Mothers' Cultural Approach to Inclusive Education for Children with Intellectual Disability in South Korea: Qualitative Case Study

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South Korean special education started in separate settings from general education (e.g., special classes, special schools). This separateness of special education was not challenged until the South Korean special education law was amended in 1994 (B. H. Kim, 2005; Jung, 2017; Ryu, 2013), and the term *inclusive education* was added, defined as educating students with disabilities in general education schools or having special school students temporarily participate in the general education curriculum in order to promote their social development.

Parents of children with disabilities in South Korea learned about the inclusive education provision, if at all, only after the passage of the new statute and relevant educational policies. This is a critical difference from the beginning of inclusive education in the United States where parents of children with disabilities had been actively involved in advocating for inclusive education fighting against separate education and instrumental in passing legislation.

Recently, some parents of children with disabilities in South Korea, through parent organizations, became involved in replacing the prior special education law with the Act on Special Education for Persons with Disabilities (ASED, Act 13978, 2008; W. Kim & Han, 2007). They mainly sought extension of the period of compulsory education for students with disabilities (preschools to high schools) and free early education for age three or younger children with disabilities (Ryu, 2012). Provision of appropriate supports for outcome-oriented inclusive education was not included in their pursuit.

Most of the previous law on inclusive education remained the same in the ASED (2008), but the legal definition of inclusive education was revised. According to Chapter 1 Article 2-6 in the ASED, inclusive education refers to education that students with disabilities receive together

with typically developing children appropriately to their educational needs without being discriminated against on the basis of their disability types and severity. However, no special purpose of inclusive education, such as assuring access to the general curriculum, is stated in this law.

Although it is now a legal duty for schools to provide opportunities for students with disabilities to take classes with typically developing peers, schools are not required to provide supports necessary for students with disabilities to have academic and social development (e.g., curriculum modification, instructional supports) through the opportunities. The ASED statute for an individualized education plan (IEP) emphasizes the suitability of education goals, methods, contents, and related services for the particular diagnosis type and supposed characteristics of the child's disability without mandating a plan for access to the general curriculum (Chapter 2 Article 22 in the ASED, 2008; Article 4 in Enforcement Rules of the ASED, 2008). For this reason, IEPs are most likely to be implemented in special education classrooms, and thus, students with disabilities would not have individualized plans for access to the general curriculum.

Given the outcome data, inclusive education for students with intellectual disability (ID) in South Korea seems to need improvement. The UN Committee on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (2014) reported that (a) many children with disabilities in South Korea have transferred from general schools to special schools, and (b) even the students with disabilities attending general education schools have not received appropriate education for their educational needs. The annual report of the South Korean Ministry of Education (2017) indicated that 70.7% of students with disabilities attended general education schools (e.g., full-time general education classes, part-time special classes) and only 28.9% of them were educated in special schools.

Although fewer students attended special schools, most of the special schools (69.9%; *n* = 121) were specialized for educating students with ID. This suggests that many students with ID still receive separate education.

Although children with disabilities in South Korea are legally allowed to attend a general education school if they want (ASED Article 4, 2017; Elementary and Secondary Education Act Article 54, 2016), some parents of children with ID seem to prefer special schools for their children. Many students with ID attend special schools despite this legal protection, and the number of special schools for children with ID has increased (Ministry of Education, 2017). An incident relevant to this apparent dichotomy occurred on September 5, 2017. A group of parents who had children with ID physically knelt before residents who opposed constructing a new special school in their village (Jihoon Lee et al., 2017). These parents pleaded the need to build a new special school in the village because the current special school is a long distance from their home (e.g., going to school too early morning, spending over one hour in a school shuttle bus). The village residents, however, opposed the construction because they claimed that their house prices could drop after a special school is built in their village.

When this incident was reported in the media, South Korean public opinion blamed the village residents for Not In My Back Yard (NIMBY) syndrome. Many people supported the parents, maintaining that building more special schools is necessary to protect the right to education of children with ID. Little attention was given to the question of why the parents begged for a new special school instead of sending their children to the general education school closer to their home.

The five-year plan for South Korean special education (South Korean Ministry of Education, 2017) seems to reflect this incident and the resulting public opinion in that the plan

included building at least 22 new special schools within five years. If this plan is successfully fulfilled, there will be a minimum of 196 special schools in 2022 in South Korea (land size: 38,691 mi^2; population: 51.25 million people; World Bank, 2016), furthering obstacles to inclusive education and limiting access to the general curriculum (Jackson et al., 2008).

Some researchers in South Korea have examined parents' difficulties with inclusive education for children with ID. Participating parents described (a) social isolation of children with ID (M. Choi & Jeung, 2014; W. Lee & Kwak, 2014; Young-nam Park & Chu, 2010); (b) general education teachers' negative or indifferent attitude (Han & Lee, 2011; W. Lee & Kwak, 2014;); (c) academic curriculum that did not meet educational needs of children with ID (W. Lee & Kwak, 2014); and (d) a lack of collaboration between special and general education teachers (M. Choi & Jeung, 2014; W. Lee & Kwak, 2014). A few studies examined parent-desired supports for inclusive education for middle school students with ID. These studies (e.g., Shin, 2005; S. Lee & Ahn, 2011) indicated that parents wanted to have supports for improving (a) teachers' knowledge and skills, (b) teachers' and peers' understandings of disabilities, and (c) collaboration between special and general education teachers rather than specific inclusive education practices for their children's development in school. These results might raise a question about the reasons why these parents focused on supports for teachers and typically developing children in the school instead of academic or social supports that could directly benefit their children.

We assumed that parents' desires might be related to their knowledge of inclusive education. Based on this assumption, the purpose of this qualitative case study was to explore the knowledge and desires of parents of children with ID regarding inclusive education laws and practices in South Korea. We particularly targeted parents whose children with ID attended

inclusive middle schools (full inclusion in general education classes or pull-out special education in a general education school). All parents of children with disabilities in South Korea have an official opportunity to indicate their desires for their children's middle school settings (full inclusion in general education classes, pull-out special education in a general education school, and special schools) to teachers in elementary schools when their children are in the sixth grade (ASED Article 17, 2017). Parents could theoretically focus on their desires and concerns about their children's inclusive education under less pressure (by current teachers' reactions) in this process as compared to the process of their requests for or responses to schools' requests for changes in the children's current educational settings. For this reason, we assumed that parents who chose inclusive education settings for their children's middle schools are likely to provide rich data for a more in-depth understanding of their desires for inclusive education. We define *inclusive education* as education that students with disabilities receive participating in the curricular, extracurricular, and other activities with typically developing peers in a general education school. In this research, *inclusive education practices* refer to interventions that help students with ID engage in academic and/or social activities with typically developing peers in a general education school. Specifically, the research questions included:

(a) What do parents know about legal protection for inclusive education of students with ID?

(b) What laws do parents want to have for inclusive education of students with ID?

(c) What do parents know about inclusive education practices for middle school students with ID?

(d) What inclusive education practices do parents want to be implemented for students with ID?

Theoretical Framework

Our primary research lenses included the social model of disability and Rawls's theory of justice. We also used Confucianism to gain a cultural understanding of data.

Social Model of Disability

Inclusive education is justified based on the social model of disability (Winzer, 2014). This model defines impairments as "value-neutral bodily conditions" and disability as the person's uncomfortable experiences caused by a society's failure to accommodate the impairments (Manago et al., 2017, p. 170). This indicates that disability is not an individual's personal problem but relevant to his or her society's responsibility for accommodating the society to the person's impairment(s). Haegele and Hodge (2016) stated that "isolation and exclusion can be a product of society's inability, unwillingness, or neglect to remove environmental barriers encountered by those with disabilities or the perceptions of individuals with impairments as being less able to participate with members of society" (p. 197).

Rawls's Theory of Justice

Rawls (1971/1999) developed the theory of justice in opposition to utilitarianism, which defined justice based on the interests of a greater number of people, so-called "maximum happiness" (Sidgwick, 2000, p. 256). Rawls disagreed with the opinion that society should sacrifice some members' interests to satisfy a majority of its members. He claimed that each member in a society has the inviolability that nobody can invade even for all other persons' welfare. From this perspective, he defined justice as fairness.

Rawls (1999) formulated two principles of justice as fairness based on two roles of a social system. The first principle is the equal right to liberty. Rawls stated, "each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive scheme of equal basic liberties compatible with a

similar scheme of liberties for others" (p. 53). He arrayed examples of liberty such as "political liberty, freedom of thought, and freedom of the person, which includes freedom from psychological oppression and physical assault and dismemberment" (p. 53). The South Korean laws for inclusive education in the ASED (2017) and Elementary and Secondary Education Act (2017) guarantee the right to liberty of children with disabilities to attend general education schools where all other children do. These laws indicate that a student with a disability can *choose* whether to receive inclusive education or to go to a special school. The liberty of a student with disabilities to go to a general education school, however, might be vulnerable to social pressure.

The second principle of Rawls's theory is that "social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both (a) reasonably expected to be to everyone's advantage, and (b) attached to positions and offices open to all" (Rawls, 1999, p. 53). Rawls noted that equality does not require distributing the same amount of societal resources to everyone, but it is to benefit all people in terms of the accessibility to the resources. According to this principle, it is fair to distribute educational resources unequally for the benefit of all students.

Confucianism

Confucianism was introduced to South Korea in the 4th century, and Confucian studies were the main curricula in Korean educational institutions for over 1,000 years after the introduction (K. Kim, 2009). Confucianism refers to a study of politics and ethics that pursues Confucian values (K. Kim, 2009). It sets a high value on peaceful leadership, which means a ruler governs a country in a manner of showing the people *ren* (Chinese: 仁; Koh, 2003). *Ren* refers to "love and benevolence" (Oldstone-Moore, 2002, p. 55).

Confucian ethics are based on a hierarchy in human relationships and require people to respect the hierarchy (Tan, 2016). For example, a wife should respect her husband, a child should respect parents, and the ruled should respect the ruler (Oldstone-Moore, 2002). This Confucian hierarchical perspective on human relationships underlies Confucian ethics. Confucius (a.k.a. Kongzi, the developer of Confucianism, a politician and teacher in the 6th century BC) theorized that harmony in human relationships is maintained by respecting "social hierarchy rules, status, and authorities" (Chinese Cultural Connection as cited by Y.B. Zhang et al., 2005, p. 108).

This code of interpersonal behavior is relevant to the Confucian basic virtue named *li* (禮), which determines socially appropriate behavior in a Confucian society (M. Park & Chesla, 2007). *Li* is connected to the priority of social harmony over individuals' wants and desires because harmony leads to desired social conformity (X. Xu, 2015). In addition to respect for authority, *li* also includes rules of Confucian rituals such as rituals of worshiping ancestors and funerals (Yu, 1998). This form of *li* remains in contemporary South Korea, even after its dissemination nearly 500 years ago in the Joseon dynasty.

Confucianism influences contemporary Korean people's values either consciously or unconsciously (Chin, 2018; Śleziak, 2013; Y. B. Zhang et al., 2005). Recent national data collected from 49,052,389 South Koreans (Korean Statistical Information Service, 2017) showed that only 0.2% of the people identified their religion as Confucianism, and the majority of them (56.1%) identified themselves as atheists. Scholars, however, have documented that Confucianism continues to be the basis of ethics and organizational culture in South Korea (e.g., Jeong-Kyu Lee, 2001; Jun & Rowly, 2014; Daewook Kim & Choi, 2013).

Confucian justice. Confucian justice focuses more on harmony rather than fairness (Murphy & Weber, 2016). As noted by Li (2008), the goal of Confucian harmony is to attain "the collective good" by balancing it with individuals' interests (p. 433). When there are conflicts between the common good and an individual's interests, a Confucian society is likely to achieve harmony by sacrificing the individual's good (Li, 2008).

Rawlsian advocacy and Confucian advocacy. Advocacy including self-advocacy seems to take different forms in Rawls's theory of justice and Confucianism. Rawls would guide an individual's advocacy based on his or her legal rights. This advocacy would use laws where the individual's rights are specified and might involve litigation to achieve equal protection of laws. Confucian advocacy, however, is likely to employ laws as a default strategy (Chan, 1999; Cline, 2007; X. Xu, 2015). Confucianism prefers "concession and compromise" to the assertion of rights (Chan, 1999, p. 250). According to Chan, Confucius viewed concession as "the most desirable virtue for social harmony" (p. 255). Confucian advocacy seems to involve passive or indirect forms such as giving a reminder of virtuous behavior (Chan, 1999) and making an appeal to a relevant person's affection and benevolence (Dong-chun Kim, 2002), thus resting on an individual's choice, not a legal obligation (He, 2004).

Disability and Confucianism. Harmony is the ideal of Confucianism (Bell, 2015; Murphy & Weber, 2016; Y. B. Zhang et al., 2005). Confucianism views a disability itself as disharmony (He as cited by Y. Zhang & Rosen, 2018) and a cause of disharmony (Holroyd, 2003). Research has documented that mothers of a child with a disability in East Asian countries influenced by Confucianism felt shame and blamed themselves regarding their child's disability (e.g., Holroyd, 2003; Huang et al., 2010; Poon-McBrayer & McBrayer, 2014). Young-Shin Park and Kim (2006), however, stated that South Korea traditionally had past-oriented, ancestor-

related, and conservative values, but moved forward to future-oriented, children-centered, and progress-based values with its urbanization.

Confucian meritocratic approach to education. The Confucian approach to education matches "the meritocratic conception" that involves equal access to education and unequal achievement based on personal efforts and talent (Brighouse as cited by Calvert, 2015, p. 988). Confucius agreed that individuals are born with an unequal talent that might lead to different educational outcomes. He, however, insisted that an individual could overcome learning difficulties by making great efforts.

Method

The design for this research was a qualitative case study using interviews to explore knowledge and desires of parents of middle school students with ID regarding inclusive education laws and practices in South Korea.

Selection of Participants

This study received institutional review board approval. We purposefully recruited seven parents who (a) had a child with ID currently attending an inclusive middle school, (b) lived together with the child in South Korea, and (c) the child with ID was eligible for special education due to ID as determined by a local educational agency. We distributed recruitment flyers through officers of the South Korean parent organization, local educational agencies, and rehabilitation centers for people with disabilities in South Korea. We initially recruited four participants who lived in Area 1in South Korea. We recruited another participant who lived in Area 2 through one of these parents and then two more participants through this new participant.

Case Description

South Korea has three parts of public schooling that include six years of elementary school, three years of middle school, and three years of high school. Students' grade levels are labeled from the first grade in each type of school. For example, students are in the first grade of middle school after graduating from the sixth grade of elementary school. When children eligible for special education are in the six grade of elementary school, all parents are required to report their preferences of the children's education placement in middle schools (full inclusion in general education classes, pull-out special education in a general education school, and special schools; ASED Article 17, 2017). Parents' choices of the children's educational placement for high schools are expanded to (a) special schools or (b) a full time vs. pull out special education in an academic high school versus a vocational high school.

All participants for this research were mothers of students with ID who attended inclusive middle schools as seen in Table 1. We used pseudonyms for these students' names. They took classes with typically developing children in inclusive educational environments for most of their time in school, and participated in some pullout programs in special education classrooms. Amy was initially diagnosed with speech or language impairments when she was four years old. Her mother stated that Amy's language development regressed to speaking only one or two words after she experienced several epileptic seizures for three years. The mother stated that the biggest reason for going through the process for this medical diagnosis was to gain the governmental financial support for Amy's speech language therapies. One year later after the diagnosis, Amy was diagnosed with ID. Her mother described that Amy's IQ was borderline to be diagnosed with ID but the mother wanted Amy to get diagnosed with ID to receive the governmental financial supports for not only speech language therapies but cognitive and art therapies. Amy

took Korean language arts and math classes in special education classrooms (pull-out special education) and the other academic classes in general education classrooms (inclusive education) until she was in the fourth grade of elementary school. Next academic year, her mother changed Amy's educational placement to full inclusion because Amy felt ashamed of getting pull-out special education. Since then, Amy had no pull-out special education but took all general education classes in inclusive education environments until she was in the second grade of middle school. When we called the mother for member checking after seven months later (Amy was in the third grade of middle school), the mother said that she re-changed Amy's educational placement from full inclusion to pull-out special education for Korean language arts, math, and English classes (9.75 hours per week) for Amy's educational benefit. Amy had an older brother without a disability. Amy's mother and husband ran a hotel close to a beach in Area 1. She used to be a professional sports player and coach for the same sports (taekwondo) before running a hotel. She never participated in parent training but gained information on Amy's education through her friends who had children with disabilities. She said her religion is Buddhism, but she did not regularly go to a Buddhist temple. She has regularly performed Confucian family rituals by worshiping ancestors, placing food for and name cards of ancestors on a table and making a deep bow toward the name cards on the Lunar New Year's day and Korean Thanksgiving Day (Chuseok), and the dates of the ancestors' death.

Betty was in the second grade of inclusive middle school. Betty's mother expressed her interest in this research through Betty's school, but her son (Caesar - Betty's older brother) was also a middle school student with ID, meeting the participant selection criteria for this research. After we gained her agreement, we included her statements about both Betty and Caesar in this research. Betty gained an educational diagnosis of ID when she was in the second grade of

elementary school. She has received pull-out special education in a general education school since the diagnosis. Her mother stated that she agreed with the educational diagnosis process (evaluation for special education eligibility) because Betty's teacher recommended it for the reason that Betty did not make friends and showed low academic achievement. Betty took Korean language arts, math, and English classes in her special education classroom (9.75 hours per week) and the other academic classes in inclusive educational environments in the second grade of middle school. Caesar got diagnosed with ID when he was in the sixth grade of elementary school. This diagnosis was also initiated with his mother's agreement with the school's request for evaluation for eligibility for special education. The mother said that Caesar got diagnosed with ID because he frequently disrupted class activities in general education classrooms. Caesar took most of the general education classes in inclusive educational environments except for Korean language arts, math, and English classes (pull-out special education for 9.75 hours per week) in the third grade of middle school. The mother of Betty and Caesar was a full-time housewife when she was interviewed. She stated that she attended some parent training but could not remember what she gained through the training. This mother identified herself as an atheist but has served food for Confucian family rituals and attended the rituals in a similar manner that Amy's mother has done.

Dori was a girl in the second grade of inclusive middle school. She got diagnosed with autism spectrum disorder (ASD) when Dori was three years old. Her mother initiated the process for the medical diagnosis because Dori's preschool teacher suggested the process because Dori rarely played with peers and showed self-talk oftentimes in the preschool. Dori's educational diagnosis for eligibility for special education, however, was ID. She attended inclusive education schools receiving pull-out special education classes from kindergarten. In the second grade of

middle school, when we interviewed her mother, she took Korean language arts, math, and English classes in a special education classroom for 9.75 hours per week and the other academic classes in inclusive education classrooms for 18.75 hours per week. Dori had an older brother who did not have a disability. Dori's mother worked as a postpartum helper taking care of a mother and a new-born baby. She used to be a full-time housewife prior to having this job. She received some parental training for children with disabilities through a rehabilitation center where Dori received therapies before going to a school. Dori's mother identified her religion as atheism and did not perform Confucian family rituals.

Felicia was a girl in the first grade of inclusive middle school. She was initially diagnosed with ID when she was in the first grade of elementary school. Her mother said that Felicia did not have a medical diagnosis before the educational diagnosis for eligibility for special education. The mother explained that she agreed with pull-out special education that Felicia's teacher suggested because of Felicia's low academic achievement. Like Amy, Betty, and Caesar, Felicia took Korean language arts, math, and English classes in a special education classroom for 9.75 hours per week and general education classes for 18.75 hours per week in her first grade of middle school when we interviewed her mother. While the other children living in Area 1 (Amy, Betty, Caesar, and Dori) resided in a relatively developed area, Felicia lived in a farming area. Her younger brother and father were diagnosed with ID. Her mother worked for public service such as pulling weeds and planting flowers on the sides of roads. Felicia's mother did not attend any parental training. She identified herself as a Christian. We were not able to ask her if she attends Confucian family rituals because she did not respond to our request for member checking.

The mothers of Evan, Gus, and Harry living in Area 2 were members of a parent organization. This organization is the Area 2 branch of the nationwide South Korean parent

organization for children with disabilities. Evan was a boy in the second grade of inclusive middle school. He was medically diagnosed with ASD at the age of four and then ID for social welfare services and eligibility for special education. Evan took Korean language arts and math classes in a special education classroom for about seven hours per week and general education classes in inclusive settings for 22 hours a week. His mother's job was to give rides to individuals with disabilities for their educational and therapeutic services. She was actively engaged in the parent organization and attended multiple sessions of parent training. She also studied social welfare for people with disabilities in college. She identified herself as an atheist. She reported that all of her family performed Confucian rituals in a similar manner that Amy's mother performed the rituals.

Gus was a boy in the third grade of inclusive middle school. Gus's mother stated that she knew of Gus's ID when she heard that he had hydrocephalus during her seven-month pregnancy with him. Gus's mother initiated the process for Gus's disability diagnosis to receive the governmental financial supports for Gus's education and therapies when he was three years old. Gus took only math classes in a special education classroom for three hours a week and the rest of the academic classes in inclusive educational environments. Gus had an order brother without a disability. Gus's mother was a fulltime housewife. She said that she was an atheist. She had performed Confucian family rituals in the same manner that Amy's mother had done.

Harry was a boy in the second grade of inclusive middle school. He had brain damage because of a lack of oxygen when he was born. He was diagnosed with ID at the age of six. The mother stated that Harry's IQ was on the borderline for the ID diagnosis, so his support needs were not extensive. Harry was fully included in general education classrooms without any pull-out special education during his elementary school days. As he advanced to a middle school, he

received Korean language arts, math, and English classes in a special education classroom for 9.75 hours per week and the other subject classes in inclusive educational environments. Harry's mother had a job helping people with disabilities travel from one place to another by car. She attended parental training multiple times. She stated that she also gained an understanding of Harry's disability and support needs through her job training (transport supports for people with disabilities). She identified herself as a Christian. She conducted Confucian family rituals on the Lunar New Year's day and Korean Thanksgiving Day (Chuseok), and the dates of the ancestors' death.

Positionality

Our positionality as researchers was to advocate for appropriate supports that allow students with disabilities to enjoy equal rights to education in inclusive settings. We view disability as the outcome of interactions between an individual's impairment and environments consistent with the social model of disability. The first author was born and brought up in South Korea and worked as a special education teacher for secondary school students with disabilities for 10 years in this country. The second author was born and grew up in the United States. She has advocated for the legal rights of individuals with ID and their families and has taught the special education law and legal rights to graduate students in special education. She gained information on special education in South Korea by interacting with the first author as her doctoral advisor and by visiting special education schools, organizations, teacher preparation programs, and government agencies in South Korea (e.g., Ministry of Education, special schools for students with ID, special education departments in universities) as an invited scholar for professionals in South Korean special education (e.g., administrators, special education teachers,

professors, college and graduate students in special education). We had no experience in the schools that participants' children attended and had no personal relationship with them.

The first author used to participate in Confucian family rituals worshiping ancestors (e.g., great grandmother, great-great-grandfather) with the belief that they protect and bless her family. She and her family no longer perform these Confucian rituals since converting to Christianity. Although Confucian ethics and values were continuously embedded in her daily life even after the religious conversion, this Confucian influence has become less prominent after moving to the U.S. in 2014 for her doctoral study.

Data Collection

The first author individually interviewed participants using semi-structured and open-ended interview questions (see Appendix A) from July 25th to August 8th in 2018. The author rephrased a question when a participant did not seem to understand the question. She spoke Korean during interviews because all of the participants used Korean as their first language. Based on the participants' preferences, face-to-face interviews were conducted with three participants (mothers of Amy, Betty and Caesar, and Dori), and four mothers were interviewed on the telephone. The duration of the interviews ranged from 70 minutes to 114 minutes.

Data Analysis

The first author transcribed each interview in Korean as the interviewees and the interviewer used Korean during interviews. She then translated each transcript into English while making a list of Korean words and phrases that might not be literally translated into English to convey their meanings (e.g., idioms). The first author discussed the list with the second author who is a native English speaker and a professional in special education and children with ID. After revising the list based on the discussion, we gained advice on words and phrases on the

revised list from a certified translator who has provided translation for the Korean American Association and has done research with Korean Americans. Next, we conducted a thematic analysis that involves an inductive process that consisted of (a) coding, (b) categorizing, (c) forming themes, and (d) making conclusions (Mayan, 2009; Merriam & Tisdell, 2015). For further validation of our translation, we used both Korean and English interview transcripts when we conducted open coding (see Appendix B). Specifically, the first author conducted open coding using interview transcripts written in Korean and wrote codes in English alongside relevant data. The second author read interview transcripts written in English and reviewed open codes that the first author wrote in English. Throughout this process, we checked if the translated data represented consistent meaning with Korean interview transcripts. We discussed and resolved unconformable or ambiguous translation.

Although we expected to find specific inclusive education practices that the mothers knew and desired to have, our data indicated cultural lenses that they commonly used to talk about inclusive education practices and laws. For this reason, we added Confucianism to our initial theoretical framework (Rawls's theory of justice and the social model of disability) as a result of our efforts to find an appropriate theory to understand the data. Using the new package of our theoretical framework, we were able to identify categories that embraced similar codes (e.g., protection request with different intensity, desires for the child's belonging) or indicated a sequence of codes (e.g., place-and-hope for social outcomes, deficit-based moral approach to academic supports). We then themed the data based on the similarities of those categories.

Validity

We used five procedures to strengthen validity of this research. These procedures included (a) checking accuracy of transcription by reviewing each transcript while listening to the relevant recording; (b) re-coding to confirm if the codes were plausible; (c) making notes of data discrepant from each theme (e.g., all mothers except for Felicia's mother talked about communication that they initiated to ask for teachers' protection of their children with ID) and describing them under related themes; (d) a scholar colleague's review; and (e) member checking with six participants on the phone. During member checking, the first author (a) asked several questions to make sure our understanding of their statements was right, and (b) asked about their birth year, religion, dedication to Confucian family rituals, and jobs because our theoretical framework revised during data analysis was related to this information. We did not conduct a member check with Felicia's mother because she did not respond to our request for it.

Results

Table 2 shows themes, categories, and participants whose interview data were included in the categories and themes. Three themes emerged from the data: (a) mother-teacher communication, (b) particular knowledge that suppressed further desires for inclusive education, and (c) culture-based advocacy. The first and second themes were related to our research questions about parents' knowledge and desires regarding inclusive education practices. The participating mothers commonly stated their communication with teachers in response to our questions about schools' support for their children's inclusive education. When we used specific questions about inclusive education practices for social and academic outcomes, the mothers indicated particular knowledge that conflicted with their further desires for inclusive education of children with ID. The third theme, culture-based advocacy, was relevant to our third question about inclusive education laws.

Mother-Teacher Communication

The mothers commonly spoke about their communication with teachers. Six of them indicated that they usually initiated communication with teachers when they suspected their children's victimization of school violence. All of the mothers desired teacher-initiated communication with them.

Protection request with different intensity. The mothers living in two cities noted the different intensity of their requests to lead to teachers' interventions to protect their children with ID. We defined the intensity as a level of mothers' efforts to make teachers provide appropriate interventions. The mothers living in Area 1 used a simple report on the phone to ask for teachers' to work on their children's victimization (subcategory1 mild intensity). For example, Caesar's mother said, "The Help room [special education] teacher takes care of my kid... The teacher does whatever I ask to do if I call. It's amazing to see how she addresses our problems." Whereas, the mothers living in Area 2 commonly noted that teachers are less likely to protect their children with ID if they make a mild request (subcategory 2 strong intensity). These mothers all talked about their disappointment in teachers' reactions. For example, Gus's mother got frustrated by a teacher's ineffective discipline. She told Gus's homeroom teacher that some students shot a rubber band at Gus. Three days later, another incident of school violence occurred, and Gus got serious eye injury because of the incident. She explained how strongly she advocated for Gus's safety in school as below.

> I was very scared, so I decided to speak up this time. I didn't send Gus to school the day after the incident…I said to the teacher, "I will take the incident seriously this time. I have proof, a doctor's note. I will go to the police with this proof."

Exceptionally, Felicia's mother said that she tried not to initiate communication with teachers because a special education teacher texted her if there was something that she needs to know about Felicia's school events.

Desires for teacher-initiated communication. Although most of the mothers talked about communication with teachers that they initiated for protection of their children with ID for the question about schools' support for their children's inclusive education, they desired communication that teacher initiated to provide them with information on the children's school lives (subcategory 1: provision of information on the child's school life) and to give advice on mothers' support for the children (subcategory 2: teachers' guidance of the mother's support for the child with ID). All of the mothers reported that they did not know much about how their children with ID were doing in school. Four mothers specifically expressed desires for gaining information on their children with ID from teachers. Evan's mother wanted teachers to tell her anything about his school life, "even a very small thing." Four mothers liked teachers who voluntarily gave them advice on parenting. For example, Harry's mother described a "good" teacher who guided her to support Harry for his meaningful participation in a class activity.

Particular Knowledge That Suppressed Further Desires for Inclusive Education

The mothers longed for their children with ID to truly belong to a group of students in their inclusive homeroom. They, however, did not expect fulfillment of this desire in the near future. These mothers commonly had different levels of desires between the children's academic and social outcomes through inclusive education, but they did not expect teachers' implementation of inclusive education practices in both areas. Data indicated that the mothers did not actively want inclusive education practices on the basis of their moral and deficit-based approach to supports.

Desires for the child's belonging. Five mothers indicated desires for belonging of their children with ID to a group of students in a general education classroom. These mothers commonly pointed out that pullout special classes negatively influence belonging. For example, Dori's mother said that she "hate*s*" separate special education classes. She described how Dori would get emotionally hurt when she is moving to a special education classroom from her homeroom.

> …it's undeniable that Dori belongs to a special class… they go [to the special education classroom] alone, not with other kids. You know, she goes alone to take a special class. And the classroom is located in the center of the school.

Place-and-hope for social outcomes. The mothers all stated that the greatest benefit of inclusive education is natural opportunities for their children's social development by being with typically developing peers. They expected that their children with ID would make a friend and improve communication skills during the time with typically developing children. These mothers, however, pictured that their children with ID would not have been using this time productively for social development because of the children's social deficits. They also did not expect teachers to support these children to develop social skills based on their consideration of teachers' difficult circumstances to provide extra supports. For example, Dori's mother described that she aimed at improvement of Dori's communication through her inclusive education. Unlike the goal, she predicted that Dori hardly communicates with typically developing peers. She said, "I saw that she was alone in the very back…Other kids are together, but she is always alone." When the interviewer asked about her feeling about it, she paused for about three seconds and then said she "feel sad." Despite this sadness, she did not expect teachers to intervene in the issue.

When the interviewer asked about teachers' support for Dori's peer relationships, she said, "I think teachers may not have time to do so, because they have 30 students in the homeroom."

Deficit-based moral approach to academic supports. None of the mothers expected that their children with ID would achieve academic outcomes in general education classes. Six mothers predicted their children with ID would be off-task in these classes. They, however, linked this off-task behavior that they predicted solely to their children's academic deficits, not to the absence of appropriate supports. The mothers also raised potential disadvantages to teachers and the other students more than benefits for their children when they answered questions about desires for inclusive education practices to promote their children's academic learning. For example, when the interviewer asked Harry's mother about teachers' provision of inclusive education practices for Harry's learning in general classes, she said, "That's too ambitious… because there are many students in one classroom, and their learning contents became more difficult than before. I think it's hard to teach my kid one-on-one in general education classrooms." Although she did not expect inclusive education practices considering teachers' circumstances, she did express her desires for Harry's academic achievement in general classes as seen below.

> One day when I got back home from outside, I saw that Harry was grading his exam papers in the living room. I felt funny, but at the same time, I was sad. I felt that this child also wants to get good grades in his exams (weeping).

The mother-held concerns about the child's adult life. The mothers privately held concerns about their children's adult life without expecting schools' support. They seemed to perceive that schools do not care about their children's life after graduation, and it would be their responsibility to take care of the children's adult life. Gus's mother elaborated on this issue.

> … baby birds leave their nests when they master flying skills as they try to flutter by themselves. Their parents just need to be there. Then, the birds will visit the nest as a place to rest. These kids, however, are not like those birds. They might get a job, but how long could they keep the employment? … My conclusion is 'home' again. Home. Us again.

Culture-Based Advocacy for Inclusive Education

The mothers claimed overall that they did not know about legal protections for inclusive education. Although some of them referred to related laws, they did not seem to place a practical value on the laws for their advocacy for their children with ID. Instead, these mothers commonly specified culture-based advocacy for the children's inclusive education.

Low practical value of legal tools. Regarding legal tools for the children's inclusive education, five mothers did not cite specific laws. For example, Amy's mother said "I never heard about the laws," and Caesar's mother stated, "It is difficult." Harry's and Evan's mothers mentioned some laws for inclusive education, but they did not place practical values on laws. Harry's mother said, "…but a law is a law. When things happen in the real world, they are not always addressed by the law. As far as I know, many things are unfavorable to us." Evan's mother also talked about the greater power of teacher authority over any laws as below.

> … here's an IEP that the law stipulated. It determines the time when the student with disabilities studies in a special education classroom and then for the rest of the time, the student stays in a general education classroom. But I think it is not observed well because of teachers' educational authority.

Gus's mother had the same perspective on laws. She said, "Even though a law changes, schools would bypass the law. There are a lot of schools that do what they want, bypassing laws."

Common use of cultural tools. The mothers commonly described cultural advocacy tools for their children with ID. These tools included appealing to teachers, pleasing teachers, and using a hierarchy in the public school system. Gus's mother emphasized the importance of appealing to teachers as below.

> …if we want the things that they made for the majority, we should cry out for them. Then we might gain them. It's like people give one more rice cake to a crying baby [Korean idiom that is equivalent to the American idiom, "a squeaky wheel gets the grease"].

The mother of Betty and Caesar said that she tried to attend school events to please teachers for her children's good school life. She said, "I should attend this kind of event [IEP meeting] so that teachers would treat my kids well. (Laughter)… They would not care about my kids, if I don't participate in school events." Three mothers talked about advocacy using a high authority or the hierarchy of the public school system when the interviewer asked what they would do if teachers told them to transfer their children to special schools because of the children's disabilities. The following excerpt was produced by Amy's mother.

> I would first ask the homeroom teacher and the special education teacher why they did so [move Amy to a special school]. If that didn't work, I would go to higher authorities like the school principal. If that didn't work, I would talk to the local educational agency.

Exceptionally, Dori's mother wanted to follow the school's decision even if the decision violated Dori's rights because she did not want to challenge the school.

Desired laws for better school contexts. The mothers commonly desired laws to improve school contexts such as a sufficient number of licensed special education teachers, rigorous teacher training, and rigorous disability awareness education. Gus's mother noted that non-licensed special education teachers did not have enough power to advocate for Gus's right in

school. For this reason, she wanted to have a law that enables each school to have a licensed special education teacher. The mothers' desires for rigorous training for general education teachers were relevant to their dissatisfaction with current training. For example, Evan's mother said, "I know general education teachers should get 60-hour training to become homeroom teachers for kids [with disabilities] like Evan, but I heard that the training is like they just keep their computer on and push the Next button." She also described her desired law that would enable typically developing children to receive rigorous disability awareness education as below.

> I hope that special education teachers figure out problem behavior, strengths, non-preferred things, and something like 'this behavior has this meaning' through parent consultation before the education [of disability awareness]. Then, they inform students in all classrooms about these.

Discussion

We explored knowledge and desires of seven mothers of children with ID in South Korea regarding inclusive education practices and laws. The results of this qualitative case research indicated these participants' Confucian approach to inclusive education does not provide the same justification for inclusive education as the Western theories (e.g., the social model of disability, Rawls's theory of justice). This could be understood in the South Korean context where Confucianism has a long history (over 1000 years), and inclusive education in South Korea began with a top-down policy rather than advocacy against separate special education.

The Mothers' Extension of Their Protection Role to Teachers

The participating mothers commonly talked about protection of their children with ID from bullying in response to a question about school support for inclusive education. This

finding confirms that peer teasing is a large concern of parents who have children with ID attending inclusive middle schools (S. Lee & Ahn, 2011; W. Lee & Kwak, 2014; Palmer et al, 1998). School bullying does not seem to be a highly prevalent problem in South Korean middle schools based on recent data (Ministry of Education, 2019). The data showed that only 0.8% of middle school students in South Korea reported their experience of being bullied. Students with disabilities, however, might be more vulnerable to bullying than those without disabilities as reported by research. Kang and Kong (2014) noted that having a disability itself is likely to increase the vulnerability of bullying in South Korea.

Communication with teachers was these mothers' strategies to protect their children with ID from bullying in school. The mothers reported a suspicious incident of school violence to teachers expecting teachers' care for their children and reprimands for students who hurt the children. This seemed to mirror how parents address conflicts between their own children (e.g., fighting between older and younger children) rather than a professional approach (e.g., behavioral interventions, self-advocacy instruction, school discipline process). In other words, it appeared that the mothers expect teachers to protect their children as mothers do at home.

This extension of mothers' roles to teachers could be understood from the Confucian perspective on society as an extension of a family (Jeong-Kyu Lee, 2001). The mothers might consider their relationships with teachers and child-teacher relationships as similar to family relationships, and so, apply family ethics to these relationships. Consistent with this interpretation, we viewed the mothers' approach to relationships with teachers as virtue-based relationships.

Knowledge of Inclusive Education Laws

The mothers noted that they neither knew about inclusive education laws nor valued the laws. It appeared, however, that most of the mothers knew of the existence of the laws for their children's inclusive education, but did not know the details. They might not have cared about the laws and/or never had an opportunity to learn the laws. The mothers who talked about some of the laws subsequently noted that practically speaking, they placed low value on the laws for their advocacy. This might be understandable based on their perception of virtuous relationships with teachers. People in this type of relationship are more likely to appeal to the counterpart's virtues such as affection and benevolence rather than demanding legal duties when they face a conflict (Chan, 1999; Dong-chun Kim, 2002). As noted by Chan (1999), it might be inappropriate to use legal rights in virtuous relationships. In a larger context, Confucianism in South Korea, the mothers seemed to believe that teachers' performance of moral duties outweighs legal protection for their children with ID (Chin, 2018; Dong-chun Kim, 2002).

The mothers expressed their strong will to actively advocate for physical integration and against discrimination of their children with ID, but they did not seem to advocate for inclusive education practices. Interestingly, their advocacy areas were consistent with the South Korean laws for inclusive education. The ASED has sections for physical integration (Chapter 1 Article 2-6) and antidiscrimination of students with ID (Chapter 1 Article 4). The ASED, however, did not have specific sections that require provision of inclusive education practices necessary for students with disabilities to make academic and social progress in inclusive settings.

Some laws in the ASED (e.g., Chapter 1 Article 20, Chapter 1 Article 21-1) might be considered legal protection for educational benefits of students with disabilities in general education schools, but the laws do not require schools to produce those benefits through access to the general curriculum. The Enforcement Rules of the ASED Article 3-2-4 rather allowed

schools to use Basic Curriculum for students with disabilities who have difficulty following the general curriculum (alternative curriculum). Legal protection for appropriate supports before determining this difficulty was not specified in the law.

As noted by Kuhn (1962), a community's shared paradigm provides a basis for its rules. A paradigm is defined as "a set of basic beliefs" that produces principles (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 107). Therefore, the consistency between South Korean laws for inclusive education and the mothers' advocacy without specific legal knowledge seems to raise a question of whether a dominant belief of inclusive education in South Korea justifies only physical integration and antidiscrimination of students with disabilities, but does not provide justification for inclusive education practices. We suggest that future research examine a dominant paradigm of inclusive education with a greater number of people in South Korea.

Confucian Knowledge of Inclusive Education Practices

The mothers' knowledge of inclusive education practices was consistent with the Confucian approach to disability, education, social justice, and morality. This knowledge seemed to suppress their advocacy for inclusive education practices.

Confucian approach to disability and education. The mothers had low expectations for social and academic development of their children with ID in school for the reason that the children had limitations in intellectual and social functioning. This finding indicates these mothers' deficit-based perspective on disability, viewing disability as personal deficits rather than interactions between the children and environments that restrict the children's benefits equivalent to the other students. In addition, as Confucius stated, "only the very wise and very stupid never change" (Analects 17:3 as translated by Li, 2012, p. 298), the mothers' low expectations for the children's social and academic development seems consistent with this

Confucian perspective on learners with significantly low achievement. This perspective is likely to produce low expectations for students who repeatedly show relatively low educational outcomes without consideration of support necessary for positive educational outcomes.

This perspective is also linked to the Confucian meritocratic approach to education in that unequal achievement is taken for granted and attributed to the individual's personal issue. Furthermore, the examination-oriented education for college entrance in South Korea might place more importance on relative evaluation results than individuals' personal development because the college entrance exam is relative evaluation. The relative examination involves competition between candidates, and thus examination-oriented education is likely to produce a competitive school climate (Poocharoen & Brillantes, 2013; S. Q. Xu et al., 2018). In this competitive school climate, academic development of students with ID may be neglected in general education classes for the reason that they are less likely to win the competition.

This Confucian approach to disability and education is contrasted to the social model of disability. While the social model endows a society with the responsibility for improving its capacity to enable those with disabilities to take a full and critical part in it, the Confucian approach to disability and education does not consider a society's responsibility for people with disabilities. Instead, the Confucian approach encourages a society's benevolence for those with disabilities (S. Q. Xu et al., 2018). With benevolence-based education, it might be difficult for parents and children with disabilities to ask for appropriate supports to make educational progress. This is because receivers of benevolence are supposed to appreciate any benevolent behavior without evaluating its quality or outcome.

It appeared that the mothers also used the Confucian approach to disability and education when they were concerned about the adult lives of their children with ID. They did not seem to

expect schools' responsibility for preparing these children for adult lives. Instead, they held the concern as a private responsibility and did not envision the children's lives as valued members of society. This is contrasted to Fisher et al.'s study (1998) reporting that parents of secondary students with ID in the U.S. were concerned about balanced education between community-based instruction (instructions on functional skills) and general education classes. According to the ASED Chapter 1 Article 2-9, secondary students with ID should have education for future jobs and independent living skills. Furthermore, South Korea recently enacted laws for lifelong education for adults with disabilities in 2016. These laws strengthen the national responsibility for the lives of adults with disabilities (J. Kim, 2018; Doo-Young Kim et al., 2016). We suggest that future research examine how parents of middle school students with ID perceive these legal protections for their children's adult lives.

Confucian knowledge of social justice and morality. The mothers seemed to consider Confucian justice (i.e., harmony) when they were asked about their desires for inclusive education practices. People in Confucian society are likely to willingly suppress their personal desires for benefits of their group (S. K. Choi & Kim as cited by Haight et al., 2016). This is consistent with the mothers' suppression of the desires for inclusive education practices necessary to benefit their children with ID in inclusive classes, although they wanted to have those practices if possible. They were concerned about possible disadvantages of the other students (e.g., disruption of their learning) and teachers' difficulty in teaching many students at a time.

While Confucian justice values these mothers' suppression of their desires and does not justify advocacy for inclusive education practices, Rawls's justice supports the necessity of providing inclusive education practices. Rawls's justice is defined as fairness and pursues

benefits of all members of the society (Rawls, 1999). He contended that every member has inviolability that no one can invade even for all other people's good. Furthermore, Rawls's second principle of justice particularly rationalizes unequal distribution of resources to equally benefit all members. In short, Rawls's theory of justice would justify the mothers' advocacy for inclusive education practices for children with ID to gain benefits equally to the other students in inclusive school settings rather than merely being present in those settings.

The mothers' paradox. It might be seen as a paradox that the mothers chose to place their children with ID in general education classrooms while not wanting to demand inclusive education practices to avoid possible disadvantages to teachers and the other students. If they had consistently applied this reason (avoidance of possible disadvantages to others) to the placement of their children, it seems they should have chosen separate special schools rather than general education schools.

This paradox might be relevant to the mothers' risk-taking following their decision. Risk-taking refers to engagement in behaviors that might cause aversive consequences (Boyer, 2006). The mothers might weigh possible risks related to their demands for children's inclusion in general education classrooms (physical integration) and their requests for appropriate inclusive education practices for the children's academic and social development in the classrooms. Parents of children with disabilities in South Korea are given an opportunity to choose educational placement (general education schools, special schools) when the children advance to upper levels of schools (ASED Article 17-2, 2008). At this time parents' decision of educational *placement* is delivered to teachers in schools where children with ID are supposed to graduate soon.

Parents, however, are not given a formal opportunity to request provision of inclusive education *practices*. For this reason, parents are more likely to be concerned about aversive consequences that could be produced by the teachers' negative responses to their demands (e.g., emotional reaction, indifference or neglect of their children, gossiping about them). This suggests that the mothers might not want to demand inclusive education practices not merely because of their desire for Confucian justice (harmony), but because of their fear of possible risks of aversive consequences. We suggest that future research explores fear of parents of children with ID regarding their advocacy for inclusive education.

Mother-Desired Practices and Laws for Harmonious Inclusive Education

The mothers commonly desired that their children with ID enjoy the membership of a peer group in inclusive classrooms. This desire seems universal regardless of culture. Ryndak and colleagues (1995) reported that parents of students with disabilities were not satisfied only with physical integration. Layser and Kirk (2004) stated parents' concerns about social isolation of children with disabilities in inclusive settings. Carter (2019) suggested that inclusion should be advanced toward belonging that he defined as being invited, welcomed, known, accepted, supported, cared for, befriended, needed, and beloved by other people (Carter, 2016). Belonging could be also understood as being in social harmony, which is the ideal of Confucianism (Bell, 2015; Murphy & Weber, 2016; Y. B. Zhang et al., 2005).

Desires for teacher-led partnership. All of the mothers longed for teacher-initiated communication that provides them with information on school lives of their children with ID and professional advice on mothering. They wanted to know something more than their children's injuries and problems such as the children's progress, peer relationships, and good ways to support their children. This indicates that the mothers wanted teachers not only to protect their

children with ID but to reach out to the mothers in order to improve their children's development together.

The collaboration between parents and teachers, however, is a legal right of parents of children with disabilities in South Korea. The mothers could legally demand this collaboration. According to the ASED Chapter 4 Article 22 and Enforcement Rules of the ASED Article 4, IEP team members including parents should work together to make an IEP that consisted of the child's present academic level, goals, and methods of education, and an evaluation plan at the beginning of each semester. The results of an IEP should be sent to parents at the end of each semester. Although the mothers did not provide details on their involvement in an IEP, it appears that they did not consider their involvement in an IEP as their right that justifies (a) their requests for information on their child's school life (e.g., present academic and functional performance, progress, needs) and (b) collaboration with teachers for the child's development. This legal protection for parents' participation might be distant from the Confucian culture that emphasizes the importance of teachers' expertise and authority. As noted by Kalyanpur et al. (2000), this kind of culture leads to imbalanced power between parents and teachers, and thus, might be an obstacle to parental involvement in educational decision making. We suggest that future research examine how parents of children with ID in South Korea use their legal right to involvement in an IEP and how teachers perceive the parental involvement in educational decision making from the cultural perspective. In doing so, research might guide practical ways of embedding parents' right to involvement in educational decision making in South Korean culture.

It is notable that the mothers desired teacher leadership when they collaborate with teachers for their children's development. While the mothers noted their initiation of communication with teachers for protection of their children, they wanted to wait for teachers'

contact with them for the children's development without requesting it. This seems to indicate the mothers' desires for development of their children with ID but at the same time, seemed to show that their Confucian knowledge of disability, education, social justice, and morality would not justify requests for teachers' support for their children's development but rather guide them to wait for teachers' benevolent contact with them and benevolent practices for the children's development.

Desired laws for harmonious school. The mothers expressed the desire to have laws relevant to people who their children with ID meet in a general education school rather than laws for inclusive education practices. They wanted laws that mandate (a) hiring a sufficient number of licensed special education teachers, (b) rigorous disability awareness education for typically developing students, and (c) rigorous training for general education teachers. These laws seem relevant to improving the capacity of school members to equally include students with disabilities as the same members. In doing so, harmony in school would be promoted.

Conclusion

This research reported that seven mothers of middle school students with ID approached inclusive education laws and practices based on the Confucian culture in South Korea. These mothers showed a Confucian conception of justice (harmony), deficit-based perspective on disability, and a meritocratic approach to education. These Confucian approaches seemed to suppress the mothers' desires for inclusive education practices necessary for their children's academic and functional development and belonging to peer groups.

Limitation

This research has some limitations. We provided a limited number of excerpts due to page limits, but all excerpts relevant to each theme are available upon request. While we

expected to find specific inclusive education practices and laws that the mothers knew and desired to have for their children with ID, our data guided us to learn about their cultural approach to inclusive education. We added Confucianism to our initial theoretical framework (Rawls's theory of justice and the social model of disability) for better understanding of the cultural contents of the data during data analysis. Confucianism helped us understand the seven mothers' approach to inclusive education practices and law. We, however, acknowledge that those data might be differently interpreted using another theory. Furthermore, the results of this qualitative case study are limited to understanding the data that we collected from the seven participants.

Implication

The results of this research might inspire parent organizations in South Korea to envision what parents of children with ID desire regarding inclusive education and encourage them to advocate for the desires with a new paradigm. Furthermore, this research might challenge the current education policy of the education department in South Korea by suggesting the probability that parents of children with ID might not want separate special education, desiring for their children's genuine belonging to the group of typically developing children with appropriate inclusive education practices for social and academic outcomes.

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Table 1

Participants' Characteristics

Child with a Disability				Participant Parent					The Child's Sibling		
Name	Grade	Gender	Disability	Parent	Birth Year	Living City	Job	Religion	Grade	Gender	Disability
Amy	GM2	F	ID	Mother	1981	Area 1	Industry employee	Buddhism	GM3	M	No
Betty	GM2	F	ID	Mother	1976	Area 1	Service employee	Atheism	N/A	N/A	N/A
Caesar	GM3	M	ID								
Dori	GM2	F	ID, ASD	Mother	1974	Area 1	Postpartum helper	Atheism	GH2	M	No
Evan	GM2	M	ID, ASD	Mother	1977	Area 2	Personal assistant for people w/ disabilities	Atheism	GM1	M	No
Felicia	GM1	F	ID	Mother	Not stated	Area 1	Service employee	Protestantism	GE2	M	ID
Gus	GM3	M	ID	Mother	1977	Area 2	Housewife	Atheism	Colle--ge	M	No
Harry	GM2	M	ID	Mother	1977	Area 2	Personal assistant for people w/ disabilities	Protestantism	GE6	F	No
									Pre-school	M	No

Note. ASD = Autism spectrum disorder; ID = intellectual disability; F = female; M = male; GE = grade of elementary school; GM = grade of middle school; GH = grade of high school.

Table 2

Themes and Categories by Participants

Theme	Category	*n*	Participants						
			A	BC	D	E	F	G	H
Mother-teacher communication	Protection request with different intensity	6	x	x	x	x		x	x
	Subcategory 1: Mild intensity	3	x	x	x				
	Subcategory 2: Strong intensity	3				x		x	x
	Desires for teacher-initiated communication	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Subcategory 1: Provision of information on the child's school life	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Subcategory 2: Teachers' guidance of the mother's support for the child with ID	4	x		x			x	x
Particular knowledge that suppressed further desires for inclusive education	Desires for the child's belonging	5	x		x	x	x		x
	Place-and-hope for social outcomes	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Deficit-based moral approach to academic supports	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	The mother-held concerns about the child's adult life	5	x		x	x	x	x	
Culture-based advocacy for inclusive education	Low practical value of legal tools	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Common use of cultural tools	7	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
	Desired laws for better school contexts	5	x		x	x		x	x

Note. A = Amy's mother; BC = the mother of Betty and Caesar; D = Dori's mother; E = Evan's mother; F = Felicia's mother; G = Gus's mother; H = Harry's mother; ID = intellectual disability

Appendix A

Interview Scripts

We used semi-structured and open-ended interview questions that we developed based on our research questions. Questions followed by a bullet point were the interview questions. The first author asked these questions in Korean during interviews.

Research Question 1: What do parents know about legal protections for inclusive education of students with ID?

- 어떤 법이 지적장애 자녀가 통합학급에서 학습할 수 있도록 보장한다고 생각하십니까? [What laws do you think ensure that your child learn in an inclusive classroom?]

Research Question 2: What laws do parents want to have for inclusive education of students with ID?

- 통합학급 교실에서 지적장애 자녀의 교육을 지원하기 위해서 법이 어떻게 변하였으면 좋겠습니까? [What changes to laws would you like to have to support your child's education in an inclusive classroom]?
- 통합학급 교실에서 지적장애 자녀의 교육을 지원하기 위해서 어떤 법이 새로 생겼으면 좋겠습니까? [What new laws would you like to have to support your child's education in an inclusive classroom]?

Research Question 3: What do parents know about inclusive education practices for middle school students with ID?

- 지적장애 자녀가 일반학급 학생들에게 제공되는 모든 활동에 참여하도록 학교는 무엇을 지원하고 있습니까? [What does your child's school do to help him/her participate in all the activities provided to the class students]?
- Follow-up question: 사회 시간에 당신의 자녀가 의미있게 참여하도록 학교는 어떤 지원을 제공합니까? [What supports does your school provide for your child to be meaningfully included in social studies classes? (I will ask about the school's supports in different subject classes including science, math, Korean, art, and music classes)
- Follow-up question: 자녀가 또래와 함께 방과후 활동에 참여하도록 학교는 어떤 도움을 주고 있습니까? [What does your school do to help your child participate in after school activities]?

Research Question 4: What inclusive education practices do parents want to be implemented for students with ID?

- 자녀의 성공적인 통합교육을 위해 무엇이 필요할 것 같습니까? [What would your child need to be successful in an inclusive classroom]?
- 통합학급 교실에서 자녀가 학습할 수 있도록 어떤 교육적 방법이 실행되었으면 좋겠습니까? [What educational practices would you like to have implemented to support your child in an inclusive classroom]?

Appendix B

An Example of Interview Transcripts and Open Codes

We used both Korean and English interview transcripts when we conducted open coding as below. The first author conducted open coding using the Korean transcripts and put open codes in English alongside relevant data. The second author read the English transcripts and the codes to review if the codes represented translated data.

1st interviewee (child's pseudonym: Amy)			6
[Q] 어머님 말씀은 통합 수업을 받으면 안된다는 법이 없으니까 당연히	*[Q] Did you mean it is natural that students with disabilities*		
받을 수 있는거고 그게 거부되면 개인의 자유를 침해했기 때문에	*take inclusive classes because there's no law prohibiting that,*		
인권과 관련됐다 이렇게 말씀하시는 거죠?	*and if it is refused, then the case is relevant to a violation of a*		
네	*human right because an individual's right to freedom is*		
[Q] 그러면은 어머니, Amy 이의 통합학급에서 수업을 효율적으로 좀더	*violated?*		
적극적으로 정부에서 법적으로 지원해줄 수 있다면 어떤 법이 있으면	Yes.		
좋겠어요?	*[Q] Then, what law would you want to have for Amy to learn*	A separate class for	
그게 어려운것 같긴 한데	*effectively in inclusive classes?*	students who cannot	
[Q] 그쵸 그럼 어머님 생각해보세요, Amy 이가 수학시간에 일반학급에	It sounds hard.	show academic	
다른 애들이랑 앉아있어요 어떤 지원이 있으면 좋겠어요?	*[Q] Yeah, it does. Then, think about this. Amy is sitting with*	achievement due to low	
거기까지는 생각을 안해봤는데, 확실하게는 아닌데, 근데 개인인거	*peers in math class in a general education classroom. What*	intellectual functioning	
같아요. 근데 개인이 만약에 애기들 마다 인지능력이 떨어지는 애가	*supports would you like to have for Amy?*		
있으니까 얘가 이 수업을 들을수 있고 **이 수업을 못 푸는 친구들도**	I didn't think about it. I'm not sure. I think it depends on the	I hate separate classes	
있을거고 이거를 생소하게 생각하는 친구가 있을거에요. 그래서	kids. Some kids (kids with disabilities) can solve math		
분리수업도 하겠지만 근데 **그게 싫어서 통합을 하는 거니까** 저는	problems by themselves, but **others cannot solve the**	Want Inclusive classes to	
개인적으로 선생님한테도 그랬거든요 얘가 이제 얘에 대해서 알고	**problems because of their low intellectual functioning.**	pass by (*Don't care my*	
있으니까 엄마지만 얘에 대해서 좀 알잖아요 그니까 얘가 분명히	**These would be separate classes for them.** You know, but I	*kid*)	
수학이라는 이런 문제는 풀기 어려워하고 **그냥 물흐르듯이 그냥**	do inclusion (inclusive education) because **I hate separate**		
수업시간이 지나갔으면 좋겠다 그렇게 진행을 하기 때문에 크게 그렇게	**classes**. I personally told the teacher (inclusive classroom		
까지 법적으로 뭘 지원해주고 그런거는 아니구요 **만약에 이제 만약에**	teacher) that **I just wanted the class passes by as if water**		
이제 그런거는 했었죠. 학교에서 초등학교 때 얘기지만 선생님께서	**flows** because I know about Amy, I mean I know Amy has		
대게 좋으셨거든요 끝나고 와 선생님이 언제든지 알려줄게 그런거는	difficulties solving math problems. Because Amy's classes are		
있었어요 그런게 대게 좋았는데 여기는 아무래도 중학교고 애가	run in that way, there's nothing to do with legal supports. But		
컸다보니 그런데 교실에 가기 싫어하는 눈치고, 만약에 얘가 그렇게	**if, if possible**, I think this would be good. When Amy was		
아니고 그러면 좋긴한데 가는걸 싫어하는 거니까, **그냥 물흐르듯이**	attending an elementary school, a teacher was very good.		
갔으면 좋겠어요. 법적으로 저는 거기까지 생각을 안해봤기 때문에	The teacher told Amy, "Come to me anytime. Then I will		
그 수업안에서 지나가듯이. **그 분위기를 망치거나 그러면 안되겠지만**	teach you." I liked it so much. It was very good. But because		
망치지 않고 수업에 같이 하면 크게 다른 친구들한테 지장이 없을 것	Amy is now attending a middle school, and she seems to hate		
같아요.	going to a separate classroom, I hope [inclusive classes] pass		
[Q] 지금 좋은 선생님에 대해 말씀해 주셨는데, 교사들에게 법적인	by **just like water flows**. I've never thought about the laws	Mom's feeling okay to be	
의무가 생기면 모든 교사가 수업시간에 아이를 지원하지 않을까요?	about this issue.	with peers in class	
그렇죠.	**She should not disrupt classes** though. I think **it would be**	without disruption (no	
	okay that she be with peers in class without disrupting it.	need of supplemental	
	[Q] You talked about a good teacher. Don't you think that all	support)	
	teachers would support kids with disabilities in class if they		
	have legal duties?		
	Yes, I think so.		