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CHALLENGES AND TASKS OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN EAST ASIA: ASSIMILATION POLICY OF MULTICULTURAL FAMILY STUDENTS IN SOUTH KOREA

Retos y tareas de Educación para una Ciudadanía Global en Asia Oriental: política de asimilación de los estudiantes de familias multiculturales en Corea del Sur

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ABSTRACT

This paper examines challenges and opportunities of global citizenship education in East Asia by analyzing the assimilation policy of multicultural family students in South Korea. The author argues that global citizenship and nationality are interdependent in this increasingly globalized society. This document reviews one of the popular concepts of global citizenship: embracing cultural diversity. First, it introduces global citizenship education agenda at global, regional and local level. Second, it describes the different perspectives of multicultural education between West and East. Unlike Western countries focusing on equity of human rights, East Asian countries emphasize group harmony because they live by Collectivism and Confucianism. Third, it examines how and to what extent global citizenship education can develop in South Korea by suggesting three

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resolutions of respecting cultural diversity and embracing otherness within the society. The paper demonstrates South Korea has become a multicultural society with the increasing inflow of western values, foreign workers, international marriages and North Korean defectors. Therefore, the state has conflicts between Korean traditional values and non-Korean values. The government manages these conflicts by enforcing the assimilation policy of multicultural family students. The findings indicate that the majority of multicultural family students hardly understand their heritages' cultures and languages, compared to Korean culture and Korean language. Rather, they are guided to having one single Korean identity. The author argues that South Korea should respect cultural differences and embrace cultural diversity in order to develop inclusive global citizenship education.

KEY WORDS: Global Citizenship Education, South Korea, Cultural Diversity, Multicultural Education, Assimilation Policy.

RESUMEN

Este artículo describe las diferentes perspectivas de los valores orientales hacia la educación para ciudadanía global, mediante el análisis de una política de educación multicultural en Corea del Sur. Uno de los conceptos populares de la ciudadanía global es abrazar la diversidad entre culturas, respetando las diferencias culturales. El autor, a través de la revisión de documentos oficiales publicados por organizaciones como UNESCO y el Ministerio de Educación de Corea, describe cómo Occidente y Oriente promueven la diversidad cultural para conseguir la unidad social. Este documento se centra sobre la política coreana de escuela multicultural y el curriculum escolar para intentar entender cómo la Corea del Sur, que vive por el colectivismo y los valores confucianos, pueda manejar las diferencias culturales de la sociedad. Los resultados demuestran que Corea del Sur se ha convertido en una sociedad multicultural, debido al aumento de la afluencia de poblaciones transnacionales. A pesar de que el gobierno apoya la educación de la ciudadanía global, aún se ha desarrollado una política de asimilación de los estudiantes de las familias multiculturales. En comparación con la cultura y la lengua coreana, estudiantes jóvenes tienen poca comprensión de sus orígenes culturales y del idioma nativo de sus padres. El autor sostiene que la nacionalidad y la ciudadanía global no son necesariamente excluyentes, ya que comparten el mismo objetivo: la unidad social. Es esencial para el gobierno promover la diversidad cultural y sugerir un marco inclusivo de educación para ciudadanía global, invitando a los actores informales y las partes interesadas que trabajan en las comunidades locales.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Educación para Ciudadanía Global, Corea del Sur, Diversidad Cultural, Educación Multicultural, Política de Asimilación.

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1. INTRODUCTION

As the world becomes increasingly interconnected, new transnational concepts are needed to understand global issues and problems. Although global citizenship has not been clearly defined yet, it has gained popularity. One popular concept of global citizenship is respecting social and cultural diversity in the world and understanding differences by embracing others the way as they are (BANKS, 2001; FOLK, 1993; BENNETT, 2004). Rich discourses of global citizenship are actively formed by multilateral organizations and NGOs. In particular, UNESCO proposes a framework and guidelines aiming at fostering global citizenship. People describing themselves as global citizens actively engage in actions related to Sustainable Development Goals and encourage others to be global citizens for making the goals realistic. The core philosophy of global citizenship is openness and inclusiveness for making the world a better place.

However, it is difficult to respect differences and embrace diversity without making efforts towards understanding otherness. Since people follow different morals and values, the process of gathering voices and reflecting these diversities in daily interactions is not easy (CHEONG EL, 2007, LETKI, 2008). Additionally, the agenda of global citizenship education fails to deliver the discourse of the East Asian context because the previous studies are highly based on the Western context, such as Western Europe and North America. Global citizenship education should build a framework which helps young Asian students have critical skills that may be applied towards the understanding of cultural diversity in this global society in order to embrace others from different cultural backgrounds.

The goal of global citizenship education is to promote the harmonious living together of people with diverse backgrounds, but this is challenged by different aspects of diverse backgrounds that may conflict with each other. (GHOSH, 1996; VAN &WHITTAKER, 2006). This article focuses on the North East Asian region such as China, Japan and South Korea because they have shared Confucian values and morals. Moreover, these countries have civic education emphasizing a national identity and preserving traditional values. This document introduces the case of South Korea (hereafter Korea). The author selects the case of Korea with three reasons: paradoxical national curriculum for young students, a geopolitical circumstance with North Korea, and increasing cultural diversity in the society. Although the contents of text books have global citizenship themes, young students hardly develop intercultural competence to embrace cultural diversity at school. Since the Korean Civil War, Korea has a significant task of addressing peaceful unification with North Korea. Improving intercultural competence may help young Koreans to be more understanding towards one another, never mind their place of origin, North or

South. Additionally, even though Korea is known as a relatively homogeneous society, it has been experiencing an increasing inflow of transnational populations. Facing the phenomenon of cultural diversity, the government is making efforts to build social cohesion in order to maintain a balance between Korean and non-Korean values. Examining Korea's multicultural education policy of students from multicultural families gives us insight into how a society living by Collectivism and Confucianism deals with multiculturalism and builds social cohesion.

It is the purpose of this article first to review the concept of the global citizenship agenda of aiming to embrace cultural diversity. Secondly, the paper demonstrates the importance of global citizenship education in South Korea to understand cultural diversity within the society and build social cohesion.

2. GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY

One of the core concepts of the global citizenship education is helping people to understand others and embrace cultural diversity in the world. As the world is becoming increasingly interconnected, global citizenship education agenda has gained popularity from multilateral organizations at global, regional and national levels. According to UNESCO, global citizenship refers to a sense of belonging to a broader community and common humanity. It emphasizes political, economic, social and cultural interdependency and interconnectedness between the local, the national and the global. UNESCO has also attempted to build a framework for global citizenship education (UNESCO, 2015). UNESCO launched its new publication on Global Citizenship Education (GCED) titled Global Citizenship Education: Topics and Learning Objectives in 2015. This is the first pedagogical guidance on GCED with the aim of helping member states integrate GCED in their education systems.

Global citizenship education is actively discussed at regional level in Europe. Monitoring Education for Global Citizenship: A Contribution to Debate was published by Developing Europeans' Engagement for Eradication of Poverty (DEEEP) in 2014. This is a project initiated by the European confederation of Relief and Development NGOs known as Confederation for Cooperation of Relief and Development NGOs (CONCORD). As facilitator of the European development education sector, DEEEP and the CONCORD Development Education and Awareness Raising Forum aim to be a driver for new transformative approaches to development and education through working towards systemic change and active global citizenship. In the document, they insist that it is significant to build a framework and monitoring process to evaluate how a society embraces cultural diversity and respect others from different backgrounds by suggesting targets and indicators (FRICKE & GATHERCOLE, 2015).

In the East Asian region, the concept of global citizenship has gradually affected the national curricula of all states as well. It was not until 2012 that the UN Secretary-General invited 16 countries including China, Bangladesh and Korea to launch the Global Education First Initiatives. Faced with the increasing demand of international and global education, the member countries have shared the same priority of global citizenship in their education policy. By implementing global citizenship education, the Asian young nationals are becoming gradually familiar with the concept of global citizenship.

For example, Korea is one of the countries which supports the global citizenship agenda and engages in implementing the global citizenship education by conducting a domestic study and making cooperation with multilateral organization. In 2010, the Korean government conducted a national research to analyze the global citizenship awareness and attitude of Korean youth. The study, officially published by National Youth Policy Institute, pointed out that the global citizenship awareness and the understanding of cultural diversity among Korean young students was low compared to other countries such as Japan or England. It urged that the government needed to provide effective global citizenship education for Korean youth (YOON et. al., 2010). In Seoul, UNESCO and Korea held a conference on global citizenship education on 9-10 September 2013. Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Education of Korea engaged in promoting global citizenship education by supporting the concept of embracing cultural diversity by respecting universal values of diversity among others (UNESCO, 2013).

The global citizenship agenda has been popular from formal and non-formal actors at global, regional and national levels. Even though the actors supporting global citizenship are diverse, they have shared a common perspective of global citizenship; respecting cultural differences and embracing cultural diversity.

3. THEORIES OF EMBRACING CULTURAL DIFFERENCES

There has been research that explain how a society or state having people from different cultures build social cohesion, respecting different cultural values and embracing otherness (BENNETT, 1986; BYRAM & NICHOLS, 2001; SPITZBERG, 2000; THING-TOOMEY & KUROGI, 1998). The authors provide theoretical frameworks and models to promote cultural diversity and build social unity. In particular, Bennett (1986, 1993b) suggests a theoretical framework to explain dimensional intercultural competence. The Development Model of Intercultural Sensitivity (DMIS) introduces more sophisticated intercultural experiences. According to DMIS, one culture experiences cultural conflicts but moves toward integration. Intercultural experience has two large dimensions: ethnocentric orientations and ethnorelative orientations. Ethnocentric orientations consist of three stages: Denial, Defense, and Minimization. Ethnorelative orientations also has three stages: Acceptance, Adaptation, and Integration. While the ethnocentric orientation considers

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cultural differences as threatening and oppresses them, the ethnorelative orientation sees them as natural and embraces otherness.

In brief, each intercultural state has its own characteristics. As Hammera, Bennett and Wiseman (2003) suggested, "denial is the state in which one's own culture is experienced as the only real one" (p. 4) and people hardly notice the discrimination of other cultures since they do not recognize them as cultures in the first place. Defense is "the state in which one's own culture is experienced as the only viable one" (p. 4) with people acknowledging the existence of other cultures but refusing and discriminating against them. The minimization state is one in which "elements of one's own cultural worldview are experienced as universal," (p. 4) for example, how people understand cultural differences but also wish to impose their own culture above them. A fourth state, acceptance, sees "one's own culture . . . as just one of a number of equally complex worldviews;" (p. 5) in this case people gradually understand cultural differences and try to accept them as they are. The adaptation state argues "the experience of another culture yields perception and behavior appropriate to that culture;" (p. 5) that is, people empathize with different cultures and try to approach them from their particular point of view. The last state, integration, "is the state in which one's experience of self is expanded to include the movement in and out of different cultural worldviews;" (p. 5) in other words, people are culturally global nomads and they may adopt more than two cultural identities (or none if they so wish).

The main argument of Bennett's theory is based on an evolutional concept: the more people experience cultural difference, the more a society gradually understands and embraces others. Even though the model has limitations that may directly affect its application to the Korean case – namely Korea's relatively homogeneous society – the author agrees with the ideal that culture is changing with the inflow of transnational people in this globalizing society. Based on the evolutional theory, the article suggests a resolution of unity, not uniformity, promoting global citizenship education among young Korean students.

4. INCREASING CULTURAL DIVERSITY AND IMPORTANCE OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN KOREA

The author selects the case of Korea with three reasons. First, it presents a paradoxical combination of factors which can contribute to discourse of global citizenship education in school curriculum. For its opportunities, Korea quickly adopted the theme of global citizenship and the school curriculum made efforts to revise the contents of textbooks in 2000s, reducing the emphasis on Korean traditional and national concept (MOON & KOO, 2011). On the other hand, there exist challenges to develop global citizenship education due to the social political issues in the society: assimilation approaches to multicultural education (MOON, 2010). In fact, there is empirical evidence that suggests young nationals

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lack critical thinking on cultural diversity in the society. According to a 2012 national study by the Ministry of Gender Equity and Family (MGEF), 13.6 % of multicultural family(MF) students aged 9 to 24 feel discrimination from classmates at school (JEON, 2013). Moreover, the majority of the students feeling discrimination at school answered that they keep silent and internalize anxieties in order to follow a Korean social norm, group harmony.

Next, Korea provides a good example of how global citizenship education contribute to a peaceful integration with a culturally different group in the society, compared to other Asian countries such as China and Japan. Korea, due to its post civil war division, has been preoccupied with the peaceful unification of the country. Although the two Koreas, prior to their division, share a common history, language and traditional values, their prolonged separation has produced two different peoples living by different social and cultural norms (JEON, 2000). This paper argues that global citizenship education is more applicable to Korea as the concept of embracing cultural diversity, since it would increase Koreans' understanding of each other, may help to build momentum towards a future peaceful unification with North Korea.

Finally, Korean society currently is experiencing increasing cultural diversity: Western values from North America, foreign laborers, North Korean defectors, and multicultural families from international marriages. A large number of Korean students have studied in the US, bringing Western knowledge and culture into Korea, in particular after the Korean Civil War and especially since the 1980s when the number of Koreans studying abroad increased rapidly. The large numbers of Korean students who returned to South Korea in the 1990s after studying abroad in the US universities in the 1970s and 1980s played a role in transferring and diffusing ideas and rhetoric in line with Western values. The popularity of studying abroad in the US began with the process of modernization and economic development since the Korean Civil War. Korean students invited not only the US political and economy models but also US culture. Korea followed Western political and economic models: democracy and a free economy.

As of 2014, the number of foreign-born people in the country stands at 1.57 million, with the number of foreign-born people married to South Koreans amounting to 240,000. Also, the number of migrant workers in the country stands at 850,000. The number of multicultural family has also been sharply increasing in Korea as the high popularity of international marriages since 2000. Moreover, the great majority of North Koreans who settle permanently in other countries move to South Korea, where they are received not as refugees but as citizens. According to the Ministry of Unification, the number of North Koreans increased rapidly from 71 in 1999 to 148 in 2000, 312 in 2001 and 583 in 2002. The total of North Koreans in Korea was 2,927 in 2009. In a decade, the number of North Koreans in Korea has increased 42 times.

The increasing number of North Koreans is also related to a bill which grants citizenship and supports the settlement of North Korean defectors. The 1997 Act on the Protection and Settlement Support of Residents Escaping from North Korea, Article 1 states as its purpose to promote "protection and support necessary to help North Korean escapees from the area north of the Military Demarcation Line and desiring protection from the Republic of Korea, as swiftly as possible in order to adapt and stabilize, all spheres of their lives, including political, economic, social and cultural." When a North Korean "escapee" does not fall under exclusion clauses for protection and enters South Korea, the processes of acquisition of nationality and personal identification registry are completed during his/her stay at the Hanawon Center, a government-funded facility for social integration of North Koreans into South Korea (ROBINSON 2010).

Furthermore, the number of multicultural families has been rapidly increasing. According to the Ministry of Education, the number of students from multicultural families has increased rapidly.

Table 1. The Number of Multicultural Family Students in South Korea

Year	Elementary school	Junior school	High school	Total	Growing rate
2006	6,795	924	279	7,998	
2007	11,444	1,588	413	13,445	59.5%
2008	15,804	2,213	761	18,778	71.6%
2009	20,632	2,987	1,126	24,745	75.9%
2010	23,602	4,814	1,624	30,040	82.4%
2011	28,667	7,634	2,377	38,678	77.7%
2012	29,303	8,196	2,541	40,040	96.6%
2013	32,831	9,174	3,809	45,814	87.4%
2014	41,575	10,325	6,984	58,884	77.8%

*Source: Korean Statistical Information Service, the author made it

Table 1 shows that the total number of MF students in Korea grew from 7,998 in 2008 to 58,884 in 2014 by 730% in 8 years. Particularly, the number of elementary students makes up a large portion of MF students. It grew from 6,795 in 2008 to 41,585 in 2014. The number of MF students in elementary school is four times higher than that of junior school and 5.9 times higher than that of high school. As the number of students from MF in Korea has been increasing rapidly, the Korean government needs to reflect the changing ethnic ratio in the national school curriculum. Facing the increase in ethnic and social diversity, in April 2010, the National Assembly reformed the Nationality Law to allow multiple nationalities. The inclusion of marriage migrants in the multiple-nationality bill attests to the role of international marriages shaping and transforming typical notions of

national membership, identity, and citizenship based on monocultural principles in Korea (CHUNG & KIM 2012).

Korea's particular circumstances present the opportunities and challenges of global citizenship education. Considering that Korea has paradoxical national curriculum for young students, geopolitical circumstance with North Korea and increasing cultural diversity, the case of Korea gives us valuable information on how global citizenship education can contribute to social cohesion in the culturally diverse East Asian region. Korea's gradual move towards a multicultural society with diverse ethnicities presents the Korean government with the opportunity to create a more inclusive type of social cohesion, one that may also embrace cultural diversity and multiculturalism.

5. LIMITATION OF CURRENT MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION APPROACH

Korea acknowledges increasing multiculturalism within its society and supports a global citizenship agenda. This poses the fundamental question of how the Korean government and its education curricula has reflected the multicultural phenomena within the society. In spite of the global social norm of support for cultural diversity and multiculturalism, Korea has had difficulties in providing young students with a national school curriculum that is respectful of cultural differences. Rather, the Korean education policies focus on assimilation, which incidentally carries the premise that multicultural family students are to be implicitly "guided" towards integration into the mainstream Korean society and becoming "Korean."

Korean scholars have criticized that the multicultural education policies of multicultural family students focus on liberal assimilation, forming a single nationality (MOON 2010; KANG 2010; KIM 2011). They argue that the existing multicultural education curricula drive MF students to be equipped with Korean values instead of supporting their cultural originalities. Particularly, the current multicultural education policy and programs of MF students who have non-Korean culture at home hardly improves the intercultural identities of students. Rather, students are guided to have one single Korean identity. In other words, the current school curricula and multicultural program encourages the students to be equipped with Korean legitimacy: Korean language, social norms and history. Therefore, the students develop neither intercultural identities nor intercultural competence as they have little understanding about non-Korean cultures and their foreign parents' languages.

In fact, there is a gap between Korean language competence and foreign parents' language competence among the multicultural family students. The 2012 national survey on 4,771 multicultural family students aged from 9 to 24 year-old revealed that the students have high language competence in Korean in the four communicative skills of speaking,

reading, listening and writing. On the other hand, they have lower communicative skills in their foreign parents' language in spite of their strong motivation to know more about non-Korean cultures and languages. The survey had questionnaires of two language competences. They were asked "what do you think of your language competence in Korean?" and "what do you think of your language competence in your foreign parent's language?" Then, the students rated their language competence through five-interval Likert (1 = very poor, 5 = very good) in the aforementioned four communicative skills.

Table 2. The Mean of Language Competence of Multicultural students (N=3660)

	Speaking	Listening	Reading	Writing
Korean Language	4.61	4.63	4.58	4.51
Foreign Parent's Language	2.45	2.54	2.26	2.15

*Source: A Study on National Survey of Multicultural Families 2012, the author made it.

Table 2 presents that the MF students have higher Korean language competence than that of foreign parents' language in all the four communicative skills. It might be natural that they have higher Korean language competence than foreign parents' language competence as they live in Korea whose national language is Korean. Therefore, they might have less cultural and language learning experience to improve their foreign parents' language competence. However, this finding indicates that multicultural students have a lack of foreign parents' language competence while they have high Korean language competence. The majority of multicultural students have better Korean language competence in the four communicative skills. On the other hand, their foreign parent's language competence is low in the four sections. This finding suggests that overall multicultural students hardly preserve their cultural originality and foreign parents' language. The MF students have two cultures and languages. Nevertheless, they have little understanding about the other cultural originality and language, compared to Korean culture and Korean language.

In addition, the government made the decision to issue a new state-published history text book and making the adoption of this version by secondary schools obligatory. On 12 October 2015, the Ministry of Education announced a plan to replace a variety of history books with a single textbook approved by the state. The new state-published history text book is called "The Correct History Book." Currently, high schools can choose from books released by eight different publishing companies, but the government stated these were all too left-wing. The Korean government's control over the school history syllabus was asserted under military rule in 1974, but ended in 2010. Since then, schools have been free to choose among seven different books produced by private publishers. However, by 2017, the Correct History Textbook will be the only history book allowed in South Korea's junior and high schools. It will be written by a government-appointed panel of history teachers and academics. The Minister of Education, Hwang Woo-yea said, "History should be taught

in one way to avoid division of the people. At the moment, since there are various history textbooks, there can be confusion."

Apart from the contents of a text book, what happen in classroom and how topics are taught have significant effects on students' perceptions and attitude toward different cultures (Moon and Koo 2011). But it is not yet clear whether Korean teachers are aware that the manner in which they manage the class and interact with students can affect, in negative and positive ways, students' perceptions of students from multicultural backgrounds. Since there has not been empirical studies on these issues yet, we do not know how this classroom dynamic affects the development of students' critical thinking skills.

The current Korean education policy and national school curriculum guide the young students to become "Korean equipped" with the national language competence and the "correct" history. Under the national curriculum and schooling, MF students have much better understanding about Korean culture and social norms than their heritage languages and cultures. In spite of increasing importance of global citizenship education, teachers and students' perceptions and attitudes toward cultural diversity has not been studied thoroughly yet.

6. KOREAN CIVIC EDUCATION BASED ON CONFUCIANISM

Why does the Korean government have assimilation approaches in multicultural education in spite of its commitment of global citizenship education? The answer might be related to Korea's morals and values of civic education based on Collectivism. Seeking group harmony has higher priority than rights of an individual in the East Asian context. West and East have different cultural values: individualism vs collectivism. According to Hofstede theory, while individualism is favored in Western Europe and North America, collectivism is favored in South and East Asia instead. Hence, the Korean civic education rooted in the traditional Korean values such as harmony in a group and strong ties to state builds a social norm of having one single nationality.

The principles of civic education reflect the differences between West and East according to their social and cultural contexts. Woo (2004) demonstrates the differences in civic education between West and East. Western thought discusses individualism in terms of individual right, individuation and individual responsibility in the course of its political development, while Eastern though focuses upon the development of the individual through self-cultivation for the purpose of contributing to the group. This divergence produces fundamental differences in citizenship development. The formal is political (in terms of rights) and bureaucratic (in terms of the political system), but the latter is apolitical, focusing on self-enrichment which may or may not lend itself to political ends.

In other words, the West regards individual as claiming their right against authority of governments while individuals and nation are not separate in East Asia. Rather, each individual values can be extended to other aspects, such as family, society, nation and the world (SHILLS, 1996). This is the core principle of Confucianism which is called "Su Shin Je Ga Chi Kuk Pyeong Chun Ha" (修身齊家治國平天下) in Korea. Su Shin (修身) refers to self-cultivation such as learning and studying. Je Ga (齊家) means harmony of family and Chi Kuk (治國) represents proper ruling of the country. Chun Ha (平天下) indicates balance in the world. In other words, the overall meaning is that self-enrichment leads to harmony in family, unity of nation and peace in the world. Confucianism, as part of the Asian tradition, is thus seen as essential for the development of civic society.

In addition, civic education has a critical function of providing a foundation for spiritual development in the East Asia region based on traditional values of collectivism and Confucianism. Personal qualities in terms of self-enrichment are the main reasons for an emphasized value in education. Lee (2004, 2012) identified three distinctive features in Asian citizenship education: harmony, spirituality and self-cultivation. Spirituality refers to the enrichment of one's inner being. Countries with Confucianism focus on the moral quality of self-development. To understand the desirable values and moral for their next generation in Asia, an informal study was conducted in international gatherings among Asian leaders (CUMMINGS et. al., 2001). Asian regional representatives met several times during 1996-98 in order to decide on the relevant questions to ask and the form of inquiry. In the session, over 600 elites across the 12 project regions participated in the study (CUMMINGS, 1998). The study revealed that Asians regard self-enrichment as the first step in national development. Asia also emphasizes individual quality first, as the nation is comprised of individuals and relies upon good individuals to support the nation.

Therefore, although the Korean government has borrowed Western educational concepts and frameworks, the authority still keeps its national curriculum under control by pushing schools to follow the state guidelines. Moreover, a strong Confucian tradition also dominates much of Korean society and politics, including the family, educational system, business enterprises, and state administration (KOO 2007). Core elements of this tradition include hierarchy, bureaucratic authority and seniority, familism, solidarity, filial piety, paternalism, and community values (ROZMAN 2002). Within the educational system, a strong sense of paternalism and hierarchy permeates the relationship among students, teachers, school administrators, and education officials.

Korean civic education teaches young students having one single identity of Korean nationality as well as global competence, reflecting its desirable social norms based on Confucianism and self-enrichment. For example, one of the core Confucian social norms is

group harmony. It is true that global citizenship themes in school are on the increase due to the revised contents of social studies and ethics textbooks. Nevertheless, the current school curriculum still has limitations in terms of encouraging young students to respect cultural differences and embrace cultural diversity.

For instance, according to the 2012 national survey by MGEF, 13.8% of MF students surveyed (504 out of 4,771) responded "Yes" to the question "Do you feel you are discriminated by your classmates because you are from a multicultural family?" Students also answered how they manage conflicts in school by choosing one of seven options: 1) demanding apology; 2) reporting to teacher or parents; 3) counselling with friends; 4) reporting to online community; 5) suppressing their anger and keeping silent; 6) nothing unusual and let it pass; 7) other. To get more precise data interpretation, in this paper, I focus on 414 samples that selected one option, excluding 90 samples which chose multiple options.
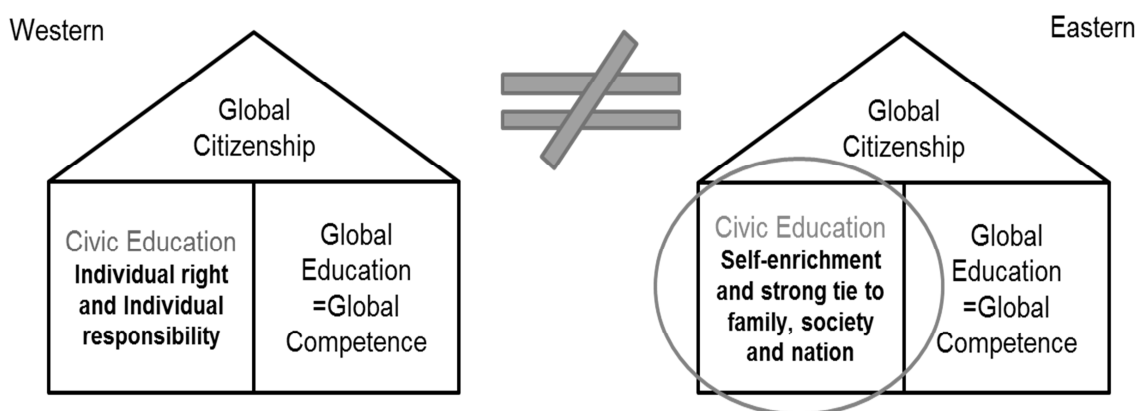
Table 3. Conflict Management of the Multicultural Students (414 students)

Rank	Conflict Management	Frequency	%
1	Suppress Anger and Keep Silent	176	42.5
2	Report to Teacher or Parents	95	22.9
3	Nothing Unusual and Let it Pass	81	19.6
4	Demand Apology	40	9.7
5	Counsel with Friends	12	2.9
6	Other	8	1.9
7	Report to Online Community	2	0.5

*Source: A Study on National Survey of Multicultural Families 2012, the author made it.

Table 3 shows that 42.5% of the students that have experienced discrimination, responded to such incidents by suppressing their anger and keeping silent; while 22.9% of students coped by reporting these incidents to teachers or parents; 19.6% of students regard the discrimination as nothing unusual and let it pass; while 9.7 % of students demanded an apology. This indicates that the majority of MF students hardly develop conflict management skills, accumulating anxieties inside. Their responses to the discrimination clearly shows that the students are reluctant to have troubles at school. Therefore, they contain their anxieties and keep silent for the sake of the school's group harmony even though they feel the discrimination is unfair.

Hence, although Western countries and Northeast Asian countries have shared the same goals of global citizenship education, the Asian region has a different approach towards global citizenship education implementation: self-cultivation of improving global competence and harmonization in a group as intensifying national identity.

Figure 1. The Difference in Global Citizenship between West and East

*Source: the author made it.

Figure 1 shows the different conception of global citizenship between West and East. As global citizenship education consists of both civic and global education, the perception and attitude of global citizenship between West and East would differ according to their desirable social norms and civic values.

In summary, global citizenship education is a combination of global education and civic education. In spite of the increased agenda of global citizenship supporting cultural diversity, the national citizenship encouraging young nationals to have one single identity remains at the core of formal education in Korea in the name of group harmony. Although multicultural students have conflicts at school, they suppress their anger and stay quiet for the sake of the social norm group harmony. Considering that, young Korean students have difficulties in embracing cultural diversity in class, global citizenship education in Korea has challenges and issues for the promotion of cultural diversity and the embrace of otherness.

7. ISSUES AND OPPORTUNITIES OF GLOBAL CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

Given that Korea, a Confucianist and traditional society, is transitioning to a multicultural society, its assimilation policy of multicultural education is likely to increase tensions between Korean and non-Korean cultures. Furthermore, it also challenges the development of global citizenship education. Therefore, the Korean government should promote global citizenship education to improve students' intercultural competence to understand cultural differences and respecting others as they are. The most critical issue when considering global citizenship education in Korea is the government's approach to make global citizenship and national identity compatible with each other. Faced with these issues, embracing global citizenship education may yet become an opportunity rather than a challenge, since the implementation of more inclusive multicultural education policies may

yet relieve any potential cultural conflicts in the increasingly globalized Korean society. There are three key aspects for fostering an inclusive global citizenship education for the embracing of cultural diversity in Korea.

First, the Korean government should address both its domestic and global multiculturalism in order to improve young students' intercultural competence. The current global citizenship education mainly focuses on cognitive competence rather than non-cognitive competence. More studies and research on multiculturalism in Korea needs to be conducted because data is currently insufficient on the topic. Data for multicultural families in Korea needs to be collected and analyzed in detail and its findings should be reflected on education policy. The current education policy on multicultural families imposes only Korean norms and values, minimizing cultural originality of MF students. Thus this assimilationist policy continues to hinder the implementation of global citizenship education. It narrows the world view of young Korean nationals in a global society, which is detrimental to the concepts of global citizenship. Second, sustainable and intensive cooperation between the government and local community is needed. By building closer relations with stakeholders, the government would be able to recognize the problems earlier and prevent any potential future violent conflicts. To design practical and realistic education policies, the government should build close relationship with local communities and people. The voice of people who engage in activities that support multicultural families is valuable for the building of a realistic framework to solve cultural conflicts and prevent them. Third, schools need to teach students how to understand differences and accept otherness. School is the place where young nationals are exposed to multicultural conflicts, but it is also the arena in which students should learn how to manage said conflicts in a peaceful way. To do this, teachers must promote the view that inclusive education is also necessary. Additionally, teachers should help the students respect differences and encourage them to understand each other. Ultimately, the goal should be for the students to be able to empathize with and accept others as they are rather than impose their own values upon them. Embracing cultural diversity will teach Korean students to live with others from different backgrounds in a harmonious way by broadening their worldview.

Global citizenship education can play a key role in reaching a balance between global competence and local identity by addressing both global and domestic multicultural issues. To have more practical and realistic global citizenship education policy, the cooperation between the government and local communities is essential. The Korean government should develop national curricula that can help teachers and young students to develop critical thinking on multicultural issues and that promotes the respect of peoples from different cultural backgrounds.

8. CONCLUSION

Although global citizenship is a disputed and continuously evolving concept, there has been significant discourse on its importance in the formal and informal education sectors. One of the popular beliefs of global citizenship is to understand others and embrace cultural diversities in the world. The discussion has been held by diverse groups at local, national and global governance levels. International agencies such as UNESCO have suggested frameworks and guidelines for the implementation of global citizenship education across the world.

However, these conceptual frameworks are largely based on Western values with the extended concept of civic education from Northern Europe and North America. In addition, the current discussions of global citizenship have yet to examine the social and cultural differences between West and East, and the moral and traditional values of civic education in Asia. A global citizen should be considered as a globally-minded person in order to let the world be socially and culturally diverse. To let global citizenship education be global, the world needs to focus on improving intercultural competence: accepting people as they are rather than imposing rigid cultural norms onto them to follow.

In Korea, the global citizenship agenda casts a fundamental question of national identity. Unlike the neighboring countries such as China and Japan, Korea which is a divided state, will have to address the issue of peaceful unification with North Korea in the future. Since the Korean Civil war, Korea has become a multicultural society with an increasing inflow of Western values, foreign workers, North Korean defectors and multicultural families. Because of these inflows, Korea now has the challenges of balancing non-Korean influences and traditional values. The current education policies encourage young Korean students to have one single national identity, but this is detrimental to global citizenship. Korea has difficulties in infusing cultural diversity in the national school curricula even though the number of students from multicultural families and North Korean defectors are rapidly growing in schools. In spite of the increasing global citizenship themes that aim to embrace cultural diversities in textbooks, multicultural family students feel discrimination from peers at school. Paradoxically, the government's multicultural education policy is assimilationist (i.e. it is not really multicultural), and it also supports the concept of global citizenship education and, rhetorically at least, the embrace of cultural diversity. These educational policies are inherently contradictory. Of course, Korean national identity and global citizenship need not be mutually exclusive. The government needs to tackle these two conflicting educational policies in order to build social cohesion.

Some might insist that fostering global citizenship can be considered a challenge to Korean traditional norms and morals. However, in this interconnected world, young Korean students will interact with people from various cultural backgrounds and will manage

different social and cultural norms. To build mutual understanding and develop the global competence of these young nationals, it is essential for the Korean government to implement education policy that may strike a balance between local identity and global citizenship.

Harmonizing the global citizenship within the national school curricula is a difficult challenge for Korea. However, pursuing global citizenship education can be an opportunity for the government to build its capacity to embrace social and cultural diversity through social cohesion as well. More research on global citizenship education both at global and domestic levels needs to be done. School is an incubator for fostering a desirable citizen within a society as well as improving young nationals' intercultural competence to embrace otherness. The ideas and experiences of stakeholders at school should be heard and discussed for building an effective global citizenship education policy. The experiences and lessons learned from pursuing a balance between global citizenship and national identity, since they promote a more global outlook based on empathy for others, would improve young students' intercultural competence – an important step towards a more culturally diverse and inclusive society.

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