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CRITICAL RACE THEORY: MEASURING ANTI-BLACK SENTIMENT
IN SOUTH KOREAN ENGLISH EDUCATION

by

Kenya Nelson

A capstone submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts in Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages.

Hamline University

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Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1	4
Rationale	4
Context.....	4
Developing Research Interest	7
Overview of Research.....	8
Summary	8
CHAPTER 2	10
Introduction.....	10
Review of Literature	11
Critical Race Theory	11
Anti-Black sentiment (ABS) in South Korea.....	18
ABS & Black English teachers in South Korea.....	22
Summary	24
CHAPTER 3	26
Research Background	26
Research Paradigm and Framework	26
Research Goals	28
Method of Inquiry	29
Participants of Study	29
Setting for research	29
Materials	29
Procedures.....	34
Recruitment.....	34
Data Analysis	34
Ethics and Data Integrity	38
Conclusion	38
CHAPTER 4	40
Survey Results & Discussion.....	40
Results.....	41
Survey Findings	45
Interview Results & Discussion.....	48
Results.....	49
Themes Based on Interview Data	61
Discussion.....	63

General Discussion	69
Conclusion	73
CHAPTER 5	75
Reflection on Findings.....	75
Limitations	76
Future Research	77
References.....	79
APPENDIX A.....	84
APPENDIX B	91

Table of Figures

Table 1: <i>Total % of Survey Selections for Each Question</i>	42
Table 2: <i>Likert-Scale Selections by Frequency across all questions</i>	43
Table 3: <i>Total % of Answers with CRT Tenets Applied</i>	44

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Thus, not only had the Black body of Americans been colonized, but the gaze of the Korean had been additionally colonized, helping deem me and other Black teachers beneath the Western, American, blonde-hair, blue-eyed teacher. – J. Jackson, “Meditating Gunrunner Speaking Part I: A Black Male Journey Teaching in South Korea”, 2016

Rationale

This research study was designed to explore the types of *anti-Black sentiment* that Black English teachers encounter in South Korea and analyze these forms of ABS using the critical race theory framework. By applying critical race theory (henceforth CRT), I want to determine how different types of ABS correlate to significant tenets from CRT. The importance of the research on CRT is beneficial for future Black English teachers because the theory will allow them to develop effective ways to have racial discourse with their students. The policymakers and administrators of English programs in South Korea should be conscious of how global media promotes harmful ideologies about non-whites, leading to students' behavior towards non-white English teachers. Most importantly, this research could help Black teachers have more effective discussions about anti-Black sentiment (henceforth, abbreviated as ABS) and multiculturalism and how racial diversity progresses globalism. This research will also help Black teachers confront racism despite language and cultural barriers.

Context

My journey began in 2010 when I taught English overseas in Daejeon, South Korea. The two things that I had to consider about being an expatriate in Korea were my race and gender. My mentor, who helped me through the application and visa process, warned me against applying to *hagwons* (Korean private academies). “Public school only,” she stressed. “Private schools only want blonde and blue-eyed white people!” She was a Black female English teacher who was one of the many non-White teachers encouraged to be conscious of the ‘White-only’ job ads (Ruecker & Ives, 2015) for hagwon positions. Korean hagwons continue to be a major subject of controversy for their overt discriminatory hiring practices (Young-jin, 2014). Since hagwons are private businesses, they can openly emphasize ‘white only’ in job postings due to South Korea’s lack of anti-discrimination legislation (Young-jin, 2014).

I faced some challenges during my year teaching in Korea due to being a teacher of visible African descent. In a country where multiculturalism is still a relatively recent phenomenon (Chang, 2015), I was prepared for the curiosity regarding my foreign status. It is also important to mention that all the NETs were cautioned in a first-week orientation that foreigners experience these interactions regardless of race. However, as a non-White foreigner, the intrigue was, at times, invasive and even hostile in the form of contemptuous expressions or rejection in providing services. In a foreign country, where I was not fluent in the native language, confronting ABS posed a unique challenge.

There continues to be more harm done in the Korean educational institutions, with prejudices about race and ethnicity influencing how English teachers are treated (Kim, 2018). I can recall instances of discriminatory practices against non-White teachers based on personal accounts from fellow Black teachers. One of those teachers was an African-

American woman who has been a native English teacher in Korea for almost ten years. She shared her experiences of how racism is prevalent in her workplace at a university in Seoul. For example, she claimed that the university's program frequently overlooked non-White teachers to be featured in pictures on the program's website in favor of White male teachers.

After returning to the States, I continued my ESL teaching online with adult students. For a short time, I worked for a well-known language school teaching students from various nations, including China, Brazil, Saudi Arabia, Russia, and Italy. The classes were available with and without video, and every teacher had to include an introductory slide with their photograph in the lesson presentations. The initial sight of my non-Caucasian face and African name often led to the Chinese and Korean students abruptly leaving group classes and leaving one- or two-star ratings with no written feedback, while students from other countries gave me five-star ratings. Surprisingly, I was not the only teacher of color at this company who had this experience. A Black co-worker used a White woman's stock image to see if she would get higher ratings from the Chinese and Korean students. After changing her photo on her introductory slide, she experienced fewer Chinese and Korean students dropping out of the group and more positive ratings about her teaching ability. Overall, our physical identity as Black teachers affected how these students perceived our English skills, believing that the quality of English teaching they received was inferior. Besides dealing with racial discrimination, I had to resign from this company due to threats of being fired for having a four-star rating instead of a five-star rating. Even though the management (who were all White) was conscious of teachers receiving low ratings for their ethnicity, they failed to bring

awareness to this problem and continued to terminate teachers' contracts with less than five stars.

Unfortunately, Whiteness being synonymous with English fluency is a commonly held ideology among English language learners (ELL) (Mahboob, 2009; Ruecker & Ives, 2015). Moreover, this ideology is not limited to the English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom and the presence of White teachers teaching ESL. When I took Spanish as an undergraduate, I felt that lessons were more authentic if taught by a Latina/o or Hispanic teacher. This notion influenced how I perceived my White American and Chinese-American teachers who taught Spanish. In retrospect, my mind was subconsciously 'colonized' by Eurocentric ideologies of non-American cultures.

Developing Research Interest

My personal experiences as a Black English teacher led to my interest in critical race theory and how it can be applied to English teaching. I was not familiar with CRT but learned of it when I took a Language and Society course during my graduate tenure. Although scholars initially developed the CRT for American law schools as an alternative to critical legal studies (Crenshaw, 1995), educators can apply the CRT model to various social, political, and institutional areas in the U.S. In this study, I will employ CRT in English education, narrowing the focus of CRT on Blackness in Korea. In addition, I will draw on my experiences as a teacher of color who has worked with other English teachers from diverse ethnic backgrounds and nationalities.

Additionally, I will develop proactive approaches to bringing awareness to the lack of multiculturalism in the English market. There has been an influx of Black ESL teachers applying to teach overseas, and many of them have sought employment in

ethnically homogenous countries such as South Korea (Heteren, 2018). However, based on many conversations I had with prospective Black English teachers, most of them initially had concerns about South Korea because of other Black teachers' experiences with racism and colorism in East Asia. Teaching abroad is a tremendous opportunity that many non-White English teachers, primarily Black teachers, dismiss due to fear of job discrimination or harassment. They want to avoid living in a racially homogenous country with no civil rights laws in place to protect them, on top of difficulty verbally defending themselves due to lack of fluency.

Overview of Research

Through this research, I hope to collect data consisting of Black English teachers' firsthand accounts of anti-Black sentiment (ABS) and suggest ways to incorporate CRT in the Korean English classroom. Hopefully, the data from this research would help Black teachers have more effective discussions about racism with their adult Korean students effectively. Therefore, I will focus on the following research question(s):

(1) How does ABS influence the experiences of Black English teachers in South Korea?

(2) How do Black English teachers' encounters with ABS correlate with eight tenets of CRT?

Summary

Chapter One focuses on (a) the reasons racial discrimination towards Black English teachers in South Korea needs to be explored, (b) the researcher's experience and how it connects to the research topic, and (c) how ABS in South Korea's English market

has affected the prospects of Black English teachers. This chapter also introduced the research questions and the CRT framework employed within the study design.

Chapter Two presents the literature review, which will focus on (1) the major tenets of critical race theory, CRT in English education, and prior research of CRT and South Korean English education, (2) how stereotypes of Black people in globalized propaganda infiltrated South Korean media and (3) background on Black teachers in Korean English education. Chapter Three will focus on the research study methodology, including the procedures and the data analyses. Chapter Four will present the results and findings, and the final chapter will summarize the findings and how they answer the research questions and present implications for teachers.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter presents empirical studies and academic articles relevant to this capstone study and the following research questions:

(1) How does anti-Black sentiment (ABS) influence the experiences of Black English teachers in South Korea?

(2) How do Black English teachers' encounters with ABS correlate with eight tenets of CRT?

The rationale of this study focuses on how anti-Black sentiment (ABS) affects Black English teachers in South Korea, and the alignment between the types of ABS they experience and the eight tenets of critical race theory (CRT): (1) interest convergence, (2) critique of liberalism, (3) storytelling, (4) revisionist history, (5) structural determinism, (6) racial intersections, (7) essentialism and anti-essentialism, and (8) cultural nationalism/separatism.

This chapter covers the histories of the scholastic background on CRT and its presence in TESOL, anti-Black sentiment in South Korea, and Black teachers working in Korea. The first section of this chapter provides (1) background on the CRT framework, (2) its presence in the field of Teaching English to speakers of other languages (hereafter, TESOL), and (3) studies that considered CRT while researching the Black experience of teaching in East Asia. The second section addresses the source of anti-black sentiment (ABS) in Korean society, including how these sentiments are shaped by negative images of Blacks in global media. Finally, the third section will discuss the presence of Black

English teachers in South Korea and studies documenting their negative encounters with ABS.

Review of Literature

Critical Race Theory

For as long as governmental, political, and economic interests have influenced education, classroom discourses have reflected racist ideologies used to maintain a certain amount of power over education (Luke 1995). Textual discourses, such as textbooks and standardized tests, continue to be tools in which these agencies establish marginalizing racial narratives from the perspective of policymakers. Consequently, students who are members of marginalized racial groups frequently encounter covert racism in discourses that legitimize their status. These issues have prompted educators to rethink race and culture within educational discourse and explore methods, such as critical race theory (CRT). In the following section, the researcher will discuss a selection of CRT scholars (Bell, 1984; Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, 2017) and their contributions which have later been applied to educational fields, specifically the area of Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (hereafter TESOL).

Definition of critical race theory (CRT)

Critical race theory (henceforth CRT) is one of the methods, or tools, developed to challenge language discourse and ideologies that promote racism within different agencies, such as in the justice system. Traditionally, CRT has been applied to legal institutions and policy in the American justice system (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), in which scholars have encouraged others to analyze race and explore how race is embedded in many institutional sectors in society. However, there is no exact pinpoint of

where CRT originated, as its beginnings as a social and political movement in law are historic (Crenshaw, 1995). In their updated work, Delgado and Stefancic (2017) define CRT as a movement in which activists and scholars analyzed the relationship between race, racism, and power and how these elements intersect within law, education, and other societal domains.

Delgado and Stefancic present a list of tenets influenced by scholars Bell (1980) and Crenshaw (1995). These tenets are important regarding the framework used for this study since they will be used as a guideline to analyze types of ABS. Therefore, they will be discussed in detail in the following subsection.

Major Tenets of Critical Race Theory

Delgado and Stefancic (2017) presented major tenets of CRT that distinguish the theory as a discipline with an activist approach. Bell (1980) and Crenshaw (1995) are mentioned below in two tenets, as the issues they focused on influenced the major tenets relevant to CRT.

Interest Convergence. This tenet describes when circumstances for minorities change based on the interests of White elites. Interest convergence originated from Bell's (1980) analysis of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, which concluded that the Supreme Court's decision to side with Black interest was not in genuine concern for Black people. He states that the *Brown vs. Board* case was settled based on Whites' interest to industrialize the South. Thus segregation was impeding their desire for that change (Bell 1980).

Critique of liberalism. According to Delgado and Stefancic, liberalism refers to philosophies designed to promote fairness and resistance to political influences, such as

affirmative action, neutrality, color blindness, and merit. However, they later argued that liberalism inadvertently maintains racial hierarchies due to ignoring the reality of how deeply racism is embedded in the U.S.

Storytelling. The authors describe storytelling as a way of naming one's reality. In other words, storytelling is used as a tool for oppressed people to counter stories of their experiences often told from the oppressor's perspective. The authors claim that many CRT scholars consider the majoritarian mindset—the beliefs, attitudes, and cultural understandings of the racial majority—to be a primary hindrance to reform when they control the narratives of marginalized groups.

Revisionist History. According to Delgado and Stefancic, this tenet refers to the reexamination of historical accounts by people of color (henceforth POC) modified from a White perspective and making the stories more accurate according to the minority perspective. This tenet bears some similarity to interest convergence, except *interest convergence* focuses more on the White community's concern of self-interest and reputation than the appropriation of historical accounts and events.

Structural determinism. This tenet refers to how social structures (e.g., institutional rules, laws, authoritative standards) and symbols (e.g., mannerisms, racialized discourse, or language) influence behaviors and ideologies towards certain racial and ethnic groups to maintain a status quo. CRT scholars strive to dissect this tenet in order to confront these constraints.

Race, sex, class, and their intersections. Besides Delgado and Stefancic, other CRT scholars have explored how race intersects with sex, gender, and class in different domains. They refer to Crenshaw (1995) presented the intersectionality of gender and

race as a CRT focus. Crenshaw's purpose in exploring intersectionality in CRT was to highlight how gender violence affects women of color and how race impacts their experiences compared to non-marginalized groups. In this thesis, I will be excluding *sex* and replacing it with *skin tone* since that is a variable that will be counted as intersecting with race and class.

Essentialism and anti-essentialism. According to Delgado and Stefancic (2017), certain forms of racism against a group can be applied to people's experiences within that group. The authors gave examples of questions that should address essential notions of race, such as "Is the black community one, or many, communities? Do middle- and working-class African-Americans have different interests and needs? Do all oppressed peoples have something in common? (p. 463)."

Cultural nationalism/separatism. This tenet refers to the ideology that people of color can effectively promote their best interests when separating themselves from the American mainstream. Specifically, they believe that cultural nationalism benefits people of color in order for them to preserve cultural thought from being influenced by whites.

Delgado and Stefancic's theoretical framework would eventually be applied to the area of education. In this study, Delgado and Stefancic's tenets of CRT are relevant for educators of color who wish to intertwine activism with their pedagogical methods. In the following section, I will focus on scholars who have used CRT as a framework for analyzing race in TESOL settings.

CRT applied to studies in TESOL

There is a scarcity of empirical research studies focusing on CRT in the TESOL field, especially regarding teachers working overseas in non-English speaking countries;

which may pose an issue since language learning includes exploring other ethnicities, cultures, and races to understand how the second language functions among the native speakers of that language. However, a few scholars (Kubota & Lin, 2006, Ruecker & Ives, 2015; Tanghe, 2016; Jenks, 2017; Kim, 2017) have written or conducted studies on race in TESOL in which CRT has been used as a theoretical framework.

Kubota and Lin (2006) focused on the intersection of race, racism, the status of being a non-native English speaker in the U.S., and how these factors concern immigrant students and educators. They argued that within TESOL, racialized norms of Whiteness are still promoted through pedagogy, hiring practices, and ideologies towards immigrant students. They concluded that TESOL scholars could use CRT to develop ways of challenging these hegemonic norms through discourse. Conversely, Ruecker and Ives (2015) applied the framework to English as a foreign language (EFL) education and highlighted how racialized norms of Whiteness exist abroad. They conducted a study where they used CRT as a framework in the form of critical discourse analysis (CDA), an approach to analyzing language in written and visual discourses and how these reflect social and ideological processes. This study analyzed how connections between racism and the status of being a native English speaker (NES) and non-native English speaker (NNES) are represented on English teaching recruitment websites in East Asia (China, Japan, Korea, Taiwan, and Thailand). They considered CRT when exploring how images and text on these teacher recruitment sites promoted White privilege by showing only white English teachers surrounded by welcoming natives, working in classrooms, and enjoying landscapes of the foreign country. Ruecker and Ives mention that representations of White teachers juxtaposed against “exoticized (p. 751)” versions of

East Asian culture reflect dated beliefs of the East and reinforces the act of othering Asian cultures in order to appeal to prospective White teachers.

In Jenks's (2017) book *Race and Ethnicity in English Language Teaching: Korea in Focus*, he discussed CRT in a global context, defined CRT similar to Delgado and Stefancic, stating that the framework aims to understand how race shapes individual attitudes and influences other communities' societal ideologies and maintains a status quo. He also mentions that CRT focuses on how individual acts of racism and privilege operate in broader social, political, and historical contexts. Finally, he provided examples of racism in Korean English teaching according to each tenet in CRT, which provided a significant model for this capstone's research design. Below are the examples within the tenets that are focused on in this study:

Interest Convergence. The author did not mention this tenet; nevertheless, this study provides examples of interest convergence as a theme in Korean English education, and this will be discussed more in Chapters Three and Four.

Critique of liberalism. Jenks describes the case of immigration laws in Korea supposedly supporting English teachers of color but simultaneously encouraging teachers to "maintain a system of White privilege (p. 34)" through pedagogical methods. The Korean government attempts to show liberalism by creating these laws but does not wholly commit to them through actions.

Storytelling. This tenet is considered one of the most important for education since storytelling and counter-narratives (stories told by the minority perspective) are salient in race-based teaching. Jenks asserts that the inclusion of counter-narratives in curriculums needs to be acknowledged by Korean education policymakers.

Revisionist History. Jenks argues that English discourses in Korea are founded on the ideology that Whiteness is synonymous with the English language. Thus, these discourses neglect the aspects of North American, British, Australian, and South African histories that involve English speakers of color.

Structural determinism. This tenet refers to how symbols and social structures affect the behaviors towards racial and ethnic groups. In this case, Jenks describes how Koreans believe that the status of being a native English speaker (NES) equates to sufficient qualification to teach English. Since Whiteness is associated with NES status, this causes English programs to view non-White NES educators as less qualified.

Race, sex, class, and their intersections. Jenks mentions how class and race intersect in Korean English teaching. For example, many Koreans associate elite English education with White NES teachers but see English education taught by non-Whites as inauthentic or low quality.

Essentialism and anti-essentialism. This tenet refers to how experiences of racism may vary between different groups that share the same racial identity. Jenks refers to the notions of native English speakers (NES) versus non-native English speakers (NNES) held in Korean English programs and how they mirror the beliefs of language and race from the United States. For example, White people are generalized as English speakers in Korea, and non-Whites are not. Specifically, those who hold these beliefs do not consider the White people from non-English speaking countries.

Cultural nationalism/separatism. Jenks discusses how nationalism has been promoted through English education, contributing to the racism that arises from teaching English.

Overall, the scholars mentioned in this section discussed types of covert racism that CRT can be used to discuss and confront ABS.

Gap in Research

There is a scarcity in empirical research where CRT is used as a framework, especially in education and TESOL. While some scholars have discussed CRT in TESOL, most of them focus on North American classroom experiences, and very few present empirical research in the English area. In addition to this, there is an emphasis on the NES vs. NNEs dichotomy with less regard for how race plays a role in these labels (Jenks, 2017) in English language teaching (henceforth ELT). In Section 2.1, I have discussed the definition of critical race theory (CRT) and its origins and key scholars of CRT whose work ties in with the research. Most importantly, this section presented examples of how CRT has been applied to TESOL education and eventually used to explore racism in Korean English programs. The following section will cover ABS in Korea and how it became a tool in reaffirming nationalism.

Anti-Black sentiment (ABS) in South Korea

A history of unwelcomed miscegenation during the Korean War and representations in global media continue to affect Koreans' ideologies about Black people. The presence of Black expatriates in Korea continues to elicit both invasive curiosity and strong disdain, as discussed by a few researchers (Tan, Dalisay, Zhang, Han, & Merchant, 2010; Jones 2014; Han 2015; Tanghe 2016; Dixon & Telles, 2017; Kim, 2017). The history of Black expatriates in Korea is relevant in understanding factors that led to ABS among Koreans; it is helpful for Black English teachers to understand

Black people's impact on multiculturalism in Korea to make sense of why certain forms of ABS exist in the country.

Black expatriates as a threat to Korean nationalism

The Korean War (1950-1953) marked the first wave of non-Korean expatriates, including Black Americans, living in South Korea (Han, 2015, p. 3). Initially, Koreans were aware of the miscegenation that created a multicultural pocket in Korea's homogeneous society. Han mentions that trauma resulting from Japanese colonialism led Koreans to develop a strong sense of nationalism and a homogenous identity. Thus Koreans formed prejudices against non-Koreans to preserve a sense of racial and cultural solidarity to reform from Japanese colonialism. Han also explores how these attitudes towards Black people have been reaffirmed through "nouveau riche racism (p. 3)". He explains that nouveau-riche racism developed when the improvement in South Korea's economic status and capitalist production systems were used to exploit foreigners, leading to discrimination and classism towards immigrants.

Besides nationalism and xenophobia, ideologies about skin tone have possibly influenced ABS in Korea. For example, Jones (2013) asserts that East Asians viewed dark skin as an indicator of laborer status, and light/fair skin is believed to be associated with wealth and is upheld as a standard of beauty. Jones also found that fair skin was especially important for women who desire to be more marketable for marriage. Likewise, Dixon and Telles (2017) argue that colorism existed in many cultures but varied to different extremes; nonetheless, they state that regardless of cultural perceptions of skin tone, fairer skin remained a preference in these societies.

Both of these researchers show that skin tone and class are intertwined, and as Han (2015) discussed with nationalism and xenophobia, these factors are possibly used to further marginalized Blacks in Korea. In this study, I considered how the history of nationalism and perceptions of darker-complexioned, non-Korean foreign ties into how Black teachers are treated in English, a field associated with Western culture and language.

ABS pushed in South Korean media

Western global media has made the largest negative impact on Black people's experiences living and working in Korea. Negative images of Black people continue to reach the global level with the news media as a major source of exportation (Hale, 2014). Tan, Dalisay, Zhang, Han, and Merchant (2010) conducted a study of perceptions of African-Americans among students in Seoul. They argue that the U.S. plays an influential role in Korea's media culture. Their study showed how global audiences are influenced by negative caricatures of Black people in mass media and discourses. The researchers analyzed whether the students' perception of Black people depended on portrayals in American media and how these students perceived the stereotypes of realistic depictions of Black people. They claimed that the correlation between stereotyping and media portrayals is complex, and the students' perceptions were likely based on how much they felt these stereotypes were believable. Interestingly, students listed traits based on portrayals, describing Black people as "athletic" as the top choice (2010, p. 579). Less polarizing but still without controversy, athleticism is a popular stereotype of Black people, primarily males, exported overseas.

While Tan et al. found that Koreans held neutral albeit one-dimensional perceptions about African-Americans, Han (2015) argues that perceptions of Black people are mostly met with contempt or ridicule by Korean, mainly with entertainers mocking them in blackface performance; blackface is a performative ‘art’ that has been transmitted through globalized media have also been created as forms of cultural imperialism since the turn of the twentieth century (Hale, 2014). Han analyzed the blackface that has been performed by South Koreans, focusing on a link between Korean nationalism and blackface performance. He explored netizens’ reactions to blackface performances done by members from the K-pop groups *BEAST/B2ST* and *Girl’s Generation* and noticed denial of racism by those not opposed to blackface. He concluded that the attitudes regarding blackface stemmed from generational xenophobia, disconnection from race or racism, and the lack of sufficient input from policymakers on multicultural education. In terms of how ‘nouveau-riche racism’ plays a role in prejudices against Black people, the ridicule of Blacks through blackface further separates Koreans from outside groups, particularly foreigners with darker skin.

In another study, Tanghe (2016) found that her Korean subjects felt disconnected from the concept of race in the Korean concept due to the “one-race” ideology and that most denied the existence of racism. She considers how race ideologies influence Korean English students and their attitudes towards teachers. She conducted a mixed-method study that entailed a racial discrimination simulation activity with learners in a graduate school teaching program (TESOL program) in Seoul, South Korea. Her purpose for the study was to explore how the Korean students reacted to racial discrimination, which is important when considering how Korean students might handle discourse about ABS

with Black English teachers. Despite some progress in multicultural representation in Korean media and educational institutions, she argues that Korean teachers still viewed multiculturalism as irrelevant in English language curriculums. Overall, Tanghe's study showed an example where the CRT tenet of *critique of liberalism* could be applied.

Gap in Research

With the influx of Black teachers seeking employment overseas, especially in East Asian countries such as South Korea, there is a need for more studies to be conducted to bring awareness to teachers of color as victims of globalized racism. Currently, there are little to no empirical studies that focus on Black teachers and their experiences with racism in East Asia, primarily South Korea. My study will add to what is lacking in academia regarding this issue.

ABS and Black English teachers in South Korea

Approximately 24,000 native English speakers teach in South Korea (Bentley, 2021); non-White NES, especially those of African descent, make up a very minute percentage of the expatriate community in Korea. This section focuses on Black people's presence in South Korea's English education and the history of multicultural education. A few studies and articles focused on the experiences of Black English teachers in South Korea (Jackson, 2016; Kim, 2017; Dos Santos, 2020), with a couple of studies using CRT as a framework.

Jackson's (2016) unique qualitative approach was conducted through his firsthand experience as a Black English teacher in South Korea, where he journaled his encounters with ABS. He found that the American media is wholly responsible for exporting the plethora of images that show Black American males as violent, uneducated, and

irrational. So the purpose of his story was to document how he used himself as an alternative to those negative images. The CRT framework was employed by developing counter-stories of his experience as a Black man in Korea while simultaneously decolonizing the racist, Eurocentric narratives Koreans believed about Black people. Thus, his story was an important example of the CRT tenet of *storytelling*.

In another study, Kim (2017) analyzed the experiences of two Black male expatriates in South Korea and their experiences with ABS. Her major finding was that the concept of Blackness and anti-Blackness in South Korea is due to three main sources: ignorance, misinformation of Black people from global mass media, and colorism (preference of lighter skin over darker skin). She also found that Black expatriates felt responsible for educating their Korean students and colleagues about Blackness and foreigners. Like Jackson (2016), she used CRT as a framework focusing on the tenets of *revisionist history*, *interest convergence*, and *storytelling*. She mentions one participant, a Black male teacher, who discussed how he uses counter-stories to provide a foundation for students to deconstruct and challenge their perceptions of Black people (p. 90). In alignment with the CRT tenets that she used, she found that *revisionist history* is represented through Koreans accepting racism as normal based on nationalist ideologies. Regarding *interest convergence*, she provides an example of how Koreans' attitudes towards Chinese, Japanese, and darker-skinned foreigners changed in the 1990s due to the governments' need to increase birth rates and decrease labor costs in Korea. Lastly, she discussed *storytelling* with an example of the dominant male Korean perspective being challenged by voices from marginalized groups, such as Korean women, in recent times.

Dos Santos (2020) discovered similar findings to Kim's study, although he did not use the CRT framework. Instead, he designed a three-stage approach to explore the correlation between internal and external elements and the stress, burnout, and mental health of Black expatriates in Korea. He found that Black teachers still face overt racism in Korea, despite progress in multiculturalism in global media and the influx of Black teachers traveling abroad. In addition, all of the participants had left the country either before or right after their contracts ended. His study consisted of two separate semi-structured interviews with eighteen Black expatriates who were teachers, counselors, and nurses from North America, Africa, and Oceania. In the interviews, a Black participant explained how foreigners with darker skin were met with repulsion. This participant recalled her experience with officers using gloves to handle her paperwork while not using gloves for White or Hispanic foreigners with lighter skin.

Gap in research

Only a few studies and articles have highlighted the experiences of Black English teachers working abroad in South Korea. There is not enough empirical research available on Black English teachers other than articles. There are also limited resources focusing on how experiences vary among different Black people based on nationality, ethnicity, gender, skin tone, or physical attributes. This study will include skin tone as a variable to how this affects differences in how certain Black people are treated.

Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed literature that provided background on my research questions that investigates:

(1) How does anti-Black sentiment (ABS) influence Black English teachers' experiences in South Korea?

(2) How do Black English teachers' encounters with ABS correlate with eight tenets of CRT?

This chapter discussed the origin of critical race theory (CRT), its major tenets, and their relevance to this study. This chapter also covered the roots of anti-black sentiment (ABS) in Korean society, the presence of Black English teachers in South Korea, and studies documenting their negative encounters with ABS. Overall, the gap in the literature is the lack of empirical research available concerning Black teachers' experiences in South Korea. In the next chapter, I will present my methodology, where I will analyze how forms of ABS align with the major tenets of CRT discussed in this chapter.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

While critical race theory (CRT) has traditionally been applied in American institutions, I decided to employ it as a framework in a Korean cultural context, similar to Kim's (2017) methodology for researching racism against Black people in South Korea.

This chapter will address: (a) the research paradigm and framework and their rationale in the study with a review of the research questions and the data needed to address them; (b) background on settings, participants, and materials in the method of inquiry and, c) the procedures and data analysis. The methodology and design outlined in this chapter were used to investigate the two guiding questions explored in this thesis:

(1) How does anti-Black sentiment (ABS) influence the experiences of Black English teachers in South Korea?

(2) How do Black English teachers' encounters with ABS correlate with eight tenets of CRT?

Research Background

This research design includes both quantitative and qualitative data. Hence, this study required a mixed methodology research design (Mackey & Gass, 2016). For the study, I employed eight tenets of CRT inspired by Jenk's (2017) model for applying CRT in the Korean context. As discussed in Chapter Two, Jenks made links between CRT and common issues in South Korean English programs that require a critical approach.

Research Paradigm and Framework

The mixed-methods paradigm used in this project included (a) use of survey data to measure the frequency of ABS they experienced, including if skin tone plays a factor in the severity of their experiences, (b) an interview with selected participants to gather in-depth information of their survey answers, and (c) use of interview data to analyze how forms of ABS align with the CRT tenets.

Quantitative Data

Quantitative research involves designing an experiment with numerical analysis in order to create replicable, statistical data (Mackey & Gass, 2016). For this research study, quantitative data was collected through an online survey. The survey yielded numerical results presented in pie charts, which were used to measure severity in types of ABS. Subsequently, that data was used to determine which participants were more qualified for the interview. Questions in the form of scenarios elicited answers based on a Likert scale, a five-point system that ranged from the answer choices of *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree* (Survey Monkey, n.d.).

Qualitative Data

Qualitative research involves collecting data through a natural observation (Mackey & Gass, 2015), focusing on interpretative exploration of the research questions rather than gathering statistical information. The qualitative data in this study was collected via a semi-structured interview, which involved the participants responding to open-ended questions about their experiences with ABS.

Critical Race Theory (CRT) framework

For the research presented in this thesis, I included the other five CRT tenets: (1) Critique of liberalism, (2) Structural determinism, (3) Race, class, and their intersections,

(4) Essentialism and anti-essentialism, and (5) Cultural nationalism/separatism. These tenets were discussed in extent in Chapter 2. For the CRT tenet *race, class, and their intersections*, I decided to focus on skin tone as an intersection with racism since the history of colorism in East Asia is associated with classism (Jones, 2013). The rationale for using this framework is to investigate how forms of ABS align with these eight tenets of CRT.

The survey measured the frequency of ABS that participants encountered; this was conducted through situational questions asking participants if they agree or disagree that certain types of ABS exist. For the interview, I categorized the questions according to the CRT tenets they represented to elicit open-ended answers that provide examples of a scenario that aligns with its CRT tenet. The use of the CRT tenets allowed me to categorize examples of ABS, which could later be utilized as a guideline for more effective discussions about race in English classrooms.

Research Goals

The surveys and interviews, combined, were used to explore how Black teachers experienced discrimination and racism in their Korean English programs and analyze instances of ABS and their correlation with the eight CRT tenets in focus. The goal of the survey was to measure the dependent variable, which was patterns in how ABS negatively influenced Black people's experiences as teachers in Korea. In addition, skin tone was used as a moderating variable to determine if there is an influence in the severity of the ABS. The goal of the interview was to record detailed instances of ABS and provide more detailed information on how these teachers detected and emotionally reacted to these forms of ABS. The interview considered both the dependent variable

and the independent variables, which were the types of ABS. With the CRT tenet as a framework, I hope to use this data to illustrate how CRT can be considered when teachers want to discuss a particular type of racism in their English and confront ABS.

Method of Inquiry

Participants of Study

The survey participants were selected from the *Brothas & Sistas of South Korea* (BSSK), a Facebook group with close to 14,000 members of African descent who are English teachers (or former teachers) in South Korea. This group provides an online support system for Black teachers in Korea to congregate, network, share educational and social opportunities. The teachers were natives of the United States working with adult students in hagwons and colleges or universities for twelve months or longer.

Setting for research

I conducted the quantitative research through a virtual online survey app, Google Survey, in which two to three participants were selected for the interview based on the number of survey questions they strongly agreed with. If participants strongly agreed with more than four questions, they were considered. Also, the interview selections required the participants of more than one skin tone variation to include the moderation variable of skin tone.

The entire study was conducted online because the prospective participants were based overseas in Korea. The interviews were conducted through Zoom or Google Meet. Participants were given a choice to use video and audio or audio without video.

Materials

Survey

Google Forms Survey Template. The survey was administered using Google Forms, an online software application provided by Google. The survey results may be replicated in a Microsoft Excel graph and table creator. In the first section, there were basic questions eliciting information about their country of citizenship, years working in South Korea, and whether the teacher works in a hagwon or college/university. There is also a question asking about skin tone to see if a correlation between the Black teacher's skin tone and the level of racism they encountered can be established. I provided a color sample of two brown shades from Fitzpatrick's (1975) six-level scale for skin type and human skin color. These colors represented skin tones 5 (dark brown) and 6 (deeply pigmented brown to black). The final questions in the first section asked if the participants are familiar with the term *anti-Black sentiment*, eliciting a *yes* or *no* answer. Since the term *anti-Black sentiment* was used during the interview, the researcher ensured that the participants were familiar with the term.

In the second section, the participants provided insight into their perceptions of ABS in their teaching environments in South Korea. They had to answer eight questions about their perceptions of ABS, considering how these affect their teaching experiences. The responses were measured based on a Likert five-point scale. Likert scales are used to measure how extreme opinions, attitudes, and perceptions are based on 5- or 7-points, compared to surveys with questions that elicit dualistic answers (i.e., yes/no questions). Thus, the participants' perceptions were based on how much they disagreed or agreed that the questions/statements were true to their real-life experiences.

Below are the questions and, in parentheses, are the CRT tenets that these questions are examples of (NOTE: the terms in parentheses were not visible on the survey, as this is just a reference).

1. Korean or White expats that you work with tend to ignore or deny racism against fellow non-white English teachers. (critique of liberalism)
2. Racism against Black people is normalized in the school or workplace through educational discourses and hiring practices. (structural determinism)
3. Anti-Black sentiment is prevalent in Korean English learning materials (i.e., textbooks, videos) that portray Western culture or globalization. (nationalism vs. assimilation)
4. Anti-Black sentiment has been prevalent in how stories of Black people are narrated in the Korean media (including Western media marketed to global audiences)? (revisionist history)
5. Attitudes towards Blacks in South Korea have POSITIVELY change based on the political climate in the West (i.e., the Black Lives Matter movement). (interest convergence)
6. You believe that your skin tone has NEGATIVELY influenced your experiences as a Black English teacher in Korea. (race, class, skin tone, and intersection)
7. You are able to teach lessons about your culture based on your experiences and not from a Westernized perspective. (storytelling)

8. Most of your experiences with racism in Korea apply to all or most Black teachers you know. (essentialism vs non-essentialism)

Interview

The semi-structured interview was a follow-up to the survey, which provided in-depth information on the participants' encounters with ABS. The online interviews were conducted through Zoom and Google Meet. The choice of communication was up to the participants, and they were given a certain time frame to attend the interviews. These interviews consisted of the following open-ended questions:

CRT Tenet 1 #: Critique of Liberalism

1. What are your experiences with attitudes that encourage 'color-blindness' when it comes to discussing anti-Black racism in South Korea?

CRT Tenet #2: Structural Determinism

2. How has your qualifications as an English teacher been questioned or disputed based on your race?

CRT Tenet #3: Nationalism vs. Assimilation

3. In what ways have you assimilated yourself into Korean culture to avoid discrimination? In what ways has Korean nationalism affected your status as a Black English teacher?

CRT Tenet #4: Revisionist History

4. How are stories of Black culture or history depicted in learning materials that you use in classrooms?

CRT Tenet #5: Interest Convergence

5. What changes have there been in Korea based on the racial and political situations in the West (i.e., Black Lives Matter)? *If yes, explain.* How has diversity been represented in learning materials and media within the past year?

CRT Tenet #6: Race, Sex, Skin Tone, and their Intersections

6. What are some incidents where you have seen differences in how Black people with lighter skin were treated compared to Black people with darker skin?

CRT Tenet #7: Storytelling

7. What stories about your culture or experience as a Black person have you ever shared in your classrooms? What problems do you come across Black stories imported from the West (for example, problems in textbooks, videos, movies, or music)?

CRT Tenet #8: Essentialism vs. Anti-essentialism

8. If there are other Black English teachers in your school or network, how are their experiences parallel to or different from yours?

Recording and Transcription Software. As mentioned in the previous section, the interviews were conducted online using Zoom or Google Meets. The interviews were recorded using the internal software for both conference apps. Transcriptions of the interviews were made using the internal feature that is a part of Google Meets. Since transcription software can be inaccurate, the researcher manually recorded data in a table for the interview.

CRT-ABS Comparison Table. After the interviews are completed, I compiled a list of the types of ABS that the participants mentioned in their answers. The eight CRT tenets were recorded in a table on the left side, and the forms of ABS were written on the right side for each applicant (see Appendix B).

Procedures

Recruitment

Survey

A recruitment flyer was posted in the BSSK group for a total of two and a half days, with consideration of the thirteen-hour time difference between my city (Eastern Standard Time or EST) and Seoul, South Korea (Korean Time or K.T.). The flyer listed the following requirements for participation:

- (1) Must be over the age of 20.
- (2) Must be a native of the U.S. or Canada.
- (3) Must work with adult or college-aged students.
- (4) Have worked in South Korea for longer than 12 months.

A link to the Google Survey was printed on the flyer and available as a live link in the Facebook post. Participants were given six days to complete the survey, and they were notified when the survey is closed under the recruitment posting in the *BSSK* Facebook group.

Interview

After the survey data was analyzed, the researcher reached out to two participants via email. The email requested confirmation of whether or not the participant was still interested in taking the survey. If they were willing to participate, they were given availability slots to select for the online interviews, including their preferences such as video or audio-only. Attached to the email was the *Informed Consent to Participate in Research* form, which they had to sign and submit by the day before their interview date.

Data Analysis

Survey

Initially, I reviewed the overall percentages of answers given by all ten survey takers, represented by pie charts in the Google Survey results section. I wanted to see which questions in the second part of the survey yielded more SA or A, considering the CRT tenet to which the question corresponds. The Google Survey tool also allowed me to view the number of responses for each answer, with the email address shown for each response. This made it easier to determine which interview participants I could choose. I also wanted to see the number of participants who selected either five (5) or six (6) for the skin tone variation question to check and make sure I could select two participants of differing skin tones. If the participants selected the same skin tone, I decided to ask if they saw a difference in how Black people of differing skin tones experience ABS for Interview Question #6. The survey results were explored, and the answers that yielded stronger reactions to ABS were considered for the interview. Two to three participants were selected for the official interview.

The first section of the survey consisted of questions that asked for information about citizenship (U.S. or Canada), years working in South Korea, and whether the teacher works in a hagwon or college/university. There were additional questions about skin tone since this was a moderator variable used to find a correlation between the Black teacher's complexion and the level of racism they encountered. Due to the thirteen-hour time difference between my location (EST) and South Korea (KT), the survey responses rolled in slower since most English teachers in the group taught K-12, so extra effort was put into spreading the recruitment information to adult educators. Despite that, I was able to collect from ten participants within 36 hours.

Nine of the participants were female, and one was male. Forty percent of the participants worked in South Korea for seven or more years, and another forty percent worked there for four to six years. Ten percent of participants worked there for 1 to 3 years, and another ten percent worked for under a year. Classroom arrangements have gone from traditional settings to online settings due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Therefore, some participants have selected “other” for Q4 in Section 1 of the survey and specified that there were teaching classes online or through phone English and working freelance as English teachers. Nevertheless, they are still working with adult students, so the change in traditional classroom settings did not impede this study's goal.

Seventy percent of participants work in hagwons or other private English companies, while fifty percent specified in the *other* field that they worked in a particular type of English company (for example, an online company) that still qualified as a type of private academy or hagwon. Therefore this data was included with those who just selected *hagwon*. Thirty percent of the participants worked in a college or university, which was not surprising since the hiring process for university positions is highly competitive (Bolen, 2021). For the skin tone variable, 80% of the participants had a Type 5 skin tone (medium brown to dark brown) while 20% had Type 6 (very dark brown to black) (see table in Appendix B). All participants were familiar with the term *anti-Black sentiment*. In Section 2 of the survey, the participants answered the questions that went into depth about their experiences with ABS in their Korean schools. The results for Section One of the survey can be found in Appendix B.

Interview

The interview questions were categorized based on the CRT themes (the participants will not be aware of these CRT themes). The participants met with the researcher for a one-on-one interview to answer these interview questions. The data collected from the interview consisted of types of ABS in detail, which determined how closely they align with the CRT themes. This data was analyzed in a table with sections for the CRT tenets, and the types of ABS recorded aligned with it (separated by the participant) (See Appendix B). As I interviewed the participants and listened to their answers, I recorded instances of ABS that they mention. I selected up to four items of ABS for each question answered in the corresponding sections. If the interviewees did not have any personal experience based on a question, I asked them the following prompt: *Do you know any other Black teachers who might have experienced this?*

After collecting the data for the interview, I analyzed which CRT tenets produced the most examples of ABS. After listing these tenets, I explored why these may have been more prevalent in the Korean context and what does that say about how race and nationality are perceived in Korea (which will be discussed in detail in Chapters 4 and 5).

The interview data provided more detailed accounts of ABS that would be analyzed in order to answer the research questions. In Appendix B, I provided the table that I used to record instances of ABS that the participants mentioned and the correlation between those forms of ABS and the eight CRT tenets, which were (1) critique of liberalism, (2) structural determinism, (3) nationalism vs. assimilation, (4) revisionist history, (5) interest convergence, (6) racial and skin tone intersections, (7) storytelling, and (8) essentialism vs. non-essentialism.

For the data analysis, I compared the types of ABS that I recorded under each participant. I used color-coding to find any similarities (highlighted in yellow) between their answers and differences (highlighted in green), which would be interpreted in the findings. Any types of ABS that showed the best example of the CRT tenet were highlighted in blue. This was also useful in determining how parallel these teachers' experiences are.

Ethics and Data Integrity

I protected the teachers' identities by designating them with pseudonyms and provide data of surveys and interview transcripts with any identifying features removed except for their country of citizenship, ethnicity, and gender. I completed the Internal Review Board (IRB) process through Hamline University. The participants had to provide consent at the beginning of the survey before participating in this study to show that they understand the purpose of the capstone and their rights during the process. During the research study, the participant's identity was protected with pseudonyms, and the name of the schools and locations were kept confidential. Once the study was completed, I maintained original data privately in my computer and a duplicate in portable storage drives locked away in a filing cabinet. When seven years have passed, I will delete all data collected from both the computer and the portable drives in accordance with federal law.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the mixed methods research paradigm, the CRT framework, and the study's methodology. I also presented the research goals, procedures, and data analyses.

Data collected through quantitative (survey) and qualitative (semi-structured interview) methods using the three major premises of CRT (normalizing racism, interest convergence, and storytelling) resulted in that more participants expressed issues concerning the CRT tenet of storytelling. Therefore, the interview questions regarding storytelling allowed participants to detail their experiences countering negative narratives about Black people in Korean English education. These results will be analyzed further to discuss how the data reflects on the research questions in Chapter Four:

(1) How does anti-Black sentiment (ABS) influence the experiences of Black English teachers in South Korea?

(2) How do Black English teachers' encounters with ABS correlate with eight tenets of CRT?

In the next chapter, I will discuss the results and findings of the study.

CHAPTER 4

Results

This chapter will discuss the analysis of the data collected and the findings related to the following research questions:

1. How does anti-Black sentiment (ABS) influence the experiences of Black English teachers in South Korea?

2. How do Black English teachers' encounters with ABS correlate with eight tenets of CRT?

In the first section, the results and the findings of the survey will be presented. In the second section, I will discuss the results and the findings of the interviews, including interpretations of the survey results. Samples of speech from the videos and interviews will be presented in eight sections based on the CRT tenets used as a framework in this study: (1) critique of liberalism, (2) structural determinism, (3) nationalism vs. assimilation, (4) revisionist history, (5) interest convergence, (6) racial and skin tone intersections (modified based on the tenet *race, sex, class, and their intersections*), (7) storytelling, and (8) essentialism vs. non-essentialism. In the final section, I will compare the survey and interview findings and discuss correlations with the data and the CRT tenets in order to answer the research questions. In the last section, I will discuss limitations and conclude how the study answers the research questions.

Survey Results & Discussion

I will present the results for the survey, which are based on the pie chart data (see Appendix A) taken from the Google Forms Survey, and these results were analyzed to

find the total amount of affirmative answers and patterns relevant to the research questions. Subsequently, there is a discussion of the findings for the survey data and my interpretation of any patterns between the survey answers and the CRT tenets.

Results

The participants had to select answers based on a Likert scale, with the degree of Strongly Agree (SA), Agree (A), Neutral (N), Disagree (D), and Strongly Disagree (SD).

This section presented scenarios related to ABS, constructed around the CRT tenets:

(Q1) Korean or White expats that you work with tend to ignore or deny racism against fellow non-white English teachers. (Critique of liberalism)

(Q2) Racism against Black people is normalized in the school or workplace through educational discourses and hiring practices. (Structural determinism)

(Q3) Anti-Black sentiment is prevalent in Korean English learning materials (i.e., textbooks, videos) that portray Western culture or globalization. (Nationalism vs. assimilation)

(Q4) Anti-Black sentiment has been prevalent in how stories of Black people are narrated in the Korean media (including Western media marketed to global audiences)? (Revisionist history)

(Q5) Attitudes towards Blacks in South Korea have POSITIVELY change based on the political climate in the West (i.e., Black Lives Matter movement)? (Interest convergence)

(Q6) You believe that your skin tone has NEGATIVELY influenced your experiences as a Black English teacher in Korea? (Race, class, intersection)

(Q7) You are able to teach lessons about your culture based on your experiences and not from a Westernized perspective. (Storytelling)

(Q8) Most of your experiences with racism in Korea apply to all or most Black teachers you know. (Essentialism vs non-essentialism)

The mean for each question and the total for each selection on the Likert scale are presented below in Table 1.

Table 1

Total % of Survey Selections for Each Question

Option	Q1	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8
SA	30	30	20	50	10	10	30	20
A	40	50	40	10	40	30	30	30
N	30	10	30	40	40	30	40	20
D		10	10		10	20		30
SD						10		

Note. This table is based on the pie charts in Appendix A with the percentages listed in the order of each question. The answer options are the following: strongly agree (SA), agree (A), neutral (N), disagree (D), strongly disagree (SD). Q [#] = questions and their number in the survey.

The category selected most frequently by participants was *agree* (33.75%), and a quarter of participants selected SA, showing that the majority of participants believe that there is some form of ABS (cf. Table 2). On the other hand, many of the responses were neutral, with a total of 30%. Only 11.25% of participants disagreed or strongly disagreed.

Table 2*Likert-Scale Selections by Frequency across all questions*

Option	%selection frequency
A	33.75
N	30
SA	25
D	10
SD	1.25

Note. This table represents the total percentage of answers that participants selected for each question. The answer options are the following: strongly agree (SA), agree (A), neutral (N), disagree (D), strongly disagree (SD). Q [#] = questions and their number in the survey.

The highest percentages of those who selected SA (50%) fall under Q4 [Revisionist history]. There was also a high percentage of SA (higher than 25%) for Q1, Q2, and Q7. Q2 [Structural determinism], which was somewhat expected since only 30% of the ten participants worked in a college or university while 70% worked in a hagwon (private academy). Also, 30% of affirmative answers were for Q1 [Critique of liberalism]; most of the participants agreed to some extent that Korean and White expatriate teachers tend to downplay racism experienced by Black and other non-Black teachers of color. For Q7 [Storytelling], 30% of participants selected SA while 40% selected N.

In addition to the by-agreement strength analysis, I also totaled the amount of affirmative (SA/A) and negative (D/SD) answers for a two-fold method. That method was to (1) find the question and its corresponding CRT tenet with the overall highest number of affirmative answers combined and (2) find out which forms of ABS are most commonly based on the relevant, aligning CRT tenet.

Table 3*Total % of Answers with CRT Tenets Applied*

Question #	Tenet	% of responses					Totals	
		SA	A	N	D	SD	% SA/A	% D/SD
Q2	Structural determinism	30	50	10	10		80	10
Q1	Critique of liberalism	30	40	30			70	
Q3	Nationalism vs. assimilation	20	40	30	10		60	10
Q4	Revisionist history	50	10	40			60	
Q7	Storytelling	30	30	40			60	
Q5	Interest convergence	10	40	40	10		50	10
Q8	Essentialism vs non-essentialism	20	30	20	30		50	30
Q6	Race, skin color, & intersection	10	30	30	20	10	40	30

Note. Q = questions with their corresponding numbers. The answer options are the following:

strongly agree (SA), agree (A), neutral (N), disagree (D), strongly disagree (SD). The *total* section shows the total in the percentages of those who selected affirmative choices (SA/A) and negative choices (S/SD) for each question (tenet).

This table was used to show any trends in the CRT tenets that the scenario questions represented. I totaled the number of SA and A since both answers are confirmations that ABS exists even though the person experiences it at different degrees. The focus is just on the affirmative answers. All of the questions had percentages of 50% or higher for SA/A except for Q6. Q2, which presented a scenario of *structural determinism*, had the highest percentage of affirmative responses (80%), while unexpectedly Q6, which had a scenario referring to the CRT tenet of *race, skin color, and intersection*, received the lowest percentage of affirmative answers. Nevertheless, five

out of eight answers were over 50% made on the median score, and most D/SD were 10%.

Survey Findings

Taken together, the results indicate that the majority of Black teachers experience some form of ABS as teachers in South Korea. In particular, as illustrated in Tables 2 and 3, four-fifths of the survey results confirmed that most of the teachers believe that racism is normalized in the schools.

The outcome for Q2 of the survey was not surprising, as ABS is normalized in Korean society. This result is consistent with Tan et al.'s (2010) and Kim's (2017) claims that racism against Black people in Korea remains prevalent in English programs. The tenet *structural determinism* focuses on how social structures (e.g., institutional rules, laws, and authoritative standards) and symbols (e.g., mannerisms, racialized discourse, or language) influence behaviors and ideologies towards certain racial and ethnic groups and maintain the status quo (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017). The high percentage (80%) shows that the CRT *structural determinism* is an important tenet for teachers to consider when mediating discussions with their Korean students about racism.

The results for Q1 [critique of liberalism] strongly imply that color-blindness is enforced as an ideology, especially in a country that considers everyone to be one race. White teachers who express colorblind ideologies are distinct from Koreans, as their sense of liberalism is based on American cultural experiences regarding the experiences of Black people. This is consistent with Han's (2015) claim that color-blindness is shaped by how Koreans view their race and ethnic origin as identical, and this homogeneity has

led to a lack of cultural awareness and sensitivity. Also, Tanghe (2016) states, this cycle continues to create denial towards racism, or a more toxic form of color-blindness.

The results for Q3 and Q4 also align with Han's (2015) claim that prejudices are rooted in Koreans' sense of nationalism and their homogenous perspective of race. However, Q4 is more consistent with Tan et al.'s (2010) findings that the depictions of Black people in Korean media are influenced by negative exports of stereotypes from the U.S. Therefore, the high amount of ABS in media and textual discourses is possibly due to a combination of Koreans' dependency on Western media exports to learn about non-White ethnic groups and their lack of cultural awareness. The results for Q3 [nationalism vs. assimilation] and Q4 [revisionist history] indicate that ABS is prevalent in textual discourses (i.e., textbooks and other learning materials) and globalized media in Korea.

The findings for Q7 [storytelling] indicate that there exists some progress towards multiculturalism and the creation of safer spaces for Black teachers to tell their stories. Whereas Tanghe (2016) argued that there is a dire need for more multiculturalism education in Korean English programs, the survey results in our study have shown that there is a sign of progress in some schools. Furthermore, Tanghe's study focused more on multiculturalism in middle and high school curriculums; since this study focuses on English teachers for adults, this result shows that there might be opportunities for Black teachers to discuss multiculturalism in adult classes. This interpretation is consistent with Jackson's (2016) study in which storytelling was used as a tool to deconstruct the narrative and how his use of counter storytelling did lead to some positive changes in how his Korean students challenged their views.

For Q5 [interest convergence], the outcome implies that Black teachers notice more Koreans showing awareness of ABS in the U.S., but not enough to change overall attitudes towards Black people. The outcome is consistent with Kim's (2018) claim that Black issues and culture are accepted when it promotes the interest of Korean industries, such as sports or music. Another implication is how the way global media covers racial issues in the U.S. to Korean audiences. Tan et al. (2015) state that U.S. media largely influenced modern Korean culture, thus leading many Koreans to adopt perceptions of Blacks through a White American lens.

Q8 [essentialism vs. non-essentialism] had the same outcome as Q5, implying that every Black person's experience with ABS is not the same. Nonetheless, every Black person has received a reaction to their race from Koreans, regardless if they stem from fear, curiosity, or fascination. The outcomes of Q8 represent Tan et al. (2010) findings that Koreans often stereotype Black people based on what they often see as believable in the media, which is "humorous, hedonic... and athletic (p. 579)". Furthermore, the results indicate that the Black teachers' experiences might be influenced by how closely their physical appearance aligns with a particular stereotype. For instance, a tall Black man with an athletic body type might seem fascinating to Koreans who are fans of famous basketball players.

Q6 had the lowest amount of affirmative answers, which was unexpected. Only one participant strongly agreed that their skin tone has negatively affected their lives in Korea, showing them having the highest number of SA (this initially made them a top candidate for the follow-up interview). Three other participants also selected A, agreeing that their skin tone has negatively affected the amount of ABS they have experienced. I

was not surprised that both participants with a Type 6 skin tone selected those answers because of the ideologies associated with darker skin in South Korea.

Importantly, according to the research goals, a minority of respondents selected D/SD, which means that there is rarely an absence of ABS. Most participants agreed that some forms of ABS exist, but only a quarter of them strongly agree. They do not deny that there is not ABS present, but the level at which their experiences are affected came into question. The interviews went in-depth on the most severe ABS cases to explain how ABS and CRT correlate. For the interviews, I explored similarities between what was found with the surveys.

Interview Results & Discussion

The two participants, “Nichelle” and “Madison,” had affirmative answers that totaled over 70%. They both selected Type 5 skin tone (medium brown to dark brown); Nichelle was medium brown with a warm or neutral tone, and Madison was a neutral and somewhat dark brown tone, so they both were within the skin tone range for Type 5. On the survey, 37.5% of Nichelle’s answers were SA, and 50% were A, so 87.5% of her answers were affirmative that ABS exists in her workplace and environment to some degree. However, for Q8 [*Most of your experiences with racism in Korea apply to all or most Black teachers you know.*], she selected N, which prompted curiosity about why her experiences may or may not apply to other Black teachers and any factors involved in that reason. Seventy-five percent of Madison’s survey answers were SA while the other 25% were N. However, her selection of SA for all questions except for Q5 and Q7, which were scenarios that represented progression, was the most alarming. Based on her answers, there was a prediction that her experience is very negative.

Both of the participants worked in adult hagwons in an urban setting. Nichelle teaches business English at a major corporate company in Seoul. Having worked in South Korea for over seven years, she has also worked for other hagwon companies. She does not speak Korean fluently, but she understands and speaks enough for basic communication. Her work in activism related to Black Lives Matter (henceforth BLM) was salient for the type of information needed for data collection. Madison works as an English teacher at an adult hagwon or privately-owned English school. Like Nichelle, she speaks some Korean but is not fluent in the language, and she is also active in social justice causes related to BLM. Madison also shared that her partner was Korean, so she provided a unique perspective of how ABS is practiced among Koreans in tight communicative circles. As a result, both participants came with a wealth of information, providing different perspectives of Black identity in South Korea.

Results

Eight interview questions were constructed around the eight CRT tenets; three of the items were two-part questions. The following was asked, although the participants did not know they were categorized based on tenets:

CRT Tenet 1 #: Critique of Liberalism

1. What are your experiences with attitudes that encourage ‘color-blindness’ when it comes to discussing anti-Black racism in South Korea?

CRT Tenet #2: Structural Determinism

2. How has your qualifications as an English teacher been questioned or disputed based on your race?

CRT Tenet #3: Nationalism vs. Assimilation

3. In what ways have you assimilated yourself into Korean culture to avoid discrimination? In what ways has Korean nationalism affected your status as a Black English teacher?

CRT Tenet #4: Revisionist History

4. How are stories of Black culture or history depicted in learning materials that you use in classrooms?

CRT Tenet #5: Interest Convergence

5. What changes have there been in Korea based on the racial and political situations in the West (i.e., Black Lives Matter)? *If yes, explain.* How has diversity been represented in learning materials and media within the past year?

CRT Tenet #6: Race, Sex, Skin Tone, and their Intersections

6. What are some incidents where you have seen differences in how Black people with lighter skin were treated compared to Black people with darker skin?

CRT Tenet #7: Storytelling

7. What stories about your culture or experience as a Black person have you ever shared in your classrooms? What problems do you come across Black stories imported from the West (for example, problems in textbooks, videos, movies, or music)?

CRT Tenet #8: Essentialism vs. Anti-essentialism

8. If there are other Black English teachers in your school or network, how are their experiences parallel to or different from yours?

In the table (see Appendix B), I highlighted the types of ABS the participants mention during their interviews. Next, I will discuss the findings based on the analysis performed in the table in Appendix B.

Critique of Liberalism

Question 1 (Q1) of the interview was for the *critique of liberalism* where I asked: *What are your experiences with attitudes that encourage color-blindness when it comes to discussing anti-Black racism in South Korea?* This question was designed to elicit any responses about how racism against Black teachers might be ignored, especially considering racial and cultural homogeneity in Korean culture (Han, 2015; Kim, 2017). Interestingly, both teachers expressed that ‘color-blindness’, or the denial of racism against Black teachers and ABS, is not only practiced by Koreans but also by White teachers. Nichelle described color-blindness as “very much a White Western attitude” within the Korean context but mentioned that Koreans are “too quick to acknowledge color because of competition”. Specifically, she expressed that since many Koreans are engulfed in societal pressures to compete, they pay attention to any physical or non-physical difference of colleagues or peers to whom they compare themselves. Madison gave an alternative perspective on how color-blindness is encouraged in her school and how it negatively affected her. She expressed,

It’s like a mixed experience...you get it from the Korean and the non-Black aspect... [They] say ‘that’s this how it is here...if you don’t like it then leave’... [Koreans] say ‘oh don’t care...don’t mind.’ I think a lot of people are stuck in their bubble of [Korea], so if it doesn’t have anything to do with Korea, they don’t care...”

However, she gave more insight into how this color-blindness from Koreans is legitimized by non-Black teachers, particularly White male teachers:

...it’s the other [non-Blacks] that excuse it saying ‘it happens everywhere,

there's nothing we can do'. Many of the White male teachers troll online for example if someone discusses the corona[virus] or racism, looking to stir the pot..."

Although both teachers had their interpretation of the color-blindness they encounter, they still confirm that ABS or other forms of discrimination can develop from completely ignoring that racism exists.

Structural Determinism

Question 2 (Q2) of the interview was for the tenet *structural determinism* where I asked: *How have your qualifications as an English teacher been questioned or disputed based on your race?* This question was designed to investigate how mannerisms, language, and racialized discourse within Korean culture (whether through the educational discourses, attitudes towards immigration, exports of Black images, or sense of nationalism) influence Koreans' ideologies towards Black English teachers.

Madison expressed that a Korean student had low expectations of her. At the end of the school year, he thanked her for "speaking appropriately compared to the other Black teachers". He was blunt with his belief that Black English speakers had inferior quality in speech and were possibly incapable of teaching the language. The source of this belief, whether promoted in educational discourses or through mass media, will be discussed in Section 2.2. By contrast, Nichelle's credentials were questioned more by other White teachers than Korean colleagues that worked in her school. She said, "I don't think Koreans have questioned my credentials...but White colleagues with fewer qualifications have questioned mine..." Her comments are similar to Madison's experiences with White male teachers' denial of racism and ABS and practices of color-

blindness in Q1. She also believed that Koreans attitudes towards her being a Black English teacher were mild because of their emphasis on education:

...Koreans respect education in a way that I think people in the West do not. So I've had situations [with Koreans] where maybe things could have gone south but the minute I mentioned what schools I've gone to...and my qualifications, that disappeared immediately.

So, Nichelle did not deny that some Korean colleagues questioned her ability to teach English. However, their skepticism had disappeared when she listed her credential. Nevertheless, she expressed that her White colleagues were still in disbelief that she had such credentials even after proving herself.

Nationalism vs. Assimilation

Question 3 (Q3) of the interview was a two-part question for the tenet nationalism vs. assimilation, where I asked: *In what ways have you assimilated yourself into Korean culture to avoid discrimination? In what ways has Korean nationalism affected your status as a Black English teacher?* I wanted to investigate whether teachers have assimilated as a means of survival and protection from racism and how Korean nationalism affected their sense of Black identity since it is different from White supremacy, which ABS stems from in the U.S. Nichelle expressed more positive experiences of assimilation, for example, she mentions that she learned the language and that “food is a quick way to assimilate”. However, Nichelle was still aware that Korean nationalism was rooted in her xenophobia due to her foreign status instead of her race. By contrast, Madison described *assimilation* as a “means of assimilating yourself for self-

defense and education..." She expressed assimilation as more of a means to survive as a Black foreigner rather than simply a way to connect with Korean culture.

Revisionist History

Question 4 (Q4) asked, "How are stories of Black culture or history depicted in learning materials that you use in classrooms?" I wanted to investigate if Black culture and history presented in educational discourses are rewritten to validate Korean people's perceptions and prejudices of Blacks. Nichelle and Madison had differing yet striking perceptions of how Black culture is depicted in textbooks and lessons. Nichelle mentioned that her company's English program had made efforts to promote diversity in their textbooks. "*Surprisingly...* they use stock images of people of all colors," she shared, "and our textbooks are created in-house by a diverse group of people." Based on the company being multinational, it was clear that they wanted to acknowledge multiculturalism to prepare their students for successful interactions with clients from various national and cultural backgrounds.

In Madison's case, she teaches her classes with a textbook compiled of current news stories. Madison expressed that the company tries to avoid including news articles that cover topics, such as race. "My textbooks don't include many things about race because the company feels it's too sensitive for the adults..." She openly showed her disbelief that the school was trying to protect the Korean adult students from discussing an issue that could be relatable to any members of a marginalized group—such as Korea's history being under Japanese colonialism. Nevertheless, she did mention that these books may feature some news stories about racism, for example, a story about "racism in FIFA games," but they only cover the surface. Overall, she concluded, "There

is no diversity in her books or teaching materials.” She also mentioned how Black colleagues had found illustrations of Black characters in textbooks wearing primitive clothing like “grass skirts” or having faces like early blackface performers or “sambo caricatures (Nyong’o, 2002, pp. 378-379)”, which were depicted as having extremely dark brown to black skin, exaggeratedly large red or pink lips, and round white eyes.

Interest Convergence. Question 5 (Q5) was another two-part question; the second question was included to extend or elaborate on the first question. The first question asked: *What changes have there been in Korea based on the racial and political situations in the West (i.e., Black Lives Matter)?* I wanted to explore how racial politics concerning Black people in the U.S. impacted Korean’s attitudes towards Black American English teachers. As mentioned, this tenet refers to when circumstances for minorities change per the interests of Whites, and in the case of this thesis, the interests of Koreans.

Nichelle had more of a mixed perspective on this question. She provided a sheer example of what this tenet addresses stating, “[Koreans] are open to defending Blacks when they experience racism in the West, but they are less sympathetic to the racism against Blacks within Korea.” Nonetheless, she hinted at some progressiveness in the young generations by stating, “Some younger Koreans see a kinship with Black Americans because of our oppressive history... [they] have gone abroad and experienced racism as well.” Despite this, she still felt that many Koreans’ involvement in the BLM marches was disingenuous, as some were seeking a money grab and media coverage while being very harsh towards the Black women overseeing the movement in Korea. Madison felt that the BLM protests and other racial, political uprisings in the U.S. were

“eye-opening” to Koreans but not enough for them to empathize and strive for change. Madison explained, “They will say ‘I’m sorry that happened, but it’s a part of life’.” Their reactions seemed similar to those that Madison recalled when discussing color-blindness in Q1.

The second question asked: *How has diversity been represented in learning materials and media within the past year?* The content in English textbooks published in Korea is often written and designed based on cultural trends in the U.S., including the attitudes towards ethnic groups in Western countries and the emphasis on American White culture (Lee, 2013; Song, 2013). I considered changes in African-American global representation since the Obama presidency and also considered the current racial and political climate that has amplified international awareness of racism against Blacks in the U.S. This question appears similar to Q4, but it explored any examples of inclusiveness created only with the interest of Koreans in mind. Nichelle and Madison had differing opinions regarding this question. Nichelle mentioned that her company promotes diversity in textbooks, but she also shared that many of her Korean colleagues were “sympathetic and showed solidary” with Black people and the racial-political climate within the last four years. While Madison stated that the Koreans she works with showed some sympathy, they chose to ignore or downplay the damage caused by ABS. She expressed that their attitudes mirror that of “White supremacy”:

...if they see a negative depiction of a Black person [in a textbook or in the media] then they will laugh or speak negatively of Black people because of it... I feel they lack empathy when it comes to non-Koreans, especially non-White foreigners...Koreans have adopted a lot of White supremacy ideology...they

worship white supremacy...

Race, Skin Tone, and their Intersections

The question for this tenet (Q6) asked, “What are some incidents where you’ve seen differences in how Black people with lighter skin were treated compared to Black people with darker skin?” This was included since skin tone being counted as a moderator variable used to measure differences in how both participants may experience ABS. Nichelle and Madison both shared different situations regarding how Black skin tone variation is perceived in South Korea. Firstly, they agreed that most Koreans believe that all Black people are the same brown or dark brown skin tone. For example, Nichelle mentioned, “The idea of light-skinned Black people is not a thing [to Koreans]...Black people are brown or darker.” Likewise, Madison recalls Koreans reacting in disbelief when they met White South Africans because they think that a person cannot be from Africa if “their skin is lighter”. As far as personal experiences, Nichelle shared an unsettling reality about Black identity and skin tone among other Black English teachers in Korea. She claims that some Black teachers with fair/light skin tones have exhibited internal racism within the Black expatriate community:

I feel like there’s a lot of people who are delusional here about skin tone. I have heard lighter-skinned Black women say ‘I don’t have problems here in Korea because I’m light-skinned...

She also mentioned Black English teachers who were “passing as white” in order to secure better job opportunities:

There have been Black people who are ‘passing’ who are very gleefully passing

as white ...whereas anybody who knows them, who is black, and sees them knows they're black. I've actually had that happen where I saw somebody [and said] 'oh hey sis!' and everybody [who was] Korean was like 'sis?' and she was [caught off-guard] because she's been white-passing because it actually helped her get a job...

Storytelling

Q7 was the last two-part question of the interview; the second part of the question elicited an in-depth answer to gather any possible ABS samples. The first part asked: *What stories about your culture or experience as a Black person have you ever shared in your classrooms?* This question was included to investigate how much freedom these teachers had in sharing stories about their culture and providing counter-stories to students who carry limited and prejudiced beliefs about Black culture. Both Nichelle and Madison provided insight to their students about their Black heritage to different extents. Nichelle teaches "social sensitivity" in her English classes, so she has educated her students about many traditions in African-American culture, such as "soul food" and cultural customs that she partakes in. Although Madison has limited control in incorporating cultural sensitivity in her lessons, she has informally discussed various aspects of her culture with students. For example, she shared, "I educated students on Black music, such as hip hop and [the fact that] rap isn't just Black music... I also educate my students about my hair, when they sometimes ask inappropriate questions [about it]...."

The second question was: *What problems do you come across with Black stories imported from the West (i.e., videos, movies, music, etc.).* During the interviews, I

realized that this question also elicited similar answers to those for Q4. The difference is that this question still allowed the participants to discuss forms of ABS they encountered in other places outside of textbooks. Also, I clarified to the interviewees that I wanted to know if they encountered ABS in videos, movies, or other mediums used *inside* the classroom. Nichelle provided a profound response to this question that highlighted a disturbing factor in the exportation of non-European culture in the form of media or artifacts. She emphasized how black culture is imported without the real stories behind it. She shared an example about a dance movie that had some popularity in Korea, “there was a dance movie that came out, and when I mentioned [to Korean students] that it was Nigerian, they say ‘What’s Nigeria?’“ She also gave another example regarding the erasure of Black stories from Black cultural artifacts:

I had [a Korean student] tell me she was listening to a Korean rap song. And I said, ‘oh, you like hip-hop?’ She’s said, ‘No, this is K-pop. I only like K-pop’. I said, ‘but that’s rap music’. She [stressed], ‘no, this is K-pop.’ And I’m like, ‘but girl, that’s a sample from a black song, right?’ But she was adamant, ‘No, [I don’t] like black music. I only like K-pop. This is K-pop because it’s in Korean’...Everything that made the song came from Black culture. [The song] had a dude rapping to an Earth, Wind, and Fire sample. So, again, there’s the Black Culture, but without the story or the context.

Importantly, both teachers affirmed that Koreans consume images and stories of Black people similar to Whites. Nichelle expressed, “They are modeling the way White Americans consume Black culture...” Similarly, Madison painfully recalled a Korea Times article that depicted the BLM protests in the U.S. with only images of African-

Americans looting. Madison was one of the Black expatriates who publicly spoke up about it via social media, “[The Korea Times] deleted it after outrage, but there was no apology....so we came together in the BLM Korea group and called them out....”

Nichelle and Madison both took assertive action in providing counter-stories to their students and other Korean people. While their methods and situations were different, they provided good examples of why Delgado and Stefancic (2017) claim counter-storytelling to be a powerful tool for marginalized persons to correct the system of ideologies and myths and highlight the reality of their experiences.

Essentialism vs. Anti-essentialism

The final question (Q8) asked: *If there are other Black English teachers in your school or network, how are their experiences parallel to or different from yours?* Every Black English teacher has a different experience in South Korea based on many factors; what is certain is that their visible Blackness never goes unnoticed by Korean locals, especially those who live in areas where exposure to foreigners is limited. Since the interviewees have spent several years in South Korea, unlike others who have left within a short time, such as in Dos Santos’s (2020) study, I wanted to explore how their experiences differ from other Black teachers that they know in order to learn some of the factors.

Nichelle and Madison had a different perspective in regards to this question. Nichelle acknowledges that working in a corporate environment in Seoul impacted her experiences compared to many of her Black peers who teach in “rural K-12 schools” who encounter more ABS because of the minimum exposure to foreigners. However, she also believes that “education and qualification trumps color” in her experience working in

Korea. On the other hand, Madison believes that most of her Black peers share similar or worse experiences. For example, she mentioned, “I go by what I see in my Facebook...and I’ve seen my friends experience similar racism.”

Although their experiences contrast in many ways, they provided vivid examples of the complexities of the Black experience in a homogenous nation like South Korea. I noticed some patterns in these examples, which led me to my findings and developing theories of what shapes these forms of ABS.

Themes Based on Interview Data

Through my data analysis, I noticed patterns in the samples in the table (see Appendix B) after comparing and contrasting forms of ABS between Nichelle and Madison. These patterns led to discovering the following themes and the CRT tenets they correlate with: (1) Whiteness and Western First World status equating “Good English” [structural determinism], (2) apathy towards Black issues rooted in Korean nationalism [interest convergence] and (3) White supremacy used to protect and perpetuate Korean nationalism in order to keep Blacks in their place [nationalism vs. assimilation, storytelling]. In this section, I will discuss patterns that I noticed in the overall collection of the forms of ABS they presented.

Whiteness equating “Good English”. The tenet *structural determinism* is relevant to this theme, in which White normativity in English education influences how Korean students and staff treat Black teachers. Madison’s student questioned her ability to teach English based on her skin color and had low expectations. Even after she exceeded his expectations, he was still adamant in believing that Blacks spoke poor English. Nichelle even expressed during her interview, “Because you are a Black English

teacher, people assume that your English is somehow wrong.” She did not provide a personal example, but she has witnessed this form of linguistic discrimination against Black colleagues. Their experiences are not unique. Black English is perceived as inferior among American English dialects (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015), and those attitudes are apparent in global mass media, where Blacks are depicted as uneducated or “lazy (Tan et al., 2010, p. 572)”.

Apathy towards Black issues. The tenet of *interest convergence* tends to be the factor in how much Koreans empathized with Black teachers and their struggles with encountering ABS, as well as racial issues Nichelle’s experiences, most of their Korean students and colleagues tend to lack empathy for Black causes, not just because of anti-Black sentiment, but simply because these causes do not cater to the interests of Korea or its people. This theory represents Tanghe’s (2016) claim that Korean learners felt disconnected from the concept of race in the Korean context due to the “one-race” ideology and that most denied the existence of racism. Nevertheless, the participants in the survey and the interview confirmed that there is more apathy towards Black issues because White American normativity is used as a model of success and sold as a commodity as such in English education (Jenks, 2017).

White supremacists as “allies” to Korean nationalism. Another pattern, which was very striking to me, was that the participants’ White colleagues seem to perpetuate White supremacy by being “allies” to Korean nationalism to keep Blacks in their place overseas. It is evident by the interviewees’ frustration when they were belittled and their qualifications trivialized by White EFL teachers in their workplace or within the expatriate community. Notably, Nichelle stated that her White colleagues had a harder

time believing her credentials than the Korean teachers. She also believes that Koreans consume Black culture from media the same way as White Americans. Madison made a similar notion that Koreans have “adopted a lot of White supremacy ideology...” Then there was Madison’s experience with White teachers berating Black teachers who complain of racism and telling them that they can “always leave and go back to America”. This theory is also consistent with Han's (2015) claims of Korean nationalism as the root of ABS and other forms of racism. Similarly, Kim (2017) mentions that Korean nationalism mirrors White supremacy regarding how their singular ethnic identity is seen as the default race and superior to others. Whereas Kim’s and Han’s (2015) research found that Korean nationalism is the main root of ABS, my study has shown how White supremacy and Korean nationalism are simultaneously perpetuated through ABS.

To give more context to Madison’s situation dealing with color blindness, Jenks (2017) discusses “white fragility (p. 43),” which has the presence within the expatriate community in Korea. He describes white fragility as a mindset that deprives people of the opportunity to have serious, in-depth conversations about race. He states that an “insulated environment of racial protection builds white expectations for racial comfort...while lowering their ability to tolerate racial stress (p. 43)”. White fragility also impedes the opportunity for marginalized groups to provide counter stories (*storytelling*) and educate others with truthful narratives. In Madison’s situation, the White teachers showed their inability to tolerate hearing the stories of Black teachers by suggesting that the Black teachers can either assimilate or leave Korea.

Discussion

There seem to be stronger reactions to the questions placed under the following CRT tenets: *critique of liberalism, structural determinism, nationalism vs. assimilation, and storytelling*. This outcome is evident in the prevalent forms of ABS that Black teachers experience, as mentioned in the previous section about theories constructed around the data. In particular, the most common forms of ABS recorded were *Whiteness equating 'good English', apathy towards Black issues, and White supremacists as "allies" to Korean nationalism*.

In accordance with the CRT tenet *critique of liberalism*, For Q1 [*What are your experiences with attitudes that encourage 'color-blindness' revealed how racism that can develop from persistent color-blindness when it comes to discussing anti-Black racism in South Korea?*], Madison and Nichelle's answers were expected simply because of my own experience with how racial issues were approached during my year in South Korea. Jenks (2017) argued that ELT (English language teaching) educators assume that liberalism or colorblindness benefits students from diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds by eradicating differences; however, this sentiment only contributes to misconceptions about race and discrimination. In my experience working in Korea, American concepts of race and racism among White and non-White American English teachers were often swept under the rug for the sake of 'leaving it behind in the U.S.', because many White American and even some non-White American teachers felt a sense of escapism from racism in the U.S., wanting focus only on their foreign status. Most, if not all, of the White teachers were aware that their status was highly favored in South Korea. Those White teachers that took advantage of that privilege had little to no empathy when Black teachers outwardly expressed racism. From personal experience,

White teachers wanted to ignore it or downplay the experiences of Black teachers, as one colleague once said to me, “Yeah it’s unfortunate...but it’s Korea.”

In Madison’s case, the White teachers she spoke to granted themselves authority over the expatriate community, trivializing the real experiences of teachers viewed as less valuable in Korean society and nations with a history of European colonization or imperialism, primarily North America. The intertwining of White supremacy and Korean nationalism within the English expatriate community could also be derivative of the “model minority myth (Delgado & Stefancic, 2017, p. 94)” in which Whites perceived Asian-Americans as superior compared to other minority groups, resulting in resentment among more marginalized groups like Black Americans.

For Q2 [*How have your qualifications as an English teacher been questioned or disputed based on your race?*] Madison and Nichelle both expressed that Koreans believe a good English skill set to be only exclusive to Whites from North America or England. This question was about the CRT tenet *structural determinism*, which Delgado and Stefancic (2017) mention that symbols influence behaviors and ideologies towards certain racial and ethnic groups. For example, whiteness and First World status symbolize socioeconomic success to Koreans; therefore, they believe an English education from a White American teacher guarantees high-quality English and a status closer to Whites in First World nations. These beliefs were reflected in Madison’s students, who believed Black English to be inferior. This student’s beliefs also indicate that Whiteness and first-world status are believed to be synonymous with standard, grammatical English (Jenks, 2017).

The results for Q3 [assimilation vs. nationalism] indicated that the two teachers view assimilations more as a means to educate oneself about Korean culture for survival, rather than assimilating out of personal interest or fascination. This outcome is consistent with Tanghe's (2016) claims that although Korea has taken the initiative to provide multicultural support centers, these programs still focus on assimilating foreigners into Korean culture, delaying rapid progress. In addition, Madison and Nichelle both experienced challenges when exhibiting some form of cultural nationalism (such as Afrocentric clothing or hairstyles), where they felt that assimilation based on Korea's nationalism guarantee less discrimination and emotional distress.

The results for Q9 [storytelling] imply that the essence of the Black narrative is erased and colonized by the majoritarian system of beliefs. This is consistent with Jackson's (2016) support of the CRT tenet storytelling, in which he argues that it is a Black educator's responsibility to "decolonize the narrative (p. 427)" and he maintains that CRT is a salient tool for achieving this. Madison and Nichelle emphasized the importance of Black stories being shared in their entirety. To reiterate Nichelle, mentioned how her Korean students emulated an African dance seen in a popular movie but did not know that it was Nigerian, let alone of African origin. She also mentioned how a student thought a K-pop song sampled from a popular African-American band was originally Korean. Much like in the U.S., when Black narratives extend out to general American consumers, they are manipulated to be palatable to White readers or listeners. Nichelle and Madison decolonized their narratives by educating their students on the real history behind those African and African-American cultural symbols.

The implications for Q3 and Q9's results correlate to the theme of *White supremacists as "allies" to Korean nationalism*, in that the emphasis on assimilating obstructs Black teachers' opportunity to share their stories. Black cultural pride would threaten Korean nationalism, which is in agreement with Han (2015) and Kim (2017) stating that the root of Korean nationalism was to protect their identity from colonial powers and foreigners.

Skin Tone Variable

The results for Q6 [Race, Skin Tone, and their Intersections] show that all Black teachers can experience some level of ABS regardless of skin tone because they possess a Sub-Saharan phenotype and other physical features that Koreans rarely see. In CRT scholarship, the act of passing was discussed as a form of "Whiteness seen as property (Harris, 1993)", in which passing was seen as a source of capital in which one can gain economic return and an asset that can grant one long term financial and social security. Considering the skin tone variable, Nichelle noticed more internalized racism and colorism between the Black teachers, whereas Madison notices it more from the Koreans. It seems plausible that there is internalized racism and colorism triggered by Korean beauty standards, which parallels the colorism within the Black community. There are also negative perceptions of darker-skinned individuals in Korean society where the Type 6 skin tone is more dominant among human populations (Australian Radiation Protection and Nuclear Safety Agency, [ARPANSA], 2017).

Differences in Schools

When examining the contrasts in how the interviewees perceived ABS in their workplaces, I explored the differences between their school's workplace cultures. In

Korea, work-life tends to be very intertwined with personal and social life. From my personal experience, a teacher's experience is impacted by the quality of the workplace because the school is so involved with the Guest teacher's life. For example, the school provided the teacher's housing and partial airfare, and co-teachers hosted the expatriate teachers inside and outside the school. Nichelle and Madison had very different school environments, which impacted how they were affected by the forms of ABS they have encountered. For example, Nichelle claims to work with Koreans who support multiculturalism and practice inclusivity because they are a global corporation. She maintained that her qualifications outweigh her race in her company, which may also indicate that the company wants to maintain a positive global reputation; the act of "face-saving (Lee, 1999, pp. 186-187)" or protecting one's reputation is important in Korean culture.

Madison's school is more of a for-profit business, or an adult hagwon, that sees students more as paying customers. Therefore, based on my experience working for similar English companies, the curriculums are likely designed to please students as customers rather than provide socially and culturally accurate English lessons to help students develop the skills to achieve fluency. As a result, they refuse to include culturally sensitive material about certain groups, mainly Black people. This negatively affected Madison's teaching experience, as this school disregarded how important sociocultural education is to language learning. This situation represents a larger issue of ignoring that racism exists, yet hiring a teacher from a marginalized racial group to teach English—a language with a complex history involving racial imperialism and

colonization (Jenks, 2017)—and disregarding what she could contribute to the students' cross-cultural linguistic needs.

Differences in social surroundings

Nichelle stated that her social circle consists of Black and non-White English teachers, and Madison is in a relationship with a Korean person. Their social circles could affect how they decipher forms of ABS in micro-aggressions. For example, Madison's interracial relationship allows her to have a closer look into Korean culture, with the guidance of her partner, who understands the racism and ABS spoken in Korean (that he also brings to Madison's attention). In the nationalism vs. assimilation tenet, Nichelle's experiences are a good example of the essence of this tenet. It appears that nationalism works for her through activism, and she can promote her best interests by not perpetuating or promoting American mainstream culture. Madison has also shown a sense of nationalism through her physical appearance; for example, she is more confident wearing African braided hairstyles. As she asserted, "assimilation means assimilating yourself for self-defense," so she sees assimilation as a means of survival and also a chance to learn about cultures.

General Discussion

There are three key findings of the present research: (1) there is a close correlation between the forms of ABS reported in the survey and interviews correlate with the eight tenets of CRT, (2) the majority of Black teachers agree that ABS is normalized in Korean English education through ideologies of Whiteness and the English language, colorblindness, and a lack of knowledge about black stories, and (3) there is little

evidence of better treatment between darker and lighter Blacks in Korea. These connections showed how

In Table 3 on p. 49, Q2 of the survey referred to the tenet *structural determinism* had the highest number (80%) of affirmative (SA/A) choices selected. Again, the question asked if ABS was normalized in the teachers' workplaces and classrooms, with the results providing examples of the theme *Whiteness equating "Good English"*. Both participants did not deny that ABS was normalized in some form in their workplaces and even in the expatriate community. However, Madison expressed stronger reactions to this question because her school was less welcoming of non-White foreigners than Nichelle's school. This is consistent with Dos Santos (2020) claims that most Black educators report mixed or negative responses to their schools, with many leaving after the end of their contract.

Q1 of the survey, which supported the tenet *critique of liberalism*, had the second-highest percentage (70%) of affirmative (SA/A) answers. While both Nichelle and Madison gave contrasting perspectives for the interview question based on structural determinism, they expressed the same issues regarding liberalism and color-blindness used to dismiss Black English teachers' concerns about ABS, captured by the theme *Apathy towards Black issues*. These findings support Jenk's (2017) claims that color-blindness and liberalism impede potential progress in multicultural education in English programs, and rejecting race-based perspectives leads to ignorance of teachers of color experience. Specifically, the concept of race as monolithic and Korean nationalism in the form of pure, one-race ideology influences color-blindness since this mentality does not allow a non-Black teacher to imagine themselves in the Black teacher's shoes.

In the survey, the tenet *revisionist history* (Table 3) for Q4 also had the highest percentage (50%) of SA chosen out of all eight questions. This result is implied through Nichelle and Madison's feelings about how diversity is presented in the textbooks they use. Although Nichelle mentioned that the series of textbooks her company use promotes multiculturalism and designed by a diverse in-house team, she stressed that it was "surprisingly diverse," which indicated that she expected a lack of diversity, which is what Madison, unfortunately, sees in the textbooks used in her school.

Forty percent of the survey answers were *neutral* (see Table 1 in section 1.1.1), and most of these answers were for Q4, Q5, and Q7:

(Q4) Anti-Black sentiment has been prevalent in how stories of Black people are narrated in the Korean media (including Western media marketed to global audiences)? (revisionist history)

(Q5) Attitudes towards Blacks in South Korea have changed based on the political climate in the West (i.e., Black Lives Matter movement)? (interest convergence)

(Q7) You are able to teach lessons about your culture based on your experiences and not from a Westernized perspective. (storytelling)

The interviewees gave differing responses to the questions that corresponded to the tenets mentioned above. Nichelle stated that her company was open to multicultural ideas and welcomed diversity in their English teaching staff. She was appointed an English teacher specializing in cultural sensitivity, which allowed her to educate students about her heritage. Madison's school was not as welcoming to multiculturalism. Textbooks were altered to rewrite American news stories to fit what the Korean school administration felt was more palatable. Korean students were encouraged not to have in-

depth discussions about racial issues in the U.S., such as Black Lives Matter, and show little empathy about it. They were only encouraged to focus on learning English through a Westernized lens catered to Koreans' glamorized perceptions of America. Although the interviews only represented 20% of the interview pool, their responses reflect how varied the responses were for these three questions. Nevertheless, for the questions representing *interest convergence* and *storytelling*, neither of the interviewees denied that educational discourse in their schools ignore or trivialize Black cultural impact, nor do they deny incidents where they had to educate Koreans who misconstrued Black narratives.

Q6 in the survey for the tenet *race, skin color, and intersection* had the lowest amount of affirmative answers (40%), showing that most of the participants saw no difference in Koreans treatment of Black people based on the shade of their skin tone. Both of the participants expressed that Koreans did not treat lighter-skinned Blacks better than darker-skinned Blacks. Nichelle upheld that "education trumps skin color" and observed that Koreans only saw a difference in Black skin compared to their fair skin, rather than variations between Black people with brown skin tones. Madison made a similar confirmation when she mentioned that she rarely saw a difference in how Koreans treated Blacks of various tones. They both expressed that this type of colorism was more prevalent between Black teachers who viewed their skin tone differences competitively and between White teachers who may have treated lighter-skinned Blacks better. These findings show that the correlation between skin tone and ABS in South Korea is weaker in the data.

There were discrepancies in the questions (Q3) for *assimilation vs. nationalism* in the survey and interview. Thus, this tenet's survey and interview questions did not align

very well with the seven other questions. This will be discussed more in the Limitations section of Chapter 5. However, the interview answers illustrated the meaning of this tenet more precisely than in the survey.

Overall, the majority of the interview data supported the survey data. ABS continues to be detrimental to Black teachers' lifestyle inside and outside the classroom, ignorance about Black culture remains prevalent, and it can either be successfully challenged or left unchallenged due to Korean students' and coworkers' lack of empathy. There were parallels between the numerical data and the frequency of ABS experienced by the teachers, which showed that CRT could be useful when pinpointing types of ABS in classroom discussions, curriculum, and communication with students and colleagues.

Conclusion

This chapter presented the survey results and interview results and the data analysis of those results. Then, I discussed my interpretation of the survey and interview results. The discussion illustrated the answers to these questions, finding that Black English teachers experiences were affected by forms of ABS influenced by the notions of Whiteness being synonymous with being a native English speaker, apathy towards Black issues rooted in Korean nationalism, and the interweaving of White supremacy and Korean nationalism within the expatriate community order to keep Blacks in their place overseas. In addition, *critique of liberalism*, *structural determinism*, and *story-telling* were the tenets that were many of the ABS forms correlated with, including those from other tenets such as structural determinism.

In the final chapter, I will revisit Chapter 2's literature review, reflect on the study, share my takeaways from the study, and learn what I learn for the future after conducting this study.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion

Through this research, I collected data from Black English teachers and their encounters with anti-Black sentiment (ABS) while teaching in South Korea. My goals in providing this data are (1) to help Black teachers develop ways to discuss racism with their adult Korean students effectively and (2) to educate Black teachers about CRT and how it can be employed in English programs. Therefore, I collected and analyzed the data based on the research question(s):

(1) How does anti-Black sentiment (ABS) influence the experiences of Black English teachers in South Korea?

(2) How do Black English teachers' encounters with ABS correlate with eight tenets of CRT?

This capstone will be concluded with a reflection on the study's findings and a discussion on how Black English teachers can implement CRT in their classrooms and their workspaces. I will also discuss how Black teachers in Korea can educate their non-Black colleagues in the expatriate community and then disclose my plans for this research.

Reflection on Findings

In agreement with the first research question, ABS influences Black teachers in a mixture of ways. However, the most common forms of ABS are shaped by Korean nationalism and White supremacist ideologies exported through global media and White English expats' behavior. Based on the survey answers, the teachers experience ABS

through more overt forms of racism than covert, mostly influenced by color blindness from their Korean and White colleagues. They also suffer from being stereotyped based on one-dimensional portrayals of Blacks as caricatures without important stories.

Regarding the second research question, the interview data indicated that most forms of ABS correlate to CRT, with some reflecting certain tenets more strongly, such as *storytelling*, *interest convergence*, and *critique of liberalism*.

There are ways that Black teachers can utilize CRT in their classrooms when dealing with ABS and other types of discrimination. Storytelling and counter-storytelling can be used to educate students about ABS from their perspective. Storytelling can help address forms of ABS regardless of the tenet they correlate with best. Most importantly, storytelling and narratives are versatile and can be incorporated into various classroom activities that will help students improve socio-cultural communication skills. For example, Black teachers could manage classroom discussions centered on a news story or non-fiction narrative related to Black culture, comparing Black stories to Korean stories with similar histories of marginalization and colonization. Amin (2001) emphasizes that non-native English teachers can be seen as a source of empowerment for students based on cultural or social commonalities.

Interest convergence could make Black teachers conscious of race-based hiring due to a school's genuine concern for diversity or their desire to save face from being alienated by other Koreans. A *critique of liberalism* could inspire Black teachers, like Madison and Nichelle, to confront their White colleagues who deny that racism against English teachers of color exists in Korea.

Limitations

There are a few limitations that were discovered during the data analysis of the survey. First, Korean language proficiency could have been used as a variable to investigate if a higher proficiency level exposes the Black teacher to more ABS. Second, the variable could also be considered when comparing experiences between teachers of different Korean fluency levels. Unfortunately, this was not considered during the study, although I asked the teachers about their proficiency in the Korean language.

Another limitation was the amount of skin tone selections in the survey. This was mainly due to the limit of samples required for the study, so only two skin tone choices represented the most common shades among Black people. However, a wider variety of skin tones can be considered for future research.

Lastly, one thing that was not considered a variable whether the schools were in an urban, suburban, or rural setting. Since rural areas and smaller cities are more homogenous than the major urban cities in Korea, there may be more extreme reactions to foreigners from locals.

Future Research

Critical race theory has gained more traction in the media, although there have been negative reactions from the conservative right to ban CRT from American school curriculums (Sawchuk, 2021; Norimine & Foy, 2021). Therefore, now is a vital time for educators and scholars in TESOL to discuss and research CRT. Furthermore, this research should motivate more educators and scholars to explore the experiences of teachers of color in English programs in South Korea and other foreign countries.

Black English teachers can benefit from educating themselves about CRT, as this will help them identify and strategically confront microaggressions (and overt racism) in

their workplaces. They can find ways to use CRT as a foundation in designing cultural sensitivity lessons and inspire students who want to see changes among sociopolitical, gender, and color issues in their nation. Of course, they have to consider Korean culture when discussing these issues with coworkers, especially because of the strict hierarchical nature within companies, institutes, and social networks. In regards to covert racism, the language barrier creates difficulty in what Black teachers can identify as ABS or not. ABS toward Blacks in Korea tends to be more overt than covert, as shown in the study.

Nonetheless, CRT can still be considered when Black teachers are lesson planning with their Korean co-teachers. In my experience, I had to inform my Korean co-teacher on why it was important for me to show politically correct images of Black people to my young students. She believed that it was irrelevant regarding standardized exam preparation, but she allowed me to do it. After learning about these stereotypes, the students were able to identify with me. This was especially impactful on Korean students with darker skin who felt inferior to their peers with lighter skin and larger eyes.

This study will be available in Hamline University's Digital Commons, so current and prospective teachers will access this wealth of information. Black English teachers should remember that they have the power to be the change they want to see, but they also have every right to confront ignorance. So, it is detrimental that Black English teachers arm their students with the knowledge they need to navigate a multicultural society.

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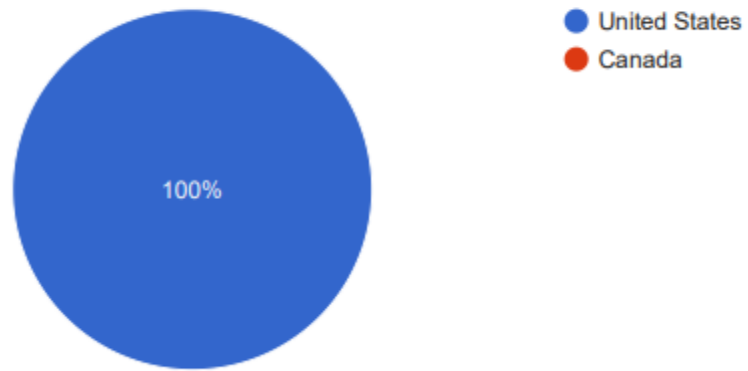
APPENDIX A

Results from Google Form Survey

Section One

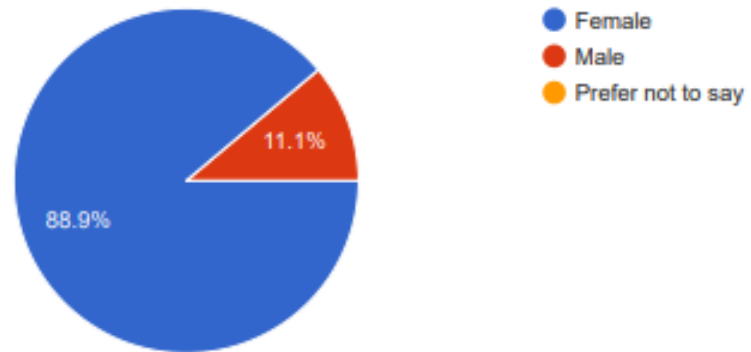
1. What is your country of citizenship?

10 responses



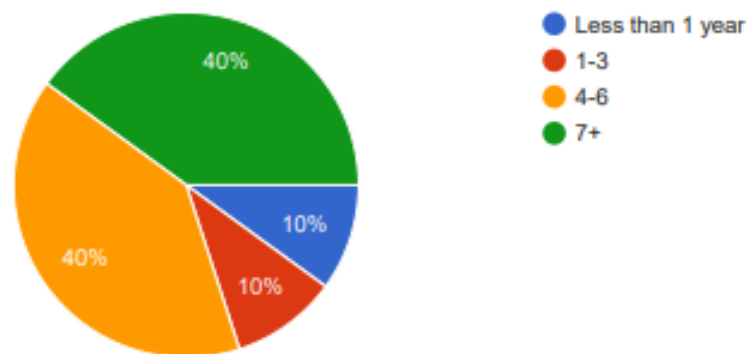
2. What is your gender?

9 responses



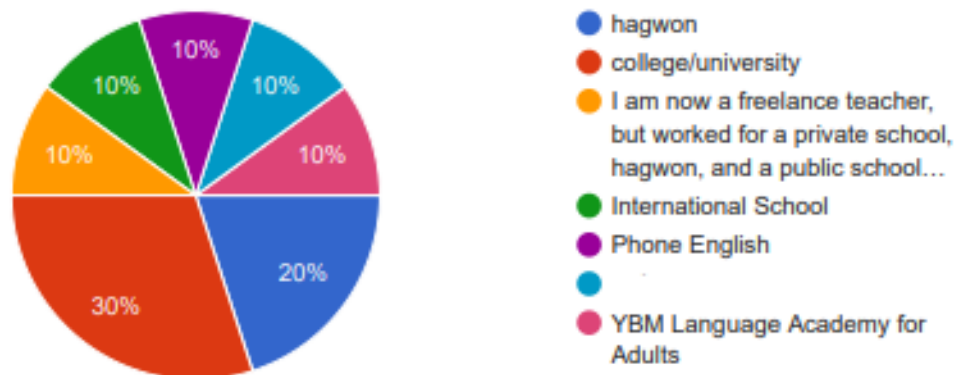
3. How many years have you taught in South Korea?

10 responses



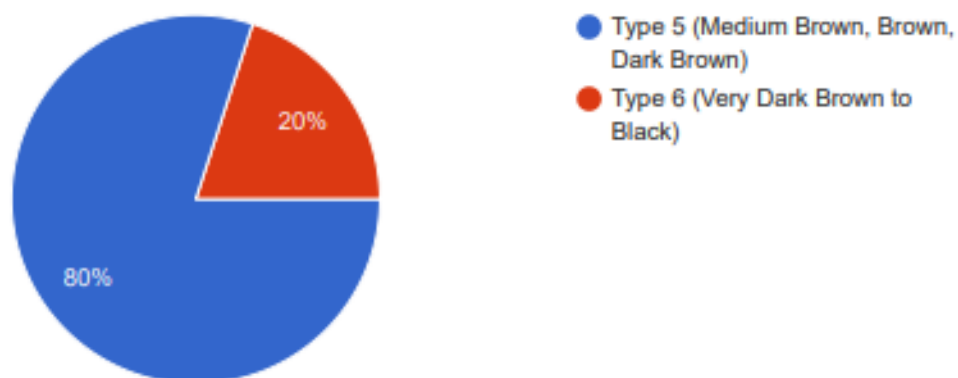
4. Do you teach in a hagwon or public institution of higher learning (college/university)?

10 responses



5. Based on the Fitzpatrick scale of human skin tones, what number do you approximately match to (this question is being asked due the researcher analyzing if skin tone is a variable in the severity of a participant's experience):

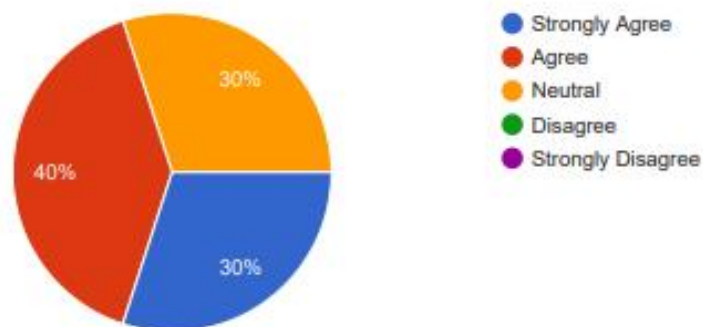
10 responses



Section Two

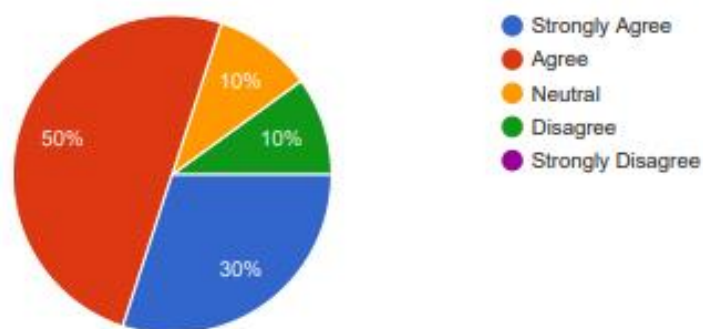
1. Korean or White expats that you work with tend to ignore or downplay racism against fellow non-white EFL teachers.

10 responses



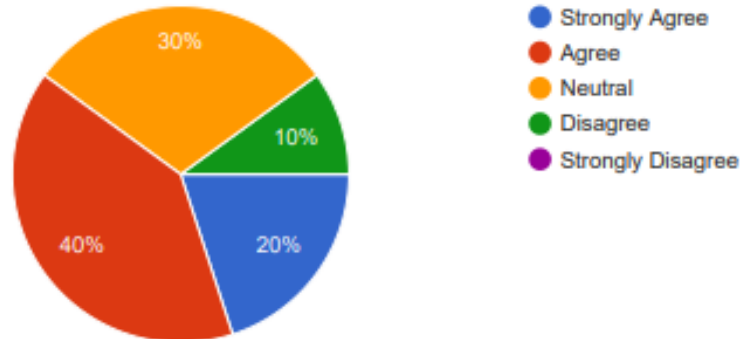
2. Anti-Black sentiment is normalized in the school or workplace through educational discourses and hiring practices.

10 responses



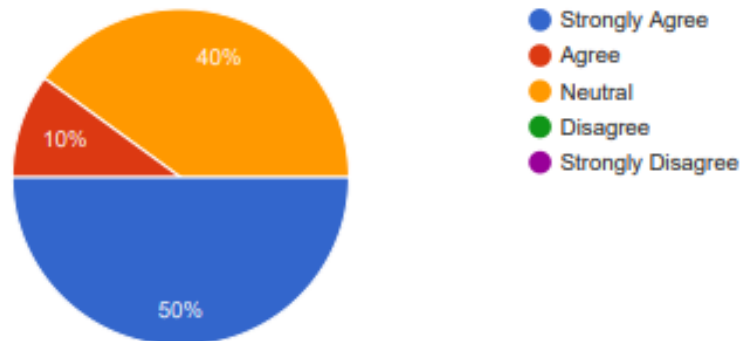
3. Anti-Black sentiment is prevalent in Korean EFL learning materials (i.e. textbooks, videos) that portray Western culture or globalization.

10 responses



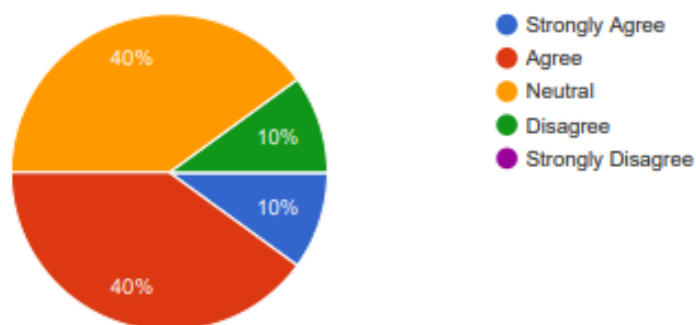
4. Do you feel that anti-Black sentiment has been prevalent in how stories of Black people are narrated in the Korean media (including Western media marketed to global audiences)?

10 responses



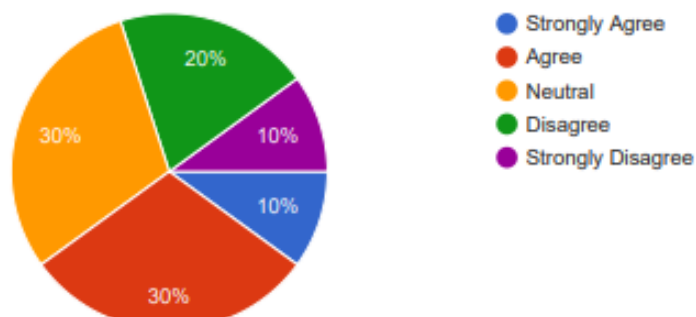
5. Do you agree that attitudes towards Blacks in South Korea have POSITIVELY change based on political climate in the West (i.e. Black Lives Matter movement)?

10 responses



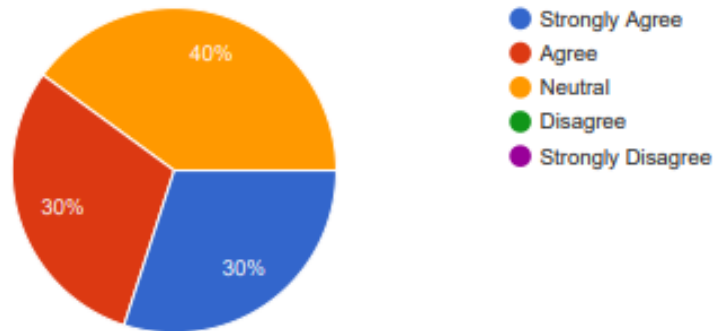
6. You believe that your skin tone have NEGATIVELY influenced your experiences as a Black EFL teacher in Korea?

10 responses



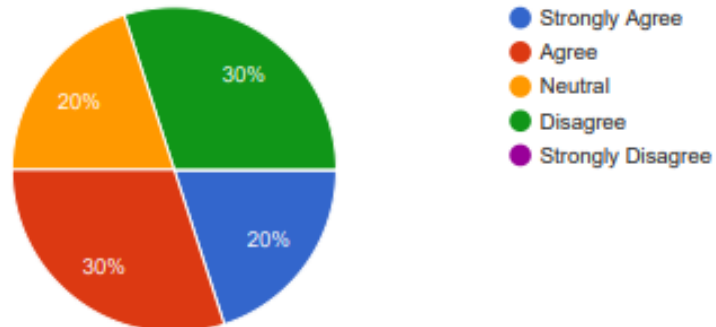
7. You are able to teach lessons about your culture based on your experiences and not from a Westernized perspective.

10 responses



8. Most of your experiences with racism in Korea can be applied to all or most Black teachers you know.

10 responses



APPENDIX B

Types of ABS Record from Interviews		
Color code: Yellow = similarities, Green = Differences, Blue = Best example that aligns with the CRT tenet		
CRT themes	Participant 1 (“Nichelle”) (She does business English ,corporate training, speaks and understand a little Korean; involved in activism) She has been out of America for many years.	Participant 2 (“Madison”) (works at an adult English hagwon; speaks some Korean but not much; in a relationship with a Korean person; also involved in activism)
Critique of Liberalism	<p>“Koreans are too quick to acknowledge color because of competition.”</p> <p>“They’re a little too quick to acknowledge color they’re not necessarily trying to pretend that we’re all the same which I mean it just goes in in tandem I think but some of the foundational things in the culture whereas you know, in the west we’re all busy trying to pretend that everything is equal and can be equal and the system is not rigged.”</p> <p>“I have no experience of that in South Korea. I think that’s very much a white Western attitude.”</p>	<p>“It’s like a mixed experience...you get it from the Korean and the non-Black aspect...people say ‘that’s this how it is here...if you don’t like it then leave’...”</p> <p>“They say ‘oh don’t care...don’t mind it...’”</p> <p>“I think a lot of people are stuck in their bubble of [Korea], so if it doesn’t have anything to do with Korea...they don’t care...”</p> <p>“But it’s the other expats that excuse it saying ‘it happens everywhere, there’s nothing we can do...’”</p> <p>“Many of the White male teachers...they troll online for example about corona or racism, there’s someone who is going to stir the pot...”</p>
Structural Determinism	<p>“I don’t think Koreans have questioned my qualifications...but White colleagues with less qualifications have questioned my qualifications...”</p> <p>(She expressed that she thinks it because of how education is viewed in Korea vs. the US)</p>	<p>“When I applied to previous job they would say ‘I want a white teacher’...the principal well tell someone on the phone ‘we have one white teacher and one black woman...’”</p> <p>“A Korean student told me ‘thank you for speaking appropriate compared to the other Black teachers’ at the end of the month...”</p>
Nationalism vs. Assimilation	<p>“I never see White westerners, the only Westerners I see are of color”</p> <p>“I eliminated Whiteness in my social circle” (paraphrase this as “I don’t have any White associates in my work or social circle”)</p> <p>Assimilation – “I’ve learned the language...but a little...food was a quick way to assimilate...”</p>	<p>“Koreans would tell me ‘oh you’re so aggressive’ if I defend myself...I hate watering down things for people...but it’s about how you say things for Koreans to listen...”</p> <p>“Assimilation means assimilating yourself for self-defense and education...”</p>

	<p>“Korean nationalism have affected my life in ways xenophobia have affected everyone’s who not Korean...”</p> <p>“Because you are a Black English teacher, people assume that your English is somehow wrong”</p>	<p>“If anything happens with foreigners, Koreans go on a defense to protect their whole nation from foreigners...for example covid testing for foreigners.”</p>
Revisionist History	<p>“The textbooks are corporate and so they use stock images of people of all colors.”</p> <p>“Our textbooks are created by in-house by a diverse group of people”</p>	<p>“According to other teachers I spoke to...a lot of the textbooks have problematic imagery...such as the black person wearing a grass skirt...”</p> <p>“My textbooks try to not include many things about race because the company feels it’s too sensitive for the adults...”[There is no diversity in her books or teaching materials since she uses CNN article book]</p>
Interest Convergence	<p>“Some younger Koreans see a kinship with Black Americans because of our oppressive history...these younger Korean have gone overseas thinking they will be accepted by</p> <p>“There’s a group of activists who are looking to get a money grab...and they got a lot of media coverage but they were very harsh towards the Black women that were involved.”</p> <p>“I was shocked by how sympathetic my Korean colleagues were about BLM...”</p> <p>“I am very involved with the activism in Korea.”</p> <p>“They are open to defending Blacks when they experience racism in the West but they are less sympathetic to the racism against Blacks within Korea”</p>	<p>“I think for a lot of Koreans I think it is eye-opening...they will say ‘I’m sorry that happened but it’s a part of life...but if they see a negative depiction of a Black person then they will laugh or speak negatively of Black people because of it...I feel they lack empathy when it comes to non-Koreans, especially non-White foreigners.”</p> <p>“Koreans have adopted a lot of White supremacy ideology...they worship white supremacy...”</p>
Race, Skin tone & their Intersections	<p>“I feel like there’s a lot of people who are delusional here about skin tone. I have heard lighter skinned Black women say ‘I don’t have problems here in Korea because I’m light-skinned”</p> <p>“There have been Black people who are ‘passing’ that have used...”</p> <p>“The idea of light skinned Black people is not a thing...Black people are brown or darker.”</p>	<p>“They think that a White person some South Africa is not from Africa because their skin is lighter...”</p> <p>“A lot of lighter skin Black women are chosen for a lot of things...but I can’t make a 100% guarantee about me...”</p>

Storytelling	<p>“I teach social sensitivity...I talk about the differences in holidays and the differences of food...I tell them this is what I do culturally...”</p> <p>“Enough Korean people have connections to a family member overseas, so they understand the concept of subcultures on some level...”</p> <p>“A lot of the Black stories are old like ‘Roots’, which is important, but it seems like the basic shows...”</p> <p>“A lot of stories are imported by White people...”</p> <p>“Streaming services have changed the perceptions of sub cultures...”</p> <p>“I often see a lot of black cultures imported without the stories...there was a dance movie that came out and when I mentioned that it was Nigerian, they say ‘What’s Nigeria...’”</p> <p>“They are modeling the way White American consumes Black culture...”</p>	<p>“I had to educate some students once that Africa is not a country but it’s a continent...I had to warn them about organizations like UNICEF and that all Black people are not poor...”</p> <p>“I also educated students on Black music, such as hip hop and rap isn’t just Black music...”</p> <p>“I had to educate my students about my hair, and sometimes ask inappropriate questions...”</p> <p>“I told a Korean man who asked ‘Ethiopia?’ or ‘Kenya’, and I told the man I was American and that told him that it was a bit racist...the man asked why so I told him it’s like if I told you ‘are you Chinese and Korean’”</p> <p>“The Korea Times depicted a racist picture of looting and it contained and they deleted it after outrage but there was no apology....so we came together in the BLM Korea group and called them out...”</p> <p>“Koreans will emphasize the negative in anything that show Black Koreans...”</p>
Essentialism vs. Anti-essentialism	<p>“My experiences I feel are very different than other teachers...”</p> <p>“The people you meet corporately are different than teaching at a school in a rural...”</p> <p>“I have spent time around foreigners</p> <p>“Qualifications degrees trump colors every time...”</p> <p>“Many Black teachers tend to ghettoize themselves in a Korean context”)</p>	<p>“I go by what I see in my Facebook...and I’ve seen my friends experience things like ‘Oh you’re from Africa”</p> <p>“One of my friends who teach an online company turned on his video and one of the child students said “Hi N**ger” and he turned off the camera...”</p>