bi-ethnic Korean children. Child participants were actively engaged in investigating the facts that might influence their identity formation. First, participants and I created questions to be investigated. Then, the research method was co-designed: 1) reflecting on their own experiences and sharing with other participants, 2) using visual aids such as pictures that helped children reflect on their experiences and emotions, 3) interviewing their parents, teachers, peers, or other bi-ethnic children and family members, 4) producing art works such as drawings or poems to express their emotions or bi-ethnic identity. Based on the participants' desires, the research methods were decided through dialogue in this phase. Individuals were able to

choose their own ways to explore their identity.

Phase 3: Taking action: Storytelling. In the third phase, participants and I took action by sharing the stories based on the data collected in phase 2. This idea was inspired by the work of Sánchez (2006) who in her study with Latina youth produced a storybook at the end of the research based on their research findings. The findings in phase 2 were utilized by the participants to create their own storybook. The hope is that new knowledge that was generated during this research would be reflected in the storybook in ways that other bi-ethnic children might be able to relate.

Phase 4: Participatory assessment. At the end of the project, we shared our storybooks and the new knowledge. Within the group of participants, we evaluated how this project had influenced our lives in both positive and negative ways and what had been changed in the process of research. We also discussed what recommendations should be reinforced for further projects. Along with that, I had time with parents to gauge their reflections on their children's participation in the research process and any feedback they had.

The four phases mentioned above were closely linked to each other based on the collective reflection and action of the participants to the dialogue. For example, while we were creating the storybook in phase 3, we returned to phase 2 for reflecting on our

experiences from other stories and visited phase 1 for investigating a new problem.

Research Setting and Participants/ Co-researchers

This study was conducted at the Uri-Hamkke Multicultural Community Child Center, which is located in Wongok bon-dong, Ansan: a suburb outside Seoul. Ansan is well known for being one of the larger populations of immigrants and multiethnic families. According to Oh (2010), foreigners from more than 50 to 60 countries reside in Ansan and the ratio of foreigners including undocumented migrants is estimated as 50 to 70 percent of total residents in Wongok bon-dong. It is noticeable that about 85 percent of documented immigrants in Wongok bon-dong are Korean-Chinese (Oh, 2010). Korean-Chinese, called ‘Josun-jok’, are ethnic Koreans living in China caused by the Korean diaspora during the war. Park (2011) argued that most contemporary Korean-Chinese, who are second or third generation, have maintained a strong national and ethnic identity as Chinese because they were born and raised in China. Therefore, Chinese and Korean-Chinese may be considered same in this study in terms of ethnic identity. For convenience, I will call them Chinese.

The Center, founded in 2008, has grown to 28 bi-ethnic child members as of June 2012. The age of the children ranges from pre-school to middle school, while elementary school children dominate, with 23 children. Children’s mothers are from various

countries; however, most of them are Chinese.

Table 1: The age range of children at the Multicultural Center

Age	Number
Pre-school	3
Elementary school (1-3 rd grade)	16
Elementary school (4-6 th grade)	7
Middle school	2
Total	28

Table 2: Mothers' nationality of bi-ethnic children's at the Multicultural Center

Country	Number
China	17
Russia	1
Thailand	1
Mongolia	1
Philippines	1
Nepal	1
Pakistan	2
Bangladesh	2
North Korea	1
South Korea	1
Total	28

The director of the center, Mrs. Wang, also runs an online community:

<http://café.daum.net/UriHamkke/>, which currently, in June of 2012, holds 72 online

members including teachers, parents, children, and others who are interested in this

community. This website is open to the public and provides information about the center

and the program as well as children's work. Children's pseudonyms are used on the

online community.

Research participants consisted of three bi-ethnic children and one from Chinese parents. Even though the last is not a bi-ethnic child, I allowed him to join our project because he is categorized as ‘a multicultural child’ in Korea. I also wanted to investigate the differences in terms of ethnic identity development between bi-ethnic children and non bi-ethnic children as both ‘a multicultural child’ in Korea. Mothers’ ethnicity of the three bi-ethnic participants was Chinese. Two of the child participants were male and two were female; all children were the ages of 11 and 12. They are in sixth grade of elementary school. According to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, a ‘child’ is defined as a person below the age of 18 under Article One. All four children live in Ansan.

Based on my observation during a three-month PAR, bi-ethnic children created their own groups and made outsiders based on some personal characteristics at the Multicultural Center. For example, one of our PAR team members was often bullied by children because of his poor school performance and Korean language deficiency. Children refused to sit next to him and did not listen to him while he was trying to say something. There were three to four children like him at this Multicultural Center.

Data Collection

Three different methods were employed during the research process: note-taking,

audiotaping, and storybooks. Before actually collecting data, I had meetings with a center leader as well as the child participants to explain the research project and to get to know each other better. This data was collected by note-taking during the meetings. When we conducted the research, our dialogue was recorded through audiotaping. Consent for audiotaping was received from parents and children. In creating our own storybooks, several methods were employed depending on the participants' selection; for example, visual aids such as photos, art forms such as drawing, written texts by writing our own stories, and child researchers' interviewing with others, were randomly used. The language of data collection was both Korean and English. In the storybook, the participants' own language was used.

Data Analysis

While we were making our storybook, we presented the stories each time. After telling our own stories and listening to others' stories, we shared our reflections and interpretations through dialogue and discussion. The stories of each individual were interpreted through collective dialogue. The project was analyzed and evaluated collectively with participants and parents. In the findings, the children's own voices and language were used through my translation from Korean to English. All the data used in my analysis received the full consent of my participants.

Validity

In this participatory action research, validity of the study was considered in two ways: knowledge formation and text production. These two processes took place in cooperative inquiry, which required working not *for* but *with* the researched, placing greater validity on the study.

Park (1993) claimed that knowledge formation is generated in an epistemological framework. Heron and Reason (1997) defined this knowledge in epistemology as experiential, presentational, propositional, and practical. In the case of my study, the children's experiences (experiential knowledge) were presented in art forms (presentational knowledge), expressed in oral or written form (propositional knowledge), and finally, shared as a form of storybook (practical knowledge). The creation of the storybook as an action was completed as value-laden while simultaneously grounded in true experiences. This research cycle improved critical consciousness in epistemology, reinforced interactions in methodology, and validated action in axiology through a collective process (Heron & Reason, 1997).

When this whole knowledge formation process is transferred to the written text in the dissertation, another validity issue arises. As explained in the literature review under the section *Language and Ethnic Identity Development*, language is not neutral and truth

is always mediated by the writer's interpretation (Couch, 2004; Fine, 1994). In the process of producing texts, Fine (1994) questioned why some research questions and interpretations are valued more than others.

However, this PAR was conducted *with* participants. In phase 1, the researcher and participants collaborated to define the problems. In phase 2, both parties negotiated the methods to be used for taking action. In phase 3, participants were actively involved in the interpretation of their own stories as well as others'. The researcher also used the participants' language in research writing. The whole research process is validated in being collective and participatory by using the participants' own voices and words (Maguire, 1987; Fine, 1994).

Protection of Human Subjects

This study received approval from the Institutional Review Board for the Protection of Human Subjects (IRBPHS) at the University of San Francisco. Consent forms for the participants' parents were translated into Korean with verification by Mrs. Wang, who is fluent in both English and Korean. Since children were involved in the study, I took measures to ensure privacy and protection.

Limitations and Delimitations

This study was conducted with four children from multicultural families. Due to

the limited number of participants and their different backgrounds, this study may not be generalized to represent all cases of Korean bi-ethnic children. Given that PAR is a lifelong process, the three-month period of this study may not have been sufficient to fully understand how the ethnic identity of bi-ethnic children in Korea is developed.

Another limitation is researcher bias. As a mono-ethnic Korean adult and former teacher, my position might not have been completely that of an insider. Despite efforts to build trusting relationships with child participants, children's unconscious process of self-positioning as younger and student, influenced by Korean culture and Confucianism, is questionable.

CHAPTER IV

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to explore how bi-ethnic children in South Korea understand their identity, using the participatory action research method. The research findings are organized in the following manner. First, the profiles of the four child-participants are provided. These profiles were collaboratively drafted by the director of the Uri-Hamkke Multicultural Center, Mrs. Wang, and myself. Participants selected their own pseudonyms to protect their identity.

Second, I present my findings based on a three-month data collection process by breaking down data into key themes. These include building trust as essential to dialogue, validation of difference, the complexities of self-identification, double consciousness, factors that influence bi-ethnic identity development, and my reflection on the PAR process, highlighting both challenges and triumphs. I end this chapter with the facts that I discovered as ironic in operation of multiculturalism and policies in Korea. The themes not only represent dominant, recurring ideas in the data but also the chronology of the research process and the increasing comfort of participants with the process. I had one pre-meeting with Mrs. Wang, followed by 13 weekly meetings with the children. The

weekly meetings also included one meeting with Mrs. Wang and one meeting with the participants' parents. A summary table for each meeting is provided in the Results section. Every attempt has been made to describe the dialogue with the participants verbatim.

Profiles of the Participants

Child participants consisted of three bi-ethnic children and one child whose parents are both Chinese. Green Tea, Question Mark, and Cream have Korean fathers and Chinese mothers, while Bob has Chinese parents. Two of the participants (Question Mark and Bob) are male, and two (Green Tea and Cream) are female. At the time of the study, they were in sixth grade of elementary school in Korea, at the ages of 11 and 12. All four children live in Ansan.

Green Tea

Green Tea was born in Korea to a Korean father and a Chinese mother. When I first saw her, she was surrounded by many children and smiled at me warmly. She seemed to enjoy socializing with others. However, according to Mrs. Wang, her father is often violent to her mother. Last year, her mother asked Green Tea to move together to China to avoid the violence. While her mother discussed this with Green Tea, it happened to be revealed that her mother was married previously and left one son in China. Green Tea was shocked to hear her mother's story and rejected moving to China. Green Tea was

placed in psychological counseling and a drawing treatment class offered through the Multicultural Center. These programs have helped her deal with some of her emotions and anger.

Perhaps due to her family situation, Green Tea was not very expressive of her thoughts and opinions. According to Mrs. Wang, Green Tea was so hurt by her family that she did not want to hurt anyone and did whatever others asked her to do.

Question Mark

When I first met Question Mark, he was very aggressive and did not say anything except, "I don't know." He did not even want to tell me his name; instead, he asked me to call him "Question Mark." He was born in Korea to a Korean father and a Chinese mother. Both of his parents work very hard, and their work schedules are exactly opposite: His father works in the daytime, while his mother works at night. Mrs. Wang told me that there is no communication in his family.

As described by the teachers at the Multicultural Center, the lack of family communication might contribute to Question Mark's offensive personality, attitudes of strong defiance, rejection of expressing his own opinions, and inability to work with others. Teachers told me that they gave up controlling him in class.

Cream

Cream's father is Korean and her mother is Chinese. Her parents met when her father was working in China; they settled in Korea after marriage. Cream was born and grew up in Korea. She has one elder brother who stayed behind in China, and one younger sister who lives in Korea with her family. Both the parents finish work around nine o'clock at night. Her family tries to go on picnics on the weekends. According to Mrs. Wang, Cream spent a certain amount of time communicating with her family.

Her parents' zeal for education is very high. Cream goes to private cram school, which many other bi-ethnic children cannot afford, after a day-program at the Multicultural Center. Cream was very active in discussions during the project and was confident in expressing her views. Whenever I asked my participants anything, she was always willing to share her thoughts first.

Bob

Bob is not a bi-ethnic child: his father and mother are both Chinese. Even though he is not bi-ethnic, he participated in my project because, being Chinese, he is considered multicultural in Korea. Bob was born in Korea but immediately moved to China when his parents divorced. He was raised by his Chinese grandmother, then returned to Korea when he reached elementary school age. When he and his father arrived in Korea,

because his father was an undocumented immigrant, he had to go back to China for a while to renew his visa. During that time, it was agreed that his mother would take care of Bob at an orphanage. However, she remarried a Korean man and left Bob at an orphanage. After his father became a legal resident, he reclaimed Bob from the orphanage.

Bob currently lives with his father. He has two older siblings from his stepfather's previous marriage. Even though Bob did not know his brothers' names, he often mentioned the fact that he has two brothers. Bob liked to be a leader in his class and even in our research project. However, he mentioned that he was often bullied by his friends, making him feel constantly excluded.

Results

This study included 14 meetings, consisting of one pre-meeting and 13 weekly meetings during a three-month period from March 22, 2012, until June 28, 2012. Meetings were held at the Uri-Hamkke Multicultural Center every Thursday, once a week for one hour each time. At the pre-meeting, I was introduced to Mrs. Wang, the director of the Uri-Hamkke Multicultural Center, who shared extensive information about the Center and participants with me. In the following week, I started the first meeting with four children who comprised our research team. The outcome of our inquiry was a

co-edited storybook with children. At the eleventh meeting, I had a conversation with Mrs. Wang to share what the children and I had done during the project. Discussion with children's parents followed, at the twelfth meeting. At the last meeting with child participants, we shared the findings and feelings from our PAR project and storybook, which explored our ethnic identity. The following table outlines the content of each meeting in terms of major themes and activities that were covered.

Table 3: Schedule and plan for PAR meetings

	Date	Agenda of each meeting
Pre-meeting	March 22	Information about the Center and participants from the director, Mrs. Wang
1	March 29	Introduction
2	April 5	How do I identify myself?
3	April 12	My family
4	April 18	Timeline (Let's talk about our past!)
5	April 26	Preparing for interviews
6	May 3	Similarities and Differences
7	May 10	Relay questions
8	May 24	Writing about others
9	May 31	My future
10	June 7	Fieldwork: Conducting interviews
11	June 14	Meeting with Mrs. Wang
12	June 19	Meeting with parents
13	June 28	Completed storybook and sharing feedback

Pre-meeting with Mrs. Wang

On March 22, 2012, I was introduced to the Uri-Hamkke Multicultural Community Child Center by an acquaintance who had previously conducted research at this Center

and, due to his amicable relationship with the Center's director, was able to connect me to her. The Center was also looking for an English teacher; I was willing to teach English while conducting my PAR project in order to ensure that my involvement would be mutually beneficial. After I explained the purpose and the process of the project, Mrs. Wang was immediately on board due to her own desire and lack of time to better understand, in a systematic way, the identity development of bi-ethnic children.

Bi-ethnic children are called "*Da-mun-hwa* (multicultural) children" or "children from multicultural families" in Korea. According to Mrs. Wang, it is common for multicultural families to build their own sub-group based on the mother's nationality. For example, mothers from Vietnam share information only within their own ethnic group, and their children also get along with Vietnamese-Korean children more than other ethnic-group children. In Ansan, because the majority of foreign mothers are Chinese (85%), non-Chinese foreign mothers are isolated from information and benefits for multicultural families. In addition, the school violence that bi-ethnic children face, being *Wang-dda* (outcast), is a serious issue. They are bullied by Korean students because of how they look, the stigma of being "multicultural," and poor school performance (Yoon, 2004). Mrs. Wang pointed out the absence of an appropriate policy for multicultural children. She emphasized the need to establish alternative schools for multicultural

children and to provide a Korean language class for children from multicultural families.

Mrs. Wang shared some information about the four child participants with me based on her experiences with them. Most information was mentioned in the profiles of the participants. All children were fluent in Korean, while they had no knowledge of Chinese. Their mothers were fluent in Korean, but made a few mistakes in pronunciation and vocabulary. The socio-economic status of the participants' families was low and all parents worked hard, so parents did not spend much time with children. Mrs. Wang also informed me that some of the children would misbehave by being aggressive or would not participate in activities as an expression of defiance during the project because, according to her, they were going through puberty.

Building Trust as Essential to Dialogue

Four children, including two males and two females, joined the research team. Mrs. Wang recruited them because she thought they needed additional English lessons. In our first meeting, I did an extensive introduction and asked them to introduce themselves. All children at the Center were using their nicknames and we also decided to use nicknames at the meeting: Cream, Green Tea, and Bob. One boy refused to tell me his name and nickname. Whatever questions I asked him, he answered, "I don't know." Initially, he did not want to join the project and complained about everything. He finally said, "My name

is Question Mark.”

Everybody kept silent and no one initiated conversation. I introduced myself to break the ice and to create a sense of ease. I spoke to them about my marriage to an Indian man and my adjustment challenges to a new culture and cultural expectations. To lead them into dialogue, for example, I asked, “Guess where my husband is from?” Then, they started guessing, “China?” “Pakistan?” “America?”, and so on. These led to subsequent questions like, “What do you know about Indian culture?” and “What are the differences between Indian culture and Korean culture?” Children answered voluntarily, sometimes with more stereotypical understandings like, “Eating meals with hands.” After the informal chat, the children showed interest and started talking in a more natural way.

Once the children were participating with more comfort, I explained the purpose of the project. I tried to avoid the phrase, ‘ethnic identity,’ which might threaten the children at the first meeting because I could tell they were not comfortable talking about their identities.

I came here for three months on this project with you. Our project is to know about us. When I was young, I have never thought about myself and did not know who I was, what I liked, where I came from, what I wanted to be. I would like all of us think of ourselves, share our stories and explore more about ourselves through this project. Each time, we will share some of our stories and do some activities. And all activities will be planned by us. In the end, maybe we can have our own storybook, which will be about ourselves.

When I said, “Today, I would like to start introducing ourselves,” nobody wanted to speak out and it almost seemed as if they did not know how to speak about themselves. Therefore, I gave each of them a piece of paper to write about themselves. Cream brought color pens and the children looked more interested in writing. However, nobody started writing. I gave an example, such as name, age, school, family, etc. Cream started writing but followed the exact list as I had provided only as an example. The others also copied her writing in the same way:

Cream

Name: Eun Young Jang

Age: 12

Nickname: Cream

Birthday: 11. 8.

What I like: It is a secret!

Computer, English (a little), drawing, eating...

I go to AnsanSeo elementary school.

Green Tea

Name: Min Joo Lee

Age: 12

School: AnsanSeo

Birthday: 6. 16, 2000.

Family: 3. Mom, dad, and me.

Nickname: Green tea

What I like: Green tea, ice, family, computer, money, air, cute things, small things, water, fruits, drawing, and me.

What I dislike: Fish, garbage, insects, and dirty things.

Hobby: Drawing pictures, playing games, listening to music, and a dark place.

Hope: Money, longevity, health, house, peace, reunification, and ability for everything.

Bob

Name: Jin Soo Lee

Nickname: Bob

Age: 12

AnsanSeo elementary school

What I like: I don't know.

I have two elder brothers but I do not live with them.

I live in Ansan.

Question Mark

Name: ?

Nickname: ?

Age: 12

Ansan Seo School

I do not have anything I like.

This exercise made me realize that “identifying” oneself was not something that was commonly done or encouraged in schools. This was true even in my own experience during my school days in Korea. When I was asked about my identity even after I was in my twenties, I did not know what to say.

After we completed writing, we shared our family stories. When Bob said, “My family is only my dad and I. My mom ran away,” Cream expressed surprise at Bob’s open sharing of such a sad story to someone he had only recently met. It looked like everybody knew Bob’s family story. However, Cream thought the story should not be shared with me because it was not a good one to be unveiled. I observed that, except Bob, children were afraid of their personal stories being disclosed to me. Cream’s perception

that the stories should be filtered for me made me realize that trust-building would be crucial to the process of inquiry.

In the first meeting when I met the participants, even though we naturally chatted, I could not ask the question, “How do you describe your ethnic identity?” directly to them because I felt that it would have made the children embarrassed or even threatened. I wondered how other researchers would ask ethnic-minority children about their ethnic identity at first without any trusting relationship, to obtain a sincere response. I doubted how trustful the children’s answer would be in the situation of an interview or survey. Asking identity questions relating to bi-ethnic minority children was a sensitive matter that could, if not handled properly, lead to further isolation. This also made me conscious of my own positioning as Korean and the need for me to be more open about my own identity.

At the end of the first meeting, participants asked me if we could go out next week for the second meeting. There was mutual agreement on the ice-cream shop. Following this agreement, Bob suggested that we select a team leader for our group. The rest agreed with him. Green Tea and Question Mark were upfront about not wanting to take on that role. Bob and Cream suggested ‘rock, scissors, and paper’ to select one. Bob won and became the leader. They slowly started expressing their opinions and mediating

differences with one another.

As planned, the second meeting took place at an ice-cream store. The place helped us to communicate more naturally than the Center, which children considered a study place. We did not have an English class on that day; instead, we talked more about our project. Upon Cream's suggestion, our team name was decided by vote, "All Together." They also started calling me "Meena," an Indian name given to me by my South Indian mother-in-law. Instead of calling me 'teacher,' part of the Confucian tradition in Korea as an expression of respect, calling me a nickname made the children feel more comfortable talking with me.

The seventh meeting illuminated how the participants' comfort level had considerably increased, through an activity, which attracted voluntary participation to dialogue from the children. The activity was *relay questions*: We created one question and anybody could answer. The next question was a 'why' question linked to the previous answer. Through dialogue, the children shared their complaints about the Multicultural Center and stories about their families in more detail, which we had not shared at the beginning of the project. Moreover, these stories had never been exposed to any other teachers at the Center. Initially, questions were given by me, because no participant tried to provide one. However, from the fifth question, the children started

making questions. They started thinking, talking, discussing, and sharing their thoughts with comfort.

1. Why are we here together?

Cream: To study English.

Green Tea: No reason.

Question Mark: Because we are in sixth grade. It is because all of us are members of this Center.

2. Why do you go to the Multicultural Center?

Cream: Because my mom forced me to go. My mom is *Da-mun-hwa* and she cannot help me study. She doesn't know what I study. Also, she goes out to work everyday.

All four children mentioned that they did not like to come to the Multicultural Center. The children complained that the Center did not provide them with free time, it did not allow them to play a computer game, and there were only childish games. They preferred going to school because there were many friends at the same age, unlike the Multicultural Center where a diverse age group of children joined. They said they had trouble communicating with young kids. Because their parents forced them to go to the Center, they joined it. Otherwise, they preferred private institutions where they would be allowed to play video games and where classes would finish earlier. According to the participants, no teacher would interrupt children about incomplete homework at private institutions.

Meena: By the way, your mom speaks Korean very fluently. Why isn't she able to help you do homework or study?

Cream: She speaks Korean but she doesn't know certain vocabulary and things that I study at school. My mom is good at Korean and Mathematics, but poor at Social study and Science.

Bob: So does my mom.

Question Mark: Your mom is not with you.

Meena: Isn't it because your moms work and don't have time to help you, not because they don't know...?

Question Mark: She doesn't know.

Cream: That means the same.

Question Mark: She leaves home at night and comes back in the morning. Therefore, she doesn't know.

I observed that Cream and Question Mark ignored their mothers because of their

Korean language deficiency and lack of knowledge. Children mentioned that it was

because their mothers were *Da-mun-hwa*.

3. Why does my mom work?

Children: To live, to make money, and to eat.

4. Why does my mom make money?

Children: To live, to eat, to buy a house, cars...

Meena: Why does your mom work even though your dad works?

Cream: Because it is not enough for one parent to work.

Meena: Do you all want to make money in the future?

All: No.

Meena: Why? How would you live without money?

Cream: I will borrow it from my sister.

Meena: What if your sister also does not want to make money?

Cream: I will borrow it from my mom.

Meena: What if your mom doesn't work?

Cream: I will be in debt.

Meena: Why don't you want to make money?

Cream: It is tiring.

Meena: What do you want to be in the future?

Cream: Unemployed.

Meena: What about Green Tea?

Green Tea: I don't know.

Meena: What about Question Mark?

Question Mark: I will make money. I will do anything that will give me money.

Meena: What about Bob?

Bob: We make money not to be a beggar.

5. Why do we live?

Bob: To be loved.

Meena: Wow!

Cream: By whom?

Bob: By family.

Question Mark: You have only one family member.

Cream: He has two brothers.

Question Mark: He doesn't know where they live.

Meena: How do you know what Bob is thinking since you are not Bob?

Question Mark: I know.

Meena: How do you know?

Question Mark: His parents are divorced.

Meena: I like Bob's answer so much.

Question Mark: To be loved by one?

Meena: Of course. It is not easy to be loved even by one.

Question Mark: What would you prefer if you are loved by one and become *Wang-
dda* by friends, or if you are not loved by anyone but have many friends?

Cream: The latter.

Green Tea: I like neither.

Meena: It is such a blessing if you are loved by even one. There are so many people who don't get any love.

Cream: Like beggars.

Question Mark: Beggars get love by people who give money.

Meena: Maybe, it is not love but sympathy?

Question Mark: Sympathy is love.

Meena: What about Cream? Why do you live?

Cream: Because my mom gave birth to me.

Bob: To have a dream.

Cream: What is your dream?

Question Mark: A scientist. But he is very poor at science.

Meena: You are not Bob. You don't know what will happen to Bob and what Bob thinks. What about Green Tea? Why do you live?

Green Tea: To feel guilty.

Meena: What kind of guilty do you have?

Cream: What is guilty?

Green Tea: To feel sorry.

Meena: I like your answer. Tell me more in detail.

Green Tea: What about you, Meena?

Meena: Um. I feel sorry many times. For example, I work so hard these days and feel very tired. When I return home, I am neither sweet nor kind to my parents even though my tiring is not their fault. I feel so sorry for them to get upset on them without reasons.

Green Tea: Me, too. I am also upset with my mom. For example, I break a radio, break a cup, and so on.

Meena: What about Question Mark? Why do you live?

Bob: To be a great person.

Question Mark: (Aggressively) Because I was born!

Based on the dialogue from the fifth question, it seemed that Bob maintained a sense of hope and love even though he was withdrawn and picked on by others. On the contrary, Cream and Question Mark seemed to be afraid of the possibility of being *Wang-dda*. Nonetheless, Cream and Question Mark made Bob excluded by ignoring him and talking about Bob's thoughts as if they were Bob. They identified Bob's identity without consideration of Bob's opinions. Bob did not show any anger and kept silent.

During the project, self-identification of bi-ethnic participants was not expressed as identical. For example, Green Tea displayed a different temperament between the PAR

project and her other classes. Even other teachers at the Center did not recognize it until I talked to Mrs. Wang right after the sixth meeting. She did not look problematic and behaved even more kindly than the other children when she was with other teachers; however, she has kept her trauma to herself. It would be hard for any teachers, researchers, and parents to observe her inner identity and thoughts, unless they spent time in a trusting relationship with her. During PAR, she felt I was not a teacher, but a peer just like her friends, so she might behave like she was with her friends. As Mrs. Wang pointed out, children's behaviors change depending on the person whom they interact with, by saying that "I think she feels comfortable with you and she does not mind to behave as she is," children's identification also may be differently expressed depending on the person whom they talk with. I hope this PAR project made children feel comfortable and helped them to express their self-identity in a frank way.

In the thirteenth meeting when I distributed storybooks to each child and shared the feedback on our PAR project, the children expressively articulated their feelings. I asked them how they felt about their storybook after reading it. Green Tea, firstly, said,

Green Tea: I found I am violent.

Meena: What made you to think like that?

Green Tea: From what I have written and drawn on the storybook. Others also pointed the same thing (She meant the note from the eighth meeting when commenting about others).

Meena: What made you violent?

Green Tea: I don't know.

Cream: I enjoyed our meeting.

Meena: How did you enjoy?

Cream: The meeting was very different from other classes at school and at the Multicultural Center.

Meena: How different was it?

Cream: I felt comfortable in this meeting. I felt like I was just chatting with my friends.

Validation of Difference

Throughout the meetings, we had conversation about our family, our friends, our experiences, and ourselves. The dialogue on these topics led us to question and discuss the similar and different things between others and 'myself'. Children recognized that people are all equal as human beings, but all have different experiences. Even though they perceived all is different, it was still a challenge for them to understand that everybody should be equally respected.

In the second meeting, we talked about "what is ethnic identity?" in order to think about being bi-ethnic in Korea. Four children identified as multicultural children.

Meena: Do you think you are children from multicultural family?

Cream: Yes, because one of my parents has different culture.

Meena: What are the differences between children from multicultural family and Korean children?

Cream: Our thinking and feeling are different from their thinking and feeling.

Meena: How different are they?

There was silence for a few minutes. I used a method of comparing 'similar and different' to give them tips how to think.

Meena: Maybe, their families will be different?

Cream: Religion.

Green Tea: Looking. Intonation.

Bob: Perspectives.

Meena: How different?

(Silent)

Meena: How these non bi-ethnic Korean children see children from multicultural family?

Cream: Some think we are poor.

Meena: Why is that?

Cream: It is just my feeling. Some may feel we are all human beings.

Meena: Then, what are the similar things to non bi-ethnic Korean children?

(I tried to avoid to say “Korean children” because bi-ethnic children also think they are Korean.)

Question Mark: We are human beings.

Cream: Hairs. We all think.

Meena: Then, what are the good things as being children from multicultural family?

Cream: We can learn various culture and languages from many countries.

Meena: Can all of you speak Chinese and do you know Chinese culture?

Bob: I don't speak Chinese. Chinese is not useful because I won't go to China.

Meena: What? Chinese is one of the most powerful languages in the world. If you can speak Chinese, many people would respect you and ask you for help in many ways.

Green Tea: I won't go to China in my life. But I speak a bit.

Question Mark: I don't know.

Bob: I don't speak Chinese and I don't know Chinese culture at all.

Child participants maintained various levels of comfort with their bi-cultural identity.

Question Mark had a strong opinion that bi-ethnic Korean children are not different from

Korean children, whereas Cream thought they are different in their ways of thinking and

feeling. Cream also mentioned that bi-ethnic children are treated differently from Korean

children. She actually raised this issue again in the seventh meeting,

Question Mark: I think I don't have to study because I am *Da-mun-hwa*.

Cream: In my class, there is one classmate who is *Da-mun-hwa*. My teacher does not care whether he does homework or not. She said it is because he is a bit retarded. Even though he does not bring a textbook, the teacher is just smiling at him.

Meena: Do you think she does not care because this student is a child from multicultural family?

Cream: Yes.

Meena: Then, why does she treat him differently from you even though you are also a child from multicultural family?

Cream: Um. Maybe, it is because he is not capable to follow up with normal students.

The distinction between "normal" and "multicultural" might connote the larger hegemony prevalent in society.

In the earlier dialogue of the second meeting, while they identified themselves as multicultural children, they refused to learn their mothers' language and culture. It seemed that they looked down on their mothers' country. This conversation illustrated that for these children, there is a fine line between difference and disparity.

In the third meeting, we focused on our families and articulating what bi-ethnicity means at the level of family to each participant. It was mutually agreed that we would draw our own family on large sheets of paper as an activity. While drawing, I suddenly came up with one question and asked them,

Meena: What ethnic identity do you think my future baby would have?

Cream: The baby will be Indian.

Meena: Why not Korean?

Cream: (He/she) also should follow Korean culture. Both culture.

Green Tea: I am confused.

Cream: My little aunt lives in Australia. My uncle is Australian and my aunt is Korean. But my aunt lets her children speak in Korean at home.

Meena: What about you guys? If you have your babies, would you teach them Korean or Chinese?

Cream: First, I will let them speak whatever they want. Then, I will teach my culture.

Meena: Oh, mom's culture? What about father's culture?

Cream: Dump it.

Meena: Why?

Cream: I don't know.

Meena: If I have a baby, the baby would be Indian or Korean?

Bob: Indian.

Cream: No. Korean. It is because the baby is born in Korea. If he/she were born in India, he/she would be Indian.

Meena: What if the baby is born in another country?

Cream: Indian.

Meena: Why?

Cream: The baby should follow his/her father's nationality.

Meena: Why?

Cream: Because father is a head of household.

Meena: What do you think, Question Mark?

Question Mark: Korean.

Meena: Why?

Question Mark: Because mother gave birth to the baby.

Meena: What about my husband? He may feel bad if I teach only my language and culture to my baby. What do you think?

Cream: Ask TV.

Bob: Korean. Because I am Korean.

Green Tea: I won't have babies.

(Question Mark kept silent.)

Understanding and articulating ethnicity was a complex task that intersected with other categories of gender, nationality, and citizenship. Their understanding also reflected

the specifics of their own experiences and their family dynamics. Cream changed her answers frequently and finally refused to think by saying, “Ask TV”. Green tea also mentioned ‘confused’ on bi-ethnic children’s ethnicity and, in the end, firmly expressed that she won’t have babies, as an expression of resistance towards the marginalization. Question Mark insisted that the baby should follow the mother’s nationality because mother gave the birth to the baby; however, he identified himself as Korean, which is his father’s, in the end of the PAR project (Appendix D).

After all of us finished drawing and writing through reflections, we shared our family stories one by one. I started my own story by sharing my drawing. Bob wanted to take the next turn. Bob wrote, “My father is from Korea,” even though his father is Chinese. When somebody pointed that, he added the word “China” on the paper. When Bob finished presenting, I asked Bob, “What do you like to do with your family?” Suddenly, Question Mark interrupted and said, “Suicide.” Bob answered, “When we go out to buy something.” We were talking about his brothers and Question Mark intruded again, “His brother died.” In Bob’s drawing, all his family did not have facial expressions. When Question Mark asked him to draw a smile, he added it. He drew only one brother and mentioned that he did not remember what the other brother looked like.

As Green Tea shared her drawing, I asked her what she liked to do with her family.

She said, “I like talking with my family about family relationship.” Suddenly, Cream said, “I heard she has two brothers in China.” However, she wrote, “I have no brothers or sisters.” Green Tea did not seem to want to share her family history with us; instead, she seemed to try to keep it in herself and to give a more unified sense of the family. Even though Mrs. Wang said that she had been suffering from the domestic violence, Green Tea showed her desire to get the family discord healed through communication.

Cream’s illustration included her father, her mother, her younger sister, and herself. Mrs. Wang had informed me that Cream has one older brother in China; however, she did not include her brother in the drawing. When she shared her family stories with us, she also did not mention her brother; instead, she talked more about her relatives who live in Japan and Australia. She said that her mom likes talking and her family goes on picnics every weekend. She looked the happiest one among four child participants when talking about family even though she was reluctant to talk about her brother in detail, by saying, “I don’t know.”

Question Mark refused to share his family story. However, he wrote, in the backside of his drawing paper, “My mother likes TV and my father likes computer. I like both. Both my parents work.” Both his parents were smiling while he was not smiling on his drawing. When I asked why, Question Mark quickly added the smile on his face

(Appendix A). Mrs. Wang's understanding of his family was that there was limited conversation.

In the fourth meeting, we talked about our past from birth till now by making our own timeline. I showed, first, my own timeline from birth to education, to travel abroad, to marriage and return to Korea. I also shared the happiest moment and the saddest moment in my life. While I was sharing my experiences in my life, participants tried to connect my story to their experiences and reflect on them.

Meena: The biggest event in my life was my marriage. My wedding happened last year.

Question Mark: When was it?

Meena: It was June. I had two weddings in India and Korea.

Cream: Oh! My parents did the same thing! China and Korea. They had to do for my grandmother in China as well.

Meena: Yes! Same as my case. Since the marriage, so many things have been changed in my life. The place to live, the things to eat...

Children: Culture, dresses, foods,

Meena: I have lived in Korea for 27 years and I went to the U.S. in 2005. What kinds of things do you think would have changed in my life?

Question Mark: Language.

Cream: Culture, custom, school, friends, food...

Meena: Yes. I went to the new school and I didn't have any friends. I couldn't use Korean and couldn't eat Korean foods. Everything was changed and I was very lonely. But I had to make friends and practice English. It took long time. Let me talk about the happiest moment and the saddest moment in my life. What do you think?

Question Mark: The happiest moment would be marriage and the saddest moment would be the death.

Cream: Marriage would be the saddest.

Meena: Why?

Cream: Because you should do housework such as cooking and cleaning.

Meena: No. Actually, it was opposite. Marriage was the happiest moment even though my parents and my husband's parents did not agree with my marriage.

Cream: Ah, the same thing happened to my parents.

Bob: Why was that?

Cream: They must have discriminated your husband because he is from a different country. My dad's parents also rejected my mom.

Green Tea: Because he has dark skin?

Meena: My parents are old and very conservative. They hoped that I would get married to a Korean guy.

Question Mark: Then, why did you guys get married?

Meena: Because we love each other.

Cream: When my parents got married, my mom had to sleep in the same room with my grandmother. My grandmother scolded my mom and my mom ran away. So, my dad went out to look for my mom.

Meena: I also had lots of troubles like that, but now we are very happy. What about the saddest moment in my life? It was when I was an elementary school student.

Bob: Why?

Meena: I was *Wang-dda* for some time because classmates did not like me.

Cream: Why?

Meena: I don't know. There was no reason, I think.

Cream: It happens the same thing in my class as well. If someone behaves differently as others, he/she becomes *Wang-dda*.

Meena: In my case, I was very shy. When I was *Wang-dda*, I was suffering a lot from that situation. I hated going to school.

Cream: Call 127. This number is for school violence. Or buy them some snacks. No. Even though you buy them some snacks, they would make you *Wang-dda* again on the following day.

It was surprising that Cream mentioned that marriage would be the saddest because her family was considered the happiest family among the four participants.

According to Mrs. Wang, Cream's family was the most harmonious, while Green Tea,

Bob, and Question Mark had some family troubles, such as violence, lack of

communication, divorce, etc. As below, Cream's timeline that she shared with us demonstrated a tranquil family life.

I was born in 2000, 11th of August. At the age of five, I entered kindergarten. Then, I learned piano and English at academy. I remember the day when I got a new cell phone. At the age of eight, I entered school and visited China during my vacation. When I was 12, I transferred school to Ansan. The happiest moment was when I visited my previous school to meet my old friends. I also like vacation. I don't remember the saddest moment.

Unlike most Chinese-Korean marriages that happen through mail-order brides, Cream's parents met in China and decided to get married. It seemed that she spent considerable time communicating with her family. She liked to show off things that others were not able to enjoy as privilege; for example, playing piano, learning English at academy, going on a picnic with families, and having relatives in other countries. However, she expressed again the negative feelings towards her family in the seventh meeting during the relay question activity when we talked about our emotions.

Meena: How do you feel when you are with your family?

Cream: Tired because they say something, which is very boring.

Although Cream painted a positive picture of her family characterized by open communication, the structures offered contradictory views insinuating the complexity of bi-ethnic Korean family life under the surface. Teachers at the Multicultural Center believed that Cream was lucky to have a happy family. However, Cream did not think the same way as others. Adults may think they know children well; however, as was

demonstrated with the children in this study, their experiences were not predictable and generalizable but, rather, unique. Children felt misunderstood by adults who, without effort to get to know them, formed their own conclusions often based on stereotypes.

The other three participants shared their experiences after reflections and drawing their own timeline. Bob followed,

I was born in 2000 and was immediately moved to China. I came back to Korea when I was seven years old. I entered school at eight. I didn't like to go to school. When I was nine years old, my parents divorced. At the age of 10, I joined the *Uri Hamkke* Multicultural Center. At the age of 11, I didn't have good test scores and became *Wang-dda* at class. The happiest moment in my life was when I got a new computer. The saddest moment was entering the school, joining the Multicultural Center, and becoming *Wang-dda*.

He did not mind presenting first every time. He seemed to assume a leadership role and liked getting others' attention. However, he had trouble getting along with his friends at school as well as at the Center. Question Mark and Cream bullied him because of his low test scores. Bob could not join any activities and was treated as a non-member of the Center. That was the reason why Bob did not like to come to the Multicultural Center. It felt like *a double discrimination*: discrimination from out-group members (Korean students at school) and discrimination from in-group members (multicultural children). Even at home, he was somewhat solitary. Whenever other children teased him because of

his low grades and Korean language deficiency, he did not resist the bullying; instead, he accepted it as normal.

Next was Green Tea's turn:

I was born in 2000, 16th of June. At the age of four, I experienced an electric shock. At five, I entered kindergarten. At six, I did a performance at kindergarten. At seven, I got a new computer. At eight, I entered school. At nine, I got injured of my leg. I joined the Multicultural Center when I was 10. Yesterday, I found buds. The happiest moment was yesterday when I saw buds. The saddest moment was when my parents were angry.

When I asked her about the happiest moment, she was struggling with answering. She repeated, "I don't know" but with encouragement remembered a positive moment from the previous day. On the contrary, she easily found the saddest moment as ongoing family trouble. It seemed that her family discord cast a dark shadow over her life. It could also be connected to her general lack of confidence in group work. Green Tea was a very talented artist in drawing. However, when I complimented her on her drawing, she kept saying, "No. I am not good."

Lastly, Question Mark shared his timeline:

I was born in 2000, 21st of June. I was born when I was in heaven. Then, I moved to my mom's belly and moved to my house. I went to school and now I am 12 years old. The happiest moment was the fact that I was born. The saddest moment was when I made my friend cry.

On the timeline paper, Question Mark drew many things. One scene described a person who shot two people with a gun, whose heads consequently fell off. The other scene

illuminated the same thing. On the right side of the page, he drew Bob and described him as the ugly one. It seemed that he liked drawing; however, his imagination tended to be violent. He also used some profanity and cruel expressions when he was talking; for example, kill, die, breaking legs, beggar, etc. Question Mark was very distracted and did not show interest in the timeline activity. However, based on his drawing, it seemed that he had some deep psychological issues that may have never been addressed, leading to stress, anger, or anxiety. It was also difficult to decipher whether he really did not care about the project or he was not willing to share his past.

However, the interview activity in the tenth meeting showed Question Mark's strong attitudes towards identifying as Korean: He rejected the idea that there is a difference between bi-ethnic Korean children and Korean children. We went out for an interview to ask people on the street about bi-ethnic Korean children. While the participants conducted their own interviews, Question Mark disappeared and showed up with his own answer; however, he insisted that he interviewed people. I knew he was not being truthful because I had closely observed him. What he showed seemed to accurately depict his own belief that bi-ethnic children and Korean children are not different. The interview question was, 'What are your thoughts on children from multicultural families?' and Question Mark's sheet included one word, "same" (Appendix C). Question Mark

identified himself as Korean on the feedback sheet in the end of the project (Appendix D).

The Complexities of Self-identification

In the second meeting when we shared ethnic identity at the ice cream shop, we talked about our ethnic identity in a comfortable way and participants expressed their attitudes about being identified as bi-ethnic children. They shared how they felt being bi-ethnic children and how others thought of bi-ethnic children in Korea. When I asked if there were any negative experiences being bi-ethnic children, silence continued.

Cream: I think nothing.

Green Tea: (silent)

Bob: I will think about it.

Question Mark: I don't know.

Because the children could not find anything to say, I attempted to apply the question to their situation.

Meena: Do you like to be called children from multicultural families?

Bob: No!

Mina: Why?

Bob: Bullying.

Cream: Discrimination, ignorance, and sarcasm.

Meena: How do you like to be called, then?

Cream: By name. I don't like to be called, 'Hey, *Da-mun-hwa!*'

All four children identified themselves as Korean and multicultural children at the same time when we orally discussed our ethnic identity in the second meeting. However, on the feedback sheet of the last meeting, Bob and Question Mark identified themselves

only as Korean while Green tea and Cream marked Korean and multicultural children (Appendix D). It seemed that the participants had different identity or identity expressions depending on the place and time (Rockquemore et al., 2009). It is also possible that Bob and Question Mark expressively identified themselves as Korean even though they acknowledged that they were multicultural children in mind as well. Another possibility is that Bob and Question Mark identified themselves as Korean while others identified them as multicultural children; however, they did not claim this identity when asked to self-identify.

The children maintained a general negative attitude towards being multicultural children. Firstly, all four children mentioned that they did not want to be called *Da-mun-hwa* children. When their friends or adults called them *Da-mun-hwa*, they felt humiliated. They preferred to be called by their names. At school, there was an after-school program only for multicultural children. The participants did not want to join the program because they did not like to be categorized differently from Korean students. They used the words, “bullying, outcast, discrimination, ignorance, and sarcasm” to describe being bi-ethnic children in Korea.

The identification by others, which caused the negative attitudes, prevented bi-ethnic children from accepting their bi-ethnicity. Rather, they refused to learn their

mother's language and culture. None of participants were able to speak their mother's language and they did not want to learn it even in the future. Bob said Chinese language and culture are useless, and Green tea and Bob said that they would never go to their mother's country. In the third meeting when we talked about our family, Bob wrote that his father was Korean even though he knew that his father was Chinese. Even though participants, except Question Mark, perceived that they were different from Korean children, they did not want to be categorized in the different group from Koreans.

Their negative attitudes were influenced by not only Koreans and Korean society, but also their parents. According to Mrs. Wang, families of bi-ethnic children suffer from economic pressure, lack of communication, domestic violence, and so on. In the third meeting, Green Tea said she would not have babies. Cream identified marriage as the saddest event in life. The unhappy family relationship might negatively influence children to identify as bi-ethnic. In the twelfth meeting when I spoke with parents, the parents also maintained negative attitudes towards their children's bi-ethnicity and they wanted to identify their children as Korean. They also refused to expose their children to the mother's language and culture. They did even avoid talking with their children not to affect them with their imperfect pronunciation of Korean language.

On the other hand, I also observed that bi-ethnic children could intentionally take

advantage of their bi-ethnic identity in certain situations. In the seventh meeting, Cream mentioned that her teacher treated bi-ethnic children differently from Korean students.

Whether bi-ethnic children did or did not do homework, the teacher did not care.

Participants did not want to be identified as bi-ethnic; however, they did not refuse being treated differently from Koreans at the same time to gain benefits of being bi-ethnic.

In the eighth meeting, the children had an opportunity to describe others through an activity, which was agreed upon by all participants. I observed that some children tended to identify others on their own. This activity would give a chance for them to think of others and to know how others think of them. I prepared four papers on which the name of each child was written. On top of the paper, I firstly wrote how I had been thinking of each participant. The children started writing about each of other three children and me. Through this activity, we attempted a more positive approach to each other to counter the usual negative comments.

Bob

The leader of our team, 'All together', Bob! Thank you so much for helping us preparing the meeting every time as a team leader. I really enjoy whenever I talk with Bob because Bob is very innocent and honest. I was surprised when you deeply thought and talked with consideration. You are dreaming of becoming a scientist. I hope you keep strengthening your leadership with confidence and your dream come true. (by Meena)

You are our team leader. I hope you keep a good thinking and have a good life. (by

Question Mark)

Hi Bob, you are our team leader. So, you have to have a good thinking and good attitude. (by Green Tea)

Bob, I know other friends see green in your eye. However, don't feel bad and I hope you do not mind. The way I talk to you always makes you feel bad. But please don't consider me as a person like that. (by Cream)

Green Tea

Our artist, Green Tea, showing an amazing drawing skill each time! You have warm heart and nice personality like your name. The other day, when Green Tea told us a fairy story, I was very impressed by your lively and skillful way of storytelling. Whenever you draw something and tell a story, your creativity is just amazing. I hope you become a great artist who makes others warm-hearted! (by Meena)

Dear Green Tea, you are good at drawing because you are creative and think a lot. I hope you share your skills with me. (by Cream)

You look tough but you are good at drawing. (by Question Mark)

I would like to compliment you on your excellent drawing skills. (by Bob)

Question Mark

A handsome guy, Question Mark, who always shouts, "I don't know!" I was initially worried a lot about you because you didn't talk nor participate in activities; however, I am very impressed that you became active now. Question Mark has good speaking skills and you seem to be good at discussion. In addition, I observed in our English class that you have a good sense of language skills. Question Mark has the potential for improvement and latent talent, cheer up! (by Meena)

Hi Question Mark. You always say, 'I don't know'. You are 'Min-ho, Kim'! (by Green Tea)

You used to come to my house after school, but you are changed now. Haha. (by

Bob)

? = Min-ho Kim! I thought you are stupid because you always say, ‘I don’t know’. However, I don’t think ‘fool’ represents you as I observed that you sometimes speak English well. I hope you do not make your personality bad. (by Cream)

Cream

Cream is such a good student, who does everything by herself. I appreciate your attitudes and passion, which give our team strength. Your merit is a power of concentration and responsibility by doing your best. In addition, your English skills always impress me. I am hoping that you become an international cook with your great English skills and a meticulous nature! (by Meena)

I am so upset on you because you swear me. (by Bob)

Hi Cream! You speak English very well and always smile. You are a good student compared to Bob. Ha ha. (by Green Tea)

Be a cook. (by Question Mark)

When I read the children’s comments on the others, I was quite surprised to see their ability to focus on positive attributes of others. For example, on Question Mark’s comments, Cream left compliments on his English skills even though he has not relatively concentrated on English class and his English skill was not that good. I had to encourage him to participate in the class and used the strategy of compliment instead of punishment. Then, Cream also thought Question Mark was good at English and praised him. This was an example in their ability to “mirror” positive perception onto each other. It may illuminate how important others’ perspectives on individuals are in developing

identity.

Double Consciousness

At the beginning of the fifth meeting, I chatted with Green Tea and Cream because Question Mark and Bob had not yet come to the Center. Cream said that Green Tea obtained 100 scores of math on the exam at school. So, I asked them what they would like to be in the future. Cream said she would like to be a cook. Green Tea said she had nothing to become. "I just want to be at home, I want to be a bad woman." This answer surprised me because Green tea was considered a sociable child who was popular and beloved by other children at the Center. According to Mrs. Wang, all members like Green Tea because she would do a favor, whatever her friends asked. However, considering her answer about her dream, she might be internally tired of this personality, of being nice to everyone, but did not reveal her feeling externally.

As an activity in the sixth meeting, each participant chose one character based on imagination and tried to recognize similar and different things between the character and oneself. Each one drew anything that came to one's mind on the paper. Cream drew whipping cream, Green Tea drew a little hippo, Question Mark drew three fingers with the longest middle one, and Bob drew a computer.

In this meeting, the children looked a bit distracted. They were talking about horror

movies, cruel stories, Internet, etc. Bob tried to participate in chatting but Green Tea and Question Mark ignored him. Whatever Bob said, the two did not even listen to him. I asked why they did not involve Bob in the conversation; they directly said, “Bob is *Wang-dda*” and Question Mark added, “He has no friends. Nobody would listen to him.” Even though they articulated the word *Wang-dda*, it did not seem that Bob was hurt. He continued drawing and writing for the activity and constantly talked to us even though other participants did not respond to him.

During this meeting, Green Tea used profanity a few times, often pointed at Bob. It was quite shocking to see this attitude and behavior, which seemed to be emerging later in this study. When she shared “similar and different” things between the little hippo and herself, she said, “Both little hippo and I are violent.” I asked, “Why do you think you are violent?” She said, “I don’t know.” She did not want to elaborate. She continued, “We both like hitting with a knife.”

It was the first time that she expressed a violent temperament. After the meeting, I had time to talk with Mrs. Wang. I shared what had happened during the meeting. Mrs. Wang was quite shocked to hear this and said,

It seems that this violent temperament was hidden inside her and she didn’t reveal it to certain people. I think she feels comfortable with you and she does not mind to behave in these ways. Last year, she said she wanted to kill herself because of her family issue. As I told you, her father often beats her mother and her mother

wanted to divorce. Her mother revealed that she had gotten married in China and her son from her previous husband is still alive in China. After Green Tea knew this story, she was very shocked and depressed a lot. She needed some psychological therapy and received ‘drawing mental treatment’. After a while, she seemed to get better and now behave normal or even better so that all the other friends like her. However, I now realize that she also has her inner and hidden temperament inside. Then, she expresses this temperament when she feels it would be fine to show depending on people she interacts with.

In the ninth meeting, it was agreed by all participants to conduct one activity, which would give us an opportunity to think about our future. I began the activity by saying, “Why don’t we write down the words, as many as possible, which would describe you?” because I hoped that they could connect their present identity to their past and their future. Below is what participants wrote about themselves:

Bob

1. Team leader.
2. Student.
3. Jin-su Lee.
4. Wearing hats.
5. Bob at the Multicultural Center.
6. Surfing the Internet while doing homework.
7. I like the game.
8. I am a treasure.
9. I like animation.
10. I live with my father.

Question Mark

Human being, human being, human being.

Cream

I am a woman.

I am a student.
 I am a human being.
 I am Eun Young Jang.
 I am Cream.
 I have many friends.
 I am a clever young girl.
 I am very greedy for money. I spend a lot of money eating.
 I am a housewife (She copied this sentence from Green tea's).

Green Tea

I am a human being.
 I am a daughter.
 I am Green Tea.
 I am a woman.
 I am a student.
 I am a 1-year old housewife.
 (Because my mom forced me to do housework such as washing dishes, cleaning the room, etc.)
 I live in my own world. The others are extraterrestrials.

It was interesting to notice the change of Green Tea's role identity depending on the place. She identified herself as a student at school, as Green Tea at the Multicultural Center, and as a daughter and housewife at home. According to Mrs. Wang, most children at the Multicultural Center easily change their personality, perhaps a *double consciousness* of sorts, depending on the place and people who they interact with. For example, the participants used inappropriate language and obscenities in our meeting while they never used them in any other classes at the Multicultural Center or at schools. Mrs. Wang was quite shocked to know the children's dramatic change when I described

their bad attitude. It meant their identity may also change depending on the place and people; thus, identity is often performed based on audience, context, and comfort.

In another such instance, Cream also showed her inner feelings, which had never been disclosed at any other places.

Cream: I drew whipping cream. Both of us have the same name. We both are females and have a ponytail. However, we are different in personalities. Cream is soft and sweet while I am not. Her (Cream) family is much better than mine but my friends are much better than hers.

Meena: Why is her family much better than yours?

Cream: Look at my drawing. Her family is smiling while my family is frowning and crying.

Meena: What about your friends?

Cream: All of my friends are very kind and sweet. I like them so much.

Even though Cream looked happy with her family and liked to show off her family relationship to others, there were some complexities beneath the surface. I did not realize what made her unhappy with her family until I had a discussion with her mother at the end of the project. I felt that her mother forced her to study too hard in order to be successful as a minority bi-ethnic child in Korean society. Detailed conversation will be described in the next section, because the parents' attitudes is an important factor that influences the ethnic identity development of bi-ethnic Korean children.

Factors that Influence Bi-ethnic Identity Development

To understand the identity formation of bi-ethnic Korean children, I needed to

consider it from two different perspectives: micro-perspectives and macro-perspectives. From micro-perspectives, based on my observation and dialogue with participants, friends were the most influential in bi-ethnic children's identity development. Cream transferred to a new school in Ansan because of bullying related to her bi-ethnicity. Bob was bullied by others because of difficulties with Korean language and poor academic performance. Question Mark, who did not consider himself an outcast, was still afraid of the potential risk of being isolated from friends, as shown in the seventh meeting, when he asked Bob, "What would you prefer, to be loved by one and become *Wang-dda* by friends, or not to be loved by anyone but have many friends?" All four participants were very concerned about the relationships with their friends more than their families. They all refused learning their mother's language and culture because of the fear that Korean friends may bully them; instead, they preferred being Korean to get along with their friends.

During the twelfth meeting when I had a conversation with the participants' foreign parents, it became obvious that family was another important factor affecting bi-ethnic children's identity development. Unfortunately, only two parents, Cream's mother and Bob's father, attended the meeting. All parents had different time schedules for work and some parents refused to have a meeting because of overtime working hours or personal

obligations. First, Cream's mother, who is Chinese, came to the Center. I gave her a brief overview about Cream's participation during the project. Cream's mother immigrated to Korea 15 years ago and her Korean was quite fluent. Nonetheless, she was concerned about her Korean language deficiency and was reluctant to talk with her children in Korean. She had hope for Cream's education and forced her daughter to study hard. I asked her about her ethnic identity and she said,

I am Chinese. My husband keeps emphasizing that I received Korean nationality. However, I am still Chinese.

Even though she maintained a strong identity as Chinese, she wanted her children to be fully Korean. She continued,

Before we moved to Ansan, I was concerned about Cream's school life. She was often bullied by her classmates with the reason that she has a Chinese mother. She used to cry everyday and refused to go to school. So, we decided to move to Ansan where the population of multicultural children is high. She is now satisfied with her school and friends. I also appreciate this Multicultural Center, which takes care of my two daughters for free while I am working outside.

I asked whether she tried to teach Chinese language or culture to Cream and she answered,

I do not want her to learn Chinese. She should be Korean. She would be bullied by her friends because of her wrong pronunciation. She might be bullied if it was revealed that her mother is Chinese. Also, when I speak Chinese at home, my daughters are laughing at me. So, I do not want to speak Chinese with my daughters. I am a bit displeased about it. When my relatives visited my house and I spoke Chinese with them, Cream asked me, 'You are Korean, but why do you speak Chinese?' They want me to be a Korean mother, but I am not.

I also asked whether she knows what Cream would like to be in the future.

She wants to be a cook. But I don't like it. My dream is more important than her dream. I have been suffering from many things through intermarriage life and I sacrificed a lot to survive here. I work so hard. Therefore, I would like Cream to be what I want her to be. An interpreter would be good.

I showed her Cream's storybook. She read it for a while and said,

I did not know how she thought about family and herself. I have not asked what was in her mind. I just continued to ask her to do what I wanted. I was afraid of talking with her because my nonstandard pronunciation might negatively affect hers. Actually, I do not know how to raise children. I am also very busy working. I don't have time to share information with other mothers. So, I truly appreciate the Multicultural Center. I do not know what is going on at school and do not have time to talk with my children.

She continued,

I have always pursued her to be a fully Korean to survive in Korea. I thought it would be the best way to successfully survive as a bi-ethnic person. However, I now realize that I should think what would happen if she confronts the identity confusion. I have never talked with my daughter about her identity with an excuse of my busy life. I have never thought about what she would like to be. I just wanted her to get along with her friends.

In about an hour, Bob's father arrived at the Center. He usually comes home from work around 10 o'clock at night; however, he finished early on that day to have a meeting with me. We talked about life in Korea and he was quite satisfied with living in Korea. Even though he identified himself as Chinese, he wanted to live as Korean in Korea and he also wanted Bob to live as Korean. He mentioned about Bob's Korean language proficiency.

I do not want to teach him Chinese. He should be Korean to survive in Korea. He

also does not want to learn Chinese. All his Korean friends do not want a Chinese friend. I am more worried about his Korean language proficiency because his Korean is still not fluent. He has difficulty in expressing opinions. He should practice more Korean language, not Chinese.

All parents seemed to have assimilationist approaches. I asked him whether he did teach Chinese, but he said he did not because Bob's friends would bully Bob if he spoke Chinese. He continued,

I do not have time to talk with him. I come home around nine or ten o'clock and I am so tired. I am also a very silent person. As far as he asks me something, I would answer. Otherwise, I prefer to relax at home while being silent. Bob had a bad memory that his mother left him to an orphanage when he was very young. He still feels fear that he would be left alone again. So he always waits for me but I do not want to talk anything after work. That's the problem.

Time was a big factor. Raising multicultural children in Korea seemed to fall entirely on parents' shoulders. At last, I asked him what has changed in Bob's attitudes during or after the PAR project. He answered,

One day, he came to me and said that he would like to be a scientist. I have never thought and asked him what he would like to be. I was just hoping that he gets along with school friends and has good performance at school. But when he told me about his dream, I was very glad to hear that. I am a constructor, so I do not know about children's education but now I have to think about what I can do for him to support him to make his dream come true.

Mass media also would play an important role to counter stereotypes about multicultural families in Korea. In the second meeting when Cream said, "Some think we are poor," it reminded me of one popular TV program, which always described multicultural families as the poor. Even though the intention of the TV program was to

introduce multiculturalism to homogeneous Korean society, the media might be a starting point that may make people look down on non-Koreans in both conscious and subconscious ways.

Another example of the media's influence is the news, which often reports multicultural children as the retarded or outcasts at school. In the tenth meeting, when we went out to interview people on the street, some of the interviewees mentioned that bi-ethnic children need care and help. In the twelfth meeting, when I had discussions with parents, Cream's mother said that her family moved to Ansan because her children were bullied by other Korean students whose parents forced them not to be friendly to bi-ethnic children.

The process of stereotyping through media might be one of the main factors that create discrimination by friends and negatively influence the development of bi-ethnic children's identity formation. As described earlier, bi-ethnic participants did not want to be identified as multicultural children even though they acknowledged that they are (in the second meeting). In addition, some of the children did not expressively identify themselves as multicultural children (in the thirteenth meeting).

I also found that languages restricted the children's expressions or even feelings. When I introduced a limited number of English words for feelings in an English class

after the seventh meeting, they used only these vocabularies to describe their feelings:

Happy, sad, excited, scared, nervous, and tired.

Meena: How do you feel now?

Cream: I am so-so.

Bob: I am happy.

Green Tea: I am happy.

Question Mark: I am happy money voucher. (Question Mark answered all the questions with the answer, 'happy money voucher.' None of us knew what that meant.)

Meena: When do you feel happy?

Bob: When playing a computer game.

Meena: When do you feel nervous?

Cream: When taking an exam.

Meena: When do you feel tired?

Bob: When going to school. I am angry when I go to school because I have no friend.

Meena: How do you feel when you are with your family?

Cream: Tired because they say something, which is very boring.

Bob: I am happy because my dad allows me to play a computer game.

Green Tea: Tired, angry, and sad.

Question Mark: I don't know.

Meena: How do you feel when you play with your friends?

Cream: Very happy!

Green Tea: I am happy, nervous, excited, tired, and scared.

Bob: I am angry.

Meena: How do you feel when you go to school?

Green Tea: I am angry, nervous, and sad.

Bob: I am angry.

Cream: I am tired or happy.

Meena: When do you feel happy?

Cream: When I get gifts.

Green Tea: When I am with my family.

Question mark: When I get happy money.

Meena: When do you feel angry?

Bob: When I lose a computer game.

For example, when Cream said, “I am tired or happy” about going to school, she might have had more complicated feelings than just ‘tired or happy.’ However, she could not have expressed her feelings properly because of limited vocabularies, and those she addressed might have been understood differently from her intention.

In another English lesson that followed the ninth meeting, participants learned English vocabularies about future jobs. In the ninth PAR meeting when we talked about our future, Green Tea said her dream is to become ‘a complete person’. However, in the following English class, she said that she would like to be a president, which was available from the vocabulary list, in order to abolish exams and change the school system. She changed her dream depending on the language. She seemed to think that she had to choose one of the vocabularies that I showed. Similar to how they chose one of their dream options provided in English, they might choose their ethnic identity based on multiple choices provided to them. They have no choice but to choose identity as either Korean or multicultural, even though their formed identity could be different from the choices available to them.

Reflections on the PAR Approach

In the third meeting, we talked about our family. First, we tried to clarify why we

were talking about our family and why it would be important to include family in understanding ourselves.

Meena: Why do you think we are talking about family today?

Cream: Because we will make our storybook.

Green Tea: To know myself.

Meena: Why should we know about our family to know ourselves?

Cream: Because you (Meena) want to know it.

Meena: I do not want to know it.

Bob: Because you (Meena) don't know.

Meena: I don't need to know it. Ok. Let me tell you about my family. I was born and raised in Korea. My parents are Koreans. I grew up in Korean culture until I got married to my husband, who is from India. My husband is now my family. So, what do you think has been changed in my life?

Cream: Culture.

Meena: Yes. That has changed. My husband's parents are Indian, meaning that my parents-in-law are Indian. So, what else has been changed in my life?

Cream: You should follow Indian culture.

Meena: You are right. I should know that culture. Because of that, I am changing myself. What kind of culture would have affected my life?

In the beginning of the conversation, I had to share my experiences to make them understood that I am not a researcher who tries to investigate them, but a facilitator who helps to explore our ethnic identity together. We continued talking about Indian culture that has influenced my life after marriage. The children showed interest in the topic. They were not reluctant to speak out but it seemed that they were trying to say something "correct". If the answer was incorrect, others were mocking the child who gave the wrong answer. For example, when one child said, "You cannot eat pork," another child said,

“You are stupid! It is not pork, but beef.”

In the fifth meeting, we tried to prepare an interview activity so that children could interview their friends, teachers, or family about bi-ethnic children and their ethnic identity. However, Question Mark refused to do it. Bob also refused to do it and said, “My friends would not do it. They would not like to answer if I ask...” Green Tea wanted to interview not with her friends but with her parents. Cream was the only one who said it seemed interesting. So, we changed the way of interviewing, to do with anybody, such as parents, teachers, and friends, whomever they would like to talk to. Bob, Green Tea, and Question Mark chose their parents. Green Tea wrote ‘father and mother’. Bob wrote ‘father’ but he said his father would not answer because he would not be interested. Question Mark said he could do an interview only with his mother because his father would work until late. I asked him, “What about weekends? Why don’t you do it on this coming weekend?” But he seemed he did not want to do it with his father. He kept saying that his father would not have time and would sleep all day on weekends. Cream chose one of her friends and one of her teachers.

It seemed that Question Mark did not have time for conversation with his father at home even though his father did not work and stayed at home during the weekend. Cream was generally social and had good relationships with friends and teachers. She was

excited to conduct interviews with multiple people. Green Tea remained quiet. In any activities, she has never expressed strong excitement or aversion. Bob was isolated from his father, friends and even members of our project team. Moreover, he was afraid of making his friends uncomfortable because of the interview. We needed to find some strategies for Bob to encourage himself.

We tried to draft some interview questions. The questions came out of our curiosities and conversations from the previous meetings. First, we made questions individually and discussed together.

Meena: We would like to know who we are. So, what kinds of questions would be good to know ‘myself’ from your interviewee?

Green Tea: What about, “What do I like?” or “Who is my best friend?”

Question Mark: What am I good at? (But he added, “I am not good at anything.”)

Cream: How old am I? What color do I like?

Question Mark: What would I become in the future? Prisoner.

Meena: Question Mark, you have a very good question. What about “What kind of person do you wish I would become in the future?”

(Children wrote this question on the paper.)

Question Mark: What do I cherish? What is my wish?

Bob: What about, ‘What is my hope?’

Meena: All of them are great!

Bob and Question Mark tried to think of interview questions while Green Tea just took dictation of what others said. We left with the understanding that we would conduct our interviews before the next meeting.

However, it turned out that nobody did an interview except Cream in the following

meeting. Even Cream said she lost her complete interview sheet. The others did not even interview. They were not used to doing this kind of activity and did not want to do it.

They did not feel comfortable to ask about themselves.

In the tenth meeting, I found the answer why the previous interview activity failed.

In the beginning of the meeting, I shared my experience of attending a conference about multiculturalism and suggested an idea.

Today, I attended one conference about multiculturalism. There were about 10 presenters who talked about multiculturalism, immigrants, children from multicultural families, and so on. I could not fully agree with what they were talking about. Maybe, it is because that they are not immigrants, but Korean. And they were talking about us. However, I think it would be interesting to hear how other Korean people think about us. What do you think? Why don't we go out and interview people on the street?

All four children were excited to go out and prepared one blank paper and a pen.

They wrote a question, 'What are your thoughts on children from multicultural families?'

and I suggested they interview two Korean adults. We chose a playground as an

interview venue, which is near the Center.

Question Mark disappeared. The rest of them were reluctant to ask strangers and nobody approached anyone at the playground. They asked me to help them. With Green

Tea, I came up to one couple who were sitting on a bench and asked the guy, whose pseudonym is Jin,

Meena: May I ask you one question if you have time?

Jin: Sure.

Meena: What are your thoughts on children from multicultural families?

Jin: I think Korean children should take care of them.

Meena: Why do you think so?

Jin: Because they are very different from Korean children.

Meena: What makes them different from Korean children?

Jin: They need to get care. I saw many of them are *Wang-dda* at class.

Meena: Thank you so much.

Green Tea observed my interview and approached another person. I also helped Cream and Bob for the first interview and they completed the second one by themselves. Accompanying with an experienced person was key for Korean children to interview others. All participants were different and grew up with the different stories. As a facilitator, it was important to find the optimum way for participants to be able to co-conduct the research project during PAR.

In the thirteenth meeting, when we had time for feedback of our three-month PAR, all four children answered that they enjoyed the PAR meetings in question one on the feedback sheet (Appendix D). Cream mentioned in question one, “I became to know more about me.” She added in question three, “The way of thinking and feeling about me has been changed after PAR.” However, I observed Question Mark still copied some of the answers from others sitting next to him. Bob opened his storybook and copied expressions in question two. A three-month project was not enough to observe the change of students in thinking and discussion skills. However, they certainly looked more

comfortable about speaking out and expressing themselves.

Undiscovered Truth

In the eleventh meeting, we collected all the data from our first meeting until the tenth meeting to complete the storybook. I bought five books for each participant and each book consisted of 20 blank pages. I attached each one's picture on the cover page of the book and we glued our writings, drawings, and pictures one by one. Before I gave the children their final storybooks, I had a meeting with Mrs. Wang to share what I had worked on with the child participants. I provided her with data, which showed the four children to have a strong ethnic identity as Korean, even though they often changed their social identity depending on time, place, and the people they interacted with. She agreed that bi-ethnic children maintained a strong ethnic identity as Korean.

Mrs. Wang: We had a survey asking bi-ethnic children in the Center about their ethnic identity. Most of them except one identified them as Koreans and marked the high degree of being a member in the Multicultural Center.

Me: I heard that there is another community for Korean children nearby and this Center sometimes organizes the activity with that Center. What do you think of the difference between Korean children and bi-ethnic children?

Mrs. Wang: Actually, my Center is better funded by government and we organize more diverse activities and classes; for example, music class, play class, drawing psychological class, bi-weekly field trip such as riding horses, traveling to Jeju island, visiting EXPOs, and so on. Korean children cannot experience them as much as children in my Center. However, when we went to the joint-trip and had a teamwork activity, I observed that Korean children were more logical and fluent when speaking out. On the other hand, bi-ethnic children were more active to speak out while Korean children were shy to share their opinions. I don't know exactly

what the reasons are.

I also shared the fact that the four children whom I had worked with did not like coming to the Multicultural Center. She blamed the government policy that did not provide her with enough time to talk with children individually.

There are so many documents that I have to fill out and submit up to the certain date. I wish I could have more time to talk with children person to person. There are currently 29 children in the Center and I cannot take care of them personally. It would be ideal if we had 20 children; however, the government would not allow the Center to accept less than 25 children. If so, the Center would not be financially supported from the government. In addition, the government evaluates each Center by the documents that I have to fill out. It takes forever. As you see, I am always sitting in front of the computer. I know that I need to hear children's voices and have a meeting with their parents. However, how can I make time for all of them? I also have my family and my life. I am trying to do my best to balance these works, but definitely, I need to spend more time with children.

It was ironic that government and organizations supported extensively in terms of policies and funding, while bi-ethnic children were not enjoying the Multicultural Center and rather wanted to go to the private institutions like Korean children. When I heard three voices: policy makers at the conference, the director of the Multicultural Center, and the bi-ethnic child participants, all three voices were making different sounds.

CHAPTER V

ANALYSIS, DISCUSSION, AND CONCLUSION

Introduction

This study seeks to better understand the complexities of identity development of bi-ethnic children in Korea through a Participatory Action Research project with bi-ethnic children. The questions that guided this enquiry were:

1. How do bi-ethnic children in Korea self-identify?
2. What are the attitudes of bi-ethnic children towards their ethnic identity?
3. What are the factors that influence the identity formation of bi-ethnic children?
4. Does an engaged process of inquiry like participatory action research facilitate identity exploration in children?

Based on the research questions, my understanding through observation, dialogue, discussion, and interviews during the project are analyzed and discussed in this chapter. I also summarize the complexities of using PAR with bi-ethnic Korean children in the Korean context and provide some insights to current existing discourse on the topic. Lastly, I conclude with recommendations for further research.

In a country that has historically been homogeneous, factors such as lack of policies for bi-ethnic children, Korean ethnocentrism against non-Koreans, low socio-

economic status of multicultural families, and challenging relationships between immigrant mothers and their children have exacerbated a lack of identity awareness of bi-ethnic children in Korea. Therefore, the purpose of this study was to explore how bi-ethnic children in South Korea understand their identity using a participatory action research approach to answer four research questions.

Bi-ethnic children exist in/with the world, interact with the others, and are able to acquire experiential knowledge as well as dialectical knowledge (James & Prout, 1997). These experiences and communications, whether positive or negative, influence their attitudes towards their ethnic identity and sometimes change their identity depending on the time, place, people (Rockquemore et al., 2009), and language. However, each participant had different experiences even though all four of them were categorized and considered as *Da-mun-hwa* children in Korea. As Shih et al. (2007) insisted that bicultural children grow up with their unique experiences, they may, accordingly, maintain different identities. All four child participants identified themselves as Korean in the survey at the Multicultural Center before conducting PAR, while they identified themselves as *Da-mun-hwa* children in the second meeting during PAR. However, in the last meeting of PAR, two of them identified as Korean and the other two identified as Korean as well as *Da-mun-hwa* children. Their experiences cannot be generalized, but

should be viewed in the light of individual diversity (Young & Barrett, 2001).

Analysis

1. How do Bi-ethnic Children in Korea Self-identify?

Four child participants identified themselves differently depending on the time, place, people whom they interacted with, and the language used in self-identification. During our interaction, each of them easily changed expression of their ethnic identity. The Table below shows how self-identification of each participant was expressed in various outcomes.

Table 4: Bi-ethnic Korean children's ethnic identity outcome

B1	Korean identity
B2	Bi-ethnic identity
B3	Korean implicit in bi-ethnicity
B4	"A-Third Space" identity
B5	Null identity

2. What are the Attitudes of Bi-ethnic Children towards their Ethnic Identity?

Korean identity. All four children expressively identified themselves as Korean in the survey and during dialogue. In general, they did not want to be categorized and treated differently from Korean children. They refused to learn their foreign parent's language and culture. They did neither like afterschool class only for multicultural children nor the Multicultural Center. One of the participants even identified his Chinese

father as Korean. As members of an underrepresented population, identifying as a dominant ethnicity can be a process, which is developed by their own decision-making, others' influence, society, or a combination of these.

Bi-ethnic identity. At the initial meeting when I orally asked participants about their ethnic identity, all four children recognized themselves as multicultural children while they identified themselves as Korean. Even though they were aware of their multicultural ethnicity, they abhorred to be called *Da-mun-hwa*. It seemed that the process of identifying as bi-ethnic has been influenced by others and society.

In the meanwhile, participants also emphasized that they are bi-ethnic children when they could take advantage of their bi-ethnicity at school, where some teachers allowed them not to complete homework and the Multicultural Center, where all the extra-curriculum classes were complementary. Sometimes, depending on the situation, bi-ethnic children identified themselves as bi-ethnic with their own decision-making.

Korean implicit in bi-ethnicity. In reply to the ethnic identity question, child participants did not initially articulate that they identified themselves as bi-ethnic. However, when I asked them whether they were bi-ethnic (multicultural) or not, all of them answered that they were. At different time and place, I asked the same question again. Two of them replied that they were Koreans while two of them said that they were

both Koreans and multicultural children. It showed that children changed their ethnic identity depending on the context as trans-identity.

“A-Third Space” identity. As observed in this study, the bi-ethnic children sometimes looked confused of their ethnic identity given that they changed their thoughts and attitudes toward their ethnic identity. However, considering that the children have chosen different future dream depending on the choices provided, it is possible that they identified themselves as Korean or bi-ethnic, which was one of the choice on the list, even though they created another identity, which would not be expressed in language. The problem here is that we would never know how participants identify themselves in their own minds.

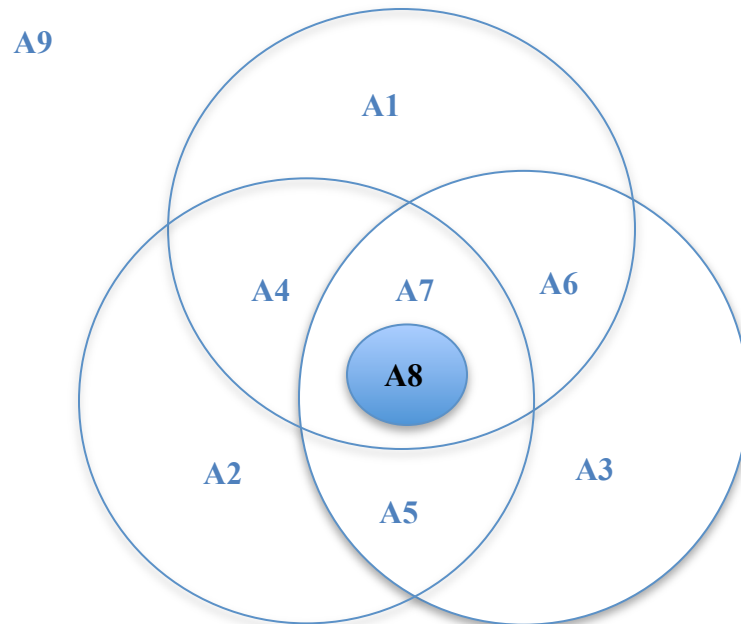
Null identity. There are two possibilities to define null ethnic identity. First, children may not be aware of what ethnic identity is. They might have never thought about themselves and the issue of identity. Especially in the Korean educational system where children are considered as passive agents, and in Confucian culture where parents tend to consider their children as their possessions (Kim & Choi, 1994), Korean children hardly have the opportunity to think about themselves. They are accustomed to following others’ instructions. Like the name ‘Question Mark,’ they depend heavily on the answer, ‘I don’t know.’

Secondly, null identity might also represent a space of resistance where children know well who they are but are resisting being categorized or subjecting themselves to negative stereotypes. Children may not want to talk about this issue because they believe that discussion about ethnic identity is an act of discrimination. Child participants did not want to be identified as any specific ethnicity. They believed that all human beings are the same, as Question Mark and Cream mentioned. Since ethnic identity has traditionally been approached from a deficit perspective in Korea, children were not taught to see their bi-ethnicity as an asset.

3. What are the Factors that Influence the Identity Formation of Bi-ethnic Children?

Based on the findings from the PAR project, bi-ethnic Korean children's ethnic identity development process may be presented with a diagram as below:

Table 5: Bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity development process diagram



- A1: Self-determination
- A2: Involvement of others
- A3: Society
- A4: Self-determination and involvement of others
- A5: Prejudice and society
- A6: Self-determination and society
- A7: Bhabha's *A Third Space*
- A8: Private space
- A9: Unawareness

Self-determination. Children's identity was formed and developed by their own decision-making. Similar to James and Prout's (1997) assertion that children are able to construct their own social lives with self decision-making skills, child participants proved during the study that they could use their reflective knowledge and critical consciousness

by connecting their past, present, and future. This was evident especially in the fourth, seventh, and ninth meetings where activities such as ‘timeline’ and ‘my future’ enabled the children to reflect on their experiences and connected them to their present and future.

For example, Bob recalled the day when his mother left him at an orphanage, when he joined the Multicultural Center, and when he became *Wang-dda* due to his poor school performance. Even though he retained his negative experiences, he rather clearly showed leadership skills and often articulated a great craving for others’ attention and love. When we conducted the relay question activity in the seventh meeting, Bob showed hope and desire for the future. The question was “Why do we live?” and Bob’s answers were “to be loved” and “to be a great person.”

According to Freire (1970) and Bohman (2010), the goal of critical consciousness is to initiate self-reflection and self-determination within individuals’ own social lives. Child participants could reflect on their lives and develop reflective knowledge through critical consciousness to finally have a positive future self-image, as Bob was challenging his poignant memory while keeping hope even in a status of double discrimination. As Freire (1970) asserted, there is a hope that the critical consciousness transforms passive subjects into active participants engaged in inquiries that affect their own lives.

Involvement of others. Child participants were especially vulnerable to the

influence of others, and it affected their attitudes towards their development of ethnic identity. Bi-ethnic children were experiencing, directly or indirectly, bullying and discrimination from Korean children or teachers at school. Cream and Question Mark showed a fear of being outcasts; Cream had transferred to the new school because of bullying. At home, the participants were being exposed mostly to Korean culture due to the parents' assimilationist beliefs. The mothers' language and culture were rarely used and sometimes even rejected. In addition, bi-ethnic children were forced to join the Multicultural Center by their parents.

The negative lived experiences of bullying and stigmatization often made children reflect on the concept of equality, "We are all human beings," as Cream and Question Mark articulated during dialogue. However, the emphasis on *Koreanization* by their family affected their identity formation to be Korean, as shown in the discussion with their parents. Simultaneously, children did not refuse to be bi-ethnic at the Multicultural Center where they enjoyed all the benefits such as complimentary music classes and bi-weekly field trips and the school where some teachers treated bi-ethnic children more generously than Korean children.

Another example of children's vulnerability by others was shown in the eighth meeting when we exchanged comments on others. When they found some positive

comments given by others, they believed it and gave compliments as well. On the contrary, when they were given negative comments by others, they gave negative comments in return. Through this dialectical relationship and collective process, bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity was formed, developed, and negotiated.

Bi-ethnic children's dialectical relationships with their parents were also practiced at home. In the discussion with participants' parents, I realized that foreign parents identified their children as Korean and wanted them to be Korean. Interestingly, as a response to that, bi-ethnic children identified their foreign parent as Korean. Bob identified his Chinese father as Korean when he introduced his family. According to Cream's mother, Cream accused her mother of speaking Chinese with her relatives, saying, "You are Korean, but why do you speak Chinese?" This dialectical identification influenced the development of bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity.

Society. Firstly, the economic status of multicultural families played an important role in ethnic identity development of bi-ethnic Korean children. Considering the background of the parents' marriage, that of mail-order bride: Korean men who were married to foreign wives live in rural areas, where families' financial status is relatively low. In addition, foreign wives came to Korea for marriage with the hope to make money to transfer to their home country to support their family. This money flow keeps them in

the low socio-economic status and parents do not have time to take care of their children because both parents work almost all day. When I wanted to have a meeting with the parents of all four participants, I found difficulty to meet some of them because of their tight working schedule. The necessity for parents to work overtime and their inability to spend time with their children caused all four participants to be obsessed with computer games, while their parents were absent from home. Anytime hobbies or weekend activities were mentioned, the answer was always “playing computer games.” Even during the whole meetings, participants were often talking about computer games or Internet cartoons. Question Mark, Bob, and Green Tea spent considerable time playing computer games at home. When we talked about the happiest moment in life in the fourth meeting, Bob said it was the day when he received a computer from his father as a gift. The children generally seemed isolated and expressed sadness with the lack of communication with the family.

Secondly, Korean ethnocentrism, xenophobia, and selective ethnic preference exacerbated racial and ethnic discrimination. The meaning of ‘multicultural’ has been re-defined and it contains the nuanced understandings of ‘inferiority’ in Korea. People considered multicultural children as subjects needing help and support, as shown during the interview activity in the tenth meeting (Appendix C). In the response to the attitudes

of Koreans, Cream expressed her deep resentment towards being called *Da-mun-hwa*.

The Korean government, NGOs, and local organizations have attempted to help bi-ethnic children to assimilate them to the Korean culture through policies and financial support; however, in reality, bi-ethnic children did not enjoy the special programs and their experiences at the Multicultural Center and felt more segregated from Koreans.

Accordingly, the children did show that they could “perform identity” across contexts based on where they felt accepted and where they felt excluded.

Thirdly, the Korean educational system may have responsibility for identity formation of bi-ethnic children. Through all the meetings during the PAR project with children, I observed that bi-ethnic Korean children were struggling with thinking of themselves and expressing their opinions. As researchers Kim (2011) and Kang (2010) described, the Korean educational system is teacher-centered, with a strong emphasis on test scores and memorization practices. This system forces students to memorize what they have learned from textbooks and teachers and leads to a lack of discussion and critical thinking skills. When I asked participants their opinions during activities, they encountered difficulties with engaging in dialogue. Children generally had a difficult time articulating their thoughts, feelings, and opinions. The children looked scared of saying something even though it was their own story. Even when they were writing about

themselves, they were reluctant to speak out, but rather copied the work of others in the group. Conducting PAR with this challenge to dialogue made collaboration difficult, especially in deciding research questions and methodology. The culture of discussion was foreign to them. I found myself preparing many of the questions and activities that prompted discussions on identity (Appendix B). The factor of the Korean educational system might affect children's passive behaviors, which negatively influences bi-ethnic Koreans' healthy identity development.

In addition, the Korean educational system, which requires the "correct answer" to questions, played a significant role in bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity development. In my own reflections on the study, I felt that the child participants were focusing more on finding the correct answer instead of sharing their thoughts and respecting others' opinions. In classrooms in Korea, answers are always supposed to be correct, as the exam is comprised of multiple questions. No other opinions are accepted as correct answers. For example, Cream has expressed ignorance of her mother's language and culture and she did not want her mother to speak Chinese; however, she mentioned that "We can learn various culture and languages from many countries," as a response to being asked what is a good thing about being bi-ethnic. Her answer did not correspond with her reflections based on her daily experiences. There seemed to be a learned silence (Koirala,

2008) and a learned perception as a result both of the educational system and the stigma connected to identity. This prohibited the children from the ease of articulating their identity.

Lastly, languages restricted the children's expressions on their ethnic identity. As Bakhtin (1986) argued, the oral and written forms of utterances are not static but dynamic; the responses of child participants on their ethnic identity were not static in discussion and the feedback form. Four children identified themselves as multicultural children in conversation, while two of them refused to identify themselves as *Da-mun-hwa* children in a written form. These different responses of two children coincide with Bakhtin's assertion that language cannot be interpreted without consideration of the interaction between addresser, addressee and contexts such as social interaction, culture, history, politics, and ideologies. When bi-ethnic children identified themselves as *Da-mun-hwa* children orally and collectively, it did not mean that each child self-identified himself or herself as a bi-ethnic or multicultural child, but maybe others labeled them as *Da-mun-hwa* children and the children might have accepted it. Because they were categorized as *Da-mun-hwa* children, they put themselves in that group while they self-identified only as Korean. It was helpful to understand the children's ethnic identity development process from an ecological perspective.

The formation and development of underrepresented children's ethnic identity was not only limited to their self-determination and others' involvement, but also to history, culture, societal ideology, and the role of language. These three spaces (A1, A2, and A3) in the contemporary world cannot operate separately and independently. Their identity development and security with their sense of self is complicated with the intermingling of these spaces.

Self-determination and involvement of others. During PAR, I frequently observed how powerfully child participants' decision-making was influenced by others. In the third meeting when we introduced our family, Question Mark asked Bob to draw a smile on his family's faces and Bob followed his instruction without any hesitation, despite any specific reasons that may have led him to do so. When writing about others in the eighth meeting, all child participants believed, without any doubt, that Question Mark was good at English because of my compliments. When I asked them their ethnic identity collectively, all of them identified themselves as *Da-mun-hwa* children; however, two of them self-identified as Korean when asked individually in the thirteenth meeting. During the group activity rather than the individual work, children were more vulnerable to the others. Since human beings live in the world where we cannot avoid being influenced by others, bi-ethnic children's decision-making on their ethnic identity and others'

influences on it were conflicted, combined, and negotiated in this space. How and when they perform identity has to do with the social cues they receive from those around them.

Prejudice and society. People's perception, bias, stereotyping, and prejudice are influenced by society's ideology, which may be presented through media, education, culture, and so on, like Antonio Gramsci's idea of "ideological hegemony" implemented through social institutions. Grotevant (1987) and Spencer and Markstrom-Adams (1990) also supported the assertion that the individual's expectations, beliefs, and stereotypes most often emanate from the macro level, which are culture, history, and ideology.

Cream mentioned during dialogue, "Some people think we are poor." She was simply expressing a stereotyped view of bi-ethnic groups that is often depicted by the media. In the tenth meeting with an interview activity, interviewees also considered the children from multicultural families as charity cases or helpless members of society needing help. One of them mentioned that *Da-mun-hwa* children are *Wang-dda* at school. Because of this negative stereotyping practice, participants did not want to be categorized differently but rather as Korean children. They did not like to come to the Multicultural Center and join the afterschool program only for *Da-mun-hwa* children because, to them, it reflected further segregation. Cream strongly refused to be called *Da-mun-hwa*.

Self-determination and society. Society influences individuals' decision-making

since people live in the world. History, culture, and ideology exist to establish and maintain a society. Bi-ethnic Korean children live in a society which used to be homogeneous, was rooted in Confucianism, and still supports ethnocentrism. In the third meeting when we talked about my future baby's ethnic identity, Cream asserted that the baby should follow the father's nationality because the father is head of the household. Even though her mother also works for a living, she believed that the father is the one who would decide the children's ethnic identity. Cream added a comment that marriage is the saddest one because women should do housework such as cooking and cleaning. Green Tea also mentioned that she would not have babies in the future because mothers have a lot of house chores at home. Question Mark and Cream blamed their mothers for the mothers' Korean language deficiency and lack of knowledge, giving the reason that their mothers are *Da-mun-hwa*. This demonstrated the influence of a deeply patriarchal society that favors the father's identity over the mother's. It also dictates the definition of citizenship and identity.

On the other hand, according to Freire (1970), who emphasized a dialectical relationship that people live *with* the world, an individual's subjective belief on diversity, dignity, and equality would influence our society at the same time. History, culture, and ideology are not made by themselves, but by the people who live in the society. There is

a hope that the PAR project methodology would make underrepresented bi-ethnic children's voice heard and their voices would change the society through "collaborative forms of action inquiry" (Heron & Reason, 1997). Our PAR project gave us some initial hopeful insights about how our child participants could begin to contribute to a different type of discourse through the sharing of their experiences and continue to change the dominant understanding of bi-ethnicity in Korea. The children challenged the status quo in their own small ways by refusing to be called *Da-mun-hwa* children and resisting segregation from Korean children. Like what Cream and Question Mark mentioned, "All human beings are the same," as learned through their experiences, reflections, and dialogue, there is a hope that these children's voices made in this study would resonate to adults and society to change Korean's bias and ethnocentrism.

Creation of a Third Space. This space can be called "A Third Space," which was named by Bhabha (1994). Bi-ethnic children changed their identity depending on the place, time, and people whom they interacted with, as Rockquemore et al. (2009) claimed. As explained with the diagram earlier, each space can operate independently, combine with another space, conflict against the other space, or create a new space. Since identity formation and development is an integrated process influenced by all the factors (A1, A2, A3, A4, A5, and A6), *A Third Space* would be individually formulated depending on how

much influence from each space is contributed to the identity process. For example, Bob maintained a relatively strong degree of self-determination by showing his leadership and ignoring others' bullying, and simultaneously, he was very concerned about friend relationships and family insecurity. While the society labeled him as a *Da-mun-hwa* child, he sometimes identified himself as *Da-mun-hwa*, sometimes as Korean, and he identified his father as Korean. His self-determination, influences of family and friends, and the society's performance created a new space in his ethnic identity development.

The role of language also played an important role, in addition to Rockquemore et al.'s theory, to create *A Third Space* with the bi-ethnic Korean child participants. Bob and Question Mark expressed differently their ethnic identity; their responses were changed depending on the time and the form of language they used for answers. Green Tea also changed her future dream depending on the language she used between Korean and English. Based on my observation, different types of language can build different types of identity space where the collision and negotiation would make *A Third Space*, which is dynamic and personalized. Language, which restricted children's identity as Korean or multicultural, would make bi-ethnic children confused about expressing their ethnicity, given that they may create another form of ethnic identity, which is neither Korean nor bi-ethnic. The process of bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity formation, negotiation, and

development was not predictable (Shih et al., 2007) nor universal. This space is personalized and cannot be theorized as a universal belief.

Private space. In *A Third Space* (A7), one question is raised: Was the expression of bi-ethnic children's identification the same as how they self-identified in their minds? It is impossible to know how much trust to put in the results from an interview, survey, or even observation is, except in the case that the researcher and the researched are identical. This space is too private to be researched by others and by certain types of language. Only in the case where the researched was their own example would the truth exist through their experiences and interpretations (Freire, 1970; Norton, 2010). For example, Green Tea has kept her trauma and anger to herself and not displayed her violent temperament to others. Rather, others considered Green Tea as one who was so kind that she did favors whenever others asked her anything. Surprisingly, she also realized her violence at the end of our project when she read her storybook. Our PAR project helped the children better understand themselves during the identity journey.

Unawareness. In this space, awareness of identity would not exist in bi-ethnic children. Children's ethnic identity may not be formed or developed yet. Children may not perceive what ethnic identity is, or they may not care.

When I reviewed the literature in Chapter 2, I focused on three perspectives: *post-*

structuralism (Norton, 2010), *postmodernism* (Sandoval, 2000), and *postcolonialism* (Bhabha, 1994). Now, the results of this study about bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity development can be explained from these perspectives. As Norton (2010) stated that truth exists through experiences and interpretations by the person concerned, ethnic identity in the space of A8 (private space) can be verified only by bi-ethnic children. There is a limitation of research conducted by the third person researcher, especially in the case where the researcher has more power than the researched.

Sandoval (2000) was concerned about crises in consciousness, ideology, culture, and history. If the size of A2 and A3 were more occupied than A1 in ethnic identity development, subjectivity of human beings would vanish and children may have null identity (B5). As a member who lives *in* a society, it is not possible to ignore the space of A2 and A3; however, it would be indispensable to strengthen an individual's subjectivity in developing one's own healthy identity in order to be empowered through dialectical relationship *with* the world.

Lastly, Bhabha (1994) emphasized hybridity, the space A7 that is re-created by more than one culture. Bi-ethnic children identified themselves differently depending on place, time, and people whom they interact with. The ethnic identity of child participants was impossible to be measured as one and to be theorized as one belief because of the

complexity of the contemporary world. For example, bi-ethnic child participants' ethnic self-identification could not be explained by one or two factors, but rather by a combination of all factors. Bhabha's *A Third Space* and the null identity would be represented as the contemporary ethnic identity of bi-ethnic Korean children.

4. Does an engaged process of inquiry like participatory action research facilitate identity exploration in children?

The PAR setting, which was a new trial with bi-ethnic children in Korea, produced unanticipated outcomes of study and new challenges that need to be informed and prepared further conducting the PAR. Firstly, I present the summary of our three-month PAR based on PAR characteristics and critical theory. I analyze how our activities were operated to meet the characteristics of PAR theories to maximize the purpose and goal of PAR. Then, I examine the challenges that the child participants and I confronted during PAR, especially in the specific context, which is a multicultural district, Ansan in Korea, and with underrepresented bi-ethnic Korean children.

As Dyrness (2007) emphasized, our PAR was also conducted as *a research process* rather than research products while focusing on developing experiential, reflective, dialectical, and practical knowledge through a collective process. The goal was not to discover how bi-ethnic Korean children identify their ethnic identity, but to provide an

opportunity for a new way of education-based transformation by developing their critical consciousness (Cammarota & Fine, 2008).

Timeline activity was conducted based on the children's experiences; their experiential knowledge became an important vehicle to connect their past, present, and future, when doing the "My future" activity. Their experiences also became a foothold in exploring the children's reflective knowledge during the "Relay questions" activity, especially thinking about being multicultural children and life at the Multicultural Center. When we wrote about others in the eighth meeting, our dialectical knowledge was intensified by exchanging our thoughts about other participants. Interviewing activity also helped to understand others' perspectives. At the end of PAR, practical action knowledge was presented through our storybooks, which were comprised of our own experiences, reflections, and dialogue.

Maguire (1987) and Nygreen (2006) pointed out that the purpose of PAR is to develop the critical consciousness of participants. During our PAR project, the "Relay questions" activity was conducted with a method of making the "why" questions on our own and sharing the issues that we raised through dialogue (Chill, Rios-Moore, & Threatts, 2008). This genuine dialogue was directly connected to the participants' lives and revealed new information produced by the children. At the government and

institutional level, the policies for multicultural families have provided bi-ethnic children with special after-school programs and the Multicultural Center. However, it was revealed that bi-ethnic children did not enjoy these benefits *only for multicultural children*, and this segregation exacerbated bullying practices from Korean friends. One question was raised: “Whose interests and benefits does the policy serve?” Our PAR project motivated children to be engaged in their own lives by reflecting their genuine experiences as bi-ethnic children in Korea. I am hoping that this new knowledge produced during PAR would contribute to the current policy to change the Korean society, as an act of dialectical relationships *with* the world. Our PAR was practical (Watts & Guessous, 2006).

However, I also encountered great challenges while conducting PAR with underrepresented bi-ethnic children in the Korean context. Korean children were unfamiliar with group work, which required discussion and negotiation. I had difficulties leading them to discussion and self-expression. The children did not try to express their self-identification; instead, they seemed to imitate the others’ identification. The situation became ameliorated when I asked them to write as an individual activity. However, even in writing, I observed that the children were struggling with self-expression and free-style writing. Without my examples or guide, the children did not even start talking or writing,

not to mention interviewing. If one child spoke out something, the rest of the children followed the same procedure or contents. For these reasons, I often found myself leading conversation more than I would have liked to in the study. The lack of thinking and reflection skill hindered our identity development journey. Before exploring children's ethnic identity, Korean education needs to strengthen children's reflection and communication skills in discussion culture.

Another unexpected challenge was participants' bullying practice among bi-ethnic children at the Multicultural Center. Bullying practice against bi-ethnic children by Korean children is an official issue, which should be solved immediately at schools in Korea. However, it also happened in my small group, which was comprised of only multicultural children. One child was ignored and bullied by the other three children all the time. I was told that the child was also bullied at school by other Korean children. It was a double torture for the child. Even in one group, power relations exist all the time, as Hegel's "master-slave" theory. Someone who is in a powerless group can be positioned as a powerful member in another group. PAR projects should be co-conducted through participation, which is accomplished in a democratic process (Fals-Borda, 1991). Before conducting PAR with child participants, it was imperative to understand the field information and have enough time with participants to discuss human rights issues.

Challenges were unpredicted. On top of general theories of PAR, researchers need sufficient preparation to be equipped with the contextual information and dealing with surprises.

Korean schools and the Ministry of Education currently emphasize the importance of multicultural education due to an increasing population from diverse cultures. However, according to interviews with other schoolteachers, the curriculum of multicultural education is focused more on learning different cultures rather than understanding others with tolerance and respect. This PAR project disclosed the lack of children's critical and creative thinking and communication skills, along with the need for human rights education. As the PAR method develops critical consciousness, reinforces dialectical relationships, and influences practical transformation for our real life, it is time for parents, educators, counselors, and policy makers to be aware of what needs to be changed in education so that our children become active subjects in harmonizing with others.

Discussion

Ethnic identity development of bi-ethnic children is a growing concern in Korea as intermarriage and bi-ethnic children increase. While conducting this study, I observed that Korean society is concerned about bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity and the

difficulties of their adaptation to Korean society. Bi-ethnic child participants of this study identified themselves as Korean and did not perceive that they are different from Korean children. Some of them did not even recognize what ethnic identity is. However, Korean society categorized them as multicultural children and invisibly treated them as inferior. How much are bi-ethnic Korean children confused about their ethnic identity because the society labels them as *Da-mun-hwa* children while trying to *Koreanize* these children as Korean? The problem is not the children's ethnic identity, but Koreans' ethnocentrism.

In this section, I discuss how bi-ethnic children's ethnic identity process operates in the Korean context based on the diagram above. Firstly, I articulate issues of multiculturalism in South Korea. The definition of multiculturalism in Korea has been used differently from other countries and the Korean context (A3) may have a great impact on the ethnic identity process in the spaces labeled A5 and A6 in the diagram. Secondly, other factors, which would be mostly placed in the spaces A3 and A6, are discussed. The discussion is based not on the literature review, but on my experiences supported by observation, interview, and dialogue with participants, teachers, and parents. Lastly, I present research recommendations that require further exploration on the topic of identity development of bi-ethnic children in Korea.

Issues of 'Multiculturalism' in Korea

Multiculturalism exists everywhere if there are more than two people in a society. It should be understood as a concept of understanding others and embracing others' perceptions with respect. However, the term "multiculturalism" is used with a limited meaning in Korea. When Koreans use the term "multicultural," they tend to mean "intermarriage family" with a stereotype as "the poor," "Southeast Asians," "the uneducated," "ones who need help," etc. If one spouse is from somewhere other than Southeast Asia, such as America, this multicultural family is not considered as a "multicultural family in Korea." "Multiculturalism" does mean not only "other countries" or "other cultures," but also anything in the world, because each person is different in terms of age, gender, religion, hobby, lifestyle, way of thinking, etc. The misperception of "multiculturalism" categorizes a group of "multicultural people," who are treated as "underrepresented" in Korean society.

Bi-ethnic child participants did not want to be called *Da-mun-hwa* because this stigma led to them being bullied by their Korean friends. Because of the implicit meaning of the word, *Da-mun-hwa*, children refused to identify themselves as bi-ethnic. It should be their own decision to present their ethnic identity; however, the process of bi-ethnic Korean children's ethnic identity negotiation was being mostly influenced by others and

by Korean society at large. The purpose of education or PAR projects would be the driving force to change these passive agents to subjective agents.

Other Factors

The average economic status of the multicultural families at the Multicultural Center where I conducted my research was quite low, and both parents worked until late every day. Children lacked communication with parents and did not receive parental care properly. It made them addicted to computer games, which prevented the children from thinking and expressing themselves.

The Korean educational system is also responsible for a barrier against children's identity development. Korean students always seek the correct answer. Wrong answers are not allowed in class. This exam-focused educational system prevented Korean child participants from accepting diverse perspectives and opinions. In the meetings during PAR, bi-ethnic child participants seemed to be afraid of having wrong answers even though nothing would be correct or wrong. They kept silent or imitated others' opinions to avoid the shameful moment caused by a wrong answer. Children did not speak out about what they were thinking, but tried to find what the answer was.

Because of this structural problem and the Korean educational system, the children were not accustomed to reflection and discussion during the PAR project. When the

children mentioned “I do not know” or “I am confused” about their ethnic identity, it was not meant literally. Even though they did not know or they were confused, we should consider not only the status of their ethnicity, but also the process of their self-identity expression, from the ecological perspectives, which include the structural problem, family issues, cultural factors, the educational system and the children’s individual experiences. Some children just did not want to talk about this issue. Some children understood, but did not know how to express themselves. It showed how dangerous it is to make a theory and write about others in the third person.

Recommendations for Further Research

Even though multicultural families are categorized as one group in Korea, each family has a different story. My PAR team was unintentionally comprised of children whose mothers are from China because 90% of mothers from multicultural families in Ansan are Chinese-Koreans. Even in this group, each child had different stories in terms of education, economic status, grown-up environment, family relations, and their self-identification. All children have individual identity experiences in different contexts through diverse development process. Their stories and experiences cannot be applied to the universal theory, which was already established based on others’ stories. Theories may form researcher’s bias or stereotyping towards participants and the researcher’s

prefixed perspectives may hinder the discovery of the truth about the researched. Theory should be individual and practical. The only way to understand individuals is not by theories but by the subject's experiences, narratives, and context.

Children clearly made their own voices as shown through the storybook in this study; however, given the complexities of articulating identity as outlined in this study, it is difficult to know whether it was their voices or others' voices. Most factors that influenced identity development of bi-ethnic children were created not by the children themselves, but by others and society, such as media, stereotyping practice, education system, socio-economic status and so on. As shown in Chapter IV, researchers might confront difficulties with finding the true responses through interview or survey. PAR may be the one way to supplement those research methods. Since building trust is essential to comfort with the research process, future longitudinal processes that respect the child as a participant and approach research from an asset-based perspective are essential.

Conclusions

Ethnic identity of bi-ethnic Korean children could not be measured. From the micro perspective, it continued to shift depending on time, place, and the people who they interact with. From the macro perspective, it continued to form, re-form, negotiate,

or even vanish by influences of cultural, historical, social, economic, political, and ideological contexts. Ethnic identity formation and development is a social construct, structuralized and institutionalized in the Korean society.

Participatory Action Research method with children was used in this study. In the narrow and practical sense, research should be meaningful to the researched, rather than to the researcher. In the broad and democratic sense, it should be a social movement to realize justice and equality through transformation by participation and communication of all citizens. Through the PAR project in this study, bi-ethnic children proved that they could make their own voices heard and I was able to listen to their stories. It was not easy for bi-ethnic Korean children to understand the concept of self-identity and subjectivity as active members of society; however, it was the children who wrote their stories and interviewed others during the project. PAR functioned as an educational pedagogy to empower underrepresented children to write their stories as researchers.

It is not a matter of whether bi-ethnic Korean children identify themselves as Korean, bi-ethnic, or whatever. Bi-ethnic identity development cannot be theorized as if all the cases are identical and the development process is universal. The point of identity issue is how we can empower bi-ethnic children to understand who they are and live as subjects in the Korean society. The role of multicultural education in Korea should not be

a focus on investigating ethnic identity or helping them build a specific ethnic identity, but changing Koreans' mindset from human rights perspectives along with development of critical thinking skills. Educational reform is required for marginalized children to live as Subjects.

The children were not "confused" in terms of their ethnic identity. It was another identity, which was not exactly defined as Korean or bi-ethnic. Depending on the space, the people they interacted with, or the situation where they were asked, they defined their ethnic identity differently. Instead, people in Korea are still confused about multiculturalism. Some government organizations argue that bi-ethnic children are "multicultural children" who have both ethnic identities, while some from NGOs claim that bi-ethnic children should maintain their ethnic identity as Korean. However, it is the children's identity. Adults do not have the right to decide the children's own identity, as the Conventions of Children's Rights say.

REFERENCES

- Ansley, F., & Gaventa, J. (1997). Researching for democracy and democratizing research. *Change*, 29(1), 46-53.
- Apple, M. (1994). Series editor's introduction. In A. Gitlin (Ed.). *Power and method: Political activism and educational research*. (pp. ix-xii), New York: Rutledge.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1986). The problem of speech genres. In C. Emerson & M. Holquist (Eds.), *Speech genres and other late essays: M.M. Bakhtin*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press. 60-102.
- Banks, J., & Banks, C. (1995). *Handbook of research on multicultural education*. New York, NY: Macmillan
- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The location of culture*. London: Routledge.
- Bohman, J. (2010). "Critical Theory", *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2010 Edition)*, Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2010/entries/critical-theory/>.
- Bowles, D. D. (1993). Biracial identity: Children born to African-American and White couple. *Clinical Social Work Journal*, 21, 417-428.
- Brunsma, D. L. (2005). Interracial families and the racial identification of mixed-raced children: Evidence from the early childhood longitudinal study. *Social Forces*, 84(2), 1131-1157.
- Bucholtz, M. & Hall, K. (2007). Language and identity. In Duranti, A. (Eds.). *A companion to linguistic anthropology*. MA: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.
- Cahill, C., Rios-Moore, I., & Threatts, T. (2008). Different eyes/ open eyes: Community-based participatory action research. In J. Cammarota & M. Fine (Eds.), *Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action research in motion* (pp. 89–124). New York: Routledge.

- Cameron, J. & Gibson, K. (2005). Participatory action research in a poststructuralist vein. *Geoforum*, 36, 315-331.
- Cammarota, J & Fine, M. (2008). *Revolutionizing education: Youth participatory action research in motion*. New York: Routledge.
- Chavez, A. F. & Guido-DiBrito, F. (1999). Racial and ethnic identity and development. *New directions for adult and continuing education*, 84, 39-47.
- Cho, S. N., Seol, D. H., & Lee, Y. J. (2006). International marriages in South Korea: The significance and nationality. *Journal of Population Research*, 23(2), 165-182
- Choi, J. R. & Choi, I. Y. (2008). Cultural sociology's approach toward immigrant women: Focusing on methodological and ethical issues (in Korean). *Culture and Society*. Spring/summer (4), 147-205.
- Choi, S. H. (2008). From homogeneous to multi-ethnic society. Korea's new face. *SERI Quarterly*, January, 51-57.
- Clark, J. (2004). Participatory research with children and young people: philosophy, possibilities and perils, *Action Research Expeditions*, 4(Nov), 1-18.
- Convention on the Rights of the Child. (1989). Retrieved from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/crc.htm>
- Couch, S. R. (2004). A tale of three discourses: Doing action research in a research methods class. *Social Problems*, 51(1), 146-153.
- Cowan, P. (2004). Chapter 3: Devils or angels: Literacy and discourse in lowrider culture. In Mahiri, J. (Eds.) *What they don't learn in school: Literacy in the lives of urban youth*. (pp. 47-77). New York: Peter Lang.
- Cross, W. E. (1987). A two-factor theory of black identity: Implications for the study of identity development in minority children. In J. S. Phinney & M. J. Rotheram (Eds.). *Children's ethnic socialization: Pluralism and development* (pp. 117-133). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

- DeVos, G. (1980). Ethnic adaptation and minority status. *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 11, 101-124.
- Duff, P. (2002). The discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity, and difference: An ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics*, 23, 289-322.
- Dyrness, A. (2007). "Research for change or research as change?" *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*.
- Erikson, E. (1968). *Identity: Youth and crisis*. New York, NY: Norton.
- Fals-Borda, O. (1991). Some basic ingredients. In O. Fals-Borda & M.A. Rahman (Eds.), *Action and knowledge: Breaking the monopoly with participatory action research* (pp. 3-12). New York: Apex Press.
- Fine, M. (1994). Dis-stance and other stances: Negotiations of power inside feminist Research. In A. Gitin (Ed.), *Power and method: Political activism and educational research* (pp. 13-35). New York: Routledge.
- Freire, P. (1970). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Freire, P. (1973). *Education for critical consciousness*. New York, NY: Continuum.
- Gaventa, J. (1993). The powerful, the powerless, and the experts: Knowledge struggles in an information age. In P. Park, M. Brydon-Miller, B. Hall & T. Jackson (Eds.), *Voices of changes: Participatory research in the United States and Canada*. (pp. 21-40). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Grotevant, H, D. (1987). Toward a process model of identity formation. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 2(3), 203-222.
- Hall, B. L. (1992). From margins to center? Development and purpose of participatory research. *The American Psychologist*, 23(4), 15-28.
- Helms, J. E. (1993). "Introduction: Review of racial identity terminology."

In J. E. Helms (Eds.), *Black and white racial identity: Theory, research and practice*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

Herman, M. (2004). Forced to choose: Some determinants of racial identification in multi-racial adolescents. *Child Development*, 75(3), 730-748.

Heron, J., & Reason, P. (1997). A participatory inquiry paradigm. *Qualitative inquiry*, 3(3), 274-294.

Herve, V., & McDermott, R. (1999). *Successful failure*. Boulder: Westview Press.

Hirschfeld, L. (1995). The inheritability of identity: Children's understanding of the cultural biology of race. *Child Development*, 66, 1418-1437.

Hofstede, G. (1987). Cultural dimensions in management and planning.
In D.R. Hampton, C.E. Summer, & R. A. Webber (Eds), *Organizational Behavior and the practice of management*. Glenview IC: Scott, Foresman, and Company.

Hong, Y.S. (2007). A study on children's educational problem of multicultural family and its implication (in Korean). (Unpublished master dissertation). Kwangju Education University, Korea.

hooks, b. (1988). *Talking back: Thinking feminist, thinking black*. Boston: South End Press.

Hud-Aleem, R., & Countryman, J. (2008). Biracial identity development and recommendations in therapy. *Psychiatry* (Edgemont), 5(11), 37-44.

International Convention on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights. (1966).
Retrieved from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cescr.htm>

International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination. (1965). Retrieved from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/cerd.htm>

- Jambor, Z. P. (2009). *Sexism, ageism and racism prevalent throughout the South Korean system of education*, Korea University – IFLS: Department of Education, Art & Design.
- James, A. & Prout, A. (eds). (1997). *Constructing and reconstructing childhood: Contemporary issues in the sociological study of childhood*. London: Falmer Press.
- Jeon, K. S., Jung, K. S., & Lee, J. H. (2007). *Research on multicultural education policies*. Gyeonggi Provincial Office of Education; Gyeonggido Family and Women's Research Institute.
- Kang, S. W. (2010). Multicultural education and the rights to education of migrant children in South Korea. *Educational Review*, 62(3), 287-300.
- Kerwin, K., Ponterotto, J. G., Jackson, B. L., & Harris, A. (1993). Racial identity in biracial children: A qualitative investigation. *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 40, 221-231.
- Kich, G. K. (1992). The developmental process of asserting a biracial, bicultural identity. In M. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 304-317). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Kim, J. S. (2011, May). *Korean responses to the coming multicultural society*. Paper presented at the 2011 KAME International Conference on Beyond the Nation State (in Korean), Seoul, Korea.
- Kim, A. E. (2009). Global migration and South Korea: Foreign workers, foreign Brides and the making of a multicultural society. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(1), 70-92.
- Kim, B. S. (2007). *Theory of multicultural social welfare*. Gyeonggi: Yang Seo Won (in Korean).
- Kim, J. R. (2007). The status of intermarriage women in Korea (in Korean). *Korean Family Law Association, Family Law Research*, 22(1), 91-118.

- Kim, K. R. (2006). Identity of multicultural children and the impact on their acculturation by societal support (in Korean). (Unpublished master dissertation). Kookmin University, Korea.
- Kim, D. S. (2004). Missing girls in South Korea: Trends, levels and regional variation, *Institut National Etudes Demographiques*. 59. 865-878.
- Kim, G. J. (2002). Education policies and reform in South Korea. *Secondary education in Africa: Strategies for renewal*. 3. 29-40.
- Kim, U. & Choi, S. H. (1994). Individualism, collectivism and child development: A Korean perspective. In P. Greenfield & R. Cocking (Eds.), *Cross-cultural roots of minority child development*. (pp. 227-258). Hillsdale, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Kirby, P. (1999). *Involving young researchers: How to enable young people to design and conduct research*. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation.
- Koirala-Azad, S. (2008). Unravelling our realities: Nepali students as researchers and activists. *Asia Pacific Journal of Education*, 28(3), 251-263.
- Korea National Statistical Office (2010). Retrieved from www.kosis.kr
- Kwak, B. S. (2004, April). *Struggle against private lessons in Korean education context*. Paper presented at the 28th Annual Conference of the Pacific Circle Consortium, Hong Kong Institute of Education.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2000). Racialized discourses and ethnic epistemologies. In N. Denzin & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Press.
- Lee, H. K. (2003). Gender, migration and civil activism in South Korea. *Asian and Pacific Migration Journal* 12(1-2), 127-153.
- Lee, H. K. (2005). Marriage immigration and problems and coping among international marriage families (in Korean). *Korean Journal of Population Studies*, 28(1), 73-106.

- Lee, J. B., Kang, S. B., & Kim, H. W. (2008). *A research on the educational status about the children of multicultural families: Based on the families of international marriage* (in Korean). Seoul: Korean Education Development Institute.
- Lee, Y. (2009). Migration, migrants, and contested ethno-nationalism in Korea. *Critical Asian Studies*. 41(3), 363-380.
- Lewis-Charp, H., Yu, H. C., & Soukamneuth, S. (2006). Civic activist approaches for engaging youth in social justice. In S. Ginwright, P. Noguera, & J. Cammarota (Eds.), *Beyond resistance: Youth activism and community change*. (pp.21-36). New York: Routledge.
- Lim, I. S. (1997). Korean immigrant women's challenge to gender inequality at home. *The Interplay of Economic Resource, Gender and Family, Gender and Society*. 11(1), 31-51.
- Maguire, P. (1987). *Doing participatory research: A feminist approach*. Amherst, MA: Center for International Education, University of Massachusetts.
- Maguire, P. (1993). Challenges, contradictions, and celebrations: Attempting participatory research as a doctoral student. In P. Park, M. Brydon-Miller, B. Hall, & T. Jackson (Eds.), *Voices of change: Participatory research in the United States and Canada* (pp. 157-176). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Marcia, J. E. (1980). Identity in adolescence. In J. Andelson (Ed.), *Handbook of adolescent psychology* (pp. 159-187). New York: Wiley.
- McAllister, G. & Irvine, J. J. (2000). Cross cultural competency and multicultural teacher education. *Review of Educational Research*. 70(1). 3-24.
- Ministry for Health, Welfare and Family Affairs. (2010). Retrieved from http://english.mw.go.kr/front_eng/jc/sjc0106mn.jsp?PAR_MENU&_ID=1003MENU_ID=100306

- Ministry of Education, Science, and Technology. (2009). Retrieved from <http://english.mest.go.kr/enMain.do>
- Ministry of Public Administration and Security. (2009). Retrieved from <http://www.mopas.go.kr/gpms/ns/mogaha/user/nolayout/main/nationDisplay.action>
- Moinian, F. (2009). 'I'm just me!' Children talking beyond ethnic and religious identities. *Childhood*, 16(1), 31-48.
- Na, I.S. (2008). Affecting factors on the stress among foreign immigrant women by marriage in Korea, *Korea Non Profit Research*, 7(1), 97-135.
- NGO Report under ICERD *Republic of Korea* (2007). Retrieved from <http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cerd/docs/ngos/MINBYUN.pdf>
- Norton, B. (2010). Language and identity. In N. Hornberger and S. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and language education*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters.
- Nuttgens, S. A. (2010). Biracial identity theory and research juxtaposed with narrative accounts of a biracial individual. *Child and Adolescent Social Work*, 27(5), 355-364.
- Nygreen, K. (2006). Reproducing or challenging power in the questions we ask and the methods we use: A framework for activist research in urban education. *The Urban Review*, 38(1), 1-26.
- Nygreen, K., Kwon, S.A., & Sánchez, P. (2006). Urban youth building community: Social change and participatory research in schools, homes and community-based organizations. *Journal of Community Practice*, 14 (1/2), 107-123.
- Oh, K.S. (2010). Change and development of contemporary Ansan, *Ansan Sisa Borderless village*, 6(4) (in Korean). Ansan: Ansan migrant community service center.

- Oh, M. (2009). Reality and problem of child rearing in multicultural family. Proceedings from *The Academy of Korean Studies: Family, education and policy in Korean multiculturalism* (p. 139-163) (in Korean). Korea: The academy of Korean studies.
- Ott, S. (1989). *The organizational culture perspective*. Chicago: The Dorsey Press.
- Parham, T., & Helms, J. (1985). Attitudes of racial identity and self-esteem of Black students: an exploratory investigation. *Journal of College Student Personnel*, 143-147.
- Park, H. S. (2005). *Nationality, citizenship and administration of foreign residents* (in Korean). Kwachon: Ministry of Justice.
- Park, J. G. (2011). *Effects of Korean-Chinese identity on the attitude toward Korea and China*. (doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from National Assembly Library. (KDMT 1201108046)
- Park, P. (1993). What is participatory research? A theoretical and methodological Perspective. In P. Park, M. Brydon-Miller, B. Hall & T. Jackson (Eds), *Voices of change* (pp. 1-20). Westport, CT: Bergin & Garvey.
- Phinney, J. S. (1989). Stages of ethnic identity development in minority group adolescents. *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 9, 34-49.
- Phinney, J. S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. *Psychological bulletin*, 108, 499-514. In Farver, J. A. M., Narang, S. K. & Bhadha. B. R. (Eds). East meets west: Ethnic identity, acculturation, and conflict in Asian Indian families. *Journal of Family Psychology*. 16(3), 338-350.
- Phinney, J. S. (1992). The Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure: A new scale for Use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research*, 7, 156-176.

- Phinney, J. S., Romero, I., Nava, M., and Huang, D. (2001). The role of language, parents, and peers in ethnic identity among adolescents in immigrant families. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30(2), 135-153
- Poston, W. S. C. (1990). The biracial identity model: A needed addition. *Journal Of Counseling and Development*, 69, 152-155.
- Qian, Z. (2004). Options: Racial/ethnic identification of children of intermarried couples. *Social Science Quarterly*, 85: 746–766.
- Rahman, M. A. (1991). The theoretical standpoint of PAR. In O. Fals- Borda & M. A. Rahman (Eds.), *Action and knowledge: Breaking the monopoly with participatory action research (pp. 13-23)*. New York: Apex Press.
- Ricoeur, P. (1984). *Time and narrative: Volume I*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Ricoeur, P. (1992). *Oneself as another*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Roberts, R., Phinney, J., Masse, L., Chen, C. R., Roberts, C. & Romero, A. (1999). The structure of ethnic identity of young adolescents from diverse ethnocultural groups, *Journal of Early Adolescence*, 19(3), 301–322.
- Rockquemore, K. A., & Brunsma, D. L. (2002). Socially embedded identities: Theories, typologies, and processes of racial identity among biracials. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 43, 335-356.
- Rockquemore, K. A., & Laszloffy, T. A. (2003). Multiple realities: A relational narrative approach in therapy with black-white mixed-race clients. *Innovative Strategies & Techniques*, 52(2), 119-128.
- Rockquemore, K. A., Brunsma, D. L., & Delgado, D. J. (2009). Racing to theory or retheorizing race? Understanding the struggle to build a multiracial identity theory. *Journal of Social Issues*, 65(1), 13-34.

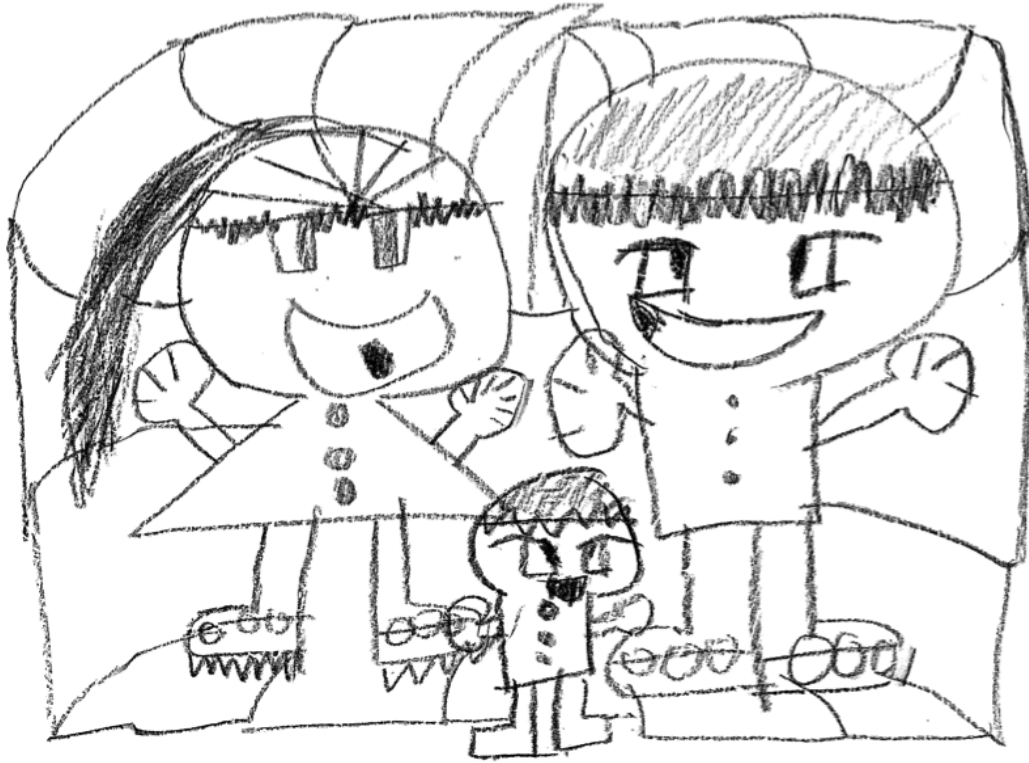
- Rolon-Dow, R. (2004). Seduced by images: Identity and schooling in the lives of Puerto Rican girls. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 35(1): 8-29.
- Root, M. P. P. (Ed). (2003). *Racially mixed people in America*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Sánchez, P. (2006, November). *The politics of "Homemade Theory": Participatory research with transnational Latina youth*. Paper presented at AAA (American Anthropological Association).
- Sandoval, C. (2000). *Methodology of the oppressed*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Seol, D. H., Kim, Y. T., Kim, H. M., Yoon, H. S., Lee, H. K., Yim, K. T., Chung, K. S., Ju, Y., and Han, G. S. (2005). *Foreign wives' life in Korea: Focusing on the policy of welfare and health*. Kwachon: Ministry of Health and Welfare (in Korean).
- Shih, M., Bonam, C., Sanchez, D., & Peck, C. (2007). The social construction of race: Biracial identity and vulnerability to stereotypes. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology*, 13(2), 125-133.
- Shin, S. W., & Koh, M. S. (2005). *Korean education in cultural context*. Retrieved from <http://www.usca.edu/essays/vol142005/koh>
- Smith, L. T. (1999). *Decolonizing methodologies: Research and indigenous peoples*. London and Dunedin: Zed Books and University of Otago Press.
- Sorensen, C. W. (1994). Success and education in South Korea. *Comparative Education Review*, 38(1), 10-35.
- Spencer, M. B., & Markstrom-Adams, C. (1990). Identity processes among racial and ethnic minority children in America. *Child Development*, 61, 290-310.
- Spickard, P. R. (1989). *Mixed blood*. Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press.

- Spickard, P. R. (1992). The illogic of American racial categories. In Maria P. P. Root (Ed.), *Racially mixed people in America* (pp. 12–23) Newbury Park, CA: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Suh, J. N. (2011, May). *The necessity of multicultural education and its future direction*. Paper presented at the 2011 KAME International Conference on Beyond the Nation State (in Korean), Seoul, Korea.
- Sun, A.S. (2010). The impact of reading storybooks on language improvement of multicultural children (in Korean). Seoul.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). Social psychology of intergroup relations. *Annual Reviews Psychol.* 33. 1-39.
- Tatum, D. (2003). *The complexity of identity: "Who am I?" Why are all the black kids sitting together in the cafeteria? And other conversations about race*. (pp. 18-28). New York, NY: Basis Books.
- Torres, V. (1966). *Empirical studies in Latino/ Latina ethnic identity*. Paper presented at the National Association of Student Personnel Administrators National Conference, Baltimore.
- Valdes, G. (2004). Between support and marginalization: The development of academic language in linguistic minority children. In Brutt-Griffler & Varghese (Eds.). *Bilingualism and language pedagogy*. (pp. 10-40). NY: Multilingual Matters Ltd.
- Wang, Y. (2009). Language, parents' involvement, and social justice: The fight for maintaining minority home language. *Multicultural Education*, 16(4), 13-18.
- Wardhaugh, R. (2010). *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. MA: Wiley-Blackwell.

- Watts, R., & Guessous, O. (2006). Sociopolitical development: The missing link in research and policy on adolescents. In S. Ginwright, P. Noguera & J. Cammarota (Eds.), *Beyond resistance: Youth activism and community change: New democratic possibilities for practice and policy for America's youth* (pp. 59-80). New York: Routledge.
- Williams, B. T., & Brydon-Miller, M. (2004). Changing directions: Participatory-action research, agency, and representation. In S. G. Brown & S. Dobrin (Eds.). *Ethnography unbound: From theory shock to critical praxis* (pp. 241-258). Albany, NY: SUNY Press.
- Yi, K. Y. (2003). Marriage and family life among immigrant women (in Korean). In Human rights solidarity for migrant workers (Ed.), *For equality and solidarity beyond the borders, race, and skin color* (p. 101-112). Seoul: Human rights solidarity for migrant workers.
- Yon, D. (2000). *Elusive culture: Schooling, race, and identity in global times*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Yoon, H. S. (2004). Spousal conflicts and adaptation in international couples (in Korean). In H. Choi et al. (Eds), *Minorities in Korea: Current status and future prospect*. 321-349. Seoul: Hanul Academy.
- Young, L. C. & Barrett, H. R. (2001). Adapting visual methods: Action research with Kampala street children. *AREA*, 33(2), 141-152.
- Yum, J. O. (1987). Korean philosophy and communication. In D. L. Kincaid (ed.), *Communication theory: Eastern and Western perspectives*. San Diego, California: Academic Press, Inc., 71-86.

APPENDIX A

DRAWING ACTIVITY: MY FAMILY



APPENDIX B

ACTIVITY: MY FUTURE

“Who am I? What do I want to be in the future?”

Question Mark

1. My hobby is to live.
2. The subject that I am most interested in and work hard is physical education.
3. I am interested in living.
4. The person I am the most respected is Jesus.
5. The thing that I like to do the most is living.
6. The title of the book that I am the most impressed is to survive.
7. What is the one that I concentrated on without recognizing that time goes by? To live.
8. What do I like to do in my entire life regardless my parents' opinions? To live.
9. Things that I think I am good at
 - 1) Soccer
 - 2) Basketball
 - 3) Swimming
 - 4) Badminton
10. Things that I think I am not good at
 - 1) Chinese
 - 2) English
 - 3) Arab language
 - 4) Japanese
11. What do I want to be in the future? To live is enough.
12. What should I do my best to make my dream come true? Live well.

Bob

1. My hobby is
2. The subject that I am most interested in and work hard is science.
3. I am interested in game.
4. The person I am the most respected is Sang Hyun Kim (He is the only one who plays with me. He is in 5th grade)

5. The thing that I like to do the most is game.
6. The title of the book that I am the most impressed is nothing.
7. What is the one that I concentrated on without recognizing that time goes by?
game
8. What do I like to do in my entire life regardless my parents' opinions? Science experiment.
9. Things that I think I am good at
 - 1) Game
 - 2) Nintendo DS
 - 3) Deep thinking
 - 4) Mathematics
10. Things that I think I am not good at
 - 1) Studying
 - 2) Test score
 - 3) Cook
 - 4) Drawing a picture
11. What do I want to be in the future? A scientist
12. What should I do my best to make my dream come true? Interested in science

Green Tea

1. My hobby is drawing a picture.
2. The subject that I am most interested in and work hard is drawing.
3. I am interested in a computer game.
4. The person I am the most respected is Miyazaki Hayao
5. The thing that I like to do the most is producing a movie.
6. The title of the book that I am the most impressed is The last children after the nuclear explosion.
7. What is the one that I concentrated on without recognizing that time goes by?
Computer, Dream, Drawing
8. What do I like to do in my entire life regardless my parents' opinions? Having a pet.
9. Things that I think I am good at
 - 1) Computer game
 - 2) Drawing
 - 3) Speaking

10. Things that I think I am not good at
 - 1) Playing a recorder
 - 2) English
 - 3) Studying
 - 4) _____
11. What do I want to be in the future? A complete person
12. What should I do my best to make my dream come true? Everything.

Cream

1. My hobby is Cooking, Making, and crafts.
2. The subject that I am most interested in and work hard is English and music.
3. I am interested in cooking, crafts, a leading student. (self-directed learning)
4. The person I am the most respected is Mozart.
5. The thing that I like to do the most is Composing, making songs.
6. The title of the book that I am the most impressed is The story of Marshmallow.
7. What is the one that I concentrated on without recognizing that time goes by?
Cooking, crafts, computer designing.
8. What do I like to do in my entire life regardless my parents' opinions? Cooking, crafts, game
9. Things that I think I am good at
 - 1) Cooking
 - 2) Crafts
 - 3) Music
 - 4) English
 - 5) Confidence
 - 6) Swearing
10. Things that I think I am not good at
 - 1) History
 - 2) Studying by myself
 - 3) Studying
 - 4) _____
11. What do I want to be in the future? A cook
12. What should I do my best to make my dream come true? Developing new recipes.

APPENDIX C

ACTIVITY: CONDUCTING INTERVIEWS

Below is an excerpt from each participant's interview results.

Green Tea

1. "Korean children should take care of them because children from multicultural families are very different from Korean children."
2. "I wish Korean children are friendly with children from multicultural families without any excuses."

Cream

1. "I think people are all same. Discrimination should not be allowed."
2. "I don't know. I am not interested in."

Bob

1. "It is difficult to say on this topic."
2. "They are all same children. Nothing different."

Question Mark

1. "Same."

APPENDIX D

FEEDBACK ON PAR PROJECT

1. How do you feel after you read your storybook?
2. Write about yourself
3. What do you think the difference between now and before our project about expressing yourself?
4. How was our three-month project?
5. How will you describe yourself?
 - 1) Korean 2) Chinese 3) A multicultural child 4) Korean and a multicultural child
 - 5) Chinese and a multicultural child
6. Do you have anything to tell me?

Green Tea

1. I had fun.
2. My name is Min Joo. I am a daughter of my mom. My nickname is Green tea.
3. I felt refreshed.
4. I really enjoyed the project.
5. 4) Korean, a multicultural child
6. Thank you. Please visit us again.

Cream

1. I feel good and I became to know more about me.
2. My name is Eun Young. I am Cream. I am 13 years old. My sister is fatter than

me.

3. The way of thinking and feeling have been changed.
4. I had fun.
5. 4) Korean, a multicultural child.
6. Thank you for this fun project.

Bob

1. I feel good.
2. I am a treasure.
3. I don't know.
4. It was interesting and I had fun.
5. 1) Korean.
6. I enjoyed the three-month project and it was a great fun.

Question Mark

1. I had fun.
2. My name is Min Ho Kim. I am a son of my mother.
3. Same.
4. I don't know.
5. 1) Korean.
- 6.