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WON PYO HONG

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**CURRICULUM ABOUT OTHERS, CURRICULUM OF OTHERING: ASIA IN
TWO AMERICAN CLASSROOMS**

By

Won Pyo Hong

A DISSERTATION

**Submitted to
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ABSTRACT

CURRICULUM ABOUT OTHERS, CURRICULUM OF OTHERING

By

Won Pyo Hong

This study investigates how Asia is taught, what conceptions and knowledge of Asia are produced and what socio-cultural implications are embedded in the classroom teaching about Asia. Focused on Asia, this study suggests the significance of rethinking the curriculum about others in this global society: how to invite other cultures and societies into the school curriculum and how to engage students with others who appear to be different from them.

Through qualitative data from two secondary social studies classrooms, this study explores what teachers' main goals are in teaching about Asia, how their curriculum is organized and where Asia is located in it, what kinds of teaching materials and resources are used, and how students' knowledge and perceptions of Asia have (or have not) been changed through their learning.

Major findings show that the curriculum about Asia is based on the epistemology of Othering which divides West and East, familiar and unfamiliar, civilized and uncivilized. It also turns out that there is a significant gap between teachers' personal goals for instruction and students' perceptions about Asia, the latter of which are often influenced by mass media and popular culture. Based on these findings, this study examines why and how the curriculum about Asia becomes a curriculum of Othering, exploring alternative, more democratic, and postcolonial ways of teaching about other cultures and peoples.

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WON PYO HONG

2008

DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to
my wife Young-Joo Cho and our families in Korea
including
Young-Joo's parents, her brother and sister,
and my mom and my brothers and sister.

My wife has stayed with me during the difficult times
with the warmest support, hardest criticism at times, but
with her never-changing love.

Our families in Korea have understood me for a long,
even though I could not fulfill my responsibilities
as a son, son-in-law, cousin and brother.

Thank you all.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL BACKGROUNDS

Based on qualitative data from two secondary classrooms, this study investigates how Asia is taught, what conceptions and knowledge of Asians and Asian cultures are produced and what socio-cultural implications are embedded in the classroom teaching about Asia. By investigating the curriculum about Asia, it intends to suggest the significance of rethinking the curriculum about others in this global society: how to invite other cultures and societies into the school curriculum and how to engage students with others who appear to be different from them.

My interest in this topic has been extended from a personal experience in my first semester as a doctoral student in the U.S. It was a seemingly small incident, but its impacts on my identity and on the direction of my study have been profound. One day, in a seminar course, the class was reviewing educational artifacts related to the history of American education. The Army Intelligence Test used during World War II was one of those artifacts, containing questions such as “People hear with the: 1) eyes 2) ears 3) nose 4) mouth” (Ears should be underlined). What struck me was the question: “The number of a Korean’s legs is: 1) two 2) four 3) six 4) eight.” I was deeply struck when I happened to see this question, which made me ponder over many related questions—how could it ask whether a “Korean” is a person or an animal? What made this kind of question possible? Is this part of past racism, or is this kind of social perception still prevalent? These were not just intellectual questions but

also emotional ones, since, for the first time in my life, I came to wonder about my identity and position as an Asian male.

At first, these were just personal questions, not regarded as research questions in a serious sense. However, when I considered the prejudice and bias that South Asians, Arabs and Blacks experience in Korea, I came to realize that racial bias is not just a problem in Whites' recognition of others, but is rooted more deeply in our sense-making system. In Korea, there are many American instructors who teach English in various institutions, but I have never seen a Black person teach English. In 2005, there were more than 300,000 immigrant workers from South Asian countries such as India, Nepal, Bhutan, or Vietnam many of whom suffer not only from unfair treatment but also from racial prejudice and discrimination. In the case of Arabs, they are almost invisible in Korea, and many Koreans' recognition of Arabs seems to be largely influenced by what Edward Said (1978) called *Orientalism*—bizarre, mystic people who are obstacles to world peace, but who unfortunately have oil. It was not only an eye opener but also a painful realization to see that racial minorities' suffering in Korea must be incomparably more serious than that caused by an old IQ test question. Through this experience and the subsequent deliberations, I came to realize that the concern Said (1978) expressed almost thirty years ago still remains significant today when the world is getting closer, namely “how one can study other cultures and peoples from a libertarian, or a non-repressive and non-manipulative perspective” (p. 24).

Rethinking Teaching about Others in a Global Society

Many people would agree that globalization is one of the most significant changes in the environment inside and outside schools in the last several decades. Since Marshall McLuhan coined the term the “global village” in the early 1960s, globalization and its impacts have become increasingly visible in many aspects of human life. Its impact is not isolated in a few areas such as the economy, communication and transportation. Rather, globalization has infused almost every aspect of our lives, causing a more holistic and fundamental reconfiguration of human societies (Friedman, 2005; Held & McGrew, 2002; Steger, 2003). In a sense, globalization is not just a matter of changes in social institutions, but represents a new *modus vivendi*. As a result, responding to globalization is not limited any more to the hands of a few groups such as business leaders, politicians and futurists (Friedman, 2005; Steger, 2003; Tye, 1991). Rather, as more diverse people and goods become visible in local communities and as individuals’ job security often depends on people thousands of miles away, how to handle the changing environment is becoming a task of ordinary people.

Thus, a growing number of people have insisted that schools respond more actively to this new human condition. In a social institution where the primary task is to prepare students to be responsible and guided members of their communities, it seems inevitable that schools rearrange their practices to be better aligned with the changing environment (Case, 1993; Kirkwood, 2001a; Kniep, 1986; Merryfield 2001). In particular, how to address other peoples and

cultures in school curriculum seems to be one of the key issues that require a substantial reconsideration in this globalizing world. As a major location of producing knowledge and imagination about the world, schools create, distribute and reproduce specific images and perceptions of other peoples and societies, encouraging students to develop specific emotional and behavioral responses to them. As such, future generations of a society get a sense of what to know, how to perceive and respond to others through what they have learned in schools. Therefore, whom and what to teach, how and for what purposes in school curriculum are not slight issues, considering the deep impacts that they have on students' knowledge and perceptions of other peoples and societies.

Especially, how to deconstruct the binary distinction underlying the school curriculum seems to be an important topic in rethinking the curriculum about others. We often observe people divide the world between “us” and “them,” East and West, North and South, or the developed and the underdeveloped. In this binary distinction, “we” are defined as civilized, natural, rational, and intelligent while “they” tend to be depicted as uncivilized, strange, exotic, ignorant, and even dangerous (Hall, 1997; Merryfield, 2001, Said, 1978). School curriculum has not only been influenced by this dominant framework of interpretation but also has contributed to essentializing and naturalizing it by transmitting it to future generations (Willinsky, 1999). If this is the case, the epistemology of Othering in the wider society and in the school curriculum seems to be a significant obstacle for students to develop dispositions and capacities required to be responsible global citizens. Whereas people have emphasized the importance of

collaboration, open-mindedness and cross-cultural understanding (Case, 1993; Kirkwood, 2001a; Kniep, 1986), many parts of the school curriculum about others still seem to be based on the legacy of colonial perspectives (Hurren, 2000; Kanu, 2006; Merryfield, 2001; Willinsky, 1999).

Why the Curriculum about Asia?

The curriculum about Asia seems to be a relevant location for rethinking teaching about others in a global context. Asia is known to be the world largest and the most complex continent. It has about fifty countries and four billion people, and is home to about 60 percent of the world population. Encyclopedia Britannica (2007) states, 'Asia is the world's largest and most diverse continent' including a wide range of ethnic, cultural, religious and geographic diversities (p. 630). The U.S. has been entangled in complicated ways with this huge continent, as it is currently engaged in two wars there – Iraq and Afghanistan – and had also been involved in many political conflicts in Asia.

On the other hand, the economic, political and cultural interconnections between the U.S. and Asia have dramatically increased in the stream of globalization. China has become the world's third-largest exporter and third-largest importer, and one of the most important economic partners of the U.S. While General Motors' sales have decreased in the domestic market, its sales in China have been soaring, becoming the No. 1 seller of passenger cars in 2006. It was estimated that General Electric's total sales in China would near 5 billion dollars in 2005 (People's Daily Online, 2003). Japan, South Korea and Taiwan

have also been significant economic partners of the U.S. The ties between the U.S. and Asian countries are not limited to the economic sector. Japanese cartoons and video games have become one of the most popular cultural items among American youth. We can often see Asian characters in TV commercials, dramas and movies. Chinese food and Tae Kwon Do (Korean martial arts) have become part of many Americans' daily lives. In terms of human exchange, in 1995, of the 720,000 new immigrants that came to the United States, 268,000 were from Asia and the Pacific Islands. The number of Asian American school age children and youth increased from 212,900 in 1980 to about two million in 2007, four percent of the total students enrolled in K-12 public schools (Kim & Yeh 2002; NCES, 2007).

Despite the growing political, economic and cultural ties between the U.S. and Asia, researchers have argued that Asian cultures are still absent from American classrooms and Asians are often misrepresented or stereotyped in American society (Harada, 1994, 2001; Lee, 1996; Min, 1995; Nakayama, 1994; Shah, 2003). From the early history of immigration when Chinese workers were brought to California to provide cheap labor for mining and railroad construction during the later 19th century, and when Japanese and Korean workers were imported to sugarcane plants in Hawaii and later to California, Asians were regarded more as the *Yellow Peril* than as partners and friends of white Americans (Hamamoto, 1994; Min, 1995). This hostility against Asians culminated in the enactment of *The Chinese Exclusion Act* in 1882 and *The Immigration Act* in 1924, barring any Asian nationals from entering the U.S. and

prohibiting miscegenation between Asians and Americans (Chen, 1996; Hamamoto, 1994; Min, 1995; Shah, 2003). This ethnic barrier was removed in 1965 when laws governing Asian immigration were finally liberalized, resulting in a huge wave of Asian immigrants into the U.S. The Asian population in the U.S. increased by approximately 143% from 1970 to 1980 (Harada, 1994) and the number of Asian Americans grew to 13.5 million, more than four percent of the total American population in 2003.

To respond to the growing significance of Asia, there have been recent efforts to develop various types of curriculum resources that teachers can use in teaching about Asia (Bernson, 1998; Fenton, 1988; Kirkwood & Benton 2002). Researchers have also examined the unique challenges that Asian American students face in schools and in their family lives (Chuong, 1999; Lee, 1996; Lew, 2006). However, many American students still lack basic knowledge and understanding of Asia (National Commission on Asia in the Schools 2001). For example, a survey in 2006 found that after more than three years of combat and nearly 2,400 U.S. military deaths in Iraq, nearly two-thirds of Americans aged 18 to 24 still cannot find Iraq on a map (The National Geographic Education Foundation, 2006). Further, there has been no significant research effort to explore how Asia is taught and why in practice.

There is another body of research that shows Asians and Asian Americans tend to be perceived through distorted and biased images in American society. Investigating adolescent fiction and high school history textbooks, Harada (1994, 2001), for example, argues that Asians are often

depicted as obedient people lacking leadership in history and Asian adolescents as “sinister, mysterious, expressionless, heathen, sly,” striving to be like their white counterparts. Researchers of media studies have shown that Asian women tend to be stereotyped as either “sexy China dolls” or “evil Dragon Ladies,” while Asian men are often portrayed as desexualized, untrustworthy, and inscrutable (Chen, 1996, Hamamoto, 1994; Marchetti, 1993; Shah, 2003). Even the model minority image which represents Asian Americans as an exceptional minority who achieved a higher degree of success in a short period has been pointed out to be problematic. It has been argued that the model minority stereotype essentializes Asian Americans and thus ignores the inner diversities and gaps among them (Kim & Yeh, 2002; Lee 1996, Min, 1995). The model minority stereotype, for example, does not show that Asian workers receive smaller economic rewards for their education than white workers, and the high median family income conceals the fact that Asian families have more workers than Whites (Min, 1995). More seriously, the image of successful Asian Americans can be misused by mainstream Whites to blame other less successful minority groups for their own failure, while legitimatizing the American social structures.

Considering this problematic gap between the growing visibility of Asia and the under/misrepresentation of it, investigating the classroom teaching about Asia and its connection wider social perceptions is expected to provide a useful location to revisit the curriculum about others in this globalizing world. Below, I provide major topics in detail that this study will address. By investigating these topics, this study explores how to envision and experiment with new ways of

bringing others into school curriculum, new ways of making sense of and building relationships with them.

Major Topics and Questions

1. The classroom construction of Asia

- How is Asia defined in school curriculum? When is it taught and how much time is allocated for the Asia unit? What do teachers consider in making these curricular decisions?
- Which countries or topics receive more attention, which are marginalized, and what makes this difference? Are different countries taught to receive similar images, or are they perceived through different frameworks, and why?
- How is Asia, as a whole, represented by the classroom teaching about it? What kinds of images and notions of Asia are produced? How is the relationship between the U.S. and Asia defined and how are students positioned within this relationship?

2. The pedagogy of Asia

- What are teachers' goals in teaching about Asia? What do they believe students need to know about Asians and Asian cultures? How do teacher goals influence their enacted curriculum? Are teacher goals achieved through their actual teaching? If not, why?

- What are major curricular resources used in teaching about Asia?
What is considered in teachers' selection of teaching materials, and how do those materials influence students' learning about Asia?
- What are some of the consequences of current classroom teaching about Asia? What are students' responses to teachers' curriculum? Do they feel that their knowledge and understandings of Asia have changed or deepened through their learning? If not, why?

3. Socio-cultural implications of the curriculum about Asia

- How is the classroom teaching about Asia aligned with socio-political and cultural frameworks in making sense of the world, of the relationship between the East and West, and the U.S. and Asia?
- Is the dominant social perception of Asia similar or different from what teachers want their students to know about Asia? Between teacher goals and social perceptions, which is more influential in the curriculum about Asia, and why?
- What kinds of images and notions of Asia do students bring into their classroom? What are main sources of their preconceptions of Asia and how do they influence teachers' curriculum about Asia?

Theoretical Backgrounds

In investigating the above topics and questions, global education, cultural studies and postcolonialism are expected to provide relevant theoretical backgrounds. Theories and practices in global education are referred to

throughout this study, considering that the classroom teaching about Asia can be regarded as part of global education. Also, the major question posed in this study—how to engage students with other peoples and cultures—is one of the primary concerns among global educators. Cultural studies and postcolonialism were employed from outside of education, since they seem to be relevant for investigating school curriculum within a global context. If cultural studies helps me investigate the curriculum about Asia as cultural and political text, postcolonialism interrogates ideological and colonial assumptions underlying the classroom teaching about Asia.

Theory and Practice in Global Education

As a systematic educational response to the changing world, global education can be traced back to the late 1970s and early 1980s, when Americans began to realize that their schools should pay more attention to what was happening outside their country (Anderson, 1991; Merryfield, 2001). In international trade, American products began to lose their competitive powers to Japan, which made many Americans believe that underperforming schools were the primary cause of declining market shares and unequal trade balances with Japan. As a result, people began to insist that to maintain the leading role in world economy and politics, American schools should teach students more knowledge of world geography and history and provide them a better ability to speak foreign languages (American Council on Education, 1998). Inside schools, teachers began to observe that more students bring diverse experiences and cultural identities into classrooms and that the possibilities of their economic,

social and personal well-being will be largely determined by new social conditions created by the rapidly interconnecting world.

Within this context, how to prepare students to be informed and responsible members of the changing world began to emerge as a new task of public schools. What do students need to know to be responsible global members? How to define global knowledge and dispositions? What and how to teach so that students acquire such knowledge and dispositions? To address this task, researchers and educators have attempted to establish content areas and pedagogical approaches under the framework of global education (Alger & Harf, 1986; Hanvey, 1976; Kniep, 1989). There have been attempts to delineate the content areas of global education (Case, 1993; Hanvey, 1976; Merryfield & White, 1996), which has influenced school curriculum through curriculum frameworks, content guidelines and position statements developed by states and professional organizations such as NCSS (National Council for the Social Studies). Also, scholars have tried to find teaching strategies appropriate for global education, emphasizing the importance of multiple perspective-thinking, multi-disciplinary learning, self-inquiry, and cross-cultural experiences (Byrnes, 1997; Case, 1993; Heilman, 2006; Kirkwood, 2001a; Kniep, 1986; Merryfield, 1998, 2001).

However, even though many people agree with the necessity of global education, there is no clear answer as to what and how to teach, and more importantly, for what purposes. Popekewitz (1980), for example, argued that global education is more like a “slogan” affiliating loosely-related practices rather

than a tightly-defined field. Lamy (1991) agrees that controversies over how to implement global education and why are often complicated with more fundamental differences in worldviews:

The controversy surrounding the promotion of global education in schools is more than just a difference of opinion about how to teach and what should be taught. It is a dispute over images and the realities of power, authority, and agenda setting in both domestic and international politics. The participants in this dispute see the world quite differently. They disagree over the structure of the international system, the salience of issues, and the very language and value used to define the international system. This conflict is spilling over into the schools because individuals and interest groups do not agree on an agenda for civic education (pp. 55-56).

Because of this complicated nature of global education, scholars have identified contending voices on how schools should respond to the changing world. Lamy (1991), for example, contrasts the neomercantilist view and the communitarian view. If neomercantilists view globalization as an “anarchic and competitive international system where self-interest rules and where chances for cooperation are limited” (Lamy, 1991, p. 58), communitarians emphasize the necessity of global cooperation, multilateralism and burden-sharing to handle global issues and challenges. This difference in viewing the global reality results in different emphases on the role of education. That is, people on the neomercantilist side tend to demand that schools prepare students to better

compete in the international market-place, whereas those on the communitarian side believe that global education should prepare students to get along with people from different cultures and traditions.

Adding to the mix, Spring (2004) explores three major approaches to global education: neoliberal educational ideology, human rights education and environmentalism. Heilam (2006) provides a more extensive distinction, identifying seven ethical rationales for global education including duty ethics, ethics of virtue or care, theories of justice, political liberalism, ethical egoism, and neoliberalism. Recently, Gaudelli (2006) provides another distinction useful for understanding the contested voices within global education. Addressing the topic of global citizenship education, he distinguishes four contending positions on the nature of global realities and the purpose of global education: competitive institutional, competitive deinstitutional, cooperative institutional, and cooperative deinstitutional.

According to Gaudelli (2006), competitive institutionalists insist that civic identity is first and foremost a matter for nations and their citizens. Advocates of this vision ascribe great importance to the sovereignty of nation-states and citizens' loyalty to national governments. People on this side also argue that globalization, particularly of an economic order, is already at work and thus governments and institutions have to adjust themselves to better protect national interests and security in a new environment. As we can see in the neoconservative rhetoric, competitive institutionalists emphasize that the significance of the nation-state is still valid in the era of globalization, and thus

public schools should infuse national cohesion and cultural patriotism (Apple, 1993; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1994).

Competitive deinstitutionalists, on the other hand, represent the position of transnational corporations and supporters of global free-market system. They insist that corporations are more important players than the nation-state in a global world, and money, ideas and goods should be allowed to cross national borders without obstacles. Therefore, according to this position, while minimizing direct interventions over the market, governments should create more friendly environments for corporations so that they can maximize their profits. If the first view represents the position of ideological conservatives, this position seems to represent neoliberals who argue that schools teach knowledge and skills necessary for student to secure their job in a knowledge-based global economy. People on this side further argue that public school should be reformed according to business models in a free market system. As a result, we've heard such catch-phrases as accountability, efficiency, competition, consumer choice, and privatization of public institutions including schools (Burbules & Torres, 2000; Lipman, 2004; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001).

In contrast to the two above visions, cooperative institutionalists envision a new global governing system based on supranational agencies and international standards. Advocates of this vision contend that our planet faces urgent global challenges such as climate change, desertification, food crisis, extinction of species/biodiversity, and energy issues which cannot be solved within a nation-state but require another form of global governance. They also argue that to end

violence and inhumane treatment, which still occur in many parts of the world, international organizations and standards—e.g., the United Nations and its sub-agencies, IAEA (International Atomic Energy Agency), ICC (International Criminal Court), Geneva Convention, U.N. Declaration of Universal Human Rights—should be more empowered and have enforcing power. With regard to the direction of global education, cooperative institutionalists are likely to argue that we need to go beyond “my country is right or wrong” dualism (Lamy, 1991, p. 52) and envision a new global governing system based on universal human rights and global standards.

Lastly, in Gaudelli (2006)’s classification, cooperative deinstitutionalists place a stronger emphasis on global grass-root efforts and active participation by responsible citizens. Advocates of this position argue that what brings about a more democratic, equitable and better world is not institutions but individual citizens who have global awareness and responsibilities. As such, they argue that the public should pay more attention to global justice and that schools encourage students to participate in various types of activities to enhance global human rights and fair trade. If one admits that institutional efforts to make a better world cannot be successful without the participation of global citizens, he/she is on the side of cooperative deinstitutionalists.

The above arguments about the role and direction of global education would help me investigate classroom teaching about Asia within a global context. I believe the curriculum about Asia has not emerged from a vacuum but a product of specific interpretations about the world and the educational responses

to it. Therefore, to better understand the teaching and learning about Asia, I need to investigate teachers' position about the globalizing world and its impact on their curriculum. Especially, the above summary of different visions on global education will help me explore how various factors related to school curriculum interact with each other to produce a specific way of addressing Asia. The curriculum about Asia cannot be determined by any single factor, but produced through compromise among related factors such as teachers' goals, students' preconceptions, general perceptions of Asia, local contexts of schools, and curricular materials. Contested voices on the nature and direction of global education would help me understand how potential conflicts among these factors play out in reality.

Cultural Studies

If global education provides an overarching framework for investigating school curriculum within a global context, cultural studies helps me examine the socio-cultural and political assumptions on which the curriculum about Asia is based. It is expected to provide a lens to see the teaching and learning of Asia not just as a pedagogical text but also as cultural text. In reality, however, cultural studies is more like a combination of multidisciplinary approaches rather than a set of fixed theory. It has grown out of multiple perspectives and methods such as Marxist theory, psychoanalysis, feminism, cultural anthropology, and literary theory (During, 1999; Nelson, Treicher & Grossberg, 1992). As I am interested in the intersection between the curriculum about Asia and the wider social discourse on it, I draw upon the symbolic approach as a primary perspective in

this study. Influenced by constructivism and semiotics, this approach sees a society's culture more as its network of meaning-making system than the physical artifacts or historical relics that the society produces (Barthes, 1998; Hall, 1992, 1997; Nelson, Treicher & Grossberg, 1992). According to Stuart Hall (1997), for example, people give meanings to objects, other peoples and events by specific frameworks of interpretation which they bring to them. He argues that this framework of representing the world is not decided by a few sources but is produced, reproduced and revised inter-textually through various kinds of socio-cultural media —TV shows, news, movies, pictures, exhibitions, images, gestures, formal and informal conversations, education, and so on — which he collectively calls “a system of representation” (Hall, 1997, p. 17). Meaning-making practices are not decided by a few individuals, nor do they originate from a specific center and flow to other parts of a society. Rather, various cultural sectors are interacting with each other to maintain, circulate and expand more or less shared ways of making sense of the world. Hall (1997) underlines that this system of representation not only “rules in” certain ways of talking about a topic, defining an acceptable and intelligible way to talk, write or conduct oneself, but it also “rules out,” limits and restricts other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it (p. 44).

One thing that is implied in the symbolic approach to cultural studies is that, as the relationship between the signifier and the signified is arbitrary in language, what we know and believe about others is not inherent to them but created and constructed by our own framework of interpretation which we apply

to them. What is unique in the arbitrariness in recognizing other cultures and societies is that, as Barthes (1998) argues, it often implies political and ideological concerns. For example, there is little, if any, room for political motivations to intervene between a signifier, e.g. *a tree*, and a signified, *the concept of a tree*. However, if a signifier is other people or cultures, e.g. China or Chinese culture, what comes to our minds when we hear these words is not value neutral but is more likely to be constructed and influenced by our own sense-making frameworks. In daily lives, we tend to believe that what we know about others and how we speak about them is natural and legitimate, whereas other ways are awkward and uncomfortable. As noted above, this belief is validated and supported by various socio-cultural media and practices. However, when we are aware that what we believe to be true about others is in fact not given but constructed by our own sense-making system, we come to raise many new questions—who decides what can and what cannot be said about whom and by what motivation, whose power is implemented, whose voice is legitimized, and how have these been changed over time? As Barthes (1998) points out, if the essential function of cultural myth is turning history into nature and making itself given and innocent, the linguistic turn in cultural studies attempts to *denaturalize* the myth by troubling the underlying power and ideology.

The above summary of cultural studies provides two implications relevant for this study. First, it makes it clear that the major task of this study is not comparing the Asia represented in American classrooms with a *real* Asia which is *there*. Using the linguistic approach, this is an unlikely project, for we cannot go

outside language to see the *real* Asia. However we define Asia, Asia is a symbol, not a tangible object. Thus, what we have are diverse meanings of Asia constructed by different frameworks of interpretation, not a fixed Asia by which we can assess the correspondence of each framework. Even the fact that I am a Korean does not guarantee that my understanding of Asia is more correct than those held by others. My perception of Asia is just one among various cultural constructs, which has been largely influenced by Korean culture which is quite nationalistic and ethnocentric.

As such, even though it might be possible and productive to compare and evaluate different ways of making sense of Asia, it is not a primary focus of this study. Rather, borrowing Lutz and Collins' (1993) term, I am more interested in the "imaginative spaces" that Asian countries occupy and the tropes and stories that organize their existence in American classrooms (p. 2). In this sense, this study is more about the American construction of Asia and its politics than about Asia itself. However, this does not mean that I will ignore potential misrepresentations or incorrect information about Asia among teachers and students. It is undeniable that I had lived in Korea for more than thirty years and I have more knowledge about Asia than people who have not experienced Asian cultures. Rather, my point here is that the purpose of this study is not showing how Asia is misrepresented in classrooms—if ever—but investigating what kinds of socio-political and ideological stances make those errors possible.

Another point that needs to be mentioned here is the potential dilemma in using such geographic terms as "Asia," "East Asia", "Asian cultures," and

“Asians.” As Lewis and Wigen (1997) did, this study intends to reveal the arbitrariness of the dominant geographic frameworks by applying the cultural studies perspective to geography. As such, one of my purposes in this study is questioning the standard ways of dividing the world into the nation-state and continental divisions. I will argue that the dominant geographic frameworks are often based on the Eurocentric worldview and thus they can be an obstacle for reestablishing relationships among world peoples and cultures. However, my problem in this study is that I have to use the very geographic terms that I would like to deconstruct. For example, readers will see that I use the term “Asia” at times to argue that “Asia” in fact does not exist and thus is not a relevant category of learning. Therefore, it needs to be clarified that, even though I follow standard geographic terms, my intention in this study is to reveal the colonial concerns embedded in those terms, not approving not approving of them or reifying them through use.

A second implication from the cultural studies perspective is that it opens up a possibility of investigating the classroom teaching about Asia not just as a pedagogical practice but also as a cultural phenomenon. Needless to say, teaching and learning about Asia is an educational practice between teachers and students, and it aims to enhance student’s knowledge and understanding of Asia. However, pedagogical considerations about what students need to know about Asia, which topics to emphasize, and to which countries to pay more attention are decided within socio-cultural contexts as well. Also, we need to note that classrooms can be regarded as a location of transmitting “official knowledge”

that a society wants next generations to remember about certain issues and events (Apple, 1989). Therefore, classroom teaching about Asia needs to be examined not as an isolated or accidental incident but more as part of a broader social signification of Asia. That is, how to see and what to remember about Asia is not just determined by teachers and students but it becomes possible and is supported by broader cultural frameworks used in making sense of Asia. This implies that, to better understand the classroom teaching about Asia, I need to examine it in light of the wider social representation of Asia.

For this, I will explore what kinds of preconceptions of Asians and Asian cultures students bring into their classrooms and what origins are of those preconceptions. I will also investigate how Asia has been represented in wider society and how the representation influences teachers' perceptions of and their teaching about Asia. In particular, I am interested in potential conflicts between teachers' personal goals in teaching about Asia and general perceptions of it. That is, do teachers agree with the social perceptions of Asia and want to reproduce them through their teaching? Or do they want to challenge the dominant perceptions and explore new knowledge and understanding about Asia? If the latter is case, what is the final result of their enacted curriculum? Are they able to achieve their teaching goals? If not, why?

Postcolonialism

If cultural studies contributes to investigating the classroom teaching about Asia as part of wider meaning-making system, postcolonialism provides a lens to examine political concerns embedded in that system. According postcolonialism,

the colonial framework of recognizing other peoples and cultures, which had legitimized physical exploitation during the colonial period, still remains and influences the Westerners' perception of the non-Whites even after the colonizers moved back to their countries (During, 1998; Merryfield, 2001; Parry, 1995; Said, 1978; Slemon, 1995; Willinsky, 1999; Xie, 1997). In other words, colonialism became possible not just through physical exploitation but was supported by ideological manipulation—the latter is still prevalent, with more articulated and refined forms, even after the former was over. As such, postcolonialism underscores that examining and deconstructing colonialism and its effects still holds good even today.

For example, in his classic work, *Orientalism*, Said (1978) investigates how violence and domination over the Orient by Westerners was (is) justified by a symbolic distinction between us, Westerners and them, Orientals. According to him, this binary opposition is never neutral, for they, Orientals, should be irrational, fallen, childlike, and backward, because we, Europeans, are rational, matured, intelligent, and civilized. Under this distinction, we are “normal” and thus obliged to “emancipate” the ignorant and uncivil others. However, he contends that this colonial epistemology is arbitrary and asymmetrical, since:

Imaginative geography of the “our land-barbarian land” variety does not require that the barbarians acknowledge the distinction. It is enough for “us” to set up these boundaries in our own minds; “they” become “they” accordingly, and both their territory and their mentality are designated as different from “ours” (p. 54).

As Willinsky (1999) and Lutz and Collins (1993) argue, this symbolic violence over non-Whites was not just committed by a few arrogant capitalists, colonial officials, or extremists who believe Western society's superiority; nor is it just a past story which is not valid any more. Rather, they contend that the colonial way of recognizing the non-Westerners continues to be produced, legitimated, and naturalized in the Western culture by various cultural and discursive media. These media recruit Westerners to share demarcations, stereotypes, horrors, and fantasies about people who have different colors and cultures. As Willinsky (1999) states, "it would be amazing if, after a single generation or two since imperialism ended, such a legacy could be left behind" (p. 112). In particular, we need to note that schooling has often been used as a national tool to shape young students' minds with colonial perspectives. Merryfield (2001) and Willinsky (1999), for example, argue that not only do students bring into schools stereotypes and biases formed through exposure to mass media but also schools contribute to legitimatizing specific perspectives and positions with regard to other cultures and societies.

Following the above summary of postcolonialism, another task of this study is *decolonizing* school curriculum by revealing the potential legacy of colonial epistemology remaining in the curriculum about Asia. This would include investigating how the differences between Asia and the U.S. are constructed in classrooms and what kind of perceptions and positions American students are encouraged to take up with regard to Asia. I will also examine whether classroom teaching about Asia contributes to deconstructing the colonial ways of perceiving

Asia or it maintains or even reinforces colonial messages. In addition, the lens of postcolonialism will be used as a foundation in envisioning a more democratic and humanistic way of teaching about other peoples and societies in a global world. If the colonial epistemology has essentialized and simplified other cultures and societies, the next task for educators would be developing anti-colonial, more humanistic and complicated ways of teaching about others.

Now that I introduced three major theoretical backgrounds related to this study, I will put together those frameworks to clarify how they are in fact interconnected within the overarching topic of this study. This will also help me clarify what I believe to be a significant task of educators' in the globalizing world, which initiated this study in a sense. In this study, if global education raises a broader concern of incorporating global knowledge and perspectives into school curriculum, cultural studies and postcolonialism illuminate the direction of global education which I would like to concretize in this study. Based on my encounter with an old IQ question and the subsequent reflections on racial biases and prejudices in Korea, I came to believe that, without deconstructing the dominant cultural framework in perceiving other cultures and societies, globalization is more likely to exacerbate tensions and misunderstandings among different cultural standards and belief systems. What is more serious is that the discourse of resentment against others often results in physical violence and social discrimination, which we already began to observe in many parts of the world (Volf, 1996). Accordingly, beyond simple inclusion of others in school curriculum, we need to critically reflect on the colonial legacy in our epistemology and

explore new ways of making sense of and building relationship with people in other cultures and societies. Based on the classroom teaching about Asia, I hope to concretize how educators can contribute to addressing this timely task by reinventing the curriculum about others.

Overview of Chapters

Chapter 2 deals with methodological issues in conducting this study. I give an account of how and why I designed a case study to address major questions of this study. I also explain the process through which I came to choose two secondary social studies classrooms—one middle school and one high school—as major research locations. This is followed by a description of how I collected the major body of data including teacher interviews, classroom observation, student surveys, student focus-group interviews and curricular materials. I wrap up this chapter by explaining the process of data interpretation and my effort to validate the interpretation along with limitations of this study.

In Chapter 3 and 4, I attempt to provide a rich description of the curriculum about Asia in the two selected classrooms. The major goal of these two chapters is to help readers get a concrete sense of how the teachers and students in this study taught and learned about Asia. I examine teachers' main goals in teaching about Asia, the structure of their curriculum and the location of Asia in it, major materials and resources used in teaching about Asia. Using various data from the two classrooms, I describe how the curriculum about Asia was actually

implemented, and how students' knowledge and perceptions about Asia were (or were not) changed through their learning.

From Chapter 5, I go back to the theoretical backgrounds, interrogating the teaching about Asia in the two classrooms through global education, cultural studies and postcolonialism. Using cultural studies, Chapter 5 examines the socio-cultural assumptions underlying the classroom construction of Asia. I first examine how the world was arranged into school curriculum, where Asia was located in this structure, and which positions and world-views were embedded in the classroom construction of the world. My focus, then, moves onto the curriculum about Asia, investigating which topics and countries received more attention, how different Asian countries were portrayed to have different images and perceptions, and what kinds of images and perceptions of Asia as a whole were produced and shared in the two classrooms. In this chapter, I try to conduct a meta-geographic analysis by applying cultural studies to the dominant geographic imaginations of the world.

Using postcolonialism and global education, Chapter 6 focuses more on the political aspect of the classroom teaching about Asia and its pedagogical results. I especially attend to the apparent contradiction between teachers' personal goals and their enacted curriculum: whereas they wanted students to develop more complicated and humanistic understandings of Asia, those goals were almost invisible in their practices. Exploring the cause of this contradiction and its consequences, I contend that the curriculum about Asia became a curriculum of Othering in the two classrooms, even though the degree is

somewhat different. I investigate various factors to examine why teachers' original goals were not implemented in their teaching and students did not acquire cross-cultural awareness and open-mindedness toward Asia. In particular, I attend to the influence of popular culture and mass media on teachers' teaching and students' perceptions about Asia.

Lastly, Chapter 7 explores practical and theoretical implications of this study for reinventing the curriculum about Asia, or more broadly about other cultures and societies. Based on findings of this study, I argue that the major task of reinventing the curriculum about others is deconstructing an asymmetrical distinction between "us" and "them," extending the horizon of "us" to include more global neighbors who appear to be different from "us." I underscore that teachers should be a cultural mediator between students and the world, moving across diverse cultures and societies in the world and bringing them into classrooms without losing its original complexities and dynamics. Based on this idea, I propose how teachers, teacher educators and curriculum scholars can contribute to reinventing the curriculum about others to make it more globally relevant.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

Research Design

In investigating classroom teaching about Asia and its socio-cultural implications, I designed a case-based study among methods in qualitative research. According to Yin (2003), case study allows a researcher to retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events. He also suggests that a case study is useful when “how” or “why” questions are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context (Yin, 2003). His recommendation seems to fit with many aspects of this study, as I intend to holistically examine the curriculum about Asia by exploring “how” and “why” Asia is taught; I also cannot control the actual teaching which takes place in a real-life setting.

In reality, however, how to decide the number of cases and how to establish the level of involvement with the case are not immediately evident, but often depend on the unique contexts of a study. A situation which fits neatly with a research topic is rarely given, but needs to be found and, in some cases, even created. Further, in most situations, a case does not provide ready-made answers for a researcher, but findings and conclusions are to be constructed through the interaction between the case and the researcher. In addressing these issues inherent to the case-study method, the model of theoretical sampling (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) provided me a useful guideline. According to Glaser and Strauss (1967), in theoretical sampling, a researcher collects and

analyzes his/her data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them in order to develop a theory as it emerges. That is, a case is not fixed once and for all at the beginning of a study, but can be changed and extended as a theory emerges amidst conducting research.

In this study, two secondary social studies classrooms—one middle school and one high school—were selected as final research sites through an emerging process. The first step in addressing my research topic was examining social studies textbooks to see how Asia is represented (Hong, in press). Even though this gave me some initial ideas of how Asia would be taught, it was still unclear how the textbooks would be actually used in classrooms. This made me move toward another pilot study, which included teacher interviews. Through various resources including personal connections and the help of my own Teacher Education Department, I managed to find six social studies teachers who address Asia at varying degrees in their curriculum. A series of interviews with them helped me acquire a deeper understanding of what teachers' personal goals are, how they develop their curricula about Asia, and what challenges and difficulties they face in addressing Asia.

Finally, I asked these six teachers if they would allow me to conduct extensive research in their classrooms which would include a new series of teacher interviews, classroom observation, student surveys, focus-group interviews with students and teaching materials. Among the six teachers, two replied that I could collect data in their classrooms, which made me decide whether to choose either classroom and thus conduct a single-case study or

choose both and conduct a multiple-case study. The former is known to be useful when a researcher wants to better understand a unique and special case, whereas the latter is more likely to provide wider insights into a topic (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). Between these two options, I decided to conduct a multiple-case study, as the primary concern of this study is not examining a case as it is but acquiring a wider understanding of how Asia is taught through the selected cases. Also, as I intended to investigate classroom teaching about Asia in light of its social representation, I thought studying both cases would be better than choosing either one.

Further, each case supplemented what I might have not found had I chosen a single-case study. That is, one teacher teaches in a middle school whereas the other in a high school; one school is located in a suburban area whereas the other is an inner-city school; one teacher teaches a semester-long course whereas the other's is year-long; one teacher is a middle-aged, Caucasian female, whereas the other is a young, Latino American male. I believed these differences between the two cases would enable me to observe more various aspects of the curriculum about Asia. However, each classroom was treated as a unique case which has its own history, context and circumstances. As such, this study is closer to a "multiple holistic case" study (Yin, 2003, p. 53). In particular, it needs to be clarified that the primary concern of this study is not comparing the two cases but obtaining wider and deeper understandings of what and how teachers teach about Asia. In the following

section, I describe how the major body of data was created from the two selected classroom, which was conducted during the spring semester of 2007.

Data Collection

Teacher Interviews

I interviewed both teachers to see what their personal goals are in teaching about Asia, how they develop lesson plans, and what they want students to know about Asia as a result of their teaching. I had two interview sessions with each teacher—before and after they addressed the unit on Asia. The instrument for pre-interview is attached in Appendix 1. In the case of the post-interview, the protocol was developed based on my observation in each classroom. As the study went on, different questions and topics had emerged with regard to the curriculum in each classroom. As such, unlike the pre-interview, I used a more open-ended approach in the post-interview instead of using a common instrument. In one classroom, for example, I needed to ask more about differences and similarities across units on different continents and the curricular changes that the teacher makes across years. In contrast, in the other classroom, the post-interview focused more on the student population, the teacher's political views on international affairs and immigrant issues and the impact these views might have on her curriculum. The pre- and post-interviews which took about an hour were all audio-taped and later transcribed. In addition to formal interviews, I also had numerous conversations with each teacher while I was conducting this study.

In conducting teacher interviews, the constructivist approach to an interview setting provided me a useful guideline. People tend to see interviewing as a process of unilateral sending and receiving of information between an interviewer and an interviewee. In this model, messages flow from the interviewee to the interviewer—what Holstein and Gubrium (2002) define as a “pipeline for transmitting knowledge” (p. 112). Also, an interviewee is expected to have answers that a researcher is looking for, and thus, the main task of the latter is manipulating the former to speak out what he/she has in mind (Fontana & Frey, 2000). However, people who are suspicious of this traditional approach point out that, in reality, interview situations are more ambiguous, dynamic and uncertain (Scheurich, 1995). In these unpredictable settings, researchers can hardly discover ready-made answers they are looking for, but they should construct meanings which are embedded in those situations. Accordingly, it has been argued that interviewing is more like an interactive, meaning-making process in which both researchers and respondents are involved (Fontana & Frey, 2000; Scheurich, 1995).

Following this perspective, I preferred to conduct unstructured interviews instead of highly-structured ones. According to Fontana and Frey (2000), unstructured interviews emphasize the complexity of social phenomena, pursuing open-ended and in-depth question-and-answer processes (p. 652). However, unstructured interviews may be virtually impossible, for every interview has more or less its own structure. Thus, teacher interviews in this study were closer to semi-structured interviews. That is, I prepared my own protocols for each

interview with the teachers. However, the selection of questions, speed and phase of an interview were flexibly determined according to the context. This compromise allowed me to strike a balance between the major points of the structured interview - readiness - and the unstructured interview- depth.

Classroom Observation

I observed the two classrooms while teachers and students were addressing the unit on Asia, which took six to eight weeks depending on the length of time allocated for Asia. Classroom observation started one or two weeks before each classroom began to address Asia in order to make myself familiar with the classroom context. I also thought that starting observation earlier would enable me to observe a more natural flow of events in each classroom, as the teacher and students were more likely to be familiar with my presence by the time they began the Asia unit. Also, to acquire a deeper understanding of the school and the interaction between the teachers and the students, classroom observation continued one or two weeks after they finished the unit on Asia.

A significant issue in conducting classroom observation was the level of my involvement in each classroom. As I noted earlier, how to establish the relationship between a researcher and a situation is in fact a controversial topic in case study. In an abstract sense, there seem to be two opposite choices. That is, a researcher may remain as an outside observer without any involvement or he/she can actively participate in on-going events. The first option appears to allow a researcher to observe a more natural flow of events without interrupting it. However, it is unreasonable to assume that there is a "pure" reality which a

researcher should observe without any interruption. In many cases, a reality is constructed, deconstructed, and changed through a constant interaction with the environment (Hatch, 2002). As such, there seems to be no such thing as a fixed or original reality that reveals itself to a researcher. Also, the presence of a researcher itself is a significant change in environment whether he/she remains a silent observer or not. Therefore, what seems to be a more realistic approach is participant observation in which a researcher takes both roles as an observer and a participant in a given situation (Hatch, 2002).

In reality, however, there is no one best way to strike a balance between these two roles. In many cases, a researcher should adjust the level of involvement to collect the necessary data. In this study, before I started the observation, I discussed with each teacher how they wanted me to be involved in their classroom. A teacher asked me to take an hour and explain my life and experiences in Korea. He also occasionally involved me in his teaching by asking if I had anything to add to his teaching about specific topics. In contrast, the other teacher did not involve me in her teaching, asking me to help her find teaching materials, instead. In this case, I reviewed the collection of materials that she had used in her Asia unit and had a discussion with her about their instructional values, providing alternative sources at times. My involvement with the students was also decided according to specific classroom contexts. For example, while the teachers were giving lectures or the students were reading textbooks, I was more like a silent observer. However, while students were doing individual or group projects, I walked around the class, observing and helping with students'

work. In some cases, students approached me and asked to help them with some specific tasks.

In any case, I attempted to record all the major events—major concepts, topics, pedagogy, teachers' remarks, learning materials, and students' responses—in each observation and recorded raw field notes. Raw field notes were then converted into "write-ups" (Miles & Huberman, 1995). That is, right after I left the classroom, I made a more complete description based on the raw notes and my memory about the class that day. Final field notes helped me to get a concrete sense of how Asia was taught in the two classrooms. They were used as basic material to investigate further issues such as which topics received more attention, when students were more involved, and how teachers' personal goals were related to their practices.

Student Surveys

To investigate students' knowledge and perceptions of Asia and the potential changes in them as a result of their learning, I conducted student surveys in each classroom. I believed conducting a survey would be useful for collecting students' responses, considering that it was almost impossible to interview all the students. Further, by administering a survey, I might minimize defensive responses that students might have toward me. That is, they might be reluctant to reveal their deep ideas on Asia in front of a researcher who is Asian. For this reason, student surveys were expected to provide a more general and unbiased data on students' perception of Asia and its sources.

Like the teacher interviews, the survey was conducted twice, before and after the Asia unit. As shown in Appendix 2, the initial survey was focused on what students know about Asia, which countries they think represent Asia, which images they have about a specific country, and what major sources of their knowledge and perceptions of Asia are. Then, based on responses to the initial survey and my observation of the classroom events, I developed a tool for a post-survey as seen in Appendix 3. In the post-survey, I focused more on how teachers' teaching about Asia had influenced students' knowledge and perceptions of specific countries and topics. In some cases, I asked the same questions with slight changes in pre-and post-survey to examine potential differences in students' responses.

Survey results were coded, grouped, and compared. Students' answers to open-ended questions were categorized to investigate which countries tend to represent Asia in their minds and how different countries are perceived through different images. These findings provided me useful information which could not be obtained from other data sources.

Focus-group Interview

Even though the survey data provided responses from all students, it did not offer deeper information on what students thought about Asia and whether or how their preconceptions of Asia had been influenced by their teacher's instruction. To make up for this limitation in the survey data, I conducted focus-group interviews in each classroom. Focus-group interviewing is known to be useful in following up on observations or when it is impossible to interview all the

participants (Hatch, 2002). In this study, I had an open-ended interview once or twice in each classroom according to the contexts.

In finding participants, I or the teacher announced the interview plan and asked students to participate if they were interested. As a result, five students, three females and two males, all of whom are White participated in the focus group interviews. I was able to interview students twice—once in the middle of the Asian unit and once towards the end of it. In the middle school classroom, six students volunteered to join the focus group which was interviewed once. This group consisted of two White females, three Black males and a Hispanic male. In some cases, I had an interview with the students during the lunch period and, in other cases, the teachers allowed me to interview them while the class was watching a movie or a video. These interviews, which took about 30 to 50 minutes, were all audio-taped and later transcribed.

Curricular Resources and Artifacts

Another set of data collected in this study were various types of curricular resources and artifacts used in the two classrooms. This includes textbooks, content standards, assignments, worksheet, students' work, handouts, and test items. These documents influence the curriculum about Asia in various ways. If assignments and handouts have a more direct and visible impact on the instruction about Asia in a specific moment, curriculum standards and textbooks are more likely to have an indirect impact, as they provide guidelines on what and how to teach about Asia.

In particular, I attended to how popular culture and mass media were used in teachers' instruction and how they influenced students' images of Asians and Asian cultures. As I noted in Chapter 1, how Asia is taught in classrooms is more or less connected with how it is represented in the wider society. What emerged in this study was that popular culture and mass media often work as a link between the two sides. As such, I investigated how students' perceptions of Asians and Asian cultures have been influenced by commercial culture and how the media portrayals of domestic and international affairs affect the curriculum about Asia.

Data Analysis

One of the key issues in analyzing qualitative data is how to implicate the collected data, the researcher, and his/her theoretical frameworks in constructing interpretation (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Huberman, 1995). Some people argue that the primary authority of the interpretation should be given to data as they reflect the reality that a researcher observed. Often known as positivists, interpreters in this perspective insist that a researcher should minimize the impact of his/her bias on interpreting the collected data to draw objective findings (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Even though this sounds reasonable at first glance, the problem is that the collected data and the researcher are closely entangled in many cases and it is almost impossible to separate what came from the data and what came from the researcher. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) argue, data cannot be assumed to be independent of a

researcher's values and of the theoretical frameworks, as they are created as a response to a question raised by the researcher. As such, in many cases, data is already theory-laden from the very beginning of qualitative research.

On the other hand, if too much power is given to a researcher and his/her theoretical assumptions, the whole process of data collection and analysis become unnecessary. In this case, research is performed only to corroborate or justify the existing theory and thus the reality could be distorted to fit into the theory. To warn of this kind of reductive research, Glaser and Strauss (1967) distinguish an *example* from a *case*; while a researcher needs an example to support his/her current assumptions, he/she needs a case to better understand the reality and draw theories out of the situation which was studied.

Considering potential problems in giving too much power to either side, I tried to maintain a conversational relationship among myself, the collected data and the theoretical frameworks that I employed in this study. In particular, grounded theory and the constant comparative analysis provided helpful insights to data analysis in this study. This approach to data analysis underscores that theories should be "grounded" in the actions, interactions, and social processes of people in the field (Creswell, 1998). Glaser and Strauss (1967), the founders of this approach, argue that a researcher should ground his/her theory on the collected data by inducing hypotheses and concepts from the data and systematically working out in relation to the data during the course of the research. This point seems to be relevant considering the context of this study. That is, even though I collected data to address my research topics which were

developed out of global education, cultural studies and postcolonialism, I still did not have any theories on how and why Asia would be taught in the selected classrooms. Answers to my research questions were to be drawn out of the data that I collected from the two cases. Therefore, from the beginning, the major task of this study was constructing a grounded theory on the classroom teaching about Asia.

As a specific process to build a grounded theory, Glaser and Strauss (1967) offered the method of constant comparative analysis which employs an inductive approach in data analysis. Goetz and LeCompte (1981) explain this method in detail:

This strategy combines inductive category coding with a simultaneous comparison of all social incidences observed. As social phenomena are recorded and classified, they also are compared across categories. Thus, the discovery of relationship, that is hypothesis generations, begins with the analysis of initial observations, undergoes continuous refinement throughout the data collection and analysis process, and continuously feeds back into the process of category coding. As events are constantly compared with previous events, new typological dimensions, as well as new relationships, may be discovered. (p. 58)

Referring to this and other methods related to constructing grounded theories (e.g., Creswell, 1998; Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Miles & Humberman, 1995), this study followed four interpretive steps in analyzing the collected data.

The first step was drawing initial interpretive categories from careful reviews of all the data from each classroom. I repeatedly read interview data, field notes and curricular materials, marking segments which appeared to be connected with research topics. By reviewing the marked segments and cross-checking different data sources, I developed an initial coding system which appeared to be relevant for understanding teaching and learning about Asia in each classroom. I then selected marked segments and reassembled them according to the categories to ensure that each category actually reflects the segments in it.

In the second step, with these initial codes in mind, I went back to the collected data to see if there were any themes or phenomena which these categories missed. At this point, many elements of what Lincoln and Guba (1985) described as the process of data interpretation occurred. That is, at times I found more data fitting into a specific category, which resulted in expanding it or splitting it into subcategories. In other cases, I added new codes as new insights emerged out of the data. Also, in some other cases, I grouped, merged, and ordered initial coding categories to construct a more coherent and grounded interpretation about what happened, how, and why in teaching about Asia in the two classrooms.

In the next step, I attempted to develop a case description of each classroom through a convergent and divergent process. I matched final coding categories with the data from each classroom once again, checking whether they represented the unique realities of each classroom. At times, this required that I

revise original coding categories, expanding some and combining others. To construct a case description, I created 'meta-matrices' to organize final findings, quotes and themes from each case (Miles & Huberman, 1995). Finally, I matched these matrices with research questions that I raised to see if I had enough data to address each question. In some cases, it turned out that I was able to construct a substantial description, whereas, in other cases, I needed more information to address research topics. This made me go back to data sources once again and fill out missed information.

The final step was conducting a cross-case analysis which, according to Miles and Huberman (1995), deepens understanding and explanation in a multiple-case study. If my attention in the previous stages had primarily focused on understanding each classroom, I now compared and contrasted the two cases to see any recurrent patterns, similarities or differences between the cases. At times, it turned out that what was conspicuous in one case was less notable or almost invisible in the other case. I also found some recurrent themes and similar findings from each classroom. To explain what caused these differences and similarities, I had to consider the uniqueness of each case along with potential commonalities between the two locations. Conducting a cross-case analysis also required employing the theoretical lenses that I introduced in Chapter 1. At times, global education, cultural studies and postcolonialism helped me better understand what emerged as a result of cross-case analysis. In other cases, however, new phenomena were found which could not be explained through either lens. In these cases, I tried to draw explanations out of the collected data,

which would shed new light on the current theoretical frameworks. Through these processes, I tried to develop a guided and grounded interpretation of the pedagogy of Asia in the two classrooms and socio-cultural considerations embedded in it.

Validation

How, then, can I ensure that my interpretation is valid and the theories and findings in this study were actually drawn from the collected data? How can this study help in understanding the curriculum about Asia in other classrooms? These questions are related to the two requirements that a researcher should consider to corroborate his/her interpretation—generalizability and validity. If the former raises the question of external applicability of a study, the latter is connected with inner validity of interpretation. This section addresses these requirements by clarifying what this study intends to acquire, and if necessary, by reconceptualizing the notion of generalizability and validity to better fit with the intention of this study.

Rooted in the positivistic tradition, generalizability often means that a set of results from one study should be also found from other studies which deal with similar situations or topics (Schofield, 1990). The underlying idea of this notion is that a study should be able to predict what would happen if the situations are similar. Otherwise, a study would be too case-specific, lacking general implications. While admitting the importance of generality, it would be suspicious if this notion of generalizability could be applied to qualitative research because

of the context-based nature of social phenomena and human behaviors most qualitative research investigates. As Guba and Lincoln (1981) argue, it is virtually impossible to find the same case of human behaviors, because they are built in complex contexts which cannot be replicated. Thus, without heavily simplifying the context—which goes against the basic idea of qualitative research—findings from one study cannot be automatically applied to other situations. For this reason, some scholars argue that qualitative research should reject the notion of generalizability (e.g., Denzin, 1983), arguing that every case is emerged out of a unique context and thus must be seen as carrying its own logic, structure and meaning.

However, it is unreasonable to completely reject the requirement of generality in a qualitative study. What is the point of conducting a study if findings can only apply to one or two cases which have disappeared after the study? Also, we do observe that a well-performed case study provides useful implications for understanding other similar cases (Schofield, 1990). Accordingly, even though the traditional sense of generalizability does not fit with a case study, findings from one study can shed light on understanding other similar cases. Regarding this, what has been pointed out as a crucial requirement is a “thick description” of a given context (Guba & Lincoln, 1982; Schofield, 1990). According to Geertz (1973), a role of qualitative research is interpreting an event or phenomenon within the system of culture where it is rooted. For this, he argues, a researcher should construct a thick description about the web of culture so that a meaning of an event can be understood through its interaction with other elements within the

web. Also, by providing a substantial description about the context where a study is based, a researcher can make it clear to which situations his his/her findings can and cannot be applied. Otherwise, readers may not make an informed decision on whether the conclusions drawn from a study are helpful in understanding specific situations (Guba & Lincoln, 1982).

Following this advice, rather than pursuing the traditional sense of generality, I attempted to construct “a coherent and illuminating description of and perspective on a situation” that this study is based on (Schofield, 1990, p. 203). I tried to reveal every important aspect of the context in which the curriculum about Asia emerged. I also tried to provide enough opportunities for the teachers and students to be heard through their own voices. In particular, triangulation helped me understand the meaning of actions, interactions and events within the unique web of culture in each classroom. Triangulation is a process of using multiple data sources to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation (Stake, 2000). In this study, by cross-checking different sets of data from teacher interviews, student surveys and field notes, I tried to construct a more coherent and guided description of how Asia was taught in the selected classrooms.

The next issue, validity, also raises complicated issues regarding the quality of this study. Originated from testing and measurement, validity demands that a study should measure what it originally intended to measure. That is, an aptitude test, for example, should actually measure a child’s potential strength in a certain area. What logically follows from this demand is that, if different people

use the same tools of measurement for the same student, the result should be consistent. Otherwise, the test is an invalid tool to measure a child's potential capacity. In qualitative research, validity often means the validity of interpretation—whether conclusions and theories effectively represent the empirical reality from which data was generated (Walcott, 1990). That is, if different researchers reviewed the same data set, they should arrive at similar conclusions and theories.

However, the notion of validity originating from measurement cannot be directly applied to qualitative research, because, as explained earlier, the relationship between a researcher, data and findings is unique in qualitative settings. That is, in contrast to quantitative research, a researcher is often deeply involved with the collected data. As such, without sharing the research questions and theoretical perspectives and having been involved in the process of data collection, it seems to be exceptional that different reviewers draw the same conclusions from the same set of data. As Geertz (1973) notes, an analysis of qualitative data is intrinsically incomplete, and what is worse is that the deeper it goes the less complete it is in many cases. Again, this does not mean that any interpretations are acceptable in a case study. Nor does it mean that there is no process to enhance the validity of interpretation in qualitative research. Obviously, there are more valid and less valid interpretations. My point here is that qualitative research requires a different approach to enhancing validity from one rooted in the quantitative research tradition. Regarding the process to ensure the validity of interpretation, Walcott (1990) provides useful guidelines. Referring to

his various suggestions, I attended to three elements which seem to be relevant for this study.

First, I maintained 'bracketing' in a phenomenological sense, trying to set aside my prejudgment instead of making quick conclusions about what I had observed in two classrooms. A phenomenological approach to data interpretation emphasizes that a researcher should suspend his preconceptions so that data speaks of themselves through the researcher (Creswell, 1998). Similarly, Walcott (1990) argues that a researcher should "talk little and listen a lot" to allow the reality to reveal itself. In a sense, data analysis is not the process through which a researcher applies his/her current ideas to the collected data. Rather, he/she plays an instrumental role so that the reality makes use of the researcher to reveal itself. Following this approach, during the process of interpretation, I tried to bracket my prejudgment and open up my mind to listen and see the different facets of the data.

Second, opening up my mind to the situation was followed by a seemingly contradictory process of constructing early interpretation. It was I as a researcher who was to report major findings and theories of this study in the end. To that end, in addition to listening carefully, Walcott (1990) suggests that a researcher begin writing early. Otherwise, he/she may miss important points, themes, and phenomena from the field. Following this recommendation, I tried to construct initial interpretation whenever I finished collecting important data. For example, right after I administered a pre-survey, I analyzed all the students' responses and tried to develop initial interpretation of their knowledge and perceptions about

Asia. This helped me not only to develop the post-survey tool but also better understand students' responses during the class. As this illustrates, data collection and interpretation were not separated in this study, but went together from the early stages of research process.

Finally, peer reviewers who shared my research interests and understood the process of data collection helped me validate the interpretation. Peer reviewers during the pilot studies—textbook analysis and teacher interviews—helped me further develop my research interests and interpret the collected data. Even though they did not share the data set at this time, their comments on the overall process of data collection and interpretation helped me construct more grounded findings and theories. I also asked my colleagues who are working on their doctoral degrees to double-check the consistency between my interpretation and the presented data. They, who included a Chinese student, also reminded me at times of the possibility for different interpretations, which made me go back to the data and revise the initial interpretation. Review and feedback from my adviser on each chapter also helped me enhance the validity of my interpretation. He began to monitor this study from its early stage, and whenever I finished each chapter he proofread it and gave me feedback along with comments and questions. Face-to-face meetings and email discussions with him helped me clarify my interpretation and ground it on the situation that I observed.

My Identity and Its Influences on This Study

Above efforts to construct valid and grounded interpretations are closely related to my unique position as a researcher in this study. Originated from my personal experience as an international student and the subsequent reflection on racism in a more general sense, the basic purpose of this study is exploring how to deconstruct cultural misunderstandings and envisioning new ways of building relationship with people in other cultures and societies. As such, simplifying teachers and students in this study and creating misconceptions about them is contradictory to the basic intent of this study. For this reason, I tried to avoid simplifying and misrepresenting the teachers and students in this study throughout the process of data interpretation.

This is also related to my ethical responsibility in this study. The unique aspect of this study is that I, a Korean national, investigate how Asia is taught in American classrooms. Therefore, as a researcher and also as Asian, I can project a biased interpretation to the teachers and students, instead of understanding the situation through their voices and their interpretive framework. This is irresponsible, considering that the teachers and students took a risk by allowing me to observe them while they were addressing Asia. To avoid this ethical contradiction, I held that the primary purpose of this study is not monitoring whether Asia is taught correctly or not in the selected classrooms. As I noted in Chapter 1, "Asia" is a symbol, not a tangible artifact. Thus, my intent in this study is investigating how Asia is signified in the two classrooms and what socio-cultural considerations underlie it, not evaluating whether the teachers and students are "doing a good job or not."

However, it is also inevitable that a researcher's identity affects the process of collecting and interpreting data. In fact, as noted earlier, the researcher, the data, and interpretation are deeply entangled with each other in many cases. As such, even though I said that I tried to bracket my prejudgment so that data speaks of themselves, this does not seem to be easy in reality. Therefore, what seems to be more realistic is, as Schneider and Laihua (2000) demonstrate, revealing sources of potential biases and misinterpretations instead of denying their influence on research. Bracketing one's mind is not emptying his/her mind but clarifying one's identity and beliefs so that readers recognize potential sources of bias.

To that end, I need to make it clear that the entire process of this study has been guided and influenced by my identity as a Korean, international student and thus racial minority in the U.S., but who wants to go back to Korea and investigate racism within the Asian context. All these categories have deeply influenced the direction of my study for last couple of years, which played a significant role in conducting this research. If I were not Asian, if had not come to the U.S., I would have not realized the importance of tackling cultural biases and misconceptions. At the same time, however, I believe racism is also existent and even more serious in Korea, as there has been no significant effort to interrogate it. In particular, some Koreans' contradictory racial attitudes have been troubling to me. That is, whereas they are sensitive to unfair treatment of Koreans and Korean cultures by others, they tend to ignore racism in themselves; whether

they feel inferior to Westerners or feel superior to Blacks or other peoples in seemingly “poor” and “underdeveloped” countries.

As such, the overall process of this study has been guided by dual interests in many aspects: whereas it is about American classrooms, it is also about Asia, as it investigates how Asia is taught in American classrooms; whereas it is about how to better teach about Asia, it is also about racial biases and misunderstandings in a broader sense, as I believe deconstructing racism becomes more significant in this globalizing world. It needs to be clarified that this concern may have left numerous impacts in the following pages, whether they are explicit or more implicit. For example, my concern about racial discriminations and cultural misconceptions made me stand in a particular position on global education. That is, readers might already get a sense that my position is closer to global educators who emphasize cross-cultural awareness and global citizenship than neoconservatives and neoliberals in Gaudelli (2006)’s distinction I introduced in Chapter 1. In fact, this affiliation affects the way I use the term “global education” in this study, as, at times, I identify it with attempts to enhance global responsibilities and cross-cultural understandings even though there are conflicting voices in it. As this illustrates, readers need to be aware that interpretations and arguments in this study have been influenced by my identity and beliefs.

Limitations of the Study

Despite of my efforts to design a careful study and ground findings and arguments in the empirical reality that I observed, this study has clear limitations which readers should keep in mind in reading the following pages.

First, it needs to be clarified once again that major findings of this study may not help us understand how Asia is taught in other classrooms. Even though I tried to provide a concrete description of the selected classrooms, it is still true that this study is based on two classrooms only. Therefore, I do not believe that this study can assert “this is how Asia is taught in American classrooms.” This seems to be unrealistic because there are too many classrooms in the U.S. and too many definitions about not only what “American” is but also what “Asia” is. It thus goes beyond the scope of this study to find general patterns of how Asia is being taught in American classrooms. Rather, the purpose of this study is revealing something that people do not often recognize, something small that they tend to take for granted in their daily lives. By troubling the dominant way of making sense of and teaching about Asia, this study intends to provide an opportunity for educators to rethink how to bring other cultures and societies into school curriculum.

A second limitation is that I did not have enough opportunities to observe how other continents were taught in the two classrooms. The curriculum about Asia could be better understood by observing how other continents such as North America, Latin America, Europe and Africa were addressed in the same location. Otherwise, it would be unclear whether what emerged from my observation was unique to the unit on Asia or similar trends were visible in other

units. For this reason, I started my observation one or two weeks before the Asia unit began in each classroom. However, this provided only a limited opportunity to observe the unit on Eastern Europe in one classroom and that on Africa in the other classroom. To obtain more information, I asked teachers during interviews to explain the overall structure and sequence of the curriculum and its rationale. I also asked the teachers whether the way they addressed each continent was similar or not and if there were any specific issues or topics that they emphasized in each continent. Even though this and other data sources helped me investigate the curriculum about Asia within a broader context, it is still a limitation of this research that I did not fully observe other units.

Finally, students might not have had enough opportunities to be heard in this study. I conducted student surveys and focus-group interviews twice respectively. The underlying purpose of this was to collect general responses through the survey and acquire deeper understandings through the interview. However, focus-group interviews consisted of only four to five volunteers, and thus they might not represent the whole student body in each classroom. Further, each interview lasted less than an hour, which might not long enough to investigate deeper ideas and perceptions. This is because, unlike the teachers' case, it was not easy to set an interview schedule with a multiple number of students. Whereas I was able to interview teachers more flexibly during their lunch time or after school, this was not possible in organizing interviews with the students. Therefore, limited interaction with the students should be pointed out as another limitation of this study.

CHAPTER 3: ASIA IN A MIDDLE SCHOOL CLASSROOM

School, Teacher and Students

Riverside Middle School where Peggy teaches 7th grade social studies is located in a larger urban area which is the capital city of a mid-Western state. According to the 2006 census data, the racial makeup of the city's residents was 75% White, 12% African American, 11% Hispanics or Latinos, 2% Asian and others. The city has more racial minorities compared to the state average, as the latter shows 80% White and 20% racial minorities. However, in Riverside, this racial composition turns almost upside down; among about 700 students between grade six and eight, 33% are White whereas 67% are racial minorities including African American, Hispanic and Latinos, and a small number of Asian Americans. Most of these racially diverse students come from poor and working-class families; more than 80% of the students are eligible for a free or reduced lunch program whereas the state average is about 40%.

. According to Peggy, many teachers in the school were concerned with the degrading local community and students' behaviors, because, the claim goes, their parents could not afford to pay attention to students' school work. Between 2004 and 2005, the city's personal income increased only 2.5% whereas the national average of increase in major metropolitan areas was 5%. According to the 2006 data, 20% of all families in the city were below the poverty level, whereas the national average was about 10%. The primary reason for this degrading condition is the city's economy which once flourished but now suffers

from a severe downturn, as the local assembly lines closed or moved overseas due to the stumbling American manufacturing industry.

A big change happened this year in the history of Riverside, as the building was substantially renovated during the school year. In contrast to the old, run-down building, the renovated one provides a pleasant environment with various types of new facilities. It has a big library with dozens of Internet-connected computers, comfortable chairs and tables. The inside of the building is much brighter and the gymnasium is wide and clean. Each classroom also provides a better environment with brand new desks, chairs and teaching equipment. This better environment, however, was not acquired without a cost, as the renovation distracted teachers from their curriculum. The turmoil also caused students to be unattentive to learning. As a result, many teachers struggled to rebuild their classroom environment after the renovation was completed. According to Peggy, it took quite a while for many teachers to restore a classroom environment, which delayed their regular teaching schedule.

Peggy, a middle-aged white female, began her teaching career in the early 1970s. For more than thirty years, she has taught English and social studies courses to various grades from seventh to twelfth. Peggy's long career and rich experiences allowed me to hear about the wider context of Asia in the school curriculum and how she had changed her curriculum across the years. In terms of her personal contact with Asian culture, she said that her late father, who had been a professor in a local state university, used to invite Japanese guests to her home. In her teaching and in interviews, she often recalled dinner

meetings with Japanese visitors while she was younger. Beyond these occasional contacts with a few Japanese guests quite a while ago, she did not mention any other global experiences or multicultural engagements during this study. As a matter of fact, she maintained that American cultural identity is based on Christianity, expressing negative responses to Muslims and (illegal) immigrants. As we will see, this perspective on domestic and global issues influenced the way she engaged her students with other culture and countries.

The major data used in this study was generated in her year-long social studies class required of 7th graders. According to the district curriculum framework, 7th grade social studies is supposed to address the Eastern Hemisphere which includes Asia, Europe and Africa. Following Peggy's recommendation, I chose to observe the first hour which was an honors section. The class consisted of a diverse group of students. Among the 27 students, 10 were male and 17 were female; there were 16 white students, 5 black students, 4 Hispanic students, one Asian American, and another recent immigrant from Eastern Europe. According to Peggy, these students were selected to be in the honors section based on their GPA and teacher recommendation. However, there was no difference in the curriculum these and other students learned, because it was not an accelerated class which allows students to skip a grade. Rather, Peggy noted that the difference is in enrichment and depth, since students in the honors section usually go faster in the coverage of a unit. Peggy recommended that I study this class, since it represents what American public schools have produced in the kind of school district where she teaches:

I felt that for you coming into the honors section was very, very important because these are young people who have come up through 6 years of social studies in the American school system. They do not have learning disabilities, they are on grade point level, and I want you to see the product of that. I want you to see groups of young people who have come through those six years of education in a public school system...I wanted you to have a fair representation, a true representation, of the educational quality in a public school district such as the size of this city, and this population.

Peggy also informed me that, working in an urban school, she had a substantial number of ESL (English as a Second Language) students, repeaters, or special education students in other classes. Because of these classroom dynamics, she seemed to recommend the first hour where the class might spend more time on teaching and learning about Asia. In this class, she told me, "You [are] going to see levels of maturity. You are going to see levels of work ethic. They are very much focused. They come in from the very beginning of the hour. Usually the teacher never has to discipline."

Teacher's Goals and Beliefs

As a social studies teacher, Peggy believed that, as the world is globalizing, students need to have a more realistic and humanistic understandings about diverse peoples and cultures in the world. She said that, "Because as adults they're going to be competing in that marketplace and they

need to understand what it is all about. I don't want them to think people of the Asian continent as little green Martians. I want them to see them as people." For this, she wanted to create an open space where students could reflect on their preconceptions of certain countries or cultures and examine potential biases and limits in them. She believed that to better understand people in other cultures and societies, her students need to see the world through those people's eyes instead of confining them into their limited perspectives:

I allow an open forum for students to always question. I allow students to voice their points of view as long as they are not negative. It's one thing to say I don't know, but I do not allow students to say this is bad, this is dumb, this is stupid... And the way I teach and my personal beliefs, I try to open it out and not let it confine our learning, but instead to focus on the questions what we don't understand. Can we learn more about [what] we think of is odd and stupid? Before we actually verbalize it, let's take a look at it and walk in that person's shoes. What is it in their past that has brought them to this time and place? What's ongoing now inside that country with that group of people?

Another belief that Peggy had was the recognition of inner-diversities and dynamics within each region or continent. She underlined that, "I want to keep my students open; I want them to be open-minded; I want them to recognize the dynamics of that continent; I want them to see the diversity within the countries, within the groups of people who inhabit those regional areas of that continent." This emphasis on inner diversities and complexities was applied to her Asian

teaching, too. Peggy emphasized that recognizing physical diversities and its influence on human life is especially important in learning about Asia, since many students tend to bring monolithic and simplified perceptions of Asians and Asian culture:

Students need to know as soon as they come on board into that [Asia] unit: here's the diversity of the physical. That diversity of the physical created diversity of a human geography, and that not all Asians look like. But even more to the point is that the Asian people can live side by side to other countries that are Asian and have no commonalities. This is very hard for American students to visualize but I have seen from my Asian students that they didn't realize this either. They did not realize this either that Asian people may have almond shaped eyes of one variety or other, may be not all. They may be very light skinned to very dark brown. They may be tall.

Peggy also stressed the importance of developing humanistic understandings of Asians. She said that her young students tend to regard Asia as an "anti-Western" society and thus see Asian music and lifestyles as "oddities." To break down this distanced image, she believed her students should be aware that there are various groups of peoples in the wider world and, despite of differences in appearance and culture, Asians share the same humanity:

I want them to see the people as they are, not see things as oddities, and we're better than they are, but to see them as where they're at, and to realize we're but one small grain in the ocean, and everything that comes

towards us on that beach of humanity, we're just one sand grain in the world.

Considering the above goals, Peggy appears to agree with global educators, especially those who on the cooperative side in Gaudelli (2006)'s distinction. As we saw in Chapter 1, these global educators argue that, as the world is interconnected and students are more likely to encounter diverse cultures and peoples, they need to develop cross-cultural awareness and humanistic understandings of other cultures and societies (Case, 1993; Gaudelli 2003; Hanvey, 1976; Kirkwood, 2001a; Kniep, 1988). Similarly, Peggy aimed to open up students' minds to recognize cultural diversities around the world. She also emphasized an open-mindedness and humanistic attitude toward people who belong to different cultures and societies.

These goals seem to be especially pertinent considering her unique teaching context. That is, she has Asian, African American, and Hispanic students in her classroom while she is teaching about Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Accordingly, how she approaches the teaching of each continent would affect the identity and self-esteem of the students whose cultural heritage is related to these regions. In this sense, Peggy seems to have relevant goals for her teaching context, as she is likely to help students better understand their cultural heritage and develop a sound cultural identity.

This did not seem to be the case in Peggy's classroom, however, because of her cultural and political position. Studies on teacher beliefs tend to assume that stated goals would be implemented in reality without significant changes

(Adler & Confer 1998; Angell, 1998; Fehn & Koeppen, 1998). However, we need to consider that announced goals are just one layer of teacher identities and how they actually implement their curriculum would be influenced by other aspects of their belief. Therefore, instead of assuming that Peggy's curriculum about Asia would exemplify a cooperative global education, we need to examine other aspects of her identity which may interfere with her professed teaching goals. In particular, what seem to be notable in Peggy's case are her firm beliefs in cultural and political matters.

Teacher's Cultural and Political Position

Peggy's political stance stems from a belief that, although there was violence and mistreatment from certain racial groups over others, these are past stories and do not exist any more. They were committed by people whose mindset is different from that of people today. As such, even though it may be painful to look back upon tragedies of the past, it only clouds the truth that people are now equal regardless of their racial and cultural backgrounds. Applied to the U.S. domestic situation, this stance results in a belief that all Americans are now equal as U.S. citizens and they can be proud of their own cultural heritage:

I want them to realize that we are bonded by virtue of being U.S. citizens; we come from every part of the world. We have come at different times, our heritage is one in which there were no original men here, and we have parts of our history we can be very proud of, and there can be parts of our history in which we look back and say how could the Europeans have

treated the American Indians that way. How could they have treated the Asians that were forced to come to the west coast to live such demeaning lives, working the railroads, working the mines?... There are connections that are painful for us. And of which we currently had no part of. But it's painful to examine past practices in past time, in which people were of a different mindset than we are today.

Expanded into international affairs, Peggy's position bears a belief that colonial dominance is a past story and now each country is in charge of its political and economic situation. Therefore, if a country suffers from socio-economic and political instability, it is primarily because of their shortcomings not because of past colonial dominance. This belief seems to be more visible in the way she addresses Africa, the continent once devastated by brutal colonialism. She said that, in her class, her students came to realize that Africa is suffering from extreme poverty because of the lack of basic social infrastructures. Further, they, especially African American students, are "upset" when they see that Africans live in poor conditions despite their rich natural resources. As a matter of fact, this kind of emotion seemed to be created by Peggy, as she compared Africa with the U.S. and showed how the former was left behind:

Well, what kind of education system do these countries have in Africa and economically in each country? How much of that country is industrialized? Agriculturally what does it have as far as modern technology? We in the United States have large farms in which our commodities are immediately taken to market, and we have a transportation system and we have an

infrastructure...So they are able to understand then that, although Africa has tremendous potential with its natural resources, this is probably the poorest continent. It kind of upsets students to think that...here it has all these natural resources, but they are either being mismanaged or they are not being developed.

If Peggy engages Africa this way, it is not surprising that her African American students are disturbed and, according to her, “almost divorce themselves of the heritage that has come to the U.S. from Africa.” She said that African American students have been more interested in their cultural heritage and want to know more about Africa since the Civil Right Movement. However, through her teaching, African American students in her class were more likely to be disappointed and even embarrassed by the reality in Africa:

[African American] students want to study about that. But when we get into that region of the world I find my students are embarrassed, because they don't see kids in urban settings wearing Western style clothes. They're seeing them in villages, living in many cases poor existences. They're seeing people whose music is primitive to them. And so suddenly it's as if all their preconceived ideas that have given to them by their parents or the adults, suddenly that heritage is, “Look at this poor country. These people are still living tribal laws. They are not educated. They may dress in clothing that is not typical of any Western country.”

To be consistent with her teaching goals, Peggy would help her African American students recognize that African cultures have their unique

characteristics and they are not oddities even though they appear to be different from Western standards. She would also teach that poor conditions in Africa are not just caused through Africans' own fault, since many African countries are still suffering from the legacy of colonialism despite their efforts to create a better society. This does not seem to be the reality in her classroom, however, because of her political stance. Instead of helping African American students develop a cultural confidence, she is more likely to alienate them from their cultural heritage by perpetuating political and cultural stereotypes of Africa.

Another aspect of Peggy's political position comes from her anti-immigration sentiment and belief in the American cultural heritage, primarily targeted at the illegal immigrants and the Muslims in the U.S. As she said to the students:

For those coming to our country, do I believe there should be changes in our immigration laws? I said, individually, yes. Do I believe that we should be bringing six hundred thousand people a year? No. I believe that is too many. Do I believe we should be bringing people in from regions of the world in which they do not have our democratic principles and values?

And my answer to that is, honestly me as a person, that answer is No.

Peggy's resentment against immigrants seems to be based on the recent social outcry that illegal immigrants are deteriorating the life conditions of Americans and threatening the social security system: "They're into drug running, they're into prostitution, they're into racketeering of some kind. Murderers, they've brought gangs. They created a huge social problem. And that's why

you're seeing that the U.S. citizens, even a percentage of those who are of Hispanic heritage, they don't want any more illegals coming over." Especially, when the American economy is in a downturn, Peggy said it may well be that people are resentful of illegal immigrants who cause a race to the bottom:

When your economy in your country hits rock bottom, that's when you begin to see the citizenry look around them. They're going to take a look at jobs, and it seems to me that the illegals who are lowering the minimum wage because they are willing to work for nothing. They are the reason why companies aren't providing adequate health care. They are bringing in crime. They are a drain on social services for any local or state government.

On the other hand, Peggy's resentment against Muslims comes from the belief that they are threatening American cultural identity which is rooted in Christianity. She argued that early immigrants were at least willing to adjust themselves to be "Americans": "They came and they moved into communities large and small. They wanted to be U.S. citizens. They may have changed the spelling in their name. They wanted to be Americans. They may have made sure that their kids only spoke English. They wanted their kids to be Americans." However, according to her, problems occur when recent immigrants adhere to their original ways of life instead of accepting American values and cultural standards. In Peggy's mind, Muslim immigrants are particularly troubling, as they demand that American society be changed to fit with their culture, not vice versa:

We're talking about those of Muslim faith...and somebody said "public school, my son, my daughter have a right to wear their religious garb." "I don't want my son or my daughter standing and having to do the Pledge of Allegiance, because of the word 'God' in it. I don't want my son or daughter taking physical education, especially my daughter where they have to undress. I do not want in the public school at elementary level all the way through, holidays, all the traditional things celebrated. Christmas and Thanksgiving and Easter and Halloween," and all of this suddenly we were seeing that they want to come in take jobs, move into communities, but suddenly you as a Christian, you as an American, whatever your heritage was, they were intolerant of.

As implied above, Peggy believed that America is a country of Christianity and thus Muslim immigrants "build a lot of resentment," because they are intolerant of American cultures. She argued that, "If you go to a country as a guest, if you are there as a tourist, you need to be very very respectful of all the laws, and the culture, and it should be something that's reciprocated." That is, in her view, immigrants are guests to the U.S. and they have to respect and follow American ways of life and social systems.

Peggy's position on religious and cultural diversities seems to contradict with her professed goals as a social studies teacher. That is, whereas she wanted her students to respect cultural diversities and acquire open-mindedness toward other cultures, we saw that Peggy draws a line between what is American and what is un-American, dividing people who belong to the American cultural

heritage and those who belong to other cultural standards. If her political and cultural stance dominates her teaching, racial minorities in her classroom can be disadvantaged. It has been known that racial and cultural minority students are more likely to succeed in schools when teachers connect their curriculum with their culture of origin instead of denying it (Ladson-Billings, 1995). Therefore, if Peggy alienates minority students from their cultural backgrounds, students from non-Christian and non-White families may be disadvantaged by her position. As such, as we move into her Asia unit, one thing that we need to keep in mind is how the contradictory aspects of her beliefs play out in reality; which side is more dominant in her teaching about Asia and what its pedagogical consequences are.

Content Standards and the Structure of Curriculum

Having more than 15,000 students, the school district where Peggy teaches has its own pacing guides for its teachers. The district pacing guides specify what each social studies teacher is supposed to cover at each grade level. They are in turn aligned with state content standards in social studies which seems to be organized by the theory of horizon expansion. Often used in sequencing what is to be taught according to the learners' age level, the theory assumes that students' horizon of interests gradually expands from the self to the world (Jensen & Larson, 2005). Similarly, the state standards regulate that social studies curriculum start from the self and families and move beyond to the community, to the U.S., and, finally, to the world. In this framework, following the 6th grade, which is focused on the U.S. and the Western Hemisphere, 7th grade

social studies is defined by the district as “a geography-based course in which students will learn the fundamentals of geography and will apply that knowledge to the study of regions of the Eastern Hemisphere.” Thereafter, students shall learn advanced courses on the U.S. and world history, world geography, economics, and civics in upper, middle and high school years.

If we narrow our attention to the district pacing guides for the 7th grade Eastern Hemisphere, they require that teachers introduce citizenship and basic geography during the first marking period which consists of 10 weeks. During the next three marking periods, teachers are supposed to address Europe, Africa, Asia and the Pacific. According to Peggy, although teachers have the flexibility to decide how to teach each continent, they should not skip anything in the pacing guides, which makes the whole year quite tight and demanding. She insisted that the pacing guides require too much for a single-year study: “they want us to cover too much. It does not allow you to re-teach, it does not allow you to concentrate on areas that you think are more important.” In particular, the citizenship in the first marking period is problematic to her, since it barely connects to the geography of the Eastern Hemisphere. For this reason, she spends the first six weeks on physical geography, introducing basic knowledge and terms in geography. As a way to address citizenship, then, she teaches human geography within the context of the U.S. for the rest of the first marking period. This allows the students to “contrast and compare similarities and differences” as they move to other parts of the world.” She addresses “elements of government, elements of the economy so that the students can compare

United States economies, United States types of governing bodies, and prepare them as they move into Europe.”

During the second marking period, Peggy spends ten weeks on Europe; five weeks on Western Europe and the other five weeks on Russia and Eastern Europe. As the second semester begins, she moves to Africa for ten weeks and finally Asia and the Pacific during the fourth marking period, which usually starts in April and ends in early June when the school year ends. As I noted earlier, this schedule is quite tight and demanding for Peggy and her students. Peggy insisted that the district pacing guides “have become more and more intense” and her students are “just overwhelmed,” since they are still familiar with elementary level of social studies which “was filler for the week.” To handle this overloaded curriculum, her strategy in teaching each continent is starting from an overview on the whole continent in terms of physical and human geography. She divides the continent into regions and then chooses to focus on representative countries which play a significant role in each region.

In Peggy’s Asia unit, the representative regions are East Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia. Central Asia and the Middle East are invisible in this structure, since she blends Central Asia in the unit on Russia and Eastern Europe and teaches the Middle East in the Africa unit as part of North Africa. Peggy said that she considered religious and cultural ties in organizing those areas this way. In the case of Oceania and the Pacific, even though she usually puts it for one or two weeks after the Asia unit, she does not seem to underline that they are part of Asia. As a result, East Asia, South Asia and Southeast Asia

remain the key areas in her Asia unit. With regard to representative countries in each region, she focuses on China along with Taiwan and Hong Kong, the Koreas, and Japan in East Asia. India, Pakistan and Bangladesh are major countries in South Asia. And finally, she focuses on Indonesia, Malaysia, Vietnam, and Thailand in Southeast Asia. Peggy said that, in organizing her Asia unit, she considered the Asian descendants in the school as most of them came from those regions. She believed that focusing on these areas would help these Asian students “to have a sense of representation” and “to be able to visualize where their ancestors have come from.”

Peggy's regular curriculum, however, was changed this year because of the building renovation. In addition, there was another incident that further delayed many teachers' curriculum: teacher reductions in the middle of the school year. According to Peggy, because of the tight budget, the school district laid off teachers three times this year. She said that almost one third of the classes between grade six and eight were eliminated and students were reassigned to other teachers. As a result, teachers had to struggle to maintain the learning environment when each group of new students came into their classrooms. This turmoil caused many teachers to delay their curriculum which was already behind because of the move. Peggy informed me that some 7th grade social studies teachers in her school were still teaching about Africa and they might not get to Asia this year. Even though she managed to spare time for the Asia unit, she had to reschedule her curriculum, too. Table 3.1 shows a more detailed sequence and timeline of her Asia unit this year.

Table 3.1. Organization of Peggy's Asian curriculum

Date		Regions	Countries/ Topics	Pedagogical Events/resources
Week 1	Day 1	Asia	Introduction	Asia survey, Individual project using atlas; <i>A continent in brief</i>
	Day 2	Asia	Physical geography	Individual project using atlas and textbook; - <i>A continent in brief</i> - <i>Let's get physical</i>
Week 2	Day 3	East Asia	Physical Geography	Reading textbook
	Day 4	East Asia	Physical Geography	Individual project - <i>East Asia land and water terms</i> - <i>Nation of Asia</i>
	Day 5	East Asia	Physical geography	Individual project: <i>The land and water of East Asia</i>
	Day 6	East Asia	Physical geography	Finishing individual projects and taking a quiz
	Day 7	Asia	Asia	Whole class activity; Gallery Walk
Week 3	Day 8	East Asia	Climate and vegetation	Reading textbooks, Watching a video on the culture of East Asia
	Day 9	Asia	Finding geographic name	Individual project using atlas; <i>ABC's of Asia</i>
	Day 10	East Asia	Natural resources	Finishing climate and vegetation charts, Reading textbook
	Day 11	Asia	Economy	Individual project using textbook; Economies fact book
Week 4	Day 13	East Asia	Culture of East Asia	Reading Textbook
	Day 14	East Asia	Culture vocabularies Culture of Japan	Culture vocabulary handout and watching a video on Japanese living treasures
	Day 15	East Asia	Culture of Japan	Watching the video
	Day 16	Asia	East and Southeast Asia	Whole class activity; Gallery Walk 2
Week 5	Day 17	East Asia	Culture of Japan	Watching the video on Japanese living treasures
	Day 18	East Asia	China	Watching <i>Mulan</i>
	Day 19	East Asia	China	Watching <i>Mulan</i>

As the table shows, Peggy could not afford to teach about India and the Pacific this year while barely touching on Southeast Asia. Instead, after briefly overviewing the entire continent, she decided to mainly focus on East Asia. This is because she believes East Asia is the “powerhouse” of Asia and its culture and economy influence other Asian countries. Indeed, in her regular schedule, she usually starts the Asia unit with East Asia and moves to South and Southeast Asia, as she uses East Asia as a springboard in teaching about other Asian regions:

For East Asia we take a look at the economy and the standards of living. We compare and contrast individual rights and political systems, we do take a look at the physical geography, but we like to take a look at the economy, standard of living and the political systems. And as we move into the South and Southeast Asia, we again take a look at the physical, but now we are able to contrast how the people and their standard of living are different than those from the power houses of East Asia. And we take a look at their economies also which often times are cottage economies and not industrialized.

The table also shows that, as Peggy said above, the class had addressed such topics as physical geography, economy, natural resources, and culture within the context of Asia, mostly East Asia. Among these topics, the table suggests that she spent more time on physical geography, including landscape, water, climate and vegetation. Even though this is true, I often observed her mentioning the growing power and the economy of East Asia even while she was

addressing other topics. She noted a few times in her teaching that East Asia was able to achieve a fast growing economy despite its limited natural resources because of its people's high educational motivation. Also, she repeated the political situation of North Korea and the potential contradiction between China's political and economic systems. Thus, even though invisible in the table, the growing economy and political situations along with physical geography were key topics throughout her Asia unit.

Another notable fact in the table is that Peggy used many individual projects and activities. I saw her using various kinds of individual assignments in almost all classes, whereas giving long lectures only a few times. As a result, students were mostly doing their own work, referring to a textbook or atlas. She also used a whole-class activity called "Gallery Walk" twice, which she usually uses at the outset of each continent. In my observation, she had put together a few desks to construct stations before the class began and put information sheets on the desks in each station. Some sheets provided general information such as history, culture, economy and physical geography of Asia, whereas others had more specific information about certain countries. As the class started, Peggy divided students into groups and assigned each one to a specific station. Thereby, students were supposed to read the sheet and fill out a worksheet before a song was over. Upon a new song—she was playing Chinese music—starting, students moved to a new station and repeated the same process throughout for all stations. Therefore, even though the whole class was engaged, the Gallery Walk was also an individual project in its nature. Indeed, there was

almost no interaction among the students throughout the class, while they were busy completing their own worksheets.

While students were doing various types of individual projects and assignments, once in a while Peggy posted their grade on each assigned work so that students could see their potential grade. As students' final grade would be decided by the sum of these grades, there were no additional tests at the end of her Asia unit. Consequently, her unit on Asia was over at the same time as the school year ended.

Peggy's Teaching about Asia

Peggy's first day of the Asia unit started by changing classroom decorations from Africa to Asia. Until the day before, the classroom walls had been decorated with artifacts and photos on Africa. However, when I entered the classroom the next day, the walls were filled with photos, maps, images and pictures on Asian peoples, cultures and landscapes. On the front desk, beside the whiteboard, were picture books on Asian countries, which she checked out from the library. These changes recontextualized the classroom to better fit with what would come next. Later, she told me that she makes these kinds of changes whenever a new unit begins.

The first class on Asia began with her brief introduction to the continent and a student-survey that Peggy devised. She emphasized that Asia is the largest continent with a tremendous diversity in landscape, race, people, and culture. Skimming the continent, she reminded the students that they had learned

about Central Asia as part of Eastern Europe and the Middle East as part of the Africa unit. After finishing a brief introduction, the students did a survey called "Tic Tac Know: What do you know about Asia?" It consisted of nine columns each of which had its own task e.g., "Name 4 countries in Asia," "What do most Asians look like?" and "Name a famous man-made feature found in Asia." When the students finished the survey, the teacher began to go over each column and asked the students to share their answers. The questions that received special attention were, "Types of Asian food" and "What do most Asians look like?" Many students were eager to talk about their favorite Asian foods and local Asian restaurants. Also, they were having a controversy over what Asians look like. When a few students said that Asians are short and small-built, a student countered that Yao Ming, an NBA player, is very tall. A few other students supported this, saying that there are many Asian players who are tall and heavy. Also, when a student said that Asians' skin color is dark, a few other students argued that they saw Asian models in magazines whose faces were white.

For the next couple of days, the class was doing various types of individual projects and activities related to the physical geography of East Asia. In some cases, students were making country profiles, and in other cases, they were asked to find major landscapes such as archipelagos, deserts, lakes, plateaus, and seas. At times, Peggy distributed textbooks and classroom atlases so that students could draw necessary information to complete their assignments. Also, though not very often, she occasionally used textbooks as the major teaching resource. In these cases, she had the students read sections on the

topic under discussion. While students read the sections paragraph by paragraph, she supplemented the textbook description with her own explanations. In particular, if the class encountered a specific country, this was where Peggy revealed her personal views on Asian countries.

As the class moved from physical geography to natural resources and economy, her personal views on economic and political issues became more visible. Especially, Peggy's negative remarks on China and North Korea were notable. With regard to North Korea, she introduced it as "a police state controlled by a crazy dictator who is like Hitler." After explaining about the Korean War and the creation of DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) between South Korea and North Korea, she informed the students that U.S. soldiers have protected the area since the end of the war and if they were pulled out, North Korea would invade South Korea once again. In an interview, she went further to argue that if the U.S. had taken North Korea instead of agreeing on a truce to end the Korean War, "we would never have had a Vietnam, we would never have had the Philippines or Indonesia and other parts of Southeast Asia involved with terrorists. It would never have happened."

The country which was portrayed most negatively by Peggy was, however, China. Talking about the return of Hong Kong to China, she said that there was a contract between the British and Chinese governments to lease Hong Kong for a hundred years and to "honor" the contract, the British government decided to return Hong Kong to China. However, she insisted that she "would have not returned Hong Kong to communist China if she had been the British

government,” since the current Chinese government was not the same one that made the original contract. The deeper reason why she was regretful of the return of Hong Kong seems to come from her belief that, “Hong Kong is now the money base of communist China” which allows it to “get hot money to compete with the U.S. and European countries.” That is, since the return of Hong Kong, China became a world power and now it is even threatening the U.S. in international trade and politics.

Another topic Peggy repeated a few times was China's one-child policy and its alleged unequal gender relationship. She said that the Chinese government had been strictly enforcing the one-child policy since the 1950s. She also said that in China only married couples can have a child and thus if an unwed has a baby, the baby would be put to death. Noticing that this created a lot of surprise among the students, she kept saying that, if a couple divorces, the child would always go to the father because males are privileged in China. Many students were again surprised as if they could not believe it. She added that families prefer a son over a daughter and if the first baby is not a boy, the infant would be taken by the nurse and put to death. At this point, students' surprise became shock and a few students murmured: “Stupid.”

While Peggy portrayed China with these negative images, as the class moved to the culture of East Asia, Japan began to receive more attention with quite a different tone. Even though she briefly spoke about Japanese colonialism and its take-over of the Korean peninsula and Manchuria, Japan was often depicted as a civilized and well-managed country. She said that Japan was never

taken over by outside countries, because they have been strong and powerful enough. In her lesson on Japan, she stated that Japan imported its culture from China and Korea in the past, but it made imported cultures into its own.

Introducing Japan's effort to preserve its traditional culture, she compared it with efforts in the U.S. to honor artists at local and federal levels. This friendlier attitude toward Japan may have come from her personal contact with the Japanese guests; her father used to invite Japanese families to her house for dinner. In that sense, it is not surprising that she focused on Japan in dealing with the culture of East Asia. After explaining the importance of preserving traditional arts, she introduced the class to a video, titled *Living Treasures of Japan*. Produced in 1988 by the *National Geographic*, it features nine out of 70 craftspeople and performing artists selected by the Japanese government to preserve its ancient arts. In return for the honor and financial support from the government, those artists continue their work and teach apprentices to transmit their skills to the next generation. Out of the 70 selected people, the video shows nine old artists such as a sword maker, a pottery maker and a doll maker.

When the class spent three days watching the video, the semester was almost over and only a couple of days remained. As the end of the school year approached, students seemed to be more and more disengaged from their school work. Even though Peggy attempted to finish a few more assignments, it did not go well and, at times, the class became quite disruptive and disorderly. Noticing that students did not want to work hard any more, Peggy decided to show the Disney animated film, *Mulan*. This created a lot of excitement from the

students, despite many students having said that they had already watched it. Watching the film continued until the last day of school. On that day, Peggy called names of several students whose performances were exemplary and gave them small awards, which seemed to be an annual ritual. After this small event, the class restarted watching *Mulan*, and with the bell, the final class was over.

Teaching Materials and Resources

Learning materials and resources have a substantial impact on shaping a teacher's pedagogy. How to choose relevant resources and how to organize and make use of them are a key part of a teacher's professional judgment. Therefore, we need to investigate what types of curricular materials Peggy used in his class, how, and what its pedagogical consequences were.

In Peggy's teaching, what played a dominant role were various types of handouts and individual projects. In most cases, she was busy distributing new handouts and collecting previous ones which would be used as major resources in evaluating students' work. As a result, printed materials along with textbooks and atlases were the major teaching resources in Peggy's classroom. Even in rare cases when she used audiovisual materials, she never allowed the students to just watch it. For example, in watching *Mulan*, she had the students finish a handout on ancient Chinese culture, spending quite a while debriefing it. It asked students to draw a dragon or copy a Chinese style of seal which was used by an emperor to stamp official documents. This made the class watch *Mulan* for only 15 minutes on the first day and they still could not finish it on the next day. Also,

in watching *Living Treasures of Japan*, each time it featured an artist, students had to write five things that they had seen in the video. At times, her teaching style created complaints among students who wanted to keep watching films instead of being disturbed by assignments. For example, the writing task on *Living Treasures of Japan* caused frustration among students, as they were not familiar with technical terms in the video. Also, many students were complaining about the assignments on *Mulan*, as they wanted to watch it uninterrupted.

The assignments and projects were not only bothersome to the students, but they also required a lot of time and energy from Peggy. She had to make all the copies and ultimately evaluate the submitted work, which often took a long time. She told me a few times that she had to evaluate students' work over the weekends or in holidays. However, she believed that her style of teaching was better than that which depends on multiple-choice tests, as it "generates and improves those reading skills, those writing skills, those retention skills." Indeed, Peggy emphasized that she wanted her students to develop work ethic along with basic literacy skills: "I feel that students have to develop a work ethic. Students have to learn how to process and, if you're not going to provide that, they're never going to learn it." This emphasis on student involvement and work ethic makes her suspicious of depending on a textbook:

I do not believe that you can open up a standardized textbook in that particular class and go through from the front page to the back page.

You're going to lose your students, you're going to lose your way, too. You have to take the learning off of the written page. The written page is only

one tool, one tool in learning. But it cannot be the only thing that you are utilizing.

We can see here why Peggy used textbooks more as supporting material than as the major teaching resource. That is, to engage students' learning, she believed that teachers should employ more dynamic and engaging resources instead of simply depending on textbooks. Another aspect of her belief regarding teaching materials is her distrust of students' daily culture which, according to her, depends too much on computer and technology: "Computers and technology for our young people are gimmicks. They are not vehicles for learning. That's a chore, because they're used to immediate access and yet that access does not enlighten them, it's to occupy their time." She continued to insist that students have lost their work ethic because they tend to find easier ways than committing themselves to producing meaningful learning products:

Our students live in such a computerized world. They have grown up with TV from the time they've been infants to currently. They become mom and dad's babysitters; TV, their iPod's, their computer programs, their Nintendo's. So for students today coming into a classroom they don't want to read. If it's not on some sort of video screen they really don't want to read and they lose out on that writing process...If you have a social studies project, you go to an encyclopedia, you go online, here is some PhD who has done all of the work and all I'm doing is copying. I'm not learning how to pull information off. I'm not learning how to organize it. I'm not learning how to do any research skills.

This illustrates that Peggy's use of teaching materials is connected with her stance on what students need to acquire. That is, as she believed that students need to restore basic literacy skills and work ethic which they had lost because of computer and technology, she used various types of projects and assignments which require students' engagement. How, then, did her learning materials influence students' learning about Asia? Were they engaged in meaningful learning experiences about Asia, while developing basic skills and work ethic? Or her curricular materials did not create intended results by Peggy, and if so, why? The following section addresses these issues.

Students' learning

Developing a global perspective and multicultural awareness seems to have a special importance to the students in Peggy's classroom. Coming from racially and culturally diverse families, they should learn how to interact with their classmates who may have different cultural backgrounds and belief systems. As 7th graders, this is the first year for them to learn about the Eastern Hemisphere in their school curriculum. Therefore, what they learn from Peggy this year would lay a foundation for their future global perspectives and dispositions. Most of all, living in an urban area which has been hit hard by a shrinking economy, these students need to know what is going on in the world and what they should do for their economic and social well-being. In this context, it would be helpful for Peggy to open her students' eyes to see the wider world and help them develop more complex and humanistic understandings of world cultures and societies. Her

emphasis on basic literacy and work ethic may also be beneficial to the students, as they can be used not only in further global inquiry but also in other school subjects. Unfortunately, her goals to develop these dispositions and capacities did not seem to be implemented in her practice.

In a pre-survey, I asked students to list 5 things that they know about or associate with Asia in general. And, in a post-survey I raised a similar question with a slight change, asking them to write 5 things they've learned about Asia. I asked similar questions about each East Asian country; in the pre-survey, I asked them to list 3-5 things that they know about or associate with China, Japan, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea, and Taiwan. Then, in the post-survey, I asked them to write 3-5 things that they've learned about each country in their class. In either case, I could not find any substantial changes in students' responses between the pre- and post-survey. To the question on Asia in general, students' responses in the pre-survey were primarily limited to East Asia whereas other Asian regions were almost invisible. More specifically, 25 responses were related to Japan, 7 to China, 3 to Korea, 1 to Hong Kong. No other countries were mentioned. Students' responses about each country included general perceptions such as the Great Wall, food, videogames, religion, and animation. Regarding Asia in general, students also provided somewhat typical responses: Asia is a big continent with a large population; Asian culture is different from theirs; Asian students are smart, and so on. Similar responses were found in the post-survey without any evidence supporting that their knowledge has deepened or widened. Although a few responses provided more specific information such

as “Vietnam is in Asia” and “North Korea and South Korea were at war,” most students provided similar responses to those in the pre-survey. A few responses in the post-survey in fact illustrate that students still maintained stereotypical perceptions of Asians and Asian culture neglecting dynamic changes and inner diversities: “They [Asians] are very traditional,” “They like Macdonald’s,” “I think that many Asians like to keep traditions alive to pass to the next generation.”

Similar findings appeared in questions on each country. For example, to the question about China, students provided such responses as big country, Great Wall, growing economy, food, and New Year’s celebration in the pre-survey. A few students revealed misinformation as they answered Hong Kong is the capital of China and China produces a lot of cars—these students appeared to confuse China with Japan. In the post-survey, even though a few responses provided more specific information such as “Beijing is capital” and “it is densely populated in coast-lines,” a predominant number of responses remained similar with those in the pre-survey. Similar patterns were found in questions on other East Asian countries, too—except for a few more specific responses about each country, students did not show any significant changes in their knowledge and perception of each country.

A few potential changes were found in the Likert-scale survey questions. In the post-survey, 43% of students stated that they are familiar with Asian cultures “somewhat” or “very much,” whereas only 12% of students did so in the pre-survey. This suggests that students became more familiar with Asian cultures through Peggy’s teaching. Also, a slightly larger number of students replied that

they would like to have more Asian friends and believe it is important to know more about Asians and Asian cultures. However, these positive changes are offset by the fact that students still feel Asian cultures are strange and difficult to understand. In the pre-survey, 50% of students replied that Asians and Asian cultures are different from their own and they are difficult to understand. This rate slightly increased to 55% in the post-survey, meaning many students still feel distanced from Asian cultures even after Peggy's Asia unit.

Above findings support that, even though students might become more interested in Asia, students' knowledge and understanding were not considerably improved through Peggy's teaching and they still felt Asian peoples and cultures are remote and strange. Regarding this result, a couple of explanations seem plausible. First, in contrast to her professed goals, Peggy was not able to create an open space where students could reflect on their potential biases and misconceptions and develop new understandings. This seems to be because her enacted curriculum was dominated by her political and cultural position whereas her original teaching goals were almost forgotten. The way she addressed China's one-child policy illustrates this point. If we remember her teaching goals, she would have introduced diverse aspects of the policy and asked students to understand it through insiders' perspective. However, because of her political position, she created a one-dimensional, negative perception of the one-child policy.

As a matter of fact, since introduced in 1979—Peggy gave misinformation to her students by saying that China had enforced the policy since the 1950s— to

control the growing population, the implementation of the policy has been changed according to social contexts (Hesketh, et. al., 2005; Short & Fengying, 1998). Since the later 1980s, the policy has primarily applied to urban residents and government employees, whereas a second child is generally allowed in rural areas where 70% of the people live (Hesketh, et. al., 2005). There exists a substantial flexibility in reality. For example, a couple can have a second child, if the first child is a girl or disabled or both parents are themselves from one-child families (Short & Fengying, 1998). In terms of incentives and penalties, one-child certificates are provided to couples who signed a pledge agreeing to have only one child with possible benefits of health care or cash subsidies. A primary sanction of the violators of this policy is the imposition of a fine or limited access to health care, even though wide varieties exist across regions (Short & Fengying, 1998). These diverse aspects of the one-child policy and China's effort to handle the growing population were not mentioned by Peggy, however. Rather, she portrayed China as a brutal and inhumane society by focusing on a few extreme cases.

If Peggy herself maintained this kind of imbalanced view on other cultures, she was not likely to correct students' responses which might be racially and culturally irrelevant. I often observed the students say inappropriate remarks without noticing that they could hurt people of Asian heritage. For example, while doing a student survey, a group of students were arguing whether it is true that Asians eat the brain of a monkey—this bizarre image would come from a Hollywood movie, *Indiana Jones* series. While reading a textbook section on

peoples and cultures of East Asia, a student shouted, "Wow, scary!" What she was pointing to was a picture of a group of Chinese people heavily made up to perform a traditional opera. A student sitting beside me asked if I was ever made up and worn clothes like that. In the same class, another student asked the teacher rather suddenly if Asians have dentists at all. What she was referring to was a picture of a smiling Tibetan woman with traditional costume, whose teeth were seemingly bad. However, these and other cases, Peggy did not facilitate class conversation to examine cultural biases and misunderstandings nor did she point out the potential limits in media portrayal and textbook representations of Asia. Accordingly, cultural misconceptions among the students were more likely to be passed unchecked instead of being deconstructed through an intellectual engagement.

Another obstacle to students' learning seems to be inherent in the teaching materials that Peggy used. Most assignments and worksheets Peggy used in her teaching required rather simple skills. In most cases, students were drawing information from reference books and completing their worksheets without much intellectual involvement. The best example of these simple and didactic projects may be the "ABC's of Asia." For this project, students were supposed to find three geographic places, animals, or vegetations in Asia which start with each letters of alphabet. For example, students might give "Bamboo, Bangkok, and Buddha" for B. In my observation of this class, students were busy during the whole hour finding geographic locations in a map to fill out the worksheet. But this was more like finding hidden pictures and students were

struggling to find necessary words from the atlas and textbook without any meaningful intellectual engagement. For instance, for Q, a few students found Qatar, Qiqihar (a city in Northern China) and Qaraghandy (a city in Kazakhstan) from an atlas, but they did not even seem to know how to pronounce these words, especially the latter two. In fact, this was not important, since the assignment did not require it. As this illustrates, the students did not seem to be deeply engaged with Asians or Asian cultures through Peggy's teaching resources. Rather, they seemed to be bored by their assigned work, often making noise and causing disciplinary problems.

Indeed, another factor that interrupted students' learning about Asia was the degraded relationship between Peggy and her students. Whereas Peggy had noted that teachers usually do not have to worry about classroom management in honors sections, I observed her occasionally being at odds with the students, a situation that became quite serious at times. Now and then, she was struggling to keep the students on-track, as they were side talking and bantering with each other. Especially, as the end of the school year drew closer, the teacher-student relationship further worsened. She had to order students to stand in the hallway and send them to the principal's office. Not only did Peggy kick out students more often, she did so sooner. One day, a student was kicked out right after the bell rang, since the student refused to take an assigned seat. A few other students were not allowed to come into the classroom because they were late by a few minutes. In many cases, however, these penalties did not help Peggy rebuild a learning environment, as many students did not agree with her

treatment. Some of them even expressed their disagreement publicly, which made the classroom quite an uncomfortable place. In interviews and in personal conversations, Peggy was lamenting the degrading students' behaviors and their loss of motivation to learn. She also said that it became harder and harder to control the students and make them work towards the end of school year. Therefore, if she keeps the current structure of her year-long curriculum, she may have to struggle with the same problem each year, which may interfere with students' learning about Asian societies and cultures.

In this chapter, I have described how Asia was taught in an urban middle school classroom. I investigated what the teacher's goals were in teaching about Asia and why her goals were not implemented through her teaching. I will return to this topic in Chapter 6, where I will further explore what caused this disconnection and what its pedagogical and cultural consequences are.

What needs to be noted here is that the lack of opportunities to develop cross-cultural awareness and global perspectives may have a negative impact on the urban students in Peggy's classroom. As Lipman (2004) argues, the emergence of a global economy and the subsequent deindustrialization of the U.S. economy constitute new challenges to poor and minority students in inner cities. As U.S. industries are rapidly moving overseas, many students would not get the manufacturing jobs that used to be available to them. Students in Peggy's classroom and their families already began to face these challenges, as the local economy had been hit hard by the stumbling manufacturing industry. Without developing necessary capacities and knowledge, these poor, inner-city students

would be stuck in the lower levels of sinking urban economies (Lipman, 2004). In other words, students who have experienced working with diverse groups of people and are aware of what is happening in the world are more likely to succeed economically and socially than those who hold an ethnocentric closed mind. Accordingly, inner-city students would be further disadvantaged if their teachers do not help them acquire the cultural capital necessary to live in a global society.

In the next chapter, I describe another type of teaching and learning about Asia. We will meet a teacher and his students who are, in many aspects, largely different from Peggy and her students.

CHAPTER 4: ASIA IN A HIGH SCHOOL CLASSROOM

School, Teacher, and Students

Redwood High School where Barry teaches social studies is a suburban school serving about 950 students. Its racial composition shows 90 percent of Whites and a small number of racial minorities including Black, Hispanic and Asian students. According to Barry, the school has more money than most other high schools in the areas. Indeed, 9% of the students are eligible for a free or reduced lunch whereas the state average is about 40%. The median household income was \$53,000 in 2005 whereas the state average was \$46,000. This wealth of the community allows the school to provide its students a conducive learning environment. Its building is nice and clean. The modern style of library has more than 9,000 books, several subscription-based databases and more than 30 computers with Internet access. The wealth of the school district also allowed Barry to have state-of-art equipments in his classroom through which he could show more updated and various audio-visual materials. For example, in addition to a projector and a screen, he had a smart board which was connected to a computer. He could use the board as a touch screen to show diverse images and recent data from the Internet and save what he wrote on it as an electronic file.

Barry had been teaching geography for seven years in Redwood High while I was collecting data for this research. Other courses he was teaching or had taught include U.S. History and International Relations. Coaching the

schools' tennis club, he was a young and energetic teacher who was trying to connect his teaching with students' daily interests and lives. His teaching styles and emphases as a teacher seemed to be substantially influenced by his family and cultural backgrounds. His late father used to be a professor in the geography department in a major state university. Following his father, he had a variety of opportunities to travel around the world and to experience other cultures and societies. Also, the fact that he was born to a Colombian mother and a White father has a significant impact on his goals as a geography teacher. He said that, because both his parents had non-American cultural backgrounds, he teaches more about cultures than "a lot of American teachers who just have degrees." In particular, it has been troubling to him that Mexico over-represents the Latin American cultures in the U.S., which doesn't do justice to Colombia, his mothers' country. Indeed, he has been frustrated by the American stereotype of Colombia as a country of drug cartels, whereas it has much more diverse aspects with more than 40 million people and an area more than twice that of France. These personal experiences seemed to make him sensitive to cultural bias and believe that he should teach his students to "knock down stereotypes" and respect each culture at it is.

The major data used in this study was generated in his semester-long geography class, required of 10th graders. Following Barry's recommendation, I chose to observe the third hour which was mostly made up of white students except one female Indian descent. Among the 29 students, 10 students were male and 19 students were female. According to Barry, these students are

mostly “middle class who grew up in this area and do not have a lot of experiences outside” their own worlds. He described the class as pretty diverse in terms of intellectual capacity and level of involvement – the reason he recommended the class to me:

I like the class because it has a good balance of different personalities and learning styles. I have everything from kids who are very intelligent and who are very social. I’ve got different levels of learning styles with that. So for instance, there is no dominate group of kids, or dominate personalities, which is nice... I do like that class to observe, because it gives you a chance to see how very different people learn a common material. So that’s why I chose that class, I like the different learning styles. It has a more broad range of diverse students.

Indeed, being in the class for about eight weeks, I was able to observe a wide range of students, even though they seemed to be similar in terms of their race and class backgrounds. One of the students, who was practicing TaeKwonDo—a Korean martial art—for several years, was interested in Korean culture. A couple of other students were having a deep interest in Japan through video games and comics. On the other hand, I was also able to observe many other students who have only vague understandings about the cultures and peoples outside the U.S. In terms of involvement, some students were actively involved in class, while others kept silent and even some others skipped the class sporadically. While collecting data, most of students provided a warm welcome. They greeted me whenever they saw me and were willing to me help

me if I had any questions for them. They were not hesitant to ask me about my life in Korea and about Asian cultures more generally. This context allowed me to acquire deeper understandings of what is taught and how about Asia in this classroom.

Teacher Personal Goals

As a geography teacher, Barry wanted his students to have an open-mind and respect positive aspects of diverse cultures and peoples around the world:

Whenever I teach about Africa, Asia, Latin America, I start by saying this is not where we bring in negative stereotypes. That's not what this is about. You're here to learn the positive aspects of their cultures, and if things come up we will address them. Yesterday I taught my fourth hour geography class that you should not refer to Asian people any more as Oriental in the United States. That is no longer a politically correct term. Now we prefer to use the term Asian American or if you know their culture, call them a Korean or a Japanese. So these are things that I feel like I have to go over and over all the time.

His emphasis on deconstructing negative perceptions about other cultures is not surprising, if we remember that he himself has suffered from stereotypes about Latin American countries. He continued to stress that, "I want kids to understand that every part of the world has value, every part of the world has beauty, and every part of the world is an important part of everybody's lives... So my goal is to teach that it doesn't matter where you're from, Asia, Africa. You're

beautiful, people are all beautiful and we need to respect and honor that.” This illustrates that Barry tries to humanize other peoples and cultures and teach his students to understand that every culture has its own value despite surface differences.

In addition to open-mindedness and respecting cultural differences, another emphasis he underlined was that geography teaching could and should be interesting. As the following statement illustrates, one of the most frequently repeating themes in his interviews was “interesting,” “cool,” and “fun”:

I would like to say that, as you've observed teaching the subject matter, I think geography can be very interesting, I think geography can be very enriching, I think kids are interested in it, but I think it takes, it takes a little effort to teach geography and make it interesting, and that applies to all teaching of anything, so no matter what you teach, whether it's math or science, you've got to find a way to make it appealing to kids.

As to why he believes that geography should be interesting, two explanations seem to be possible. First, in one of our conversation, he told me that geography is a marginalized subject in the school, since students consider math and science more important. As a result, according to him, some students simply come to his geography class in order to have a break. If this is the case, it may not be easy for him to make his course demanding and require a lot work to the students. In fact, I've rarely seen him give homework or require demanding tasks of the students. According to Barry, whereas most parents approve of his teaching, some think his class is too easy, and last year a parent called and

accused him of being lazy. However, he still believed that his class should be accessible and enjoyable to the students rather than hard and rigorous. In this sense, his emphasis on students' interest seems to reflect the status of geography in school curriculum and students' expectation of it: geography is not a core subject and thus should not be difficult or demanding. However, from a different angle, he also seemed to believe that learning about diverse cultures and peoples around the world should be interesting and engaging in and of themselves. Stressing that students have to respect the uniqueness of each culture and appreciate its positive aspects, it is not surprising that he tried to give students a positive learning experience. Therefore, his emphasis on providing interesting lessons is not only pushed by the school and the students, but also reflects his teaching philosophy and the nature of the subject he teaches.

As he believed that geography should be interesting, Barry puts more emphasis on the human and cultural side of geography than on physical geography. He said that the students are not interested in such terms as "plateau, a mesa, the delta of a river." Rather, according to him, they want to know more about "why these people look like this, why they eat those foods, why they dress like this, why they have this belief." Indeed, in my observation, he spent more time addressing the culture and people of a specific region or country than its landscape, vegetation, and natural resources. There were some exceptions, as he emphasized that most of Japan is uninhabitable because of mountains and there are differences between western and eastern China in terms of climate and landscape. However, these physical aspects were still addressed within the

context of human geography: the urbanization in Japan and the differences between western and eastern China in terms of industry and lifestyle.

Emphases in teaching about Asia

What Barry wanted his students to learn through his Asian unit seems generally consistent with his overarching goals as a geography teacher. To begin with, he often emphasized that students should respect inner diversities among Asian cultures:

Another thing I try to focus on is, because each country is so different, trying to draw and understand the differences between Korean people, and Japanese and Chinese, and Mongolians and etc... So I try to focus somehow, on something that can help distinguish each individual culture, for the simple fact that I get annoyed with the American stereotype that all Asian people are Chinese, that all Korean people are Japanese. It's too much of that in our culture, and we need to step beyond that.

Indeed, I often observed Barry try to deconstruct stereotypes and widen students' understandings about Asia. Addressing the Middle East, for example, he emphasized that most Iranians use Farsi, a language different from the Arabic and they are also different from people in other Arab countries in terms of ethnicity, religion, and history. He also started his lesson on Japan from underlining that Japan is quite different from China, and in fact China, Korea, and Japan are all different from each other as a mainland, a peninsula, and an island country, respectively.

Barry also attempted to convey lively images of people and cultures in Asian countries. In an interview, he said that he would like to teach his students to understand “the way [Asian] people view life, the way they view love, relationship, family.” As such, he often used audio-visual materials representing diverse aspects of life among Asians. Another thing that he stressed is making students aware of cultural differences between Asia and the U.S. For example, he used an overhead about the value of the first son and respecting elders in Korean culture which is “not a concept in America.” He continued to say that, “things like the concepts of marriages and high divorce rates in the United States, the number of children in a family, the emphasis on boys in some of the Asian cultures, more so than American cultures. Those kinds of differences I think are very important as a part of the big idea of teaching.”

In addition to common goals across continents, Barry also had unique emphases in the Asian unit, especially in teaching about East Asia—its growing economy and economic ties between the U.S. and Asia. One of the most conspicuous and repeated theme he was trying to focus on in East Asia was a growing economy. Barry even believed that the economy itself can be a sole reason why American students should learn about East Asia:

East Asia to me, as an American teacher, needs to be represented well in the classroom because of the obvious continuous growing dependency of the United States on East Asia the economies, the influence everything. So the big idea is...the economy of East Asia and the connection and ties to all of our country, whether it's Wal-Mart, whether it's my television,

whether it's the automobile I drive, anything. So to me it's one of the big ideas with Asia that I try to go.

This emphasis on the economy of East Asia seems to reflect the wider social attention, as the economic relationship between Asia and the U.S. is receiving a growing concern. As in many other cases, however, the economic issue has multiple faces, resulting in complex results. As Friedman (2005) contends, the loss and benefits of global economy is complicatedly intertwined. For example, there has been a national outcry about the growing trade deficit with and the outsourcing of U.S. manufacturing industries to Asian countries. Contrary to this loss, however, there have been huge benefits that U.S. consumers enjoy because of the economic tie with Asia. *Fortune* magazines, for example, quoted a report estimating that since the mid-1990s alone, cheap imports from China have saved U.S. consumers roughly \$600 billion and have saved U.S. manufacturers untold billions in cheaper parts for their products (Chandler, 2004).

Not only the economy, but other topics that Barry emphasizes in his teaching also have multiple facets. For example, the comparison between the US and Asian cultures might result in essentializing the two sides, perpetuating simplified understandings about Asian cultures. The construction of Asia itself has been changed throughout history and it has implied specific cultural and ideological positions (Lewis & Wigen, 1997; Said, 1978). Said (1978), for example, warns that the comparison between so-called Eastern culture and Western culture can simplify the former as exotic, strange, and abnormal. In

particular, considering the dynamic changes and rapid Westernization in many Asian cultures, it does not seem be possible to distinguish what is Asian and what is Western in many cases. This is also true of the uniqueness of China, Korea, and Japan. Even though they are different in many aspects, it is also true that they share similar values and traditions.

Considering these potential contradictions lying in Barry's emphases in teaching about Asia, we need to attend how these contradictions played out in his practices. Did he try to complicate students' understandings of these issues by bringing multiple aspects? Or did he end up producing a one-sided understanding by simplifying the complexities or perpetuating any single position, and why?

The Structure of Curriculum and the Location of Asia

Barry's geography course was semester-long, required for 10th graders. In Redwood High, a semester consisted of 18 weeks and had two marking periods each of which took nine weeks. Barry's basic approach was paying attention to as many countries as possible in this time frame, even though, at times this attention might be minimal. He starts his semester by introducing basic geographic terms and concepts for about three weeks. During this time, he addresses such topics as the nature of geographic inquiry, different types of map projections and Global Positioning System (GPS). The rest of the first marking period is allocated for the Western Hemisphere which includes North America and Latin America, one to two weeks to the former and two to three weeks to the

latter. The major region which is addressed in the next nine weeks is thus the Eastern Hemisphere which includes Europe, Asia and Africa. He spends about two weeks on Europe, moving from Western Europe to Eastern Europe. Then, he addresses Asia for about four weeks, allocating the rest three weeks for Africa. However, in reality, Africa only receives less than a week, which makes it most marginalized in Barry's curriculum. This is because he spends substantial chunk of the last few weeks on a major student project – culture project.

The culture project was created to offset the limited students' engagement, since they mostly sit and listen to Barry's teaching throughout the semester. Thus, he devised the culture project to give an opportunity for the students to choose and study a global culture more deeply and present it in class. This year, the students were given five days to conduct research as an individual or as a group in the school library. They chose to further study diverse countries or cultures such as France, Italy, Egypt, Tahiti, Japan, the Aztec civilization, and so on. Another six days were spent on the students presenting their products, which typically included PowerPoint presentation and, in some cases, cultural artifacts. Despite its potential benefits, the unexpected victim of this culture project is Africa, since only a couple of days—it was four days this year—are available for the entire African continent, the second largest continent with more than 50 countries. Further, as it was taught near the end of school year, amid preparing the culture project, Africa did not seem to get much attention from the students.

This is not Barry's fault, however, as he was struggling between a limited amount of time and a vast range of world regions that he had to address. In my

observation, I frequently heard him saying, “to make a long story short,” “we really don’t have enough time,” “I have to prioritize,” and “we have to keep going.” In the unit on Eastern Europe, I even saw him cover 15 countries in an hour. Under these conditions, Barry has to decide how much time to allocate for each region: “Again, as an American teacher, I have to compromise. In the past, I spent a few weeks and had to pack the other regions and now I cover this topic for one class period.” His struggle is not just about how to allocate time; he has to also decide what to teach in a given time, “As a geography teacher, do I focus on geography? History? Political conflicts? Cultures and people? Economy? Again I have to decide, I have to choose.”

How, then, did he use the time allocated for Asia? After having experimented several ways in organizing the instruction about Asia, he found it was best to start from Central Asia. This is because Central Asia can be used as a transitional point from Europe to Asia. Indeed, geographic contingency works as a key principle in organizing Barry’s Asian curriculum. He moves from Central Asia to the Middle East, South and Southeast Asia, and to East Asia, which are all geographically connected one by one. This also allows him to move East Asia to Oceania, which is regarded as part of Asia in his curriculum. This general structure, however, was rearranged this year, as he had a senior student from a local state university in his classroom. The senior wanted to teach a class about China before she finished her field experience. This made him also change the third hour’s structure, as he preferred to keep the same pace across hours. In Table 4.1, I provided a detailed sequence and timeline of his Asia unit this year.

Table 4.1. Organization of Barry's Asian curriculum

Date		Region	Countries/ topics	Pedagogical Events
Week 1	Day 1	Asia	Introduction	Asia survey Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day 2	Middle East	Introduction	Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day 3		Israel-Palestine conflict	Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day 4		Israel-Palestine conflict	Student guest, Watching a video
Week 2	Day 5	Middle East	Israel-Palestine conflict	Watching a video
	Day 6	East Asia	China, Tibet, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Mongolia	Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day 7		Japan	Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day 8		The Koreas	Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day 9		The Koreas	Researcher presentation
Week 3	Day10	Central Asia	Introduction	Lecturing (Power Point) Mapping Asia
	Day11	South Asia	India, Pakistan, Afghanistan and others	Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day12	Middle East	Dubai	Guest speaker
	Date 13	Southeast Asia	Myanmar, Thailand, Singapore, Malaysia, and others	Lecturing (Power Point) Watching videos
Week 4	Date 15	Middle East	Lebanon	Guest speakers with Middle Eastern food
	Date 16	Oceania	Australia, New Zealand, Fiji, Tahiti	Lecturing (Power Point)
	Day17	Review	Review on Asian unit	Quiz game
	Day19	India	India	Guest speaker with Indian food
	Day20	Unit test		Brief review and unit test

As we see in the table, he started from the Middle East and East Asia this year and moved to other regions. It also shows many aspects of how Barry addresses his unit on Asia. For instance, the table shows that Barry was generally lecturing except when the class had guest speakers, which seems inevitable as he had to cover many countries in a limited time. The entire regions of Central Asia, South and Southeast Asia, and Oceania received only one day, whereas East Asia and the Middle East received more attention. The focus on the latter two seems to coincident with the wider social representation, as Asia tends to be represented through the Middle East and East Asia. Barry concurred with this connection between his curriculum and the social attention:

I do think it's important to teach about East Asia because again, money, the economies of East Asia are growing fast, between Japan, South Korea, and China, the United States depends heavily on them for economy. The Middle East is obviously also very important but that's all over the news. Kids know much more about the Middle East than they do about East Asia. In 2000 and 2002, when all those things happened in the news, I talked more about the Middle East. I used to spend a month. Now I'm down to about a week and a half and I'm trying to extend China, Japan, Korea, I'm trying to extend East Asia and I'm trying to build more South and Southeast Asia as well.

This shows that Barry spends more time on East Asia and the Middle East as the two regions receive more of the public attention to Asia. As he alludes, however, the reason why each region receives attention is largely different:

people believe East Asia is important for its economic ties with the U.S., whereas the Middle East for its political conflicts.

Barry's Teaching about Asia

Barry started his first day of the Asia unit by conducting a survey that he developed. It consisted of 20 multiple-choice questions, asking mostly basic information such as "Which Asian country has the highest population density?" "What's the common name for Southwest Asia?" or "What nation has the largest number of Muslims?" While students were doing this survey, he emphasized that Asia is a wide region and it goes beyond China, Japan and Korea which often represent the whole Asia. After the students finished the survey, the class reviewed the questions one by one as Barry told them the right answer to each question. This gave the students an initial understanding of Asia, as they were talking about issues and countries appeared in the survey. After this, Barry distributed a one-page handout to the students and turned on a projector and began to explain physical characteristics, climate, peoples and cultures of the Asian continent. During the rest of the time, the students were listening to Barry's explanation based on PowerPoint screens showing various images and features of Asian landscapes, cultures, and peoples. This does not mean, however, that students were just sitting quietly and listening to him. They were freely interfering if they had questions or anything to say. Barry was also trying to engage students, which coincides with his belief that his geography class should be interesting. In fact, PowerPoint presentation, one page of back-to-back copied handout, and

Barry's lecturing with occasional students' interruptions were the basic format of the class throughout my observation, except when the class had a guest speaker or watched an audiovisual material.

From the next day, the class was addressing the Middle East for four days. Barry started the Middle East unit by emphasizing "this is not the place where students say stereotypes and negative responses" and he underscored that students "should have an open-mind and forget preconceived images from mass media." He told me before the class that he was surprised and disappointed by students' negative responses to Arabs in the previous class. This led him to make sure that the students should not express negative perceptions of the Middle East at least in his class. In fact, one of the major themes in the Middle East unit was breaking down limited images of this area and introducing multiple perspectives. He mentioned a few times that Iranians are not Arabs but Persians, and Turks are different from the Arabs too, even though they have the same religion, Islam.

After a brief overview of the Middle East, the class began to focus on the Israel-Palestine conflict. Barry first explained the historical origins of the conflict and showed various images and photos demonstrating the tragic results of the conflict between the two sides. Again, he was trying to take a balanced position addressing this topic. Now and then he mentioned that there had been a circle of violence and civilians had been dying on both sides. During the class he stressed several times that, "it's very controversial" and "two stories are always coming out from this region." Regarding potential solutions and the role of the U.S., he said

that, like most people, the U.S. supports a two-state solution but there is always controversy over “how” and it’s really hard to make the both sides pleased. Over the next two days, the class was watching a video on the Arab-Israel conflict produced by MTV as part of *True Life* series. Aired in 2003, *True Life: I Live in the Terror Zone* examines the daily lives of three young Israelis and three young Palestinians, showing the violent situation of the area and sufferings, anger, and frustrations of ordinary people living on each side. At the end of the video, Barry emphasized once again that students should have multiple perspectives on the conflict and understand the position that people on each side hold.

What comes after the Middle East was a four day mini-unit on East Asia. The class spent three days on addressing China and its neighboring countries, Japan and the Koreas. On the fourth day, as Barry requested, I presented about my life and experiences in Korea and my view on the tension caused by North Korea. In teaching about China, he addressed such topics as industrialization and economic growth, the gap between western and eastern China, China’s relationship with Taiwan and Tibet, and the one-child policy. In my observation, the issue that generated the biggest attention from the students was China’s one-child policy. Barry opened the topic, emphasizing that the policy has diverse aspects and thus students need to have a more complicated understanding of it. He said that in fact married couple may have more than one child, but they would face negative consequences such as fines, wage cuts and social disapproval. He also explained that people in rural areas have more flexibility whereas those in urban areas are more strictly forced to follow it.

His emphasis on diverse aspects of the policy, however, was quickly forgotten, as the students began to talk about what they've heard about it. Right after his introduction, many students were anxious to ask questions or say what they had heard about the policy. A student asked, "What happens if they have twins?" Another student said that she read a story about a nine-month pregnant woman who was forced to abort her baby. A few students said they heard that Chinese people sell their babies. Mostly students' questions and comments seemed to be based on what they'd heard from the media. Barry, however, did not have enough time to address each question and concern, since he had to teach not only about China but also other neighboring countries such as Tibet, Taiwan, and Mongolia. Indeed, in my count, he spent 27 minutes on China and 15 minutes on the other countries. As such, without addressing students' questions and misinformation about the one-child policy, Barry had to move to other countries and topics. At the end of the class, he told me that it's really hard for him to deconstruct students' preconceptions of China and go deeply because of the time limitation. He also confirmed that what students heard about China mostly came from the mass media and popular culture.

Probably, it was the class on Japan which was the most engaging lesson that I observed in Barry's classroom. A few students seemed to have been already interested in Japan because of prior encounters with videogames, comics, and mangas. Interestingly, as Barry agreed after the class, these students who used to be rather quiet in other classes were active to show their knowledge of Japan. Their active participation was followed by other students'

questions and responses. Also, it seemed to be easier for Barry to stimulate students' interests and curiosity about Japan. For example, as he opened the class by mentioning a film, *The Last Samurai*, a Hollywood film acted by Tom Cruise who was also a co-producer, it already sparked a lot of responses from the students. Basically, too many students were anxious to say something about Japanese popular culture that they encountered in daily lives, which made an hour too short a time for them. To list some of what I heard from the teacher and the students in that class: bonsai tree, Japanese players in Major League Baseball, Wii (Nintendo videogame), Play Station 3, Final Fantasy, Tamaguchi (virtual pet animals), local Japanese restaurants, sumo wrestling, Dance Dance Revolution, Kobayashi (a several-time winner of the sausage eating competition), and so on. Together with topics and images brought by the teacher, the class was having a very engaging time that day.

In contrast to Japan, the Koreas did not seem to receive as much attention from the students. The students looked to be occasionally interested when TaeKwonDo, a Korean martial art, and a few films such as *Team America* and *007 Die Another Day* which dealt with North Korea popped up. However, they did not show the interest that they had shown in the previous day, which caused Barry to speak during most of the class. The students were a bit more engaged when I presented about my life and experiences in Seoul. Several students asked about Korean education, extra-curricular activities and favorite hobbies among Korean teens. However, more questions came from Barry than the students, as he asked questions such as whether I had been to the DMZ area

and what kinds of relationship South Koreans would like to build with North Korea. While Barry and I were addressing these questions, most students seemed to be unengaged and less involved compared to the class on Japan. This might be because the Koreas were primarily represented by political issues. The teacher spent a large amount of time on the difference and conflict between South Korea and North Korea and the crisis caused by North Korean nuclear programs, which did not seem to receive much attention from the students. Further, unlike Japan, the fact that the students could not much connect Korea with their daily cultures seems to make them less involved.

In addressing other Asian regions, including Central Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia, even though there were slight variances, Barry provided lectures in most cases. They had a vast area to cover in an hour, which made the class quite tight. For example, in South Asia, they addressed India, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the Maldives in an hour. In the midst of this busy schedule, the class was doing a few other things such as watching *Ong-Bak*, a martial art film featuring Muay Thai, a Thai martial art. Also, a student brought a DVD of a *Final Fantasy* series and Dance Dance Revolution which created a lot of interests from the students. As such, in many cases, they spent only a few minutes for each country in Central Asia, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. While the class was quickly skimming country by country, a few topics sparked students' responses. In Central Asia, the issue was Noah's Ark which is allegedly buried in Mt. Ararat in Turkey. The class spent a while talking about a new movie on the Ark and if the Ark was really buried there, and if so, why

people could not find it. In South Asia, the topic that stimulated most attention was Bollywood. A conflation of Bombay (the former name of Mumbai) and Hollywood, Bollywood designates the Mumbai-based Hindi-language film industry, which is considered to produce the most films in the world and probably sell the most tickets, too. Barry showed a few posters of films and a photo of Aishwara Rai, Miss World in 1994 who acts in Bollywood films.

In Southeast Asia, Oceania, and the Pacific Islands, the repeating notion was a beautiful, exotic, and romantic place, which seemed to mainly come from mass media and popular culture. For example, when the teacher showed a beach in Thailand, the students did not have any idea about the place at first. However, as the teacher hinted that that's the location where *Beach*, a film acted by Leonard Dicaprio, was featured, several students said "A-ha." What Lutz and Collins (1993) called the "beautification of the world's people" (p. 95) was especially visible in Oceania and the Pacific Islands. In Australia, the teacher showed pictures of Harbor Bridge in Sydney with a few celebrities who actually climbed the bridge such as actress Nicole Kidman and a jazz musician Jim Morrison. When he showed a video clip of a couple kissing at the top of the bridge, a student shouted it was so romantic and another student said that she wanted to get married there. In teaching about Fiji and Tahiti, the teacher said that there used to be cannibalism in that area. Noticing this created surprise among some students, he stressed that it was more than a hundred years ago and now this region is a "getaway heaven" and a "perfect tourism" destination. Showing images of white beaches, resorts, and half-naked people, he said that

“everyday is hammock day and it’s so beautiful and many people go there for their honeymoon.” At this point a student interrupted and asked how expensive it was to actually go there. These romantic images seem to be largely coincident with Lutz and Collins’ (1993) analysis of the representation of the Pacific Islands in the *National Geographic*; exotic, primitive, erotic, and romantic.

Barry’s Asia curriculum ended with a brief review of what students had learned and a unit test. The unit test consisted of about 30 multiple-choice questions and 20 short response questions based on maps and graphs presented in the test. Most of the questions were based on his teaching during the class, and later he told me that the third hour did better than the other classes and the average was around 90. He reasoned that my presence, together with guest speakers, helped the third hour strengthen their learning.

Curricular References and Teaching Resources

What is notable regarding Barry’s teaching materials is that textbooks and curriculum standards played a limited role whereas PowerPoint files, short handouts and audiovisual materials were frequently used. This seems to be somewhat exceptional, considering that textbooks are known to be one of the most important sources of classroom knowledge (Apple, 1993; Wineburg, 2001). Barry said that he did not use textbooks, since “First, I don’t have the money for them and, second, I think the kids learn more if they see the visualization. If they share the music. If they see the people, they hear about the foods. I think they learn more that way so that’s where I’ve kind of gone.” That is, textbooks do not

convey lively and visual materials which he believes are more likely to engage students.

In the meantime, since the 1980s, we have observed a flood of content standards designating what to be taught, how and when in public schools (Darling-Hammond 1994, Kirst 1994, Porter 1994, Ravitch 1995). Various types of content standards have been developed, and teachers are now supposed to align their curriculum with state-wide or district-wide content standards. In Barry's case, the primary content standards that he is supposed to refer to are the state standards, as his district does not have its own ones. However, the state social studies curriculum plays a limited role in his teaching, since "they're very, very, very general. They can be applied to anything you teach."

This, however, does not mean that Barry totally disregarded content standards or that his teaching was haphazard. The structure of his curriculum was developed through discussions with other social studies teachers in the school. Also, state curriculum standards do influence his teaching by regulating what to teach, although how to teach may depend on him. For example, while I was conducting this study, the state was under review of new social studies content standards which integrate history and geography and make social studies focused more on the U.S. than the world. This created a significant impact on social studies teachers in the state, and what I observed during this research was, World Geography which includes Asia already began to disappear from the high school curriculum. Barry was not an exception to this state-wide

change. In fact, he was quite concerned that he might lose his current curriculum which he believes students should know:

As I've told you, they're going to blend world history and geography. So my trick then is how do I still continue what I want teach which is the cultures and modern geographies. They are very important, and how do I blend that of what they require me...what I don't like is that most of the modern stuff doesn't occur until the end of the school year, so I'm going to have to push very hard through world history.

Textbooks also left a significant influence on his curriculum, even though it is not visible on the surface. Barry told me that he referred to several textbooks in developing the current teaching materials. What he found was that some textbooks were more based on culture, whereas others put more focus on physical geography. So, he decided to cut and paste different parts from different textbooks and put them together into short handouts. The final products were, according to him, the one-page handouts that he was using in almost every class. The handouts usually consist of brief information of geography, history, culture and people, and economy of countries or regions under interest. Therefore, even though indirect, the influence from textbooks is still existent in his curriculum about Asia.

If textbooks and state standards were used as secondhand references, what played a more dominant role in his teaching were various types of audiovisual materials. Indeed, it was amazing to see how often popular culture and mass media were used in various ways in his classroom. First, the

PowerPoint files that he used as the most important teaching resource consisted of mostly colorful, diverse, and contemporary images of a country or a region, which came from various Internet resources. He organized these various images according to major themes and big ideas that he was addressing. For example, his China presentation started from a picture on modern buildings and architecture of the Pudong District of Shanghai, which was aligned with his message that China is a “great example of economic growth.” He said that he had to spend a lot of time and energy developing these PowerPoint materials. His effort gave him a reward, though, since his PowerPoint materials helped him make his class more interesting:

I don't hand out a lot of assignments. When I first started teaching I did that all the time. And in my opinion kids didn't really learn. They copied or they just wrote down answers and turned it in and never cared. And it's harder for me to spend all this time preparing Power Points and then having energy to teach it. But if I do it, and I do it correctly, my opinion is that kids appreciate and learn more. I have a lot of kids that say to me, “Your class isn't hard but it's interesting, and I like it, and I like coming to your class and learning.” So for me I think that's valuable for kids to say, they say to me all the time that you make things interesting that we learn.

In addition to Power Points, he constantly used Internet resources and other types of audiovisual materials in his teaching. After students finished watching a video on the Israel-Palestine conflict, he went to the Middle East section of CNN website, and showed a news segment about nine Palestinians

being killed by Israeli soldiers during the weekend and Hamas's response to that. Using this kind of updated resource, he was able to stress that, "the conflict is still on going and people are dying right this moment." In other moments, they watched *Final Fantasy 7* to see the technological advancement of Japan, according to the teacher, and *Ong-Bak*, a film, to see Asian martial arts. I also observed him often go to the Internet sites and show lively photos and video clips picturing a location or a topic under discussion.

Another important resource in his teaching about Asia was guest speakers and the cultural artifacts that they bring. As I noted, I myself presented about my experiences and life in Korea and I also brought Korean snacks and cultural artifacts a few times. He also invited a local businessman who was working with the Dubai municipal government. This seemed to help the students go beyond prevalent images about the Middle East which now tends to be overrepresented through Iran and Iraq. The guest brought his direct observation of the dynamic changes taking place in Dubai and raised controversial issues such as low wages, dangerous working conditions in construction areas and the environmental impacts of a rapid development. The conversation with him seemed to be providing an engaging learning opportunity which other resources might not allow. In addition to visitors from outside the school, Barry also made use of foreign-descendent students in his classroom. For example, he requested an Iraqi-descendant student to talk about her family story, whom he introduced as Chaldeans Iraqis whose religion is Catholic. In another case, an Indian-descendant student's mother came to class with bunch of Indian food and

cultural artifacts. While students were having food, the guest speaker showed various images of her hometown in India and explained cultural and linguistic diversity of India.

Teaching resources that Barry used in his teaching seem to be well connected to his effort to make his class interesting. As he believed that students are more interested in human geography than physical geography, he tried to illustrate various visual images about peoples and cultures in Asia. His diverse curricular materials, including updated data, audio-visual resources and guest speakers, seem to make his teaching dynamic and engaging. However, we also need to note a potential paradox in making teaching interested, as teachers can make students interested through quite different ways. Ideally, as Dewey (1916) contends, teachers could make students intellectually interested by providing an engaging and challenging curriculum. In this case, students' interests will be used as a drive to learn new lessons and expand their cultural horizons. In contrast, teachers can also make their students interested by catering their curriculum to students' concerns and curiosities which are not necessarily intellectual and academic.

Investigating how to use popular media in social studies teaching, Walker (2006) distinguishes between three possible options. First, teachers can use popular culture to make their curriculum entertaining and fun without creating an intellectual engagement. Second, teachers can use popular culture to interrogate the nature of commercial cultures and consumerism which often dominates our daily lives. Through this critical interrogation, according to Walker (2006),

teachers can help students to be active citizens beyond the passive consumers of popular culture. Lastly, teachers can invite students to critically investigate how power is exerted in popular culture. In this way of using popular culture, Walker (2006) suggests that teachers ask students to explore how power concerns are exerted in media representations: whose positions are represented, whose worldviews are justified, whose voices are marginalized, and how this is related to social power structures in terms of class, race, gender, and ethnicity.

In my observation, Barry more often than not slipped into the first way of using popular images, showing exotic, surprising, romantic images of other peoples and cultures without scrutiny. As a result, he did not ask his students to investigate how others are popularized in commercial cultures, who is benefited, and how some groups and cultures can be biased through cheap commercial images. Barry himself was aware that it was easier for him to hook up students' interest if he used popular culture and commercial images. For example, Barry alluded to the fact that the emphasis on romantic images of the Pacific Islands was an intentional choice:

I try to put in pictures of what I think kids would be like "Wow that's kind of cool" and as cheap as that is to sell, it's just the best way to do it. So it's tricky though. But, I pick and choose as I go. For instance when I get to Australia and Oceania, I'm definitely going to focus on the tropical atmosphere. When I talk about Fiji and Tahiti, I'm going to focus on the beauty and the beaches, and that is a resource, that is how they survive, so I'm going to use it. And I know what the kids are going to sit there and

go "Oooh it's so beautiful, Wow your lesson is so interesting." It works, though.

Indeed, his PowerPoint files had at least a few strange, bizarre, and caricatured photos and pictures of each people, which might look "cool" to the students. In teaching about India, for example, as students began to be less engaged, he showed photos of snake-charming which revived their engagement. In teaching about Japan, he showed photos of Samurai warriors, a capsule hotel, and modern Japanese bathrooms. Especially, looking inside of Japanese bathrooms sparked students' curiosity, as the teacher explained that they are equipped with various kinds of modern technology. Later, Barry determined that his scheme was quite successful: "As you've seen it's very easy to trick kids into being interested if there's cool images to look at technology. They just love. Do you remember the day we talked about Japanese toilet? They loved that! They loved that, they think it's the most interesting thing in the world."

This shows that Barry's effort to bring diverse and accessible learning materials could result in contradictory consequences. On the one hand, updated and visual learning materials, guest speakers, and cultural artifacts may contribute to deconstructing students' stereotypes and widen their multicultural understandings. On the other hand, his heavy dependence on visual materials can perpetuate and strengthen cultural bias and stereotypes conveyed in them. Especially, if he uses popular culture and mass media uncritically, his teaching may endorse biased and commercial images of Asia. How, then, do students think about Barry's teaching? What do they like about his teaching and what do

they want him to revise? What did they learn through Barry's Asia curriculum? In the following section, I investigate students' response to Barry's instruction about Asia.

Students' Learning

Like many other teens today, popular culture seems to be a big attraction for Barry's 10th graders. They believed that, as popular culture made them interested, they would learn more if teachers use it more often in their teaching. In a focus group interview, for example, a student said that, "I can definitely get more interested in it than just sitting in a classroom having someone tell us about it." All the four students in the interview concurred with the student who continued to say, "if you connect it to popular culture, people will remember it more. This is actually one of the easiest things to remember because I can just connect it to something." Thus, it may well be that students had a positive response to Barry's teaching which employed various popular media texts. A student said that Barry teaches differently from other teachers in the school, as "he tries to get us involved and makes us more interested." Another student supported this, saying "he teaches it so that it influences us, like the younger, the teens, because he teaches it the way it interests us." "I think that other teachers would just be dry, really dry. He tries to make it fun, which is good, which goes with studying," another student added. These responses demonstrate that Barry's effort to visualize his teaching was recognized by the students and they thought positively about that.

Also, Barry's effort to make his class engaging seems to have produced a notable effect, as there are changes in students' knowledge and perceptions about Asia between pre- and post-student survey. Students' responses in the post-survey demonstrate that they came to have more diversified and concrete understandings of Asia as a result of their learning. For example, in a pre-survey question asking what comes to their mind when they hear the word "Asia," most students provided rather vague responses such as "biggest continent," "food," "black and spiky hair," "video games," "elephants," and "martial arts." Their perceptions about Asia were also limited, as a predominant number of students responded they think of China and Japan when they hear "Asia," whereas other countries were rarely mentioned. However, in a post-survey question about what they've learned about Asia, several students responded that their perception of Asia was widened; "it's more than China, Japan, and Koreas, it extends into Middle East," "that Iraq and other countries are part of Asia, " "Asia has several climates," "the different countries - Philippines, Iraq, Armenia, etc." Also, students showed more concrete responses to each country beyond vague and general remarks found in the pre-survey; "China is still communist, but there is more freedom and people can have their own business," "Japan is built upwards because it is a large urban area, but there is not a lot of space."

These changes between the pre- and post-survey may be interpreted in light of what was addressed and what received students' attention during the class. That is, according to what Barry emphasized and what received students' attention in the class, students' memory about certain topics and countries

became divergent or convergent. A detailed analysis of students' response to China seems to support this point.

Table 4.2. Changes in students' perception about China

Topics	Pre-Survey	Post-Survey	Changes
Big population	9	16	+7
One-child policy	3	14	+11
Growing Economy	9	8	-1
Communism	9	8	-1
Tibet or Taiwan	0	8	+8
Great Wall	9	1	-8
Others	26	13	-13
Total	65	68	

Table 4.2 demonstrates major topics mentioned by students and the change in their frequency between the pre- and post-survey. In the pre-survey, students were asked to write 3-5 things that they associated with China, and in the post-survey they were asked to write 3-5 things that they'd learned about China. As a result, the table shows students' attention to which topics were increased, decreased or remained stable. As we see, one-child policy received the most increased attention along with big population and the relationship with Tibet and Taiwan. This result is consistent with my observation of the Chinese lesson in which these issues received the major attention from students. I already noted that the one-child policy drew the biggest attention during the day on China. On that day, as Barry taught Taiwan and Tibet along with China, students were struggling to make sense of the unique relationship between China and Taiwan, and China and Tibet. Some of them seemed to be confused whether the two

countries, especially Taiwan, is an independent country or not and why Taiwan has a different official name. Thus, it seems to be that what received more attention during the class is more likely to be visible in their responses to the post-survey question.

In contrast, it turns out that communism and a growing economy received roughly the same attention in the pre- and post survey, meaning these two aspects consist of students' major perception of China. The stable attention to communism and the growing economy is contrasting to a largely decreased attention to the Great Wall in the post-survey, which is also consistent with my observation of the class on China. In that class, even though Barry showed a couple of photos of the Great Wall, this did not seem to stimulate students' fresh interests, since most of them were already familiar with it. Rather, it seemed to be easily dominated by other topics such as the one-child policy and the growing economy of China.

Another interesting change in the table is that the number of responses categorized into "Others" was substantially reduced in the post-survey. "Others" includes responses that appeared once or twice in students' responses such as "tea," "Panda Bears," "Hello Kitty," "Tough schooling," and so on. In the pre-survey, these kinds of responses comprised 40 percent of the total responses, whereas they comprised only about 20 percent in the post-survey, which means that students came to have more converged perceptions about China at the end of the Asia unit. What do these differences between pre- and post-survey mean, then? Do they illustrate that students came to have a deeper and more

complicated understanding of Asian cultures? Have students' knowledge and understanding of certain countries, e.g. China changed as a result of Barry's teaching?

Students' responses during a focus-group interview provided a clue to these questions. It is interesting that, even though the participants agreed that Barry's class was interesting, they believe their understanding of Asia had not changed or deepened through his teaching. The four participants in the interview said that they felt like they learned "Just a little bit," "I don't think we learn much about it," and "he doesn't get real in-depth with what he teaches." As to the reason why they did not feel that really learned about Asia, a student said, "You don't retain a lot of it, like it's interesting the way he teaches it, it's interesting but you just really can't retain a lot of it, like he keeps your attention but you don't remember it."

These responses imply that the change in students' responses between the pre- and post-survey does not necessarily mean that students came to have a deeper understanding of Asians and Asian cultures. Rather, Barry's teaching about Asia might contribute to maintaining the dominant perceptions about Asia, which is illustrated in students' responses to China. Even though they showed more aggregated responses in the post-survey, we may not assume that students' understanding of China had deepened. In my observation, students' preconception of China, especially that of one-child policy, mostly came from the media representation. Similar connection between Barry's teaching and mass media can also be found in the way he addressed other issues such as the

relationship between China and Taiwan and China and Tibet. In a short time given to the lesson on China, he was not seem to be able to address complicated international politics around the relationship. Rather, he was more likely to endorse what was represented in mass media instead of troubling it or going deeper than that.

Cross-unit Analysis

So far, I have investigated various aspects of the curriculum about Asia in Barry's classroom. I examined his teaching goals, the overall structure of his curriculum and the location of Asia in it. I also examined how he had actually taught about Asia, which resources he used and what the consequences of his teaching were. How, then, the way he addresses Asia is similar with or different from the way he teaches other continents? His teaching about Asia may be better understood by examining how he addresses other parts of the world.

To begin with, his general goals as a geography teacher seem to remain similar across units, as he tries to humanize world cultures and teach his students to respect the unique value of each culture. At times, it's harder to achieve his goals because students' minds are already dominated by the prevalent social perceptions, though:

I vary them from region to region, but again you see the commonalities that I teach, a lot of it comes back to how humans are from region to region and their interactions. And I really try to emphasize all the beauty of the cultures and try to deemphasize the negativity. Unfortunately with this

Middle East situation, it's hard to not mention the violence, you can't not mention it. So for instance my goal tomorrow, is to continue to build up this idea with the kids that Arab people are no different from anyone else in the world. You heard me I keep saying extremist, I keep trying to point out that these are not the common people. Africa is a very challenging one, too. All kids see on the news is poor African children, and AIDS in Africa. How do you teach and get passed this poor child or this image. So it's not easy.

Here, we can see that, even though his basic goal—making students appreciate the unique value of each culture—remains similar, it is more difficult to achieve in some areas e.g., the Middle East and Africa, because of students' preconceptions influenced by the media representation. Another similarity that I observed is that, with this overarching goal, he was constantly struggling with a limited amount of time. In my observation of his European unit, he frequently said, "Unfortunately we don't have enough time" or "We have to move on." In many cases, only a couple of minutes were available for each country in Eastern Europe. Skimming many countries fast, he was struggling to bring lively and updated resources of those countries, as he did in addressing Asia.

Indeed, the basic format of his teaching remained similar across European, Asian, and African units: PowerPoint presentation, one page of back-to-back copied handouts, and Barry's lecturing with occasional interruptions from the students. Upon this basic structure, Barry was trying to make his class interesting by bringing images from commercial culture and mass media. For example, in Eastern Europe, one of the highest points was when Barry showed the Dracula

castle and talked about the vampire legend. Students were anxious to talk about the different versions of the stories that they had watched in popular media. In Russia, the topic that created a big interest was Rasputin. Addressing the emergence of modern Russia, he explained the execution of the last Romanov royal family and mentioned the Disney animation *Anastasia*. This sparked students' interests, and again, many students tried to say something about what they saw in the film. In Central Asia, a movie mentioned several times was *Borat*, a controversial film because of its biased representation of Kazakhstan. Movies continued to be an important resource in the African unit, too. In Tunisia, for example, Barry showed a couple of photos of an area where one of the Star Wars series was filmed. In addition, such commercial films and celebrities as *Sahara*, *Black Hawk Down*, *Blood Diamond*, and Angelina Jolly popped up while the class was addressing Africa.

In addition to these similarities, there also seem to be substantial differences across units. This is because, as Barry said before, the perceptions that students bring into the classroom are not same across world regions and cultures. According to him, students' sense of familiarity and emotional responses to each region is different:

As you go across continents I do think there's definitely, students are more interested in Europe, because of the ties to the United States obviously, and the wealth. And I think they like Japan and South Korea more because there's technology and wealth there. China, ehh, they like the idea of China and they know China is a very important nation and is

growing and growing, But they don't like China because they provide cheap parts, and economically you know they're not the friend of America. No, they're not, politically and economically they're so different. Well, the Chinese, watch what the Chinese do, don't buy Chinese products.

It seems inevitable that, as a teacher, Barry considers students' differentiated perceptions and imaginations of different parts of the world. I showed that Barry put different emphases on the two focused regions in Asia: East Asia was emphasized for its economic significance whereas Middle East for its political conflicts. Now, this distribution of different perceptions seems to occur in other continents, too:

With Europe I try to focus on the part of that all Americans dream of the classic beauty: the architecture, the connections to forms of democracy in history, people like Napoleon. I try to tie it to what we stereotype it as classical Europe. For instance, in Europe, I do want to talk about the modern European Union and all that, but I also want to make sure when I show Paris, I show the picture of the famous images they've seen when I talk about Rome, Prague, any of these places I want to show some of these images and build off that.

What makes his units different, however, is not just that each region is represented differently in students' minds and in wider social perceptions. It is also that Barry himself has different levels of knowledge, experiences and familiarity with different regions in the world. As his mother is a Colombian and as he speaks Spanish, he said that, "I know Latin Americans culture very well, and

Europe's and the United States, and Canada, but Africa and Asia those are things that I need to learn more." This different level of experiences and knowledge also influence his teaching of each region. For example, he said, "With Latin America, I know much more about it from my own experiences, so I am able to focus on the people and their individual differences among the cultures from country to country." However, with regard to Asia and Africa, he does not have personal experiences or direct engagement, which would affect the way he addresses Asia and Africa in the end:

The one thing I'll say is I haven't traveled to Asia. I have traveled to Europe four times, I have traveled to Latin America four times. And while I can sit there and watch videos and read information, obviously you and I both know that it's very different when you go to the culture and are immersed in it. So that's where I say that the lack of strengths is.

A notable example of differences in pedagogy because of his level of understanding is guest speakers. As we have seen, he invited a couple of guest speakers in the Asia unit who conveyed more direct voices with food and cultural artifacts. He also wanted to have guest speakers in Africa. However, he did not feel it's necessary to have guest speakers in other units:

I don't need a guest speaker for the United States, I mean I could find a Canadian but it's not that important. Latin America, we are exposed to Mexican culture so you don't need. And then Europe, same thing. So I think that the guest speakers were very effective with the Asian Unit. I would like in the future to bring in a couple for Africa obviously. That would

be really helpful, especially someone who's been there as social work, maybe a peace corps volunteer. I think that would make a strong connection to the kids.

This is not to say that Barry is ignorant of Asia and Africa and thus he is not qualified to teach about those continents. He majored in geography and, in our conversation, he talked a few times that he had tried to deepen his knowledge about Asia and Africa. Indeed, no one could say that he/she knows every culture and society in the world. Rather, my point is that teachers' personal knowledge and cultural backgrounds also make differences in how they teach different cultures and societies in the world. We need to note that teachers are also cultural beings. Therefore, it seems to be inevitable that their teaching is influenced by their personal knowledge and experiences, and more widely, by societies and cultures that they belong to.

CHAPTER 5: CONSTRUCTION OF ASIA IN TWO CLASSROOMS

Now that we've seen how Asia was taught in the two classrooms, I go deeper in this and the following chapter to investigate the cultural and political implications underlying the classroom teaching about Asia. I start this chapter by examining where Asia fits in the school curriculum and how Asia is defined in each teacher's curriculum. Next, I show that the various countries and cultures in Asia do not receive equal attention from teachers and students, nor are they perceived through the same images. I examine which regions receive more attention, how different regions and counties are taught and why. Finally, I examine the perception of Asia as a whole in students' mind and teachers' teaching and its connection with wider social discourses on Asia. Here, I argue that, even though different countries receive different attention and images, there is still a generic perception of "Asians" and "Asian cultures" which cannot be entirely reduced to specific regions or countries.

In addressing these topics, my arguments will be based on the theoretical lenses that I introduced in Chapter 1. Especially, cultural studies is used as the primary lens in this chapter, as I investigate the classroom construction of Asia in light of and wider representational systems. The semiotic approach to cultural studies posits that our perception of an object does not necessarily come from its inner attributions but is socially constructed through the sense-making system that we apply to it (Barthes, 1998; Hall, 1997; Nelson, Treicher & Grossberg, 1992). Proponents of this approach also contend that the meaning-making system tends to be shared, maintained, and reproduced through various cultural

institutions including school curriculum. This leads me to investigate the curriculum construction of Asia in light of wider cultural frameworks which guide what to know and how to speak about Asia. In particular, considering that the notion of Asia can be part of geographic frameworks that people bring in making sense of the world, I try to conduct a meta-geographic analysis in this chapter. Applying cultural studies to geographic imaginations of the world, meta-geographic analysis examines cultural and ideological implications embedded in the way we divide, categorize and arrange the globe (Hurren, 2000; Kanu, 2006; Lewis & Wigen, 1997).

In this and the next chapter, I put the two cases together at times, discussing similarities and differences between the teachers and the students in two locations. My intention in doing this is not, however, to compare the two cases and evaluate which is better and which is worse. Even though I will explore how to revise the curriculum about others in later chapters, the focus of this study is not evaluating the effectiveness of either teacher's curriculum about Asia. As a matter of fact, it seems to be almost impossible to compare the two classrooms with any plain standards. Barry and Peggy are different in terms of class, race, gender, political stance, family backgrounds, and teaching experiences. Their teaching circumstances are also largely different, as are the age-level and economic, social, and cultural backgrounds of the students in each classroom. Therefore, it should be noted that the primary purpose of this and the next chapter is not evaluating any individual teacher, but drawing more general implications underlying the classroom teaching about Asia.

Classroom Construction of the World and Asia

There is no universal criterion for dividing the globe into continents and organizing the study of it. As Lewis and Wigen (1997) argue, pigeonholing historical and cultural traits into a continental framework is not a so-called scientific process but reflects political and cultural considerations of its originators. That is, our geographic imaginations are not just determined by “geo,” but more by “graphy.” For this reason, Hurren (2000) argues that “world” and “words” are closely intertwined. For example, in terms of physical geography, it is more valid that Europe is considered as an extension of the Eurasian landmass instead of a self-contained continent. There is no physical or objective boundary that separates Europe and Asia into different continents. However, being conflated with Asia was not acceptable to many Europeans, since they had distinguished themselves from Asia, believing that they had their own cultural unity (Lewis & Wigen, 1997). As such, upon the emergence of modern geography in the late nineteenth century, the division between Europe and Asia became a convention and today most people believe that the two regions are separated continents.

As this illustrates, the geographic taxonomy of Europe and Asia is a product of cultural identification and distinction rather than being based on plate tectonics. Asia was not defined through a consideration of whether there are any socio-cultural and racial commonalities among its constituencies. The definition has been subjected to how Europeans identify their boundaries (Said, 1978). Asians became Asians because they were not, or should not be Europeans.

Consequently, we often see people assume that there is something common among so-called Asians, when in fact Asia consists of tremendously diverse peoples and cultures which have nothing to do with each other in many cases. As Lewis and Wigen (1997) point out, this lack of cultural and racial unity among Asians has been attributed to their own problem, not to the arbitrary construction of Asia by the Euro-centric construction of the world.

Critical geographers argue a similar point, contending that representing the world into a map is more a political and even artistic action than a neutral depiction (Huggan, 1995; RaBasa, 1995; Segall, 2003). Creators of a map guide readers to a specific way of making sense of the round planet—where to start, where to finish, what should be the center, and where the peripheries are—which has no fixed starting point or ending point as it is. The world acquires spatial meaning by specific layout, symbols and boundaries through the construction of maps. For example, in most of the world maps that I used to see in Korea, the continent of Asia is centered, while Europe and Africa are located on the left side and the continent of America on the right side. Through repeated exposure to this representation, I came to inadvertently believe that Asia is located at the center of the world. In contrast, in most of the world maps that I saw in American classrooms, the continent of America is on the far left; then, comes the Atlantic Ocean; Europe and Africa are located at the center; and finally comes the continent of Asia on the far right. This way of representing the world is still unfamiliar to me, for the U.S. and Asia used to be much closer in my imagination. Note that our eyes are adjusted to move from left to right in seeing visual data as

we read books. Thus, if Asia is located at the center, what our eyes see next is America, which makes Asia and America appear to be closer. However, in typical world maps used in American schools, the U.S. and Western Europe are placed closer whereas the U.S. and East Asia look to be more distanced. As this illustrates, how to arrange the globe into a flat map depends on a socio-cultural context. Land becomes a language in a map; a map delivers a specific narrative and imagination about the world to its viewers (Segall, 2003).

Similar arguments can be applied to the construction of the world in school curriculum, considering that dividing the world into units and sequencing each unit within the curriculum schedule would have a significant impact on students' perception of the world. Through the school curriculum, the next generation of a society comes to have somewhat shared imaginations and understandings about the world; where we are, who we are, who are our neighbors, and who are far from us among various peoples and cultures in the world. This is not a slight issue, because many of the students would not have personal engagements with those peoples and cultures.

Regarding this, what is notable between the two teachers in this study is the substantial similarity in organizing their curriculum, even though Barry's course is semester-long whereas Peggy's is year-long. After a brief introduction to basic geography, both teachers started from the U.S. and moved to Europe, from Western Europe to Eastern Europe. Then, came Asia and Africa; Asia came first in Barry's curriculum and Africa came first in Peggy's curriculum. In either case, Africa and Asia were placed at the end of the curriculum schedule, which

may marginalize the two continents. Barry was able to spend only a couple of days on the entire African continent. Further, Africa did not get much attention, since the class was busy preparing the culture project. Peggy was also struggling to engage the students in her Asia unit, as they became more distracted by school work at the end of the school year. She had to spend a substantial amount of time managing the classroom, which was not successful in many cases.

This is not to insist that teachers have to move Asia and Africa to the beginning of a school year or they have to pay more attention to the two continents. This is not because it's impossible to change the curriculum structure but more because the current structure is aligned with wider socio-cultural frameworks in making sense of the world. As Hall (1997) implies, even though teachers may have a certain degree of autonomy in organizing their curriculum, the overall structure of the school curriculum is influenced by the dominant framework in seeing the world. As such, I observed many other teachers following the similar order. I also found that the table of contents of most world geography textbooks are organized similarly; from the U.S. to Europe, to Africa to Asia (Hong, in press). Also, note that Peggy was following the district's curriculum guides in organizing her curriculum, meaning that the structure of her curriculum is based on a district-wide or state-wide convention. Therefore, what is more important than asking teachers to reorganize their curriculum structure is examining why the world is arranged in such a way and what socio-cultural

assumptions are underlying the current construction of the world in school curriculum.

The data in this study shows that the structure of the curriculum is related with the distinction between the West and the non-West, the normal and the abnormal. Barry, for example, said that his students have differentiated attitudes and response to (Western) Europe and Asia, which influenced how he addresses each unit:

Depending on which region, I focus on different [aspects]. For example in Western Europe, I focus on classic beauty, the connection to our culture, to Americans. Europe is very intriguing. Asia is intriguing too, but it is distant. They feel very separate philosophically, culturally, everything. I think that for Americans there is a little fear, not of Asian people, but of the differences in their culture.

This implies that, in students' mind, the U.S. and Europe are recognized as belonging to the same world which is often called the West, whereas Asia is constructed to be another part of the world called the East or, more broadly, the non-West. In this distinction, students feel more comfortable with Europe, whereas Asia remains as a remote and even fearful world. In addition to this distinction, the West tends to be used in making sense of the non-Western world, which is more visible in Peggy's teaching. We saw that she was using the industrialized U.S. and Europe as a standard for comparing Africa and Asia. Holding a clear boundary between what is American and what is un-American, she often described Asia and Africa as strange, insensible, and uncivilized places.

In her teaching, the realities are totally different between the West and the non-West: what is taken for granted in the West is not reality in Asia and Africa:

Now when we had the Tsunami, it was reported that European children that had survived were being taken and sold to relatives from Europe and in the United States. Everybody was absolutely appalled and the students that year, 3 years ago, were aghast, "Can they do that?" They could not cope with that, because that's not something in the United States that is a reality for them, and in Southeast Asia it's a reality. It's a reality in Africa.

The arrangement of the world in the two teachers' curriculum seems to be accorded with this distinction between what is familiar and what is unfamiliar, and which is civilized and which is uncivilized. If students feel more familiar with Europe because of its historical and cultural connection with the U.S. and if teachers use Western standards as a criterion in making sense of the other parts of the world, it is not surprising that the U.S. and Europe come first and Africa and Asia come later in the school curriculum.

Now, if we focus on the construction of the Asia unit in each classroom, another geographic question arises: Where is Asia? Which peoples and countries consist of Asia? How to define Asia is also a cultural and political matter, since, as I explained in Chapter 1, Asia is not a physical entity but a socio-historical concept. As such, how to draw a geographic boundary of Asia and which attributes belong to the Asian world have been changed throughout historical contexts, especially according to the relationship between the East and the West (Said, 1978). For example, such geographic distinctions as 'Asia Minor,'

'Near East,' 'Middle East,' and 'Far East' have been crafted, as the European geographic horizon has changed. Exploring the historical shift of the continental division, Lewis and Wigen (1997) contend that even the widespread belief that there is a geographic unit called East Asia is rather a cultural myth. They argue that China has been routinely classified to be an East Asian country, even though its Islamic, northwest quadrant more properly belongs to Central Asia. In another case, Australia, a British Commonwealth country, used to regard itself more as a European country. However, from the 1990s, there has been a social project in Australia to establish it more as part of Asia mainly because of economic reasons. This change has made many people wonder 'Is Australia an Asian country?' (FitzGerald, 1997) This illustrates that there is no one way of constructing Asia. Its boundary is subject to different criteria such as geographic contingency, historical connection, cultural tradition, racial phenotype and political/ economic significance. In some cases, we observe a conflict among these elements. For example, as Australia has tried to re-identify itself as an Asian country, an identity conflict occurs among white Australians because Asia has been regarded as a land of the "yellow" (FitzGerald, 1997).

Different ways of constructing Asia were also found in the two teachers' curriculum about Asia. Peggy maintains a somewhat narrow definition of Asia, excluding the Middle East and Central Asia from her Asia unit. In contrast, Barry addresses a wider area under the title of Asia, as he covers not only the Middle East and Central Asia but also Australia and New Zealand. This reflects the differences in teaching strategy and student population between the two schools.

In organizing her Asia unit, Peggy considered the Asian descendents in her school and the community who mostly came from Southeast, South, and East Asia. By focusing on this area, she wanted to connect these students with their cultural heritage. In contrast, Barry attempted to include as many countries as possible in a given amount time. He wanted to give the students a big picture so that they could further explore certain countries or cultures in their culture project.

However, in deciding which countries to put into the Asia unit, teachers have to make a compromise. This is because especially the countries on the border do not often fit neatly into the division of teaching units. The location of the Middle East is a good example of the tension between conventional geographic divisions and cultural connections. In terms of physical geography, the Middle East has been traditionally categorized as part of Asia. In sports, for example, Middle Eastern countries are grouped with other Asian countries. And I have seen the Korean national teams competing with those from Middle Eastern countries in preliminary games for, e.g., the World Cup or the Olympics. However, in terms of the religious and cultural connection, the Middle East is much closer to North African countries which believe in Islam and use the Arabic language. Therefore, if teachers address the Middle East as part of the Asia unit, they risk putting apples and oranges into one unit. However, if they move it to the Africa unit, their teaching will be at odds with the continental division which categorizes the Middle East as part of Asia. We saw that Barry and Peggy choose a different solution. That is, Barry put the two regions into one unit, whereas Peggy divided them into different units. In either case, it seems difficult for teachers to do justice

to the double-sided affiliation of the Middle East: physical contingency with Asia and cultural ties with North Africa.

Not only how to define Asia, but also where to focus on in Asia depends on socio-cultural context. However Asia is constructed in the curriculum, teachers and students do not pay equal attention to all the countries and cultures in it. Asia is known to have about fifty countries and four billion people, about 60 percent of the world population. It also has a wide range of ethnic, cultural, religious and geographic diversities. Therefore, no matter how Asia is defined, some countries shall be focused on whereas others will be marginalized, some topics shall be centered whereas others skimmed. Also, we may not expect that different countries would receive the same perception. This is not only because Asia has diverse cultures in it, but also because different Asian countries have different cultural and political significance to the U.S. Therefore, the next task is investigating which Asian countries receive more attention, how different countries are portrayed with different images and why.

Differentiated attention, Different Images

Despite the difference in constructing the Asia unit, there is a substantial similarity in the two classrooms: East Asia received the major focus. We saw that Peggy regarded East Asia as the “powerhouse” of Asia and used it as a springboard in introducing other Asian regions. East Asia along with the Middle East consisted of major focus in Barry’s Asia unit, too. Both teachers believed that students need to know about East Asia because of its political, economic

and cultural ties with the U.S. They also agreed that East Asia tends to represent the continent of Asia in students' perception. Barry said that students are surprised if they hear that India belongs to Asia. In student surveys and focus group interviews, a predominant number of students associated Asia with East Asian countries. Barry reasoned that this is because East Asia has immersed deeply into students' daily culture, because it has been more successful in Americanizing itself compared to other parts of Asia:

I think there's nothing to connect Americans with South Asia, other than Hindu people who they might see once in a while in the United States. At least in China, Japan, and Korea there's connections in our culture, from everything from the Cold War to the number of students in the United States now. And I think the Asian food in America has been Americanized, even the authentic places like a Japanese steak house or something, it's very Americanized in some ways...For instance, if you go around town to the Chinese restaurants, some of them will say we specialize in Vietnamese, Chinese, and Thai. Well, I notice that if they have Chinese as well as other things, people are more willing to go there. But if it's just Thai, or it's just Vietnamese, unless you like it because you've experienced it, I just don't think they'd go.

However, as Barry alludes, not all the countries in East Asia, which typically include China, Japan, Mongolia, the Koreas, and Taiwan, receive equal attention from the teachers and students. As a matter of fact, China and Japan receive more attention, whereas other countries tend to remain as a null

curriculum. We saw that students are most engaged in Barry's lesson on Japan because they've been exposed to various cultures and products from Japan. China also takes a big part in students' perception about Asia: as a student says, "I think when you see somebody who looks different, you automatically think they're from China." Students in Peggy's classroom showed a similar tendency as they tended to associate Asia with China and Japan in surveys and focus-group interviews. Also, the two countries were most frequently mentioned in Peggy's teaching. For example, she mentioned China's one-child policy and the return of Hong Kong several times and spent two days watching a video on Japan, often mentioning its technological advances. Therefore, it does not seem to be enough to say that East Asia over-represents Asia. More specifically, it is China and Japan that mostly represent Asians and Asian cultures in students' perception and teachers' curriculum about Asia.

Interestingly, however, the two countries appear to be perceived quite differently by teachers and students. That is, if Japan is represented to be friendlier, closer, and civilized, China is more likely to be perceived as strange, threatening and traditional. The result of student surveys illustrates this difference. Table 5.1 shows that Japan and China receive most attention from the students because of different reasons. In the pre- and post-survey, I asked students to choose a country that they believe most important to the U.S. and another country that they would most like to visit among East Asian countries.

Table 5.1. Students' Perception of China and Japan

	Most important country to the U.S.		Country that would most like to visit	
	Pre-survey	Post-survey	Pre-survey	Post-survey
China	60%	46%	20%	16%
Japan	18%	33%	56%	50%
Total	78%	79%	76%	66%

The table shows that, to either question, more than two-thirds of the students chose either China or Japan. Even though the number of students who wanted to visit China or Japan is a bit decreased in the post-survey, the table still shows that the two countries represent East Asia in students' perception. Another notable result is that more students answered that China is important to the U.S., whereas the predominant number of students replied that they would like to visit Japan. Even though the number of students who chose Japan as an important country to the U.S. increased in the post-survey, it remains stable that more than twice the number of student chose Japan over China as a favorite country to visit. This implies that students are more interested in Japan, even though they admit China is important to the U.S. because of its economic and political significance. Indeed, as I further investigate below, the two countries were treated quite differently in students' perceptions and teachers' instruction.

Differentiated treatment of China and Japan

If China tends to be portrayed as a more traditional and backward country, Japan tends to represent a modern, advanced country in Asia. For example, a student in a group interview said, "China has a really rich heritage and Japan has

all the videogames.” In surveys, many students associated China with the Great Wall, New Years’ Day and Chinese Dragon, whereas they thought of videogames, cars, and technology with regard to Japan. A student in a group interview, for example, replied, “Japan is a modern and technically advanced country and it may provide answers to questions like global warming.” In contrast, a student said “China is more like relaxed” and another students followed, “they have lots of rice and that’s the only food there probably, no cereal type of things.”

This does not mean that China is fixed into the past or Japan only receives modern images. There are many traditional images that were seen in students’ perception about Japan such as samurai, Geisha, Kimono (Japanese traditional costumes), and temples. We also remember that Peggy used a video which featured ancient images of Japan. However, if we compare how she used it with the way she used *Mulan*, it appears that Japan and China were treated quite differently. In showing the video on Japan, she emphasized the Japanese government’s effort to preserve its traditional cultures, comparing it with similar efforts in the U.S. This locates the video within the modern context of preserving tradition, even though the video itself is about the Japanese ancient arts. Further, it is still about arts, which would make Japan represent the Asian high culture.

In contrast, *Mulan*, a Disney animation about an Ancient Chinese woman warrior, is known to bring a lot of cultural misconceptions and misrepresentations (Maslin, 1998; Mo & Shen, 2000). In the movie, for example, Mulan had to disguise herself as a man to join the army on behalf of his father and faced a serious charge when she turned out to be a girl. Mo and Shen (2000), however,

point out that there has never been a law or tradition in China which bans girls from going to war. Also, Mulan made up more like Japanese than a Chinese girl in the movie and went to a matchmaker's office to fulfill her daughterly obligation. However, even though there had been a tradition of arranged marriage, it is not culturally true that a matchmaker had her own office and made such comments as "Too skinny—not good for bearing sons" as described in the movie.

Investigating misrepresentations in *Mulan* through a Chinese perspective, Mo and Shen (2000) concluded that "it is quite disturbing to see distortions and stereotypes about Chinese culture." Therefore, using this film without substantial effort to deconstruct the biases in it, which Peggy did not do, it is more likely to perpetuate the image that China was (is) an insensible, extremely sexist society.

The distinction between modern and traditional is not just a matter of time, but is also relates who are closer to the Western standards. Regarding this, it is interesting that students feel friendlier to Japan and suppose Japan would be similar to their own country. They believe that Japan is a clean and "cool" place to visit. A student says that "hospitality is strong and people are nice" in Japan. Another student follows, "Tokyo is kind of our New York." This favorable treatment of Japan is also found in teachers' instruction, as they portrayed Japan more as a similar country to the U.S. in terms of living standards and education. Peggy did not speak any ill of Japan in my observation, whereas she portrayed China with heavily negative images. In a class, Barry said that "Japanese people are middle class, highly educated people *like us*." Later, he told me that Japan is

the easiest country to teach, since most students are eager to know more about Japan.

On the other hand, China was often depicted as an insensible and uncivilized country. Peggy described China as a brutal country because of its one-child policy and unequal gender relationship. It was the central issue in Barry's classroom, too. The students were vying with each other to mention extreme cases of child abuse in China which they mostly heard from rumors. Another popular subject in teaching about China was "cheap products in Wal-Mart." Barry says:

You know what I do for China? Where were your shoes made? Nike basketball shoes are all made in China. Many of the athletic shoes our kids wear are made in China. So I try to point out that China's economy is built on the manufacture of small items, light equipment, light goods. And I try to build on the idea of China's labor force being so monstrous and where I like to use China is Wal-Mart and those stores that buy so many Chinese goods which is a controversy here.

This quote bears another difference in treating China and Japan. That is, reading comics, playing videogames, and watching cartoons, students don't have to worry that their country is under siege by Japan. In enjoying popular culture from Japan, there is little room for the students to think about the relationship between the U.S. and Japan. However, even though students buy cheap products from China at Wal-Mart, they are not likely to feel that they are benefited by imports from China. Rather, as Barry alludes above, there is a wide

concern about the growing economy of China and its vast labor force. As such, in contrast to Japan, the more students see Chinese products around themselves, the more they would feel that the U.S. economy is being dominated by the growing China. This difference in the way the two countries are perceived seems to make students feel more comfortable with Japan, whereas they are more likely to feel that the U.S. and China are at odds with each other.

The distinction between which is the ally and which is the potential threat to the U.S. is clearly visible in Peggy's view, who believes that the U.S. should protect Taiwan from the threat of China. In a class, she even mentioned the possibility of using military powers by the U.S. in case China tries to take over Taiwan. We remember that she insisted the British government should have not returned Hong Kong to China, because China became a global power since then and now it even threatens the U.S. In interviews and in her teaching, Peggy accused China of being the primary cause of the recent downturn of the American economy, arguing that China is taking away American jobs. This made me wonder how she would think about Japan's influence on the U.S. economy, since the local economy has been hit hard by the Japanese auto companies. If both China and Japan harm the U.S. economy, how can she hold her differentiated treatment over China and Japan? She turns out to do so by giving credits to Japanese efforts to create jobs in the U.S.:

I think when you see our perception of the difference between Japan.

Japan has come of age. It has by virtue of putting its factories here and creating jobs. It's no longer being looked down on. But when you have

companies like Wal-Mart who are building factories in shabby little villages in China, and taking away union jobs, then the prejudism, the resentments, the anger, the hostility, it's all right there. And China is getting the brunt of it.

Japan does not receive resentment from Americans any more, according to Peggy, as Japanese companies set up their plants in the U.S. and create jobs for Americans. However, with regard to China, "they are very resentful," not only because China is taking American jobs away but also cheap Chinese products threaten Americans' health: "Now we think that our food is being poisoned, you know, the pet food. Now what're they doing to us as humans?"

These different perceptions about China and Japan and the distinctive treatment of each country in teachers' curriculum are consistent with cultural analyses of wider social perceptions. Investigating photos about Asia in *National Geographic*, Lutz and Collins (1993) contend that "the Japanese are more likely than others to be shown smiling, and much attention is paid to the arts, social gatherings, festivals, and home life, all subjects that would valorize and humanize the Japanese for an American audience" (p. 129). Through their investigation, they argue that the Japanese represent a special case of the "civilized alien" (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 131) who alone can be regarded as belonging to the West among the non-Western people. *Natural School Geography*, an early geography textbook first published in 1898 and revised several times until 1921, confirms this special treatment of Japan as well. Explaining the *yellow race*, it states that the people of the yellow race "are nearly

as numerous as those of the white race, but most of them are not so highly civilized. The Japanese are the most progressive of the yellow people, but the Chinese are by far the most numerous" (Redway & Hinman, 1921, p. 28). Investigating the historical shift of Americans' perspective on Japan, Burns (1999) argues that Americans' cultural perception of Japan is based on the unique role that the U.S. had presumably played in "modernizing" Japan. He argued that, after Commodore Perry's expedition, there emerged a belief that, in Perry's words, the United States represented the "civilized world" whose mission was to "kindly take Japan by the hand, and aid her tottering steps" (cited in Burns, 1999, n.p.).

From a different angle, historical analyses show that the different images of Japan and China are not fixed, but have been changed according to the relationship between the U.S. and each country. Analyzing the film representation of Asia, Shah (2003) argues that, during World War II, the Japanese were depicted as brutal, sneaky and untrustworthy, whereas the Chinese were portrayed to be virtuous, industrious "Asian Wisdom" (p. 13). However, this was quickly reversed after the War, as Japan became a satellite nation of the U.S. while China became a communist country. During the 1950s and 1960s positive Japanese images were contrasted with the evil "Red China" in films and dramas (Shah, 2003). Lutz and Collins (1993) also discovered that China had almost been absent in *National Geographic* whereas Japan was frequently represented in the 1960s. However, after 1972, when President Nixon visited China, China finally became visible in the magazine.

As a whole, the above findings support the idea that the social perception about a certain country is not necessarily rooted in the reality of that country. As scholars in cultural studies argue, it is rather a product of social construction, depending on which epistemological framework we bring in to make sense of that country (Hall, 1992, 1997). Therefore, the perception of China as a traditional, strange and economically and politically threatening country, which tended to be approved by the teachers,' does not reflect the reality of China. As a matter of fact, this overtly simplified representation does not do any justice to the multiple faces of this huge country and the dynamic changes taking place in it. Also, the relationship between the U.S. and China is much more complex and intricate, which makes it hard to decide which is the winner and which is the loser. For example, despite the rhetoric that China hurts American companies and workers, it is also true that cheap imports from China hold down inflation and interest rates, which gives a great benefit to U.S. consumers (Friedman, 2005). As this illustrates, the two sides are much more interdependent and intertwined.

This is also true to Japan. Students' perception of Japan seems to be limited and one-dimensional in many cases, which is also found in teachers' lesson on the country. It tends to be exoticized and romanticized in students' perception. Also, Japan's brutal colonialism over Asian counties—which it still denies at times, making neighbor countries furious—and neighbor countries' concern of the re-militarizing Japan were not treated significantly in either classroom. The cultural framework held by the teachers and students seems to make them attend to some aspects of each country, inattentive to other aspects

which do not fit into the framework. In turn, the framework will be approved and strengthened by the selective reality that they see in each country.

Perception of Asia as a Whole

Despite the selective focus on different countries and different aspects, it is also true that, as a generic term, “Asia” has its own cultural connotations in American society. “Asia,” “Asians,” or “Asian cultures” have unique meanings which may not be entirely reduced to any individual country or culture. As a student said in a focus-group interview, “A lot of Americans don’t see them as each different culture, we seem them as one...I don’t know any difference.” In their imagination, “everybody is same looking. They are all short. They all have really dark hair, and eat rice.” When Peggy asked the students if Asians look alike after her introduction to Asia’s cultural and physical diversity, to her surprise, students’ response was “Yes” almost unanimously. This tendency of lumping Asians into one group requires that I examine how Asia as a whole was perceived by the students and what kind of knowledge about Asians and Asian cultures was produced in the classrooms.

As I illustrated in Chapter 1, many scholars have examined how Asians and Asian cultures are represented in America and what kinds of cultural and political assumptions are underlying the social representation of Asia. Analyzing adolescent fiction and high school history textbooks, Harada (1994, 2001) argues that Asians tend to be depicted as compliant to an authority, lacking leadership in history. Studies on media representation have shown that Asian women tend to

be perceived through contradictory images of being sexy and evil (Chen, 1996, Hamamoto, 1994; Shah, 2003). It has been also pointed out that Asian men are often portrayed as desexualized and obedient but dangerous and untrustworthy because they are inscrutable. Recently, on the other hand, scholars have interrogated the model minority image which portrays Asian Americans as an exceptional minority who has achieved a higher degree of success in a short period (Kim & Yeh, 2002; Lee 1996; Min, 1995). This special treatment, however, has been argued to simplify Asian Americans, ignoring inner diversities and gaps among them. Moreover, the image of successful Asian Americans can be manipulated by the mainstream Whites to blame other less successful minority groups for their own faults: the primary reason of other racial minorities' failure lies in them not in American social structures.

Many elements of this broader social discourse on Asia were exemplified by the teachers and students in this study. Both teachers agreed that their students have somewhat vague and limited understandings of Asia, which mostly came from prevalent perceptions and media representation of it. In a survey Peggy conducted at the beginning of her Asia unit, there was a question asking "What do most Asians look like?" Most students' responses were about eye shapes, hairs, and skin color. In their imagination, Asians are small with slanted eyes, dark hairs, and yellow skin. Deep down, as a students said, they seem to have a kind of fear about Asians; "people are afraid of something that they don't understand." To this student, Asians are somewhat scary since she cannot fathom their inside. Part of this feeling comes from the images that they've seen

in martial art films, as another student said, "People also think Asians can do like crazy moves, like in the street fighter games, five back flips. I have to say that's where most people see when they think of China and Japan. Martial arts, because of Jackie Chan and stuff like that."

This is not surprising, if we consider that most of the students' imagination about Asians is rooted in videogames and martial art movies. One of the most frequently mentioned items in surveys and interviews were martial art films and fighter games. While enjoying these fantasies and images, students seem to have a fear that Asians can really do what they saw in the movies and games. This fear is further confirmed by another perception that "they are all really smart," "they work crazily hard," and "they will cure cancers soon." That is, in students' perception, Asians are very smart people who are always working hard and who may have some mysterious capacities. Even though not often mentioned, another image that separates the students from the Asians is the notion that it is hard to communicate with them because their English would be poor. As a student said, this is also rooted in what they saw in films: "You've changed my perception on Koreans. I mean you are pretty cool. I thought that, like Chinese Asia, like they, you'd barely speak English. I mean you speak pretty good English. You are not as..." "Not in the Godzilla movies," another student followed.

These examples seem to demonstrate that students have mixed responses to Asians or Asian cultures. That is, while they enjoy popular culture from Asia e.g. martial arts movies, they feel somewhat unfamiliar and scared

about Asians because they feel like Asians are different from themselves. In general, however, Barry said that many Americans tend to perceive Asians, especially East Asians, as obedient, smiling and non-threatening.

Another thing I think about the perception of Americans is that East Asian people are very kind. Again this is my perception here. But I get the impression that, if you asked a typical American to describe East Asian people, they'd say, 'Oh, they're very polite, they bow their heads to you when they talk to you, they'll do what you ask them to do, they're always smiling,' and that's part of what I think, they're non-threatening to Americans.

Barry continued to say that this is one of the reasons why East Asia has been more easily accepted than other Asian regions. According to him, the friendly image of East Asians is contrasted with the Arab "who is different and is not willing to smile and say 'Yes' to you." He said that, to many Americans, "Arabic people are very loyal, they are very adamant about what they believe; they don't let people push them around." As a result, Americans are more open to East Asia than the Middle East, which would ultimately make East Asia represent the whole of Asia in many Americans' perception.

However, it should not be missed that, despite of the differentiated treatment, both East Asia and the Middle East are still positioned to be "others." The difference between the two is not that one group belongs to "us" and the other belongs to "others." Rather, the difference is between "non-compliant others" and "compliant others." As such, as Barry said, the hierarchical order

between America and Asia is still maintained even in the favorable treatment of East Asia:

I don't think there is any dislike in the United States, in general of Asian cultures. But, at the same time, to be perfectly honest, some Americans are looking at Asians as someone different, like someone coming from a different world. And you are supposed to be, you are different than me. They don't see them as another human being. They see them as something fun. 'Yes they are nice, fun people, they are good people.' To me that's condescending, to me that's almost like they're not real humans or they're not like Westerners, it's a different group of people.

If Barry was aware of the ideological implications underlying the dominant perceptions of Asia, Peggy seemed to maintain these perceptions more explicitly and uncritically. In particular, she seemed to have a clear model minority image about Asian students. According to her, Asian students have quietly adjusted themselves to schools, being silent about their cultural heritage:

I want to say that Asian students have been told that this is their place. But, it's almost as if they live very private lives. Children come to a public school and this is their school life. But everything about their life is private... They're going to blend into a public school classroom. They're going to look like everybody else. You don't hear them talking about their family traditions. You don't hear them talking about their families.

The Asian American students who remain silent and invisible are quite different from other minority groups, especially African American and Hispanic students who reveal their cultural identity more explicitly:

I think that the way you see is Asian students in their place in class. They never talk Asian. They never promote their Asian culture by the way they dress. You never hear them speak their Asian dialects. My Hispanic students speak Spanish. And they do it to exclude anyone who is non-Spanish speaking. You see my African American kids who want to dress and use what I call a subculture conversation, 'My homie, brothers.' And you know they have their levels of conversation. They'll walk into a class and that's what they want to model, 'Every body, look at me. But Asian kids don't do this.

Instead of enhancing their cultural heritage, Peggy said that Asian students have made use of their educational opportunities. She emphasized a few times in her class that Asian students value education very highly, and Asian names are always in valedictorian and *Cumma Laude* lists even though their number is small. According to Peggy, this success of Asian students has led to the success of their families, making them the most successful minority group in a short period. This notable success of Asian Americans even causes other minority groups to be resentful against them, according to her:

When we see, for example, African American neighborhoods that are poor or Hispanic poor neighborhoods, we see resentment against Asian kids, because Asian kids are getting to school and they're not in trouble. Asian

kids are not in jail or juvi troubles. Asian parents own their cars. They are living in nicer houses. They own their little self-businesses, but in someway they are working. They're succeeding and they've done it very quietly. And suddenly social services are becoming limited now, jobs are limited, minimum wage is not helping you reach your bills every month. Then you have these minorities, that haven't been successful, haven't assimilated to the American way of life, coming out wanting to make political statements.

In this quote, we can see that Peggy's differentiated perceptions of different racial groups are in fact based on her political position. As we saw, she draws a clear distinction between what belongs to the American cultural heritage and what does not, arguing that racial minorities have to accept American standards to be part of American culture. According to her, Asians and Asian students have been successful in this regard, since they are willing to give up their culture of origin and be assimilated into American cultural standards. Their success is contrasted to African American and Hispanic students who adhere to their cultural heritage and refuse to accept American standards.

Peggy's assimilationist view seems to influence the way she treats her racially and culturally diverse students. Whereas Barry often made use of his students' cultural heritage as a resource, inviting them to share their experiences with other classmates, I have not seen a similar effort in Peggy's teaching. In fact, there was an Asian American student in her classroom and when I asked Peggy about the student, she replied that she is a Chinese American. Later in a focus-

group interview, however, other students informed me that she is a Vietnamese student. As this illustrates, as she believed students have to accept American cultural standards, she seemed to be inattentive to her students' cultural heritage and did not attempt to connect her teaching with their cultural backgrounds.

CHAPTER 6: HOW CURRICULUM ABOUT OTHERS BECAME A CURRICULUM OF OTHERING

If I examined cultural assumptions underlying the curriculum construction of Asia in the previous chapter, this chapter focuses more on the political and ideological aspect of it. In particular, I attend to the fact that, although the two teachers hold seemingly desirable goals proposed by global educators who emphasize cross-cultural awareness and global citizenship, those goals are almost invisible in their actual teaching. As a result, I argue that neither of them had acquired the intended changes in students' knowledge and perceptions about Asia. Using the lens of postcolonialism, I investigate various factors to examine why teachers' original goals were not implemented in their teaching and students did not develop a cultural understanding and open-mindedness toward Asia. In particular, I attend to the influence of popular culture and mass media on teachers' teaching and students' perceptions about Asians and Asian cultures. Based upon major findings in this study, I argue that the classroom teaching about Asia can be a site of reproducing collective imaginations about Asia. This conclusion makes me investigate alternative ways of making sense of and building relationship with Asians and Asian cultures. Before exploring practical implications for teaching and teacher education, I will end this chapter by showing how the students in the two classrooms want their country, America, to be taught in Korean classrooms. As we will see, what the students want Korean teachers and students to consider in teaching about America are similar to what I would ask American teachers and students to reconsider in addressing Asia.

This similarity confirms that rethinking how to bring other cultures and societies into school curriculum has a universal significance in this globalizing world.

Curriculum of Othering in the Two Classrooms

If we compare Barry and Peggy, they turn out to have very similar teaching goals. They both wanted their students to deconstruct cultural stereotypes and have more complex understandings about peoples and cultures in the world. Barry underscored that, "Whenever I teach about Africa, Asia, Latin America, I start by saying that this is not where we bring in negative stereotypes. That's not what this is about. You're here to learn the positive aspects of their cultures." Likewise, Peggy stressed that, "I don't want them to think of people of the Asian continent as little green Martians. I want them to see them as people." Also, they both wanted their students to recognize inner diversities and complexities among Asians and Asian cultures. Peggy emphasized that, "I want them to recognize the dynamics of that continent. I want them to see the diversity within the countries, within the groups of people who inhabit those regional areas of that continent." We also saw that Barry tried to explain the differences among Asian counties (e.g., China, Korea, and Japan) in his teaching. These goals are largely consistent with what global educators propose as major capacities and dispositions students need to have in a global society (Case, 1993; Hanvey 1976; Kirkwood 2001a). As these scholars underscore, both Peggy and Barry want their students to see various aspects of global cultures with open-mindedness and humanistic attitudes.

However, there seems to be another notable similarity between the two teachers, which is quite puzzling at this time: the enacted curriculum had almost nothing to do with their professed goals. As a matter of fact, the curriculum about Asia in the classrooms seems to be closer to what I would call a “curriculum of Othering,” because it tends to perpetuate and reproduce the colonial perspective on Asians and Asian cultures instead of challenging and deconstructing it. Before I investigate why and how their teaching resulted in Othering Asia, I will first explain what I mean by “Othering” or “a curriculum of Othering.”

As Johnson (2001) points out, cultural and racial differences do not imply any sense of hierarchy as themselves. It rather confirms that there are diverse ways in how human beings adjust themselves to various physical and environmental conditions. As the efforts to preserve diversities in the nature and human life illustrate, religious, cultural, and biological diversities is a sign of a healthy biosphere which enhances the sustainability of our planet (International Development Research Center, 2008). Often, however, racial, cultural and ethnic diversities become a matter of hierarchical distinction between who is superior and who is inferior, who is normal and who is abnormal. For example, Baynton (2001) argues that the notion of disability, which apparently looks to be a scientific matter, in fact has been a socio-cultural construction. He illustrates that Blacks used to be constructed as people who are unable to handle their freedom, which justified slavery. Similarly, women had been denied to higher education for a long time, because of the assumption that intellectual pressures would harm their mental health and reproduction organs.

In these cases, “we”—Whites and males—are defined to have something that is denied to “them”—Blacks and women. The dominant group’s identity is constructed to be positive by negating people who belong to other categories, which had (has) ultimately justified an unequal treatment of the subordinate groups. As Said (1978) contends, this construction is, however, arbitrary, since the underprivileged do not have the power to define themselves. Their identity is to be subjected to how the dominant groups identify themselves. As a result, “we” are identified to have mental stability and intellectual capacity which do not belong to “them,” and thus they do not deserve freedom or higher education. In this relational construction of identity, the distinction between the self and the other is based on a narrative of exclusion (Volf, 1996): “We” become we by denying others. “They” have to be othered, since we and they cannot stand in the same place.

This construction of self and the other is similar with Martin Buber’s classic distinction between *Ich und Du* (I and You) and *Ich und Es* (I and It). Within the context of existentialism, Buber (1970) distinguished these two modes of relationship between the self and the other. In the *Ich-Du* mode of relationship, the two sides are mutually and holistically intertwined as the same being. Both sides share the same quality as human beings and they are tied with each other, because they need the other side to realize their own existence. Therefore, a true conversational relationship is possible between them: each can be heard with its own voice and the communication between them would expand the horizon of the self. In contrast, in the *Ich-Es* mode of relationship, the self and the other are

alienated from each other. Even though the self encounters the other, they do not really meet with each other, because the other becomes an object, *it*. The value of an object is not decided by its own existence but by whether it serves my own interest or not. As such, the object is not known through its own voices and values but by the projection of self-interest. Even though there may be an interaction between the two sides, it is not an authentic communication but more like a monologue, according to Buber.

Some would argue that certain degree of othering is inevitable, as people tend to feel strange and unfamiliar with peoples and cultures that they have not encountered. It also seems to be natural that we treat people differently according to the degree of familiarity. For the same reason, it is inevitable that we have more or less stereotypes of certain cultures or societies, as it is impossible to see every aspect of them. Who can dare to say that he/she has seen every aspect of China? Therefore, our knowledge of China is inevitably limited, and can be thus biased.

However, we need to distinguish between individual levels of othering and institutional and social ones. As studies on the nature of power and privilege (Johnson, 2001; Scheurich & Young, 1997) argue, what is more problematic than individual misunderstandings are the processes of Othering which take place in structural levels supported by dominant cultural frameworks. According to those studies, unlike individual ignorance, institutional Othering is a social denial that certain groups and peoples deserve equal treatment and the same humanity. As I showed earlier, the Othering of Blacks and women was not conducted by a few

individuals but was institutionally maintained to keep the current, unequal race and gender relationship.

This is the reason why postcolonialism attempts to reveal the Eurocentric construction of the non-West which ideologically supported the colonial dominance over the non-Western, non-European world (Giroux, 1994; Marchetti, 1993; Lweis & Wigen, 1997; Said, 1978; Volf, 1996). In the colonial framework, the relationship between the West and the non-West is similar with *Ich-Es* (I and It) in Buber's distinction, as the former was constructed to be familiar, normal, and civilized whereas the latter was projected to be strange, abnormal, and uncivilized (Said, 1978). The difference between Buber's psychological analysis and postcolonialism is that the latter attends to the power concerns underlying the cultural distinction between the West and the non-West. Volf (1996), for example, argues that by drawing a cultural demarcation between the civilized West and the savage non-West, the latter is denied to be the same human with the former:

It describes not simply how "they" and "we" ought not to behave, but it implicitly portrays "them" as the kind of people "we" are not. The adjective "nonEuropean (in the sense of nonWestern) underlines the distancing between "them" from "us" already contained in the noun "savages": we are moral and civilized, they are wicked barbarians (p. 58).

As Volf points out, in the colonial framework, the cultural and racial differences between the West and the non-West are not regarded as a matter of diversity but as a matter of hierarchy. The non-West cannot be "we" with the

West, since the West belongs to civilization whereas the non-West still belongs to nature. According to Giroux (1994), in this binary distinction, “whiteness represents itself as a universal marker for being civilized and in doing so posits the Other within the language of pathology, fear, madness, and degeneration” (p. 75). Hall (1988) continues to argue that colonialism is based on this binary system of representation which “constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the difference between belongingness and Otherness” (p. 28).

If we go back to the two teachers in this study, the key issue is whether their teaching about Asia contributes to deconstructing the dehumanized and alienated relationship between the West and non-West or perpetuating it. If we recall what Peggy said, her teaching goals obviously target the former: “I want them [the students] to see the people as they are, not see things as oddities, and we’re better than they are, but to see them as where they’re at.” However, in reality, her actual teaching was quite disconnected with this goal and rather dominated by the colonial framework, which makes her curriculum about Asia a curriculum of Othering.

In Peggy’s case, we’ve seen that she often depicted Africa and Asia as uncivilized and insensible societies which still have outdated and ineffective social systems. According to her, African countries are suffering from extreme poverty not because of the brutal colonialism and its remaining effects, but because they do not have social systems to make use of their rich resources. She also alienated her African American students from their cultural heritage by making them embarrassed by the poor living conditions in Africa. We saw that

she constructed a clear boundary between Europe and the U.S. *versus* Africa and Asia, emphasizing that what is insensible and impossible to the former is still existent and admitted in the latter. She used the former as the standard to measure whether and how the latter was civilized and modernized.

In my observation, Peggy did not make any significant effort to help the students re-examine their cultural stereotype and biases about Asia, even though overt racial responses were expressed at times. This is not surprising, considering that Peggy herself expressed a strong animosity toward Asian countries, especially China and North Korea. She introduced North Korea as a country controlled by “a little Hitler” who constantly threatens the U.S. Accordingly, students would remember North Korea as an imminent enemy to the U.S., which cannot be a conversation partner. The entire country which has more than 20 million people is represented only through one unstable political leader. This limited representation would ultimately support the U.S. hardliner’s policy over North Korea, without considering how it would impact the vast number of civilians. It needs hardly be repeated here how she taught about China, since we’ve already seen that she portrayed the country with heavily negative tones.

One may argue that China and North Korea are somewhat extreme cases and students might have developed deeper understandings of other Asian countries. Unfortunately, this does not seem to be the case. In a focus-group interview, to my question of which continent was most difficult to understand among Latin America, Europe, Africa, and Asia, all the students agreed it was

Asia. They replied that Asia is such a huge continent with so many countries and peoples and they did not have enough opportunities to learn about them. This made me wonder why students still felt unfamiliar with Asia after Peggy spent more than a month addressing it. The following conversation helps us find an answer to this question:

Hong: Do you think you know Asian cultures? Do you feel like you're familiar with Asian cultures?

Student 1: Not all of them

Student 2: Not at all

Hong: Not all? Why is that? You told me about a lot of food and video games and mengas, and other things, but you still feel you don't know much about Asia?

Student 2: Well, I know the products of Asia but I don't know the actual people of Asia, and culture.

The above snippet shows that students do not really feel that they came to better know about Asians through Peggy's teaching. Asia still remains as a remote area which is hard to understand. Even though the degree is somewhat different, Barry did not succeed in helping his students to acquire concrete and humanistic understandings of Asia, either. In many aspects, he is in a better position than Peggy to implement his original goals through his teaching. Having been troubled by the misconception about Latin America, he is well aware of the importance of deconstructing cultural stereotypes and biases. He has more global and multicultural experiences than Peggy, traveling many parts of the

world. Finally, he was able to spend most of the class time delivering his instruction, whereas Peggy was constantly struggling to discipline her students.

However, Barry's instruction often focused on entertainment rather than intellectually engaging students with Asia. This is primarily because of his other belief that the geography class should be interesting to students. To make his class entertaining, he tended to heavily depend on popular culture and mass media without examining potential bias and stereotypes embedded in the commercial images of Asia. As we will see later in this chapter, commercial films have been pointed out as a major source of misrepresentation of Asians and Asian cultures. As such, to make his students interested, Barry has to take a risk of reproducing cheap images and fantasies about Asia. Even though he is aware of this danger, he also knows that at least he can stimulate students' interest if he connects his curriculum with popular culture:

Unfortunately that's still a big selling point. Kids get more excited if I talk about Bruce Lee than if I talk about Mao. Kids get more excited if I talk about a Japanese horror film. Then, they are talking about the Japanese shogun warriors.

It is interesting that, even though Barry's students seemed to be more engaged in their class than Peggy's students, they still feel that their knowledge of Asia was not changed or deepened significantly. A Student in a group interview said, "I don't know, I don't feel like we get taught it enough, they're just kind of this is what they wear, this is what they do and, then move on. They don't really teach it... So it's really nothing that we know." The following conversation

demonstrates that not only this student but other students had similar feeling after they learned about Asia:

Hong: Do you think your understanding or perceptions of Asia have changed through your learning?

Student 1: Just a little bit.

Student 2: I don't think we learn much about it.

Student 3: I don't remember too much stuff.

Student 4: He doesn't get real in-depth with what he teaches.

Student 5: He gets more into popular culture.

What Caused the Curriculum of Othering?

The above findings show that students in neither classrooms felt that they became more familiar with Asians or that their understanding of Asia were significantly changed. Unlike the teachers' goals, Asia still remained an Other in students' minds at the end of the Asia unit. In either classroom, students did not have opportunities to critically examine the prevalent discourse on Asia and deconstruct their preconceptions about Asians and Asian cultures. As a result, the dominant discourse on Asia which tends to simply and misrepresent Asia passed unchecked in both classrooms. Our next question is, then, why the curriculum about Asia became a curriculum of Othering, which is quite contradictory with the original teacher goals. To explore how to better engage students with Asia, or more broadly diverse people and cultures in the world, we

first need to examine what caused the contradiction between teachers' goals and their actual teaching.

Time Constraint

What Barry and Peggy aimed to achieve—recognition of inner diversities, cross-cultural awareness and open-mindedness—often requires deep reconsiderations of one's identity and world view, which can create confusion, a sense of loss and even resistance from the students (Merryfield, 2001). Students' perception about and attitude toward certain countries and cultures have been held for a long time through what they've seen and what they've heard in their daily lives. As such, their racial and cultural perceptions are deeply intertwined with their belief, worldview and identity. As Barry said, this deep connection makes it hard for teachers to make the students rethink their cultural and racial beliefs:

Again, it [having an open mind] is not easy. It requires a lot of listening by the kids. Like I told you, the kids are being offended by Arab people.

Another kid after you left yesterday said that 99 percent of all Arabs are evil. How somebody could be so close minded. But then again I thought they were children growing up, they saw the news maybe all they see is a negative portrayal.

In particular, if Barry has to constantly struggle with limited time, it would be very difficult for him to open students' minds which are quite tightly closed. He was only able to spend a day on China, Japan and the Koreas, respectively. More accurately speaking, he spent less than 30 minutes on China, as he had to

address adjacent areas such as Taiwan, Tibet, Hong Kong, and Mongolia. In some cases, he covered more than ten countries in an hour. In this limited amount of time, he had to decide what to address and where to focus, repeatedly stressing that the class did not have enough time and they had to keep moving. He himself admitted that the lack of time is the biggest challenge; "I would say all of those difficulties, number one is limited time. It doesn't do justice to any culture in the world to cover a country or region in one day." If this is the case, nobody could blame him for not engaging students with Asia more deeply. His students also agree that the time constraint is the major hurdle for their learning. In a group interview, a student said that Barry "has like an ADD problem." Another student concurred that "I think geography should mainly be a whole year course, because when you spend a week on one place and I feel like, I don't know anything about that."

Interestingly, however, a similar complaint was heard from Peggy whose course is year long. Admitting that this year she had to change her schedule because of the move and the teacher reduction in the middle of the school year, she has twice the amount of time than Barry for each continent, spending ten weeks on Asia. Nonetheless, Peggy still insisted that the district pacing guides require too much to her 7th grade social studies. She said, "It does not allow you to re-teach. It does not allow you to concentrate on areas that you think are more important." Her students also agreed that they "just skip around too fast," and do not have enough time to learn about Asian countries and cultures. They said that

they need more time “instead of just jumping and studying for a small period of time.”

This makes us wonder if the lack of time is a critical factor which prevents students from developing open-mindedness and more complex understandings of Asia. We have seen that, whereas Peggy had longer time available for Asia than Barry, she still complained about a lack of time. We also saw that Peggy's students spent many of the class time doing simple and didactic worksheets. For a worksheet called “ABC's of Asia,” for example, students spent an entire hour finding geographic locations in Asia without even knowing how to pronounce them. This implies that more time does not necessarily guarantee a better curriculum. Also we need to consider that the lack of time is not a unique challenge of social studies teachers, because teachers teaching other subjects also have to negotiate the limited time. Further, there is no objective criterion about how much time is enough for teachers to teach about Asia: it may depend on contexts, purposes and contents. Therefore, admitting that the lack of time may influence the quality of teacher curriculum, it does not seem to be the decisive factor. There should be other factors which make it difficult for teachers to implement their teaching goals.

Lack of teacher knowledge and experiences

In addition to the time constraint, another factor that influences the quality of teacher curriculum is their knowledge and experiences with regard to the areas that they teach. It hardly needs to be said that the more teachers know about a culture or country, the more they are likely to create an engaging

curriculum. They would be also better at adjusting their curriculum according to the time span without losing major points of their teaching. At least, teachers would not neglect cultural biases and misunderstandings among students. For instance, Barry was more sensitive to cultural stereotypes about Latin America, since he is personally engaged with it. He speaks Spanish and has a solid knowledge background about Latin American peoples and cultures, which makes him quite confident in teaching about this area: "I'm very familiar with Latin America. I've been there many times obviously. So it's very easy for me to teach the Western Hemisphere. I have a wealth of information I can draw on, I can find things that I know interest kids, so that has been very helpful to me." Similarly, if teachers have personal experiences and deeper understandings about Asians and Asian cultures, they are more likely to create an engaging curriculum about Asia for their students.

Unfortunately, Peggy and Barry do not seem to have had enough opportunities to develop a rich understanding and knowledge background about Asia. Barry felt that he has relatively little knowledge about Asia (and Africa) than about Europe and Latin America. Whereas he traveled to Europe and Latin America a few times, he has never been to Asia and Africa. As a result, even though he felt that he is "much more cultured than the typical Americans," Barry still admitted that "Africa and Asia, those are things that I need to learn more." Part of reason why he felt a lack of knowledge about Asia is because he had not taken many courses on Asia in his college days. Despite majoring in geography, he took only one course on Japanese history and "that was the only real

exposure to Asia,” according to him. Peggy also seems to have a limited exposure to Asians and Asian cultures. Other than having Japanese guests at her home quite a while ago, she did not mention any personal engagement or contact with Asian cultures. Considering her loyalty to the American cultural heritage, she would not open her mind to other cultures and expand her cultural tastes. As a result, as we’ve seen in the previous chapter, she had a somewhat typical perception about Asia, portraying many Asian countries with negative images.

This is not to say that Barry and Peggy are not ready to teach about Asia. As a veteran teacher, Peggy has been teaching 7th grade social studies for more than ten years. Majored in geography, Barry keeps trying to renew his knowledge about Asia. Rather, my point is that, as Barry says, teachers’ teaching about a certain culture can be “very different when you go to the culture and are immersed in it.” Researchers also support that, if teachers haven’t had experiences of breaking down preconceptions and renewing their cultural assumptions, they are less likely to provide similar experiences to their students (Begler, 1993; Flournoy, 1993; Merryfield, 1997). Especially, as we saw earlier, if students have a strong preconception about a certain culture or people, e.g., Arabs, teachers’ knowledge and experiences become even more significant. Without an alternative view and firm knowledge, teachers are more likely to approve the prevalent perceptions about Asia, instead of deconstructing and reshaping them.

Gap between what students want to know and what teachers teach

Another finding that is seen in both classrooms is the gap between what students want to know and what teachers teach about Asia, which would ultimately make students feel as though they had not really learned about Asia through their teachers. What Barry's students wanted to know about Asia were centered on lifestyles and daily cultures of ordinary Asians. In a survey, a student was interested in "how they go about everyday, like what is the most popular clothing that they wear, and what they usually do." Other students wanted to know about "their daily agenda, supper, what they usually eat," "what days they go to school," "what they learn in school," and "if they have like winter break, spring break." Peggy's students had similar interests in Asians' daily life. What they wanted to know included, "What's popular there in fashion, food, games and music?" "Do all Asians eat the same thing?" "How many years do they have to do school?" "How the city people and the country people live?"

Admitting that there is no single daily culture of Asians, these at least demonstrate that students want to know more about people and life — especially those of the students who are around their age — in Asian countries. Indeed, building emotional ties with ordinary people seems to be a plausible way to develop a feeling of compassion, which Nussbaum (1997) proposes as the key ethical foundation of cosmopolitanism. According to her, compassion originates from a recognition that people can suffer from pain or misfortune in a way for which they are not, or not fully, to blame. By imagining that s/he could also suffer from similar misfortune of people in different cultures or countries, Nussbaum (1997) says that one can have an awareness of "common vulnerability" with

others as an imperfect human being (p. 91). Based on this awareness, students can realize that people have to take care of each other regardless of differences in culture, race and nationality. One way for the students to build this emotional tie with Asians is recognizing that Asians who look differently on the surface in fact have similar concerns, hopes, sorrows, and happy and unhappy moments with themselves. This recognition would help students see Asians not as oddities but more as human, which Peggy emphasizes as her teaching goal. It would also help students develop more diversified and complex understandings about Asia, which Barry underscores.

However, students in neither classroom came to develop emotional bonds with Asians. We saw Peggy spend most of her teaching on physical geography and regional politics, instead of the human sides and daily cultures. Even when dealing with culture, she did not engage the students with daily lives of ordinary Asians. She showed instead a video on old Japanese artists performing ancient arts. Barry appears to be better in this regard, as he put more emphasis on human cultures than physical geography. He also invited guest speakers a few times and he asked me to present my life and experiences in Korea. However, most of these cases focused more on fun and festival than intellectual engagement. Most students seemed to rather enjoy the foods and cultural artifacts that the guests brought in, even though a few students were hesitant to try new foods. Most questions about the guests' personal experiences and home cultures came from Barry, while students were eating food, chatting with each other, or listening to the conversation between the teacher and a guest. Scholars

have been concerned with this type of global and multicultural education which celebrates cultural and racial diversities without having students deeply engaged in cross-cultural interactions (Cockrell et al., 1999; Heilman, 2006; Merryfield, 2001; Sleeter & Grant, 2003). Heilman (2006) calls this “happy global multiculturalism” (p. 196) which tends to avoid serious and controversial aspects of global politics and the difficulties in communicating with people who have different belief systems and cultural backgrounds.

More fundamentally, the discrepancy between what teachers teach and what students want to know about Asia seems to reflect the tension between two different approaches in global education that we saw in Chapter 1. As I noted, it has been disputed whether global education should address national belongingness and international politics or universal humanism and global citizenship. According to one’s position in this controversy, the nature and purpose of global education can be significantly different (Heilman, 2006; Lamy, 1991; Pike, 2000). As Gaudelli (2006) distinguishes, people who attend to the competitive aspect of globalization regard global education as a passport to secure national prosperity in a global market (American Council on Education, 1998). In contrast, people on the cooperative side place more emphasis on global justice, universal human rights and international collaboration (Kirkwood, 2001a; Kniep, 1986; Merryfield, 2001). As we saw, these contrasting views on global realities result in different positions on how schools respond to globalization. To clarify these differences, some scholars distinguish international education and global education (Alger & Harf, 1986; Kirkwood, 2001a).

According to them, if the major concern of international education is to protect national security in the context of international competition and politics, global education attempts to enhance global interconnectedness and non-governmental exchanges regardless of one's national location. If the former sees the primary agent of globalization as the nation-state, and globalization means keen competition among the nation-states to them, the latter emphasizes the role of global citizens in creating a more humanistic and democratic world through open-mindedness and burden-sharing.

Between the two positions, Peggy's teaching appears to be closer to international education, creating little space for students to develop cross cultural awareness and global citizenship. In her view, for example, knowing that China is becoming a world growing power is more important than knowing how Chinese people have similar feelings, emotions, needs, and rights with the students in her classroom. As a result, whereas terms such as "communist China" or "the Chinese government" were frequently heard in her teaching, I rarely heard her talking about "the Chinese people." I also observed Barry using national profiles to introduce people living in a certain country. He often visited the CIA home page and showed GNP, life expectancy, infant mortality, population, and birthrate in the country. These data were then compared to those of the U.S., which gave a basic sense about the country to the students. As a result, people living in the country would be perceived through the national data, not by their actual life and cultures. In a sense, this is like understanding a person through his/her bank account, income, height, weight, and medical records. Even though this

information might be helpful, it does not really say anything about the person. As we may still wonder who the person is after we get this information, students seemed to still wonder who Asians are after they learned about Asia; “we don’t really get about people, we just learn about the countries.” Therefore, students’ feeling that they had not learned about Asia does not mean that Barry and Peggy did not teach about Asia. Rather, it means that teachers did not teach what students wanted to know.

Influence from popular culture and mass media

Another crucial factor that causes the curriculum about Asia to be a curriculum of Othering is the heavy influence of the dominant social discourse, which comes in mainly through popular culture and mass media. If I have occasionally touched this issue in the previous pages, I now investigate more deeply how popular culture and mass media influence various aspects of the school curriculum.

To begin with, students’ imagination about Asia seems to largely come from popular media and commercial cultures. This is not surprising, considering that American students are heavily exposed to popular culture. A survey data in 2003 shows that American eight graders spends 2.2 hours on TV and videogames, 1.1 hours on computer games and 1.8 hours on the Internet each day (Martin, et. al., 2004). Another survey in 2004 shows that about 30 percent of eight graders and about 24 percent of tenth graders spends more than four hours a day on watching TV (Child Trends Databank, 2008). Considering this heavy exposure has been accumulated since the students were very young, it may well

be that what they associate with Asia is largely rooted in what they've seen in popular media.

Students' responses to Peggy's question of how Asians look like are mostly similar with typical media presentations of Asians: slanted-eyes, yellow skin, and small-built (Harada, 1994; Marchetti, 1993). I saw two students caricaturing a face of an Asian woman with squinty eyes, even though they erased it as I approached to them. Leaving a classroom at the end of a group interview, a student said "ching chang chong," a racial slur mocking Chinese language. This caused other students to laugh. Whereas the students did not remember any political or social leaders in Asian countries, they provided plenty of names or characters in martial art films, cartoons and comics. The bizarre images that Asians eat the brain of a monkey seem to come from Hollywood movies—the scene can be found in *Indiana Jones and the Temple of Doom*. The influence from popular media is more visible in Barry's 10th graders who have been exposed to commercial culture longer than Peggy's 7th graders. While talking about the stereotypes of Asian women in a group interview, a student said "When I think of Asian women, I think of *Memoirs of a Geisha*." Then, students followed that Asian women tend to be perceived to be shy, sexy, submissive, and house keepers. Another student said, "I think that the whole Asia reality takes place farther back, like you were kids when you watched it and that's probably why you retained that thought."

This shows that students do not come to their classrooms with an empty mind. Rather, they bring specific perceptions or imaginations about certain

cultures or societies even before teachers start teaching about them. In a sense, they have already been educated what to remember and how to respond to specific countries or cultures. For example, while the class was addressing Central Asia, a few students kept asking me if I watched the movie, *Borat*. As I replied that I hadn't, a student brought a DVD next day insisting that I had to watch it because it was very funny. I happened to have a chance to talk about this movie with another high school teacher who also teaches 10th grade social studies. He told me that students would quickly forget what they learned about Central Asian countries whereas they would keep talking about what they'd seen in *Borat*, a film denigrating Kazakhstan people and culture. Indeed, students are so used to popular culture that they want the school curriculum to be based on what they've seen in popular culture. In a group interview, a student said, "if you connect it to popular culture, people will remember it more. This is actually one of the easiest things to remember because I can just connect it to something." Another student concurred that "We just need something to trigger it. When you think of Korea, you think of Kim Jong-Il, like *Team America*."

Teachers are not free from the influence of the dominant discourse on certain topics or countries. Like their students, they may have been exposed to the same media representation on racial, social and international issues. The influence of media message is more visible in Peggy's view on immigration issues and cultural diversities. Her position on immigration seems to be largely consistent with media portrayals of illegal immigrants. It has been argued that, even though America has been called a nation of immigrants, the news media

often create the impression that some immigrants are more welcomed than others (Padín, 2005). For example, media representations of Hispanics are heavily focused on law enforcement actions against undocumented workers, who are often portrayed as the major cause of social ills (Lee & Solomon, 1990). Also, as the term “illegal aliens” implies, immigrants tend to be described as ones who do not belong in America. The term, which is frequently used in news media these days, dehumanizes a certain group of people by categorizing them as “someone who’s not human, so the message is we don’t need to care about how they’re being treated” (Lee & Solomon, 1990, p. 245). Likewise, we’ve seen that illegal immigrants are “criminals,” “drug-dealers,” “gangs,” and “murderers” in Peggy’s view. They are deteriorating the life quality of Americans and threatening the U.S. social security systems and thus should not be allowed to stay in the U.S., according to her.

Peggy’s view on Muslims also seems to represent the discourse of the New Right which, according to Giroux (1994), has been strengthened by the mainstream media. Giroux (1994) argues that, as violent and explicit racism becomes difficult, the New Right has developed a strategy which fuses “culture within a tidy formation that equates the nation, citizenship, and patriotism” (p. 74). In this new politics of culture, culture is defined within the framework of national identity. That is, being an American citizen is equated with accepting the American national culture and protecting it from the outside threats. While other cultures can be admitted as cultural diversities, it is also true that they do not belong to the American cultural heritage. As a result, without denying cultural

diversities, the patriotic stance that Americans should protect their cultural identity can be maintained. van Dijk (2000) argues that this new discursive practice has been disseminated and strengthened by various cultural and political media such as movies, TV programs and news, political debates, and policies. We can see a similar strategy in the way Peggy handles cultural and religious diversities, especially in her attitude toward Muslims. Her position on them is supported by a clear cultural distinction between a cultural identity which belongs to America and which does not. In her view, the core of American cultural identity is Christianity, and thus Islam is not American culture. The only way for Muslims to become Americans is accepting American cultural standards and norms. If they challenge the American cultural heritage or claim that America be changed to accept their religious and cultural traditions, they would become a threat to the U.S. Note that she does not deny religious diversities or insist that Muslims are wrong. Rather, her response to Muslims is justified by a clear definition of the American cultural identity.

Because of this neoconservative position, Peggy seems to have been unaware of the contradiction between her goals and practices. As we saw above, within neoconservative perspective, cultural patriotism does not collide with global diversities. Rather, Peggy would believe that the problem is with Muslims who do not respect American cultural heritage and with the illegal immigrants who create social problems in America. The contradiction becomes visible when we question the foundation of her belief: Why can't Muslims, immigrants and Asians be part of the American cultural identity? Who defines what is American?

Whose interests are exerted in this definition and how is this related to current racial and ethnic relations? As long as Peggy does not consider these questions seriously, the gap between her professed goals and her teaching would continue to exist.

Not only teacher personal beliefs but their curriculum is also influenced by popular culture and mass media. In developing their curriculum about Asia, teachers would not start from scratch nor do they decide what to teach at random or by their preference. Rather, as Hall (1992, 1997) argues, a society already has more or less shared and approved ways of talking about specific cultures, peoples and countries. Being widely circulated through various political and cultural media, it seems to be inevitable that they influence teachers' curricular decision on what and how to teach about Asia. As a result, in many cases, what receives more attention in media is also centered in teachers' curriculum. For example, East Asia and the Middle East were receiving special attention by both Peggy and Barry: East Asia for its economic relationship and the Middle East for its political conflicts with the U.S. Also, there is a substantial similarity in how major countries such as China and Japan were treated in each classroom. For example, China's one-child policy was addressed as a significant topic in both classrooms, while students commonly picked up the Disney animated film, *Mulan*, as the major source of their perception about China. Also, in both classrooms, Japan was represented through more humanistic images and technological advances, depicting it as a civilized and Westernized country. These similarities

illustrate that teachers' curriculum about specific countries are aligned with how those countries are spoken of in wider social discourses.

The influence of popular media is more visible in Barry's teaching about Asia. We saw that his students tend to associate Asia with what they watched in films and on TV screens, insisting they would learn easily if teachers build their curriculum on popular culture. It would be surprising if Barry, who was trying to make his curriculum interesting, was not aware of this. In fact, I observed popular culture and mass media dominate his teaching about many Asian countries. If a new country came across, students quickly remembered what they saw about the country in film and dramas. Barry then connected his teaching with images and fantasies from popular culture. The best example of this is the way North Korea was addressed. As I noted earlier, students' first association with the country is Kim Jong-Il, whom they watched in the Hollywood film, *Team America*. It is no wonder that Barry mentioned this film in his class:

They don't really know much more [about North Korea]... Now... the movie called *Team America*. Unfortunately though, these guys know about, talk about Kim Jong-Il. That's been one way that I get the kids to learn about Korea. I say has anybody seen *Team America*? "Yeah, I have." "Do you remember Kim Jong-Il, the bad guy?" "Yes, I do."

Indeed, in my observation of the lesson on North Korea, as Barry showed a picture of Kim Jong-Il, a student asked "Isn't Kim Jong-Il a mentally unstable man?" Another student jumped in, "Isn't he in *Team America*?" Many students then began to laugh, saying how he was described in that movie; "funny, very

small and fat.” Even though the degree is different, similar connection between media representation, students’ preconceptions and Barry’s instruction was found in his teaching about many other countries.

This heavy influence on popular culture in school curriculum is problematic, however, since it can be a major source of othering Asians and Asian cultures. Commercial culture’s primary concern is not enhancing genuine understandings of Asian cultures. As Marchetti (1993) argues, Hollywood’s films are more likely to be a “flirtation with the exotic rather than an attempt at any genuine understanding” of Asia (p. 1). She argues that Hollywood film-makers do not pay much attention to how Asians would think of the film portrayals of themselves. Rather, their concern is how to make Asia attractive to American audiences. For example, when *007 Die Another Day* was released, many Koreans were angry with the movie, since the landscape and villages in it were not like Korean but closer to those in a South Asian country. *Memoirs of Geisha* also created a controversy among many Chinese as the main characters in the movie were not Japanese but Chinese female actors. As these illustrated, commercial cultures have been pointed out to be a major source of perpetuating misrepresentations and stereotypes of Asian cultures (Chen; 1996; Hamamoto; 1994; Nakayama, 1994; Oehling, 1980; Shah, 2003).

In interviews and personal conversations, Barry seemed to be aware that using popular culture can create a contradiction between his teaching goals and the enacted curriculum. That is, whereas he intended to deconstruct cultural stereotypes, cheap images from popular culture can strengthen those cultural

stereotypes. Even though he knew this danger, Barry seemed to believe that he still had no choice but to depend on popular media, since at least he could make students easily interested in the topic in the limited time available to him.

School Curriculum as a Site of Public Imagination

Above factors that cause the curriculum about Asia to be a curriculum of Othering are, in fact, interrelated with each other. Teachers' goals to help students develop more complicated and humanistic understandings about Asia may not be achieved in the short term available to them. This situation is aggravated by the lack of teacher knowledge and experiences about Asians and Asian cultures, which creates the discrepancy between what students want to know and what teachers teach about Asia. As a result, teachers' teaching about Asia is more likely to endorse or strengthen general perceptions of Asia, instead of challenging them and exploring new ways of recognizing Asia. In a sense, it may be easier and safer for the teachers to align their curriculum with the dominant social discourse on Asia: students are familiar with it and teachers themselves have been exposed to it. Accordingly, it would be easier for them to use popular discourse and mass media, especially if they have to teach about Asia in a limited time. Also, it would be safer for the teachers to follow the dominant way of making sense of Asia, since students are more likely to understand their teaching with ease. However, by depending on the dominant discourse on Asia and popular culture, teachers take the risk of perpetuating the distorted and biased images about Asia. Consequently, their initial goals would

be forgotten in their actual teaching, whereas the epistemology of Othering underlying the dominant discourse on Asia is more visible in the curriculum about Asia.

This reproduction of the dominant framework in making sense of Asia implies that the school curriculum can be a site of producing and maintaining a public imagination about Asians and Asian cultures. Major findings in this study show that there is a substantial connection among the prevalent social representation, students' preconceptions of Asia and teachers' teaching about it. The result of this connection is reproducing collective memories and imagination about Asia: what is important to know, how to treat, and how to respond to Asia emotionally and behaviorally. In this sense, classroom teaching about Asia is not just about Asia but more about America: what we, Americans, need to know about Asians and how to relate ourselves with them. Consequently, the teaching about Asia engages in creating the group identity of both sides: who Asians are and who Americans are.

There have been arguments that the school curriculum, primarily history education, contributes to creating and maintaining a public memory about who we are and how to act as a member of a society (Frisch, 1989; Seixas, 2000; Wineburg, 2001). However, school curriculum is not just about 'us' but also about 'others.' Through school curriculum, students get a sense that somehow they know about diverse peoples and cultures outside their national territory, most of whom they are not likely to encounter personally. In this sense, school curriculum not only maintains a public memory about the national past but also generates

and transmits a collective knowledge and imagination about other peoples and societies. As Castenell and Pinar (1993) argue, “identity formation is constructed and expressed through...the construction of ‘differences’ and negotiated in the public sphere.” That is, school curriculum works to create a national identity by defining and constructing differences between us and others who are outside the national border (McCarthy & Dimitriads, 2000).

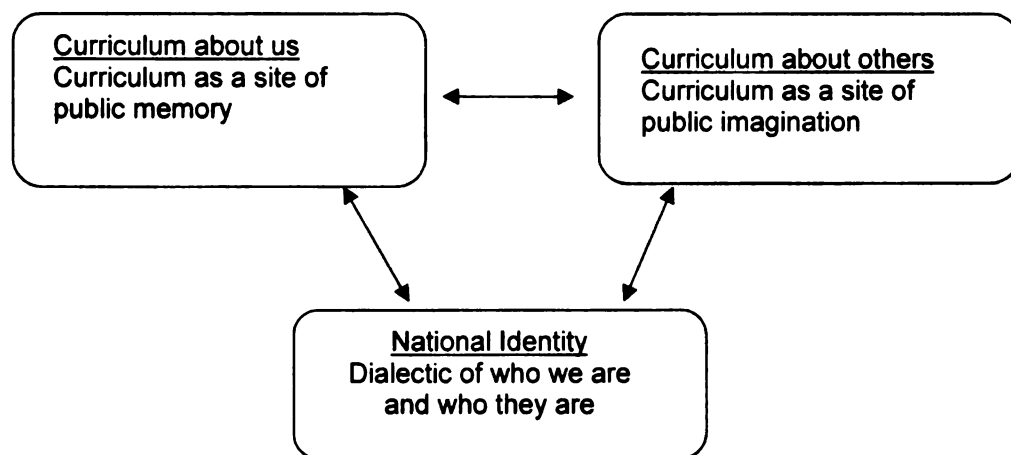


Figure 6.1. Dynamics of Identity Construction

Figure 6.1 shows that school curriculum involves both teaching about us and teaching about others. As the figure shows, the two aspects of school curriculum are in fact opposite sides of the same coin, since they are working together to construct a shared national identity. Also, the double-headed arrows show that each of these constructs both influences and is influenced by the others. That is, without having both a curriculum about ‘us’ and a curriculum about ‘other,’ the politics of developing a national identity would be incomplete.

The formation of a national identity becomes possible by learning about who we are in relation to who we are *not* (the other). Here lies a final consequence of the curriculum of Othering: a national identity is acquired by opposing “us” with “others.” That is, we are able to secure a national cohesion by negating others.

This finding gives us a significant reason for revising the curriculum about others so that it better fits in the global era. It shows that, whereas the world is rapidly interconnecting and students are more likely to encounter diverse cultures and peoples in their daily lives, teachers’ curriculum in this study is still based on the epistemological legacy of colonialism and the Cold War. Therefore, what we need to do is deconstruct the identity politics based on the opposition between us and them and envision new ways of engaging students with diverse cultures and peoples in the world. As Giroux argues (1992), we need a pedagogy of border-crossing which critically examines who established the boundary between us and them, how our imagination about people on the other side has been limited by the arbitrary wall, and how to deconstruct the epistemological gap between us and them. If the curriculum of Othering is based on the narrative of exclusion, we need to expand the horizon of “we” to include more global neighbors. Before exploring how to implement a curriculum of inclusion in teaching and teacher education, I will first show that the American students in this study are also concerned with the cultural stereotypes on them. As we will see, they want Korean teachers and students to consider similar things as I would ask American teachers and students to do in teaching and learning about Asia: deconstructing stereotypes and developing more complicated understandings. They were

concerned that Korean students would equate Americans and American cultures with how they have been portrayed in Hollywood movies and commercial cultures. Also, they want the Korean students to know more about ordinary Americans' daily lives and cultures.

How Students Want Their Country to Be Taught

Towards the end of the Asia unit in each classroom, I had an opportunity to talk with the students about how they would like to introduce their country to Korean teachers and students. Barry gave me an hour so that I could have a discussion with the whole class, whereas Peggy preferred me to have a small-group conversation because she was worried about classroom management. In either case, I asked the students what and how they want their country to be taught in Korean classrooms. I gave them a couple of minutes to clarify their ideas, and gave a clean paper to each student to jot down their suggestions, which they submitted later on. I, then, opened up a free conversation, encouraging students to share their ideas. As result, I was able to generate such data as their memos, my field notes, and transcripts in case a conversation was recorded.

Before going further, however, it needs to be cautioned that interpreting this data is more complicated than it appears to be. On the surface, it simply reveals how American students want their country to be addressed in Korean schools. However, students' responses to my question are in fact intertwined with their view of their own country: what kind of a country is the U.S. and what is

important to know about the U.S. Students in the two classrooms are not likely to have similar positions on these issues, because they are largely different in terms of age, class, race, and community. For example, students in Barry' classroom, who mostly came from affluent families, tended to respond that most Americans live a middle-class life style with "two cars, suburb family with a kid, and both or one of parents work." This middle-class lifestyle is almost invisible in Peggy's students who live in an urban area where the economy is crumbling down. Surprisingly, however, they seemed to have more positive outlook on their future, as they maintain the achievement ideology: if you work hard, you can make it (Macleod, 1995). They believed, as a student said, "we have an equal society. There are different races and we are all treated the same." Another student followed, "Because some people want to work harder than others, and go to school longer, they get better jobs so they can make money." It is ironic that, whereas these poor inner-city students held the belief that America is a land of equal opportunity, many of the rich students in Barry's classroom were more critical about their own country. They pointed out that "not every one is rich," and "we're not equal." Another student went further to insist, "Economically, other countries view us as a country where every one has a shot to get a job. But they don't see how much we really have problems and we make them blind to the truth of our economy."

At times, the two groups of students provide seemingly similar responses, but the underlying reasoning is quite different. For example, one of the repeated notions in both classrooms was America helps other counties. One of Barry's

students said, "America tries to help out with other countries, like when tsunami happened. Celebrities start charities helping Africa and Darfur." Many other students concur that Americans are concerned with poverty in other countries. Peggy's students also believed that America helps other countries. They said that Americans have provided poor countries with products and resources and the American Red Cross helps people around the world. However, to my question of whether the American government spends enough money for the poor in the U.S., even though the two groups agreed that it's not enough, their reasoning was quite different. According to one Barry's students, one of the reasons that Americans do not want to spend much money for the poor in their country is "we don't know what they are actually doing with the money, drug and alcohol addiction with homeless." That is, more input for the poor can only be a waste of money, since they would use the money for drugs and alcohols. If this student held a deficit view on poor Americans, students in Peggy's classroom had a different perspective. They believed that the American government spends too much money for unnecessary projects such as war and space programs. As a result, according to them, the government does not have enough money to help the poor in their country.

Exploring what made these and other differences in students' perception of their own country requires another thorough investigation, which goes beyond the interest of this study. It would suffice to say that, because of these differences, we need to be careful in interpreting students' responses to how they want their country to be taught in the Korean curriculum. Indeed, despite these differences,

there are a few interesting similarities in their responses which have considerable implications in rethinking how to invite other cultures and societies into the school curriculum.

To begin with, students wanted Korean teachers and students to have more diversified understandings about America, stressing that America is different from how it is portrayed in commercial films and dramas. Many students underlined that “America is not like the TV and movies that are out there. We aren’t like Hollywood,” “We are not like how actors portray America in the movies,” and “Not all African Americans carry guns.” This seems to be ironic, since, as we’ve seen, most of students’ images and perceptions about Asia came from popular culture and mass media. Whereas they perceived others through films and dramas, they were afraid if others see themselves through distorted images in commercial films and popular media. In particular, they seemed to be concerned with an image that Americans are rude and do not care others, as a few students stressed that “Americans pretend to be rude” but in fact they are nice people and just “joking and laughing.” This concern seemed to make them worried about the damaging effect of the recent Iraq War on the reputation of America. A few students said that, “We do not agree with the war in Iraq,” “Not everybody supports George Bush and the Iraq War.”

Instead of commercial images and stereotypes, students wanted Korean teachers and students to have more complex understandings about their country. They stressed that America is a country of diversities not only in physical geography but also in race and culture. They said that the geography varies

greatly from place to place in America. Also, “We aren’t all just White. We have different ethnic backgrounds,” according to them. Another student followed, “Everyone does not have blue eyes and blonde hair. All look different.” These show that the American students in this study want people in other countries to deconstruct monolithic images about America and recognize the inner diversities and complexities among Americans.

As for specific contents, even though a few students mentioned political and economic topics, most responses from both classrooms are related with their daily cultures and school lives. As a student summarized, students wanted to inform “what kind of sports we like, how we eat, what’s popular, and how we live.” They also wanted Korean peers to know that “The United States kids have to go through from preschool to elementary school—5th grade, then, middle school for 3 more years, and high school for another four years.” Another student said, “The stuff we do in USA is playing sports, visiting amusement parks, and we travel a lot. We play lots of video games even we know that sometimes we need to exercise.” With regard to daily cultures, students’ responses include; most American families are not very close with each other because they are very busy; fast food constitutes a big part of the American diet; people go to the mall, listen to music and play sports for their leisure time. As these illustrate, students wanted to give a more concrete sense of how their school life looks like and how ordinary Americans live their daily lives. Here we can see that these are in fact largely similar with what they wanted to know about Asians and Asian cultures.

That is, as they wanted to know about Asians' daily lives and school days, they wanted Asian students to know about their daily lives and school days.

These findings corroborate my argument that we need to go beyond the curriculum of Othering and rethink how to relate students with diverse cultures and peoples in the world. As I, a Korean, worry about Americans' misconceptions and cultural stereotypes about Asia, the American students in this study also worry about limited images and perceptions about Americans among Asians. As I want Americans to develop more humanistic and complicated understandings about Asia, American students want Korean teachers and students to do so, too. These similarities confirm that exploring alternatives ways to bring other cultures and societies into the school curriculum is not just in the hands of a few teachers in specific countries but has a more universal significance.

CHAPTER 7: IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING, TEACHER EDUCATION AND CURRICULUM STUDIES

Previous chapters have examined various aspects of the curriculum about Asia in the two selected classrooms: when and how Asia was taught, what teachers' goals were in teaching about Asia, and what teaching materials were used. Using the lens of cultural studies and postcolonialism, I also attempted to reveal socio-political and cultural assumptions underlying the curriculum about Asia, examining the consequence of it in terms of how students constructed knowledge and perceptions of Asia. In this final chapter, I explore practical and theoretical implications of this study for reinventing teaching about others in this globalizing world. I explore how teachers, teacher educators and curriculum scholars can contribute to deconstructing the curriculum of Othering, envisioning and implementing new ways of engaging students with people who appear to be different from them.

In addressing this task, I will start with a brief summary of major findings of this study, as what I will propose in this chapter will draw from them. I first argued that the structure and sequence of the school curriculum is aligned with the dominant binary distinction between West and non-West, close and remote, and normal and abnormal. Asia and Africa, for instance, were located towards the end of the school year whereas the U.S. and Europe came earlier. This was to use Western standards and systems in making sense of Africa and Asia. As a result, the two continents were more likely to be marginalized in the curriculum, being perceived to be backwards, strange, and unfamiliar compared to Western

societies. I also examined the politics of selective and differentiated attention to Asia. I showed that different countries were represented with different images; some countries receiving more attention whereas others were marginalized. In addition, based on the idea that “Asia,” “Asian cultures” and “Asians” have a unique cultural signification in American society, I examined the perception of Asia as a whole in students’ mind and teachers’ teaching and its connection with the wider social discourse on Asia.

In terms of consequences of the two teachers’ teaching about Asia, what is notable was the contradiction between the announced goals and the implemented curriculum. Whereas the teachers intended to deconstruct the cultural misconceptions and stereotypes about Asia, their practices seem to have produced quite an opposite result: reproducing the stereotypical images about Asia. Examining what caused this discrepancy, I argued that a couple of factors were involved such as time constraint, a lack of teacher knowledge and experiences, the gap between what students are interested in and what teachers teach, and the influence from popular culture and mass media on students’ perceptions and teachers’ teaching about Asia. Based on this analysis, I concluded that the curriculum about Asia in the two classrooms became a curriculum of Othering, which is likely to perpetuate the colonial framework in recognizing non-Western cultures and societies.

Considering these findings, the major task of reinventing the curriculum about others would be getting rid of the asymmetric distinction between “us” and “them,” extending the horizon of “us” to include more global neighbors who live in

other cultures and societies. In a sense, this is to help teachers implement a curriculum which is more consistent with their intended goals. We saw that there is a disconnection between the professed goals and their practices among the teachers in this study. Therefore, a new approach to global curriculum should enable teachers to better achieve their goals, having students intellectually engaged with people in other cultures and societies. For this, I believe teachers should be a cultural mediator between students and diverse cultures and peoples in the world. They should be able to move across different cultures and societies and bring them into classrooms without losing their complexities and dynamics, helping students rethink potential biases and misconceptions in their perceptions. Teachers should allow diverse peoples to be heard with their own voices, creating a dialogic space where students can develop open-mindedness and humanistic understandings of others by being involved in cross-cultural settings. I believe this transition from a curriculum of Othering to a curriculum of mediation cannot be achieved by a few people and by a few technical changes. Rather, it requires a fundamental rethinking of the nature and purpose of the curriculum about others and a close collaboration among those involved in developing and implementing school curriculum.

In the following pages, I propose how teachers, teacher educators and curriculum scholars can contribute to reinventing the curriculum about others to be more globally relevant. In doing this, I will not just focus on how to better teach about Asia but explore more general implications for revising teaching about others within a global context. This is because my intention in this study is not to

insist that teachers pay more attention to Asia, but to provide opportunities for educators to revisit how to bring other cultures and peoples into school curriculum. What's the point of revising the curriculum about Asia in the end, if it results in marginalization of other parts of the world?

How Teachers Can Be Cultural Mediators?

The two teachers in this study seem to provide useful implications for other teachers to be cultural mediators between students and global neighbors. First of all, considering that both Peggy and Barry were struggling with time constraint, the first issue we need to consider is how teachers can develop a globally relevant curriculum within this institutional condition. Indeed, as a teacher in Merryfield's (1994) study says, the lack of time is an obstacle for many other teachers in engaging students with other cultures: "My students think anyone different from them is strange, bad or just plain wrong. I have to begin by developing a tolerance of difference. That process alone takes more than one school year." As this teacher says, developing an open-mind toward unfamiliar cultures often takes a long time which is not available to most teachers. This is even more problematic within the marginalization of social studies and global curriculum under the recent rhetoric of educational accountability based on test scores on selected subject areas (Heafner, 2008; VanFossen, 2005). The overemphasis on reading and math has made schools and students inattentive to social studies which has been already marginalized. Barry said, for instance, that some of his students came to his class just to take a break, which forced him to

provide a less demanding but more fun curriculum. Peggy was also frustrated by the district's and the principal's inattention to social studies:

They don't pay attention to social studies. They think social studies textbooks can be 9 and 10 years old. To them, they say, "What changes?" It just boggles my mind. To them anyone can teach it, that's their philosophy number one. So it used to be the class that all the coaches taught. You open a book. You read X amount of pages in class. You answer X amount of questions at the end and then you have these reports once a marking period. My lord! And there was nothing global, nothing current, and nothing that gives students a sense of reality.

Considering these institutional challenges, it seems to be unfair to blame Barry and Peggy for their failure of achieving their teaching goals. Rather, what is necessary is more efforts from policy-makers and school staffs to enhance the significance of social studies, especially that of preparing students to be responsible and informed global citizens. However, it is also true that more time does not always result in a better curriculum. We've seen that, even though Peggy had almost twice the amount of time than Barry, she spent much of the time doing simple and didactic worksheets instead of engaging students with intellectual and meaningful curriculum. It should be noted here once again that I am not asking teachers to save more time for the Asia unit. How much time to allocate for each unit is to be decided by teachers based on their consideration of institutional and pedagogical contexts. Especially, if spending more time on Asia

makes other continents marginalized, it would not help students develop a balanced understanding of global cultures and peoples.

With regard to the direction of curriculum change in given conditions, James Banks' distinction between transformative and additive approach to multicultural education seems to provide a useful insight (Banks, 1998, 2002). The additive multicultural education, according to him, is merely adding new cultural concepts, themes, and content without disrupting the dominant, often Western-centered perspective on diverse cultures. In contrast, the transformative approach attempts to engage students more deeply with diverse voices and cultures so that they can walk in the shoes of cultural minorities and interrogate the potential limits of cultural assumptions in their minds and in the wider society. Similarly, I believe teachers should go beyond an additive approach in teaching about other cultures and societies. Simple addition of more time, new contents and teaching resources without troubling the prevalent sense-making system would further alienate students from global neighbors. Rather, what seems to be more necessary is a transformative approach, which engages students more deeply with diverse cultures and peoples in the world. Teachers may provide learning opportunities through which students can critically reflect on their current assumptions about others and develop new perceptions. In this sense, a global curriculum is not just learning about others but also learning about us, troubling our assumptions and belief systems about them. Within this overarching theme of the transformative global education, I propose four suggestions that teachers may consider in revising their global curriculum.

First, teachers need to keep improving their knowledge and understandings of peoples and societies that they address in their curriculum. It seems to be obvious that, the more teachers know about certain cultures and societies, the more likely they are to convey an engaging curriculum about them. We saw, for example, that Barry felt more comfortable and purposeful in teaching about Latin America because of his knowledge background and personal connections. He was also more sensitive to cultural biases and misconceptions of Latin America, since he is more likely to recognize them through his experiences. In contrast, Peggy, who appeared to have little knowledge of Latin America, had a strong negative perception of Hispanics, accusing them of being social ills.

In particular, it seems to be important that teachers expand their knowledge of relatively marginalized areas including Asia, Africa or Latin America. We remember that Barry confessed his lack of knowledge of Asia. This is not his individual problem, however. A survey of 5,000 teachers conducted by the *National Commission on Asia in the Schools* shows that less than five percent of the participant teachers felt they had substantial knowledge of Asia, and only 25 percent had ever taken a course on any aspect of Asia (Barker, 2000). It is not surprising that most teachers said this lack of knowledge made them feel uncomfortable teaching about Asia. Therefore, the first step for teachers to better mediate students with other cultures is enhancing their knowledge background of world regions and cultures. They might educate themselves about political, cultural/social, economic, and environment issues in light of both domestic and

global contexts (Merryfield & White, 1996). Teachers also need to understand the history of interaction between the West and the non-West, exploring how the interaction has created differentiated impacts on various parts of the world, and how it is related with the current domestic situations in countries once colonized.

Second, it seems to be necessary that teachers keep engaging themselves in cross-cultural experiences and communication. As I noted earlier, learning about others is not just expanding knowledge and information about them. It also includes a critical reflection of the dominant perception in our minds. For this reason, in addition to knowledge background, intellectual and emotional dispositions such as open-mindedness, perspective consciousness, non-chauvinism, and inclination to empathy has been emphasized as a core of global competency (Begler, 1993; Case, 1993; Harvey, 1976; Merryfield, 2001). In particular, considering that nobody could have complete knowledge of various cultures in the world and complex global issues, habits of intellectual inquiry and dispositions that will lead teachers to continually update their knowledge is crucial for global education (Begler, 1993).

To develop these habits and dispositions, scholars suggest that teachers keep cross-cultural immersion and contacts (Begler, 1993; Flournoy, 1993; Merryfield, 2000). Begler (1993) argues, for example, that teachers who have experienced another culture are more likely to find ways in their daily instruction to teach local/global interconnectedness and perspective consciousness to their students. Emphasizing that global competence involves the whole person not just the intellect, Flournoy (1993) also stresses the importance of personal

acquaintance of other cultures and confrontation with diverse points of view. However, teachers do not have to go overseas to have these kinds of experiences and acquire cross-cultural communication skills. They can join or organize global events in their communities which engage diverse peoples from different countries and cultures. Teachers can immerse themselves in situations where there are racial and cultural minorities in locals so that they better understand the challenges the minorities face. Through these experiences, they can develop global dispositions and cross cultural-awareness without going overseas.

Third, to develop a transformative global curriculum, teachers might consider incorporating media literacy as part of their curriculum. We saw that Barry and Peggy often depended on popular culture and mass media without scrutiny, which allowed commercial images to dominate their classroom even unknowingly. The uncritical use of popular culture seems to be a major reason causing their personal goals to be forgotten in their practice. Whereas Barry and Peggy intended to develop more complicated and humanistic understandings of Asia, students were too easily absorbed into distorted and unrealistic images from popular cultures. Removing audio-visual materials from a global curriculum, however, may not be the best decision. This is not only because there are useful media resources, but also because the elimination of media resources would make students disengaged in their learning. As Barry said, students these days are heavily exposed to various types of audiovisual materials in their daily lives.

They are visual learners and it is inevitable that teachers use more or less media resources in their teaching.

Therefore, what seems to be more important for teachers to think about is how to use media texts meaningfully and intellectually than whether to use them or not. Considering the heavy media influence on contemporary lives, there have been efforts to incorporate critical media literacy in school curriculum (Russell III, 2003; Sperry, 2006; Werner, 2002). In particular, teachers need to help students to be a critical examiner of the media representation, not just a passive consumer of it. In analyzing the media representation, Werner (2002) argues that teachers have students examine such questions as: (1) representation (What is said from where, and how is it said?) (2) gaze (What gaze is implicit within this text?) (3) voice (Whose voice is dominant?) (4) intertextuality (How are various sub-texts such as pictures, labels, questions, or charts brought together to construct a complex representational system?) (5) absence (What is absent from a text? Whose interests or what purposes may be served by this absence or exclusion?). More recently, Sperry (2006) provides useful tools in decoding underlying messages of the media representation. As a high school social studies teacher, Sperry (2006) encourages students to ask such questions as;

1. Who made and who sponsored this message? What is their purpose?
2. Who is the target audience? And how is the message tailored to that audience?
3. What techniques are used to inform, persuade, entertain, and attract attention?

4. What messages are communicated (or implied) about certain people, places, events behaviors, lifestyles, etc.?
5. How current, accurate, and credible is the information in this message?
6. What is left out of this message that might be important to know?

Fourth, to help students develop more complicated and humanistic understandings of others, it may be effective to make use of more lively and diverse resources such as guest speakers and global/multicultural resources. Note the student in Barry's classroom who said in an interview that my presence had changed her perceptions of Asians. If her previous perceptions of Asians had primarily originated from the media representation, now she had a personal contact with a "real" Asian through whom she might realize the limitation of the media images. Indeed, personal interactions have been pointed out to be vital in expanding students' knowledge and understandings of other peoples and cultures. Especially, guest speakers can provide students with direct encounters with people from different cultural backgrounds and traditions (Haakenson, Saukova, & Mason, 1999). Guest speakers in Barry's classroom, for example, were able to provide students with perspectives and experiences which other resources could not provide. By inviting guest speakers, teachers may help students deconstruct cultural misconceptions and develop more concrete and complicated understandings of peoples and cultures which students have not personally encountered. For example, if Peggy had had a guest speaker who has a deeper understanding of the one-child policy, students could have developed a more balanced understanding of China.

In addition, teachers may use more narrative resources representing stories and experiences of ordinary people. One of the reasons that the students in this study felt they did not learn much about Asia was because they did not have opportunities to be engaged with ordinary Asians: their daily lives, emotions and concerns. What teachers often used was national data and international politics, which created a gap between their teaching and students' interest. To remove this gap, teachers may use more lively and diverse resources such as narratives, testimonies, biographies, stories, and novels. These narrative resources can transform abstract concepts and words into quasi-lived experiences that students may retain long after their class is over (Felman, 1992). If using narrative resources is not possible because of time constraint, teachers may develop an integrated curriculum, e.g., between social studies and English. In this collaboration, social studies teachers can provide geographic knowledge, current issues and trends, while English teachers have students read narrative resources connected with what students learn in the social studies class.

Before I move to the implications for teacher education, it needs to be remembered that teaching resources in and of themselves do not create a globally relevant curriculum. As commercial cultures perpetuate cultural bias and misconceptions, guest speakers may also bring simplified and limited perspectives. This is also true of narrative resources, as they convey individual experiences and interpretation which is often determined by one's location and position. As such, more emphasis should be put on open-ended inquiry of certain cultures and societies instead of depending on a few teaching resources. In any

case, it is important to maintain that understanding a culture is an intellectual task which requires multiple data sources and often takes a long journey.

Implications for Teacher Education

The preparation to be a cultural mediator should start from teacher education programs. Indeed, from the early 1990s, there has been a growing voice that teacher educators infuse more global elements into programs (Flournoy, 1993; Haakenson, Savukova & Mason, 1999; Kirkwood, 2001b; Merryfield, 1992, 1994, 1997, 2000). These scholars argue that, while the world is rapidly changing and schools are increasingly becoming a cross/multicultural place, teacher educators have not paid enough attention to preparing teachers to be globally competent. Merryfield (1994), for example, illustrates that only five percent of the nation's K-12 teachers had any academic preparation in global studies. More recently, reviewing literature on social studies methods course, Hong and Adler (2008, in press) conclude that preparing teachers to teach global knowledge and perspectives is still marginalized in the social studies teacher education. To overcome the gap between the growing social demand and the lack of appropriate teacher preparation, teacher educators should make their programs more globally responsive. Based on major findings of this study and proposals from other global educators (Case, 1993; Gaudelli, 2003; Heilman, 2006; Kirkwood, 2001b; Merryfield & White, 1996), I provide three suggestions that teacher educators may consider in globalizing their programs: global content, cross/multicultural experiences and instructional strategies. Some of these will

overlap with what I proposed for teachers, even though the degree may be different.

First, teacher educators need to include more global knowledge and inquiry into their programs. As Merryfield (2001) argues, to be globally competent, it is important that future teachers acquire basic knowledge of world regional and global issues, conflicts, and diverse aspects and unequal impacts of globalization. In organizing global knowledge in teacher education programs, Case (1993) provides a useful distinction between a substantive dimension and a perceptual dimension. According to him, the substantive dimension of global knowledge includes information of various features of the world, including knowledge of global politics and economics, global challenges, world cultures, and migration. However, he argues that simply putting more about the world into teacher education does not make for global teaching. Accordingly, Case (1993) argues that what is as important as substantive knowledge in global education is acquiring the perceptual dimension such as tolerance, open-mindedness and multiple perspectives.

Major findings of this study support that both dimensions of global knowledge are required in teacher education programs. Especially, future teachers should be encouraged to expand their knowledge in areas and issues in which they lack knowledge. We saw that Barry and Peggy lack knowledge of certain areas and cultures, which influenced their curriculum. Considering their tight schedule and demanding work-load, it may be more difficult for in-service teachers to improve their content knowledge. Therefore, teacher educators need

a systematic effort to incorporate more global knowledge into their curriculum. They may work with disciplinary departments to enhance preservice teachers' academic knowledge of world geography, cultures, global economics, and the history of international relations. They can also find ways to work with schools and school districts to infuse more global content into school curriculum.

However, it should be noted that perceptual dimension of global knowledge is as important as substantive knowledge (Kirkwood, 2001b). Especially, prospective teachers need to be encouraged to critically investigate the dominant cultural and ideological frameworks and their influence on the school curriculum. As we saw, contrary to their intention, Barry and Peggy tended to maintain the prevalent social perceptions of Asians and Asian cultures instead of developing open-mindedness and cross-cultural tolerance. This seems to have occurred since they did not have enough opportunities to examine how their identity and curriculum had been unknowingly influenced by prevalent social perceptions. Putting more content knowledge without a critical reflection of the current sense-making system would not change the way teachers engage students with other cultures and societies. Therefore, in addition to expanding substantive global knowledge, it is also important that preservice teachers critically interrogate how cultural others are constructed by the dominant representation system. By examining how their emotional and behavioral responses to other peoples and cultures have been shaped by the social construction, preservice teachers are more likely to notice the arbitrariness of

their current beliefs and develop a complicated and informed understanding of others.

Second, cross-cultural experiences and experiential learning could be integrated into teacher education programs. I already argued that classroom teachers should use cross-cultural engagements to extend their cultural horizon and develop global dispositions. For the same reason, scholars have pointed out the significance of cross-cultural experiences in teacher education programs (Haakenson, Saukova & Mason, 1999; Merryfield, 1994, 1997, 2000).

Interviewing 120 in-service teachers who had attended teacher education programs which had global components, Merryfield (1994) found that they highly valued experiential learning opportunities provided in their preservice training programs. In another research, Merryfield (2000) found that teacher educators who had experienced disorientation, confusion, and discomfort in multicultural situations were more likely to employ global diversity, justice and interconnection in their teaching. Participants in her study said that experiences of being minorities and feeling contradictions among different positions made them realize the importance of breaking down cultural stereotypes and opening their minds to multiple perspectives.

Again, this does not mean that prospective teachers have to be sent overseas, paying an expensive cost. As Wilson (1997) argues, there are multiples ways to engage preservice teachers in cross-cultural settings. For example, she has paired her students in a secondary socials studies methods course with international students in the college from various parts of the world.

Based on almost two decades of experiences, Wilson (1997) concludes that her conversation partner program has helped her students gain both substantive and perceptual dimension of global knowledge: they acquire more knowledge about another culture, being less ethnocentric and more opened to cultural diversities. As this illustrates, by making use of local resources, teacher educators can make cross-cultural experiences accessible to more students without additional cost. Another point to keep in mind is that simply throwing students into cross-cultural situations does not create the learning experiences intended by teacher educators. It is important that students' experiences are thoughtfully connected with other reflective activities such as classroom discussion, journal writing, and analysis of changes in students' knowledge and attitudes. In particular, it needs to be ensured that students should not essentialize the whole culture or society through a handful of experiences with a few persons. In any case, the purpose of cross-cultural experiences is not substituting one bias with another, but recognizing the very danger of cultural simplification.

Finally, teacher educators are required to develop concrete instructional strategies prospective teachers can use in their classrooms. If global education requires new knowledge and dispositions, it also necessitates pedagogical models relevant for developing such knowledge and dispositions in K-12 classrooms. It has been argued that globally oriented teachers tend to adopt constructive and experiential learning instead of traditional, rote pedagogy and teacher-centered instruction (Byrnes, 1997; Gaudelli, 2003). For example, based on classroom observation, Merryfield (1998) illustrates that global teachers tend

to use more student-centered learning and multidisciplinary approach.

Considering this and other related studies (Heilman, 2006; Kirkwood, 2001b; Merryfield, 2002), three elements seem to be important in developing the pedagogy of global education: multiple-thinking, multi-disciplinary learning and self-inquiry.

First, global educators stress pedagogical approaches which encourage multiple thinking about global issues and cross-cultural phenomena. They emphasize that students recognize what they believe to be true and natural may not be universally shared, and other people can have different ideas and beliefs (Case, 1993; Kirkwood, 2001a; Kniep, 1986). Without recognizing this multiplicity, students might have difficulty in communicating with people who have different belief systems and cultural norms. For this reason, Merryfield (1998) argues that the most significant characteristic among global teachers is “the emphasis on multiple perspectives, perspective consciousness, multiple realities and multiple loyalties” (p. 365). Accordingly, it is necessary that teacher educators develop pedagogical strategies which encourage learners to acquire a habit of seeing an issue from multiple perspectives and diverse positions.

Second, it has been argued that teacher educators develop pedagogical approaches which stimulate interdisciplinary learning about global issues and challenges (Byrnes, 1997; Gaudelli, 2003). Many global issues are complex, requiring multidisciplinary inquiry. For example, the issue of illegal immigrants cannot be fully comprehended without historical, political, cultural, economic, and religious considerations. Also, the global environmental change is not limited to a

specific discipline, but requires cross-disciplinary learning that includes earth science, international relations, culture, geography, and/or history. Therefore, instead of maintaining traditional disciplinary divisions, a broader multidisciplinary approach is required in the instruction of a global curriculum.

Third, an open-inquiry and experiential learning directed by students has been recommended as a useful pedagogy. As topics in global education are often complicated, teachers and students may not get a clear-cut answer in a short period of time. In many cases, investigating global issues and interconnections requires multiple capacities and self-directed inquiry. Therefore, instead of depending on a single source or given answers, global educators insist that students perform self-inquires, collecting, comparing, and synthesizing multiple sources of information and data (Byrnes, 1997; Gaudelli, 2003; Heilman, 2006). In addition, participatory pedagogies such as simulation, role-play, discussion, and critical analysis of media have been proposed as relevant for developing global dispositions and multicultural understandings (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002).

What seems to be crucial to concretize these pedagogical suggestions is the close collaboration between classroom teachers and teacher educators. Teacher educators can provide pedagogical ideas and resources to classroom teachers. The latter, in turn, may give feedback to teacher educators, experimenting with what is applicable and what is not in specific teaching situations. Also, the two sides can co-teach K-12 classrooms and find relevant pedagogies for enhancing global thinking and inquiry. Finally, teacher educators

may use these classrooms as an exemplary location where prospective teachers can observe global instruction and develop their own pedagogical ideas. In any case, pedagogical ideas for global education need to be cross-checked through the cooperation between teacher educators and classroom teachers, which would benefit prospective teachers in the end.

Implications for Curriculum Studies

In addition to teachers and teacher educators, this study also provides some significant insights to the direction of curriculum studies in the global age. Especially, the two theoretical lenses, cultural studies and postcolonialism, used in this study seem to help consolidate the shaky foundation of global education which has recently emerged as a systematic response to globalization. As we've seen, global educators interpret globalization as a new environment which requires a deconstruction of the traditional state-centered and ethnocentric framework in making sense of the world (Gaudelli, 2003; Lamy, 1991; Pike, 2000). They insist that educators should enhance global perspectives and citizenship, exploring new ways of engaging students with people who belong to different countries and cultural traditions. However, as we saw in Chapter 1, there exist opposite interpretations of global realities, demanding schools be reformed following the market model and teachers enhance national cohesion and cultural patriotism. Unfortunately, what seems to be more dominant in reality among contending voices are those of neoliberals and neoconservatives.

First of all, we observe that global educators' contention is often dominated by the rampant neoliberalism and the free-market ideology which now exert almost an absolute power internationally and domestically. To many people in non-Western countries, globalization often means another pressure from the former colonizers to follow Western rules and economic standards so that Western-based corporations can maximize their interest. It became a matter of survival in many countries to give up their traditional life styles and values and adopt Western styles and standards. They were also forced to reduce or remove trade barriers to facilitate a free circulation of global capital, goods, and services (Held & McGrew, 2002; Sassen, 1996; Steger, 2003). International economic agencies such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and the World Bank have been said to play a key role in changing the economic system of developing countries to follow Western models: reducing public expenditure, liberalizing financial market and trade, privatizing state enterprises, and deregulating labor markets (Sachs, 2002; Steger, 2003; Stiglitz, 2006). If a country tries to regulate the unfettered global capitalism and resist the Western-centered world system, it will be quickly penalized in one way or another by global economic agents (Bacchus, 2006). If this is the case, there seems to be emerging a new colonialism which is based on global capitalism and Western cultural standards. Even though it does not depend on military tools and direct controls used during the older colonial period, it still produces the same results in that it makes the non-Western countries dependent on the Western world and widens the gap

between rich and poor countries (Bigelow & Peterson, 2002; Loomba, 2005; Young, 2001)

Domestically, the market ideology is invading into various social institutions including public schools, enforcing them to follow the business models and prove cost-benefit efficiency (Apple, 1993; Aronowitz & Giroux, 1993; McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001). We've observed the strong emphasis on accountability based on a narrow definition of learning—scores on standardized tests. It is, however, just one aspect of the reform drive that tries to reorganize public schools and other public sectors according to the free-market ideology (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001). There is also a discourse of privatization, consumers' choice, productivity, and efficiency, all of which now push schools to adopt corporate models. Teachers are now required to prove their accountability by improving student test scores in specific subject areas, neglecting other responsibilities teachers have taken so far as public intellectuals, e.g., enhancing citizenship and providing culturally and racially responsive teaching.

Along with the market-based reform drive, another challenge that teachers face during these days is the standardization of school curriculum. If the accountability movement reflects the neoliberal discourse that schools provide an internationally competitive labor force, Apple (1993, 2001) argues that the standardization movement reflects a resurgence of the neoconservative political discourse; reestablishment of cultural patriotism and national identity. It sounds ironic that, while there is an emphasis on the free flow of money, ideas, and goods, there is also a growing concern to maintain national identity and

belongingness. According to Apple (1993), however, these two apparently contradictory demands are in fact different sides of the same ideological manipulation:

...What is striking about the rightist coalition's policies is its capacity to connect the emphasis on traditional knowledge and values, authority, standards, and national identity of the neoconservatives with the emphasis on the extension of market-driven principles into all areas of society advocated by neoliberals. Thus, a national curriculum—coupled with rigorous national standards and a system of testing that is performance-driven—is able at one and the same time to be aimed at “modernizing” of the curriculum and the efficient “production” of better “human capital” *and* represent a nostalgic yearning for a romanticized past. (p. 230)

In this ideological environment, global educators' emphasis on global awareness and responsibilities has been attacked by neoconservatives as an attempt to promote cultural relativism and question the authority of the nation-state (for example, see Burack, 2003). They insist that teachers base their curriculum on a clear boundary between us and them and on a zero-sum approach to international affairs. As a result, the epistemology of Othering and the discourse of resentment against other peoples and cultures are still maintained and even strengthened in this global era.

Indeed, this study shows that the two teachers' curriculum about Asia was dominated by neoconservative and neoliberal concerns, which made their original teaching goals invisible in practice. Both teachers, for example, held a

neoliberal perspective in teaching about China, portraying China as a politically and economically threatening country to the US, whereas the two sides are in fact interrelated much more complicatedly. We also saw that Peggy had a strong neoconservative position, maintaining an ethnocentric approach to American cultural identity. This made her isolate some of her students from their cultural backgrounds instead of helping them develop a healthy cultural identity. Barry was also influenced by the neoconservative drive which now dominates the reform agenda of public schools. As the state implements new social studies content standards which focus more on the U.S., Barry was being forced to minimize his curriculum about global cultures and peoples. As these illustrate, neoconservative and neoliberal concerns easily dominate many aspects of public schools, marginalizing global knowledge and dispositions from teachers' attention.

I believe a significant role that curriculum scholars play in this environment is developing a counter-discourse against the neoliberal and neoconservatives' manipulation of globalization. To prevent the revival of colonial concerns, they are required to support global educators who insist that what humans really need in this global era is global collaboration and cross-cultural tolerance. For this, I believe curriculum scholars should pay more attention to investigating how other peoples and cultures are taught in school; what kinds of knowledge and notions about specific cultures and societies are produced; how students are positioned with regard to other peoples and cultures; how the curriculum about others is aligned or at odds with dominant social perceptions. Investigating these topics

would help them deconstruct the legacy of colonial epistemology still remaining in various aspects of school curriculum. Based on this examination, they can support theoretical and practical efforts to develop alternative, more democratic and humanistic ways of engaging students with diverse peoples and cultures in the world. I believe curriculum scholars should contribute to making the changing global environment to be a true momentum of postcolonial in its original sense—a world free from colonialism whether it be physical or ideological.

In addressing these topics, cultural studies and postcolonialism, theoretical lenses employed in this study, seem to be helpful. Cultural studies helps a researcher examine the curriculum about others not just as a pedagogical text but also as a cultural text. It helps to disclose the cultural framework underlying the curriculum about others, revealing the arbitrariness of the dominant representational system. As Barthes (1998) points out, if the essential function of the dominant discourse is turning the current representation of others into nature and making itself given and innocent, cultural studies attempts to *denaturalize* it by troubling the underlying power and ideology. The other lens, postcolonialism, specifies what kinds of ideological and cultural concerns are especially problematic in teaching and learning about other cultures and societies. It argues that, as long as the colonial framework in recognizing the world remains in school curriculum and in wider society, colonialism is not really over (Willinsky, 1999). Following this contention, another task of curriculum scholars in this globalizing world is *decolonizing* the curriculum about others (Merryfield, 2001). They need to interrogate the colonial legacy in teaching and

learning about others, exploring non-colonial, more equitable and humanistic ways of engaging students with people who have different cultural norms, beliefs and value systems.

Indeed, there have been attempts to investigate school curriculum as cultural practice and explore postcolonial supplement to deconstruct the colonial message in school curriculum (Hurren, 2000; Kanu, 2006). However, as Kanu (2006) points out, the task that Said raised almost thirty years ago has just become receiving attention from curriculums studies; how one can study other cultures and peoples from a libertarian, or a non-repressive and non-manipulative perspective" (Said, 1978, p. 24). By investigating how Asia is taught in American classrooms, this study attempted to join the effort of revealing the colonial legacy in the curriculum about others, exploring an alternative, postcolonial invitation of other cultures and societies into school curriculum.

Given that this study focuses on the treatment of Asia in American classrooms, some may get a sense that the major contentions of this study only apply to American, or Western curriculum about the non-Western world. This claim is partly true, since it is undeniable that the latter has been victimized by the Westerners' cultural biases and misunderstandings. However, in many cases, racial bias is a more universal, not limited in the Westerners' recognition of others. The ironic phenomenon of growing nationalism and cultural patriotism in the stream of globalization is not just a matter of America, but can be observed in many parts of the world, too (Volf, 1996). Unfortunately, there seems to be world-wide stream to reinforce cultural borders and manipulate resentments against

people outside the national borders (McCarthy & Dimitriadis, 2000). Therefore, I believe rethinking the curriculum about others in a global world is not in the hands of curriculum scholars in specific countries but has a global significance. It requires more attention and participation from scholars in various parts of the world, who believe in the importance of global mindedness and cross-cultural communication.

Appendices

APPENDIX A

Teacher Pre-interview Protocol

- 1. Could you tell me something about yourself and your class? How long have you been teaching? Does your teaching normally include a unit on (East) Asia? How much do you think kids are interested in (East) Asia and the issues you address here?**
- 2. Do you have any specific goals or objectives that you would like to accomplish through your teaching about Asia? What do you want students to know or realize through your teaching about Asians and Asian cultures?**
- 3. As you see, globalization is a key word inside and outside schools these days. What do you think about the process of globalization? What do you think students need to learn in a global world?**
- 4. Could you let me know how your ideas on the previous question reflect on your teaching of Asia? In other words, how you try to teach knowledge and dispositions that students need to have in a global world through your unit on East Asia?**
- 5. What are the major obstacles or difficulties in accomplishing your goals in the unit on Asia? In other words, what kind of challenges do you feel when you plan or implement your lessons on Asia?**
- 6. In planning their lessons, many teachers are known to refer curriculum standards, mass media, textbooks, popular culture and so on. How about you? Where do you get your ideas on how and what to teach about Asia?**
- 7. Could you describe the structure and time line of your unit on Asia? How much time is available for you to teach about Asia? How do you use that time? What kind of topics do you usually address? Why?**
- 8. Could you describe major activities, learning materials or assignments that you are going to use during your unit?**
- 9. Do you feel any differences between what you want students to know about Asia and Asian cultures and what the students bring into your classroom? As we know, students do not come to school with an empty mind, but they already have certain images and perceptions of Asia. What kind of perceptions and images do you think students bring into your classrooms? Do you see any difference between them and your point of teaching about Asia?**

APPENDIX B

Student Pre-survey Tool

This survey is asking you questions about East Asia. East Asia usually includes China, Japan, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea and Taiwan. Your answers will be used as valuable data for my dissertation research. This will take about 15-20 minutes and your answers will not be used for any other purpose than the dissertation research.

1. Please, list 5 things that come to your mind when you hear the word "Asia."

2. Why, if at all, do you think it is important to learn about Asia or East Asia in US classrooms?

3. Please, circle the country which you think is most important to the United States and explain below why you chose that country.

China	Japan	Mongolia	North Korea	South Korea	Taiwan
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Why did you choose this country?

4. Please, circle a country that you would most like to visit, explain why, and what you would like to do there if you had the chance to visit that country.

China	Japan	Mongolia	North Korea	South Korea	Taiwan
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Why did you choose that country?

What would you like to do there?

5. Please, write 3-5 things that you know, believe or associate with each country or its people?

China:

Japan:

Mongolia

North Korea:

South Korea:

Taiwan:

6. Please check the answer that best explains how you feel about each of the following, or give your own explanation:

6-1. I am familiar with Asian cultures

- 1) Very much _____
- 2) Somewhat _____
- 3) A little _____
- 4) Not at all _____
- 5) Don't know or not sure _____
- 6) Your own explanation: _____

6-2. Asians and Asian cultures are difficult to understand and they are different from us

- 1) Very much _____
- 2) Somewhat _____
- 3) A little _____
- 4) Not at all _____
- 5) Don't know or not sure _____
- 6) Your own explanation: _____

6-3. I would like to have more Asian friends

- 1) Very much _____
- 2) Somewhat _____
- 3) A little _____
- 4) Not at all _____
- 5) Don't know or not sure _____
- 6) Your own explanation: _____

6-4. Asian countries are helpful to U.S.

- 1) Very much _____
- 2) Somewhat _____
- 3) A little _____
- 4) Not at all _____
- 5) Don't know or not sure _____
- 6) Your own explanation: _____

6-5. The U.S has supported Asian countries economically and politically

- 1) Very much _____
 - 2) Somewhat _____
 - 3) A little _____
 - 4) Not at all _____
 - 5) Don't know or not sure _____
 - 6) Your own explanation: _____
-

6-6. I think it's important to know more about Asia and Asian cultures

- 1) Very much _____
 - 2) Somewhat _____
 - 3) A little _____
 - 4) Not at all _____
 - 5) Don't know or not sure _____
 - 6) Your own explanation: _____
-

7. Can you think of 3-4 movies, TV shows, stars or characters that you associate with Asian countries?

8. Can you think of 3-4 books, comics, websites, video games or songs that you associate with Asian countries?

9. Please, list 3-5 things that you would like to learn more about Asia, Asians or Asian cultures?

10. Can you think of 3-4 recent news items or events related to Asian countries?

Thank you

APPENDIX C

Student Post-survey Tool

This survey is asking you questions about East Asia. East Asia usually includes China, Japan, Mongolia, North Korea, South Korea and Taiwan. Your answers will be used as valuable data for my dissertation research. This will take about 15-20 minutes and your answers will not be used for any other purpose than the dissertation research.

1. Please, list 5 things or more that you have learned about “Asia” in your class. Could you circle 3 things that you think particularly important to know about Asia and explain why?

2. Please, list 5 things or more that you have learned about “East Asia” in your class. Could you circle 3 things that you think particularly important to know about East Asia and explain why?

3. Please, circle the country which you think is most important to the United States and explain below why you chose that country.

China	Japan	Mongolia	North Korea	South Korea	Taiwan
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Why did you choose this country?

If this country is different from what you chose in the previous survey, what made you change your mind?

4. Please, circle a country that you would most like to visit, explain why, and what you would like to do there if you had the chance to visit that country.

China	Japan	Mongolia	North Korea	South Korea	Taiwan
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Why did you choose that country?

What would you like to do there?

If this country is different from what you chose in the previous survey, what made you change your mind?

5. Please, write 3-5 things that you have learned about each country in your class. Could you circle 2-3 things that you think particularly important to know about each country and explain why?

China:

Japan:

Mongolia

North Korea:

South Korea:

Taiwan:

6. Please check the answer that best explains how you feel about each of the following and briefly explain why:

6-1. I am familiar with Asian cultures

- 1) Very much _____
 - 2) Somewhat _____
 - 3) A little _____
 - 4) Not at all _____
 - 5) Don't know or not sure _____
 - * Why do you think so?
-

6-2. Asians and Asian cultures are different from us and they are difficult to understand

- 1) Very much _____
 - 2) Somewhat _____
 - 3) A little _____
 - 4) Not at all _____
 - 5) Don't know or not sure _____
 - * Why do you think so?
-

6-3. I would like to have more Asian friends

- 1) Very much _____
 - 2) Somewhat _____
 - 3) A little _____
 - 4) Not at all _____
 - 5) Don't know or not sure _____
 - * Why do you think so?
-

6-4. Asian countries are helpful to U.S.

- 1) Very much _____
 - 2) Somewhat _____
 - 3) A little _____
 - 4) Not at all _____
 - 5) Don't know or not sure _____
 - * Why do you think so?
-

6-5. The U.S has supported Asian countries economically and politically

- 1) Very much _____
- 2) Somewhat _____
- 3) A little _____
- 4) Not at all _____
- 5) Don't know or not sure _____

* Why do you think so?

6-6. I think it's important to know more about Asia and Asian cultures

- 1) Very much _____
- 2) Somewhat _____
- 3) A little _____
- 4) Not at all _____
- 5) Don't know or not sure _____

* Why do you think so?

7. Please, list 3-5 things or more that you would like to learn further about Asia, Asians or Asian cultures? Why do you want to learn about them?

Thank you

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