

ILLUMINATING ASIA IN THE EARLY MODERN PERIOD: A CASE STUDY FROM THE U.S.

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The history curriculum of U.S. education has set the Western subject as the dominant frame, especially for the early modern period, which covers the sixteenth century to the nineteenth century. Knowledge of the non-West constitutes the margins of the history curriculum, which revolves around the entity of Europe. My research aims at illuminating Asian history, which is placed at the periphery. To this aim, my research examines the history curriculum in U.S. education, which has traditionally been associated with a Eurocentric character. I surveyed what world history teachers at American high schools teach for Asian history in the early modern period. I surveyed their history curriculum with a questionnaire and follow-up interview. Seven teachers from seven local high schools in Spring County participated in the survey. For the theoretical framework, I review the scholarly works of postcolonialists, including Stuart Hall, Ella Shohat, and Dipesh Chakrabarty, who seek to deconstruct Eurocentrism embedded in history discourses.

Key Words : Asian history, U.S. education, Eurocentrism, Western subjectivity, postcolonialism

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I . Introduction

The West, a geopolitical place called Euro-America, has long been the focus of history curriculums and textbooks in the U.S. (Schissler and Soysal, 2005). The history curriculum of U.S. education has set the Western subject as the dominant frame, especially for the early modern period, in which the global dominance of Europe since the sixteenth century is considered to have shaped the cultures of the world(Gillen and Ghosh, 2007). For instance, most primary national guidelines of U.S. education specify the time period from the sixteenth century, which corresponds to the period of European domination¹⁾. The time period before the sixteenth century is roughly grouped with a unit of one thousand years. After a brief review of history before the sixteenth century, the guidelines provide a detailed explanation of the historical trajectory of Europe. This pattern of organizing history gives an explicit message that the history of Europe is defined as the cosmopolitan and general dialogue of our past, not as a record of one region. The entity of Europe is separated from the rest of the world, to take the hegemonic position in history.

In contrast, knowledge of the non-West renders variations in relation to the normative Western epistemology and rationality (Chen, 1998). The content topics for the non-West which are introduced in the national guidelines do not exist as “a culturally autonomous dialogue outside the West” (Nandy, 1998, p. 144). Knowledge of the non-Western world in the early modern period

1) See the National History Standard and the National Assessment of Educational Progress Framework.

is regularly interpreted in accordance with European domination. Discourse on the non-West constitutes the margins of the core knowledge of the West in order to confirm the hegemonic position of the West. The presently dominant mode of discourse places the non-West as the basis of Western self-definition in the global citadels of knowledge.

Asia, as one of many non-Western regions, is automatically reduced to the margins of the discourse of history, in which the key player is naturally the modern West (Nandy, 1998). However, Asia in the early modern period needs to be differentiated from the other non-Western regions due to the historical fact that many Asian countries were not affected by classic European colonialism. Asia in the early modern period is not necessarily limited to the subject of the expansion of European powers. There lies a possibility that Asia is included into the curriculum in a different mode.

This research aims at dissecting Asia, which belongs to the non-European world and which was not intertwined with European history as much as the other non-Western countries. To this aim, I highlight what teachers teach as part of world history and how they instruct the Asian section of the early modern period, in which European history is taken for granted as a norm. This research focuses on revealing a structure in which teachers are driven to choose certain topics for Asian coverage. This research gives more attention to the curriculum implemented by teachers rather than to an analysis of textbook content.

Fortunately, American textbooks have been extensively examined by many Korean scholars. Kang (2001) analyzed a Eurocentric approach in world history textbooks of the U.S. She also introduces

the struggles of historians and teachers who try to construct a new framework for writing history. Kang and Choi (2005) examined how Korea is described in six world history textbooks from major American publishers. They state that many textbooks present an image of Korea as being backward.

There are also many American scholars attempting to explain Asia in U.S. education. Kim and Lowe (1997) argue against an image of Asia in the education arena. They report that Asia renders a linguistically, culturally, and racially “foreign” entity. Knowledge of Asia is rarely integrated into the core curriculum. Chuh (2003) shows that many Asian scholars struggle to integrate Asian history into official narratives in the U.S. context. However, she notes that the scholars understand Asia from the literature perspective rather than the disciplinary one.

My research shares the same goal as these previous studies – understanding the history curriculum in U.S. education. However, at the same time, this research seeks to produce an improved understanding of Asia as part of a world history curriculum which is deeply rooted in Eurocentrism. In analyzing Asian history, I shift the research focus to the curriculum implemented by teachers. This research, unlike previous research, illustrates the ways teachers organize knowledge for Asia in their larger scheme of instruction. To highlight the curriculum organized by an individual teacher gives an opportunity to observe the politics of curriculum decision-making which finalize what is to be taught for Asian history.

This research project is composed of two tasks. The first task is to provide a detailed description of how Eurocentrism is endemic in present-day education to examine a meta-narrative in which Europe functions as a norm of producing knowledge. To this

aim, I used a questionnaire which is designed to include all the world regions such as Europe and all the non-European regions: Africa, the Middle East, North and South America, Australia, and Asia. The questionnaire asks the amount of teaching time and teaching methods for all the regions, not just Europe and Asia. It effectively helps to reveal the central position of Europe in the history curriculum.

The other task is to discuss the issue of how Asia is integrated into the curriculum. To this aim, I practiced follow-up interviews with teachers who finished the questionnaire. Through the follow-up interviews, I ask teachers their strategies for teaching Asian history. This research helps to dissect the process by which Asian history is included into the existing curriculum. It is expected to provide a detailed description of the Asian history which is circulated in present-day American schools.

Seven high school teachers from Spring County participated in the survey, which includes both the questionnaire and a follow-up interview. All of them are charged with teaching world history courses in which all students are required to enroll. They are selected from seven different public high schools in Spring County. The reason I narrowed the focus of my research by interviewing history teachers at public high schools is to give systemic attention to issues of organization and the sequence of the history curriculum. This exclusive focus on selecting participants helps us to see patterns and decision-making processes by which Asian knowledge is produced with the regular curriculum.

For the theoretical framework, I employ postcolonialism, which provides an insight into the hegemonic position in global discourse. Postcolonialists argue that Europe is placed at the center of

attention and functions as the reference point by which to judge human development and civilizations of the world. They help us to face the existing paradigm in which European history is defined as simply history and Asian history as subaltern peripheral pasts. I review the scholarly works of postcolonialists who highlight and deconstruct Eurocentrism embedded in history discourses. The works of Stuart Hall, Ella Shohat, and Dipesh Chakrabarty provide useful insights for the discussion about how knowledge of the non-West such as Asia is included in the history curriculum. In the following, I discuss their ideas in terms of Eurocentrism in producing knowledge and marginalizing non-West regions as peripheral information.

II. Literature review

Several general perspectives characterize most postcolonial writers. First, they question the metanarrative of the West. They argue that Europe is the norm in generating theory and knowledge. Europe is a subjectivity of selecting, categorizing, and officializing knowledge and information. Postcolonialists directly confront the system of thought and the values of the West and deconstruct the prejudices of this world view.

Stuart Hall (1997) draws attention to Europe's tendency to treat other cultures and peoples as peripheral to its own center. He traces the process whereby an external world is constituted by the gaze of European observers:

The “English eye” sees everything else but is not so good at recognizing that it is itself actually looking at something. It becomes coterminous with sight itself. It is, of course, a structured representation nevertheless and it is a cultural representation which is always binary. That is to say, it is strongly centered; knowing where is it, what it is, it places everything else (p.174).

Hall points out that the “English eye” sets Europe at the center and non-Western identities are subject to the center's gaze. The West becomes the sole eyes, the reporter, and the recorder of what happened to “us” as well as “them.” The “English eye” that Hall aptly coined for Eurocentrism attributes to the West an almost providential sense of historical destiny. The “English eye” envisions the world from a single privileged point which features the discursive authority of Western knowledge about the non-West.

Eurocentrism is ideological in that it coerces the non-West to internalize Western thought forms as the universal rationality in order to support the self-interest of the dominant West. According to Shohat and Stam (1994), Eurocentrism assumes Europe as the sole ‘motor’ for progressive historical change in the world, as the unique bearer of modern civilization, and as the deliverer of modernity to the rest of the world. In this sense, the non-West owes the West because of the dynamic and progressive history motored only by the West. Shohat and Stam (1994) argue that Eurocentrism is the “normal view of history that most First Worlders and even Third Worlders learn at school and imbibe from the media” (Shohat and Stam, 1994, p. 4). Eurocentrism is so established that even non-Westerners set the West as the center around which the satellites of non-Western identities revolve. Shohat and Stam (1994) explain why Eurocentrism continues to

remain the norm for producing knowledge both in the West and non-West:

Eurocentrism sanitizes Western history while patronizing and even demonizing the non-West; it thinks of itself in terms of its noblest achievements—science, progress, humanism—but of the non-West in terms of its deficiencies, real or imagined (p.3).

As Shohat and Stam point out, non-Western discourses are patronized and demonized by the Eurocentric reference point. The normality of the West is mirrored by the abnormality of the non-West. Thus, it is taken for granted that the normal West occupies the subjective position to serve the logic of sense.

Under Eurocentrism, knowledge of the West is considered the core curriculum and that of the non-West as an addition or appendage that is virtually unimportant. As Western experiences are treated simply as normal and core, non-Western experiences are reduced into “exotic knowledge that is external to the real world that goes on in the classroom” (Neito, 2002, p. 39). The Eurocentric view of history hardly rejects an implicit message that knowledge of the non-West is peripheral and segregated from the core curriculum. This approach can lead to a conclusion that it is just natural to put ‘their’ knowledge at the margins of the curriculum. As long as the West constructs its history to put itself at the center of the world, other narratives from the non-West cannot be thought of or articulated as the core and normal knowledge. In the circle of the existing hegemony, the knowledge of the non-West is circulated only as an “exotic” frill which teachers sometimes decide not to afford within the existing curriculum. Thus, the need to de-center Europe is paramount for

defining knowledge of the non-West as normal alongside that of the West.

Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000) seeks to question the major metanarrative which forces only the West as the source of legitimate knowledge. He notes that Europe's view is as an arbiter measuring how much each non-Western culture is varied from the norm:

“Europe” remains the sovereign, theoretical subject of all histories, including the ones we call “Indian,” “Chinese,” “Kenyan”, and so on. There is a peculiar way in which all these other histories tend to become variations on a master narratives that could be called the history of Europe (p.27).

Chakrabarty suggests that we need to recognize dominant paradigms in positioning each region in accordance with Eurocentric understanding. As a way of detecting the paradigm, he argues for “provincializing Europe,” which contributes to reframing non-Western narratives free from the fetish of the West. “Provincializing Europe” means that Europe should be treated as one world region among others. It deconstructs the universality of Europe by asserting the provincial character of the European worldviews and experiences.

Adapting the concept of “provincializing Europe,” Schissler and Soysal (2005) provide an example of viewing Europe as universal: “The French Revolution, for example, regains new importance, not simply as a national [French] event, but as an important turning point in [world] history” (Schissler and Soysal, 2005, p.7). The French Revolution is represented as a universal event which reshaped not only Europe but also the world. This hegemonic

representation implies that non-Westerners should place this event at the center of their understanding of history and search for their variations on European themes.

Chakrabarty's suggestion for "provincializing Europe" promotes paradigmatic shifts in knowledge by requiring a reconsidering and restructuring of the ways in which knowledge is organized and packaged for instruction and in texts. It suggests that teachers need to deconstruct their own existing knowledge, critically explore alternative perspectives, and research and include voices and ideas other than those traditionally presented to students. In a world history context, teachers challenge the mainstream and Eurocentric curriculum by integrating knowledge of non-European regions into the core and by de-centering and de-universalizing knowledge of the West.

I have discussed the ideas of postcolonial writers who detect prejudices of the world views produced from a Eurocentric understanding of the world. Their ideas are helpful in dissecting what is known as history. If history created from Eurocentrism is not deconstructed, the West continues to sustain its privileged position in creating discourse, which enables the West to dominate the non-West even after the actual end of European colonialism.

The following section deals with the methodology of evaluating the curriculums. In the following, I provide an account of the method I have used in the investigation of content integration in history curriculums. After the methodology review, I provide the survey results and analyze how Spring County teachers treat Asian history in the time period when Europe claimed its central position in producing knowledge.

III. Method

For the early modern period, I have raised questions about the ways in which knowledge of Asia is defined, categorized, and selected. Postcolonialism theoretically frames the analysis of what level of content integration teachers attain in the classroom.

1. Research site and participants

For the research site, I chose Spring County, a medium-sized administrative district in a Midwestern state of the U.S. Its racial makeup is 88.96% White, 4.00% African American, 0.33% Native American, 3.45% Asian, and 0.03% Pacific Islander. The statistics say that the district is overwhelmingly White. Seven teachers, three males and four females, from seven local high schools participated in the survey of both the questionnaire and the follow-up interview. I list all the participant teachers with their information in the following table. All the names of teachers, schools and district are pseudonyms.

〈Table 1〉 Teachers' information

Teacher	School	Gender	Ethnicity
Mike	Lincoln	male	White/Hispanic
Susan	Middletown	female	White
Beth	Franklin	female	White
Leah	Jefferson	female	White
Bob	Washington	male	White
Justin	Kennedy	male	White
Lisa	Roosevelt	female	White

The table shows that all of the participating teachers are racially White except for Mike, who identified himself as White and Hispanic due to his Cuban heritage. He said that he grew up in a Cuban neighborhood in the U.S. The other six teachers identified themselves as White but some of them reported about their different cultural backgrounds. For instance, Lisa spent most of her childhood in South America. Leah is a Greek descendent. Both Lisa and Leah assume that their cultural backgrounds are different from the typical White American family. The other four teachers, Susan, Beth, Bob, and Justin, simply reported their racial identity.

All the teachers had started with a paper questionnaire. After data entry of the questionnaire, I performed a follow-up interview with the questionnaire result. The paper questionnaire and its data require more specific explanation. In the following, I provide a detailed description of designing and employing the questionnaire.

2. The research method

I employ the questionnaire in order to examine the Asian section of the history curriculum. It is designed to collect information on teachers' time allotment among all the regions. The format of the questionnaire has been adapted from Content Matrix, a data collection tool which Andrew Porter and John Smithson have developed for measuring the curriculum content of Math and Science. Porter (2002) coined the term Content Matrix, which is composed of rows of topics that correspond to columns of cognitive demand. Content Matrix provides a graphic result described at the intersection of level of coverage and cognitive

demand.

I have utilized the format of a questionnaire and the pattern of a graphic result in accordance with the subject of world history. In a questionnaire for a world history curriculum, all the content topics are categorized according to a chronologically organized timeline and the major geographical regions. For the timeline, I have put a more weighted focus on the period from the year 1500 through 1899, which the National History Standards has categorized as the early modern period.

The National History Standards characterizes this time period as the period of European expansion abroad. Asking how teachers cover this period helps confront a question of whether they challenge the existing framework and pattern of the curriculum. The major geographical regions include Europe, Africa, the Middle East, North America, Central and South America, Australia and Oceania, and Asia. Such geographical distinction effectively reveals which region is more privileged in the allotment of limited teaching time and resources. In addition, I have employed teacher expectations for the relevant teaching topic. The teacher expectations in the questionnaire are Recall, Demonstrate, Analyze, Evaluate, and Generate. These teachers' expectations are a continuum of teaching methods from direct to indirect. Direct teaching is a form of instruction in which the teacher provides explicit, clear, and "spelled-out" content (Tomlinson, 2005). Recall is considered the most direct format of teaching and Generate is the most indirect format. Thus, such direct teaching as Recall or Demonstrate is more often used for factual-level information. As a result, the questionnaire has been organized in the following figure.

〈Figure 1〉 Questions for topic coverage and teachers' expectations for students

<none>	Early sixteenth century (1500-1549)	Recall	Demonstrate / Explain	Analyze/ Investigate	Evaluate	Generate / Create
0123	³¹ Europe	0123	0123	0123	0123	0123
0123	³² Africa	0123	0123	0123	0123	0123
0123	³³ The Middle East *	0123	0123	0123	0123	0123
0123	³⁴ North America	0123	0123	0123	0123	0123
0123	³⁵ Central and South America	0123	0123	0123	0123	0123
0123	³⁶ Australia and Oceania *	0123	0123	0123	0123	0123
0123	³⁷ Asia	0123	0123	0123	0123	0123

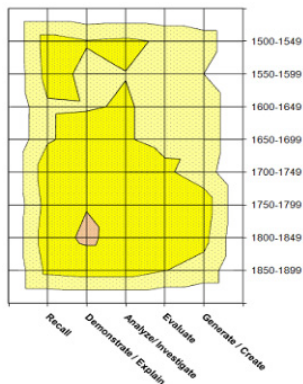
As Table 1 shows, seven world history teachers from seven high schools in Spring County participated in my survey, which is composed of the questionnaire and its follow-up interview. Once the teachers returned the questionnaire, I reported their individual results as well as the average results of all participating teachers. The average results are displayed in Figures 2 through 6 in the next section. The individual result was used only for the follow-up interview. I have marked the two regions, the Middle East and Australia and Oceania with an asterisk in Figure 1. The two regions will not be displayed in the following section because the data for them is not sufficient enough to create Content Matrixes.

Through the interview, the teachers were asked to describe what they taught and why they chose certain topics and expectations over others. This was done to analyze the actual teaching practice, which has been criticized for its Eurocentric elements and rarely discussed with concrete examples. Analyzing the curriculum with the questionnaire and follow-up interview goes beyond repeatedly pointing out its Eurocentric character and helps to confront teaching patterns which systemically locate Europe at the core and Asia at the periphery.

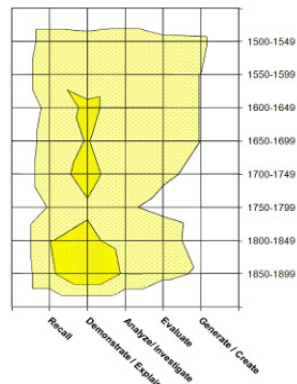
IV. Results

The following figures graphically describe what content topics are taught and how they are covered. The figures indicate the major world regions in the time period of 1500 A.D. to 1899 A.D. They also include teachers' expectations at the bottom of the result among the following choices: Recall, Demonstrate, Analyze, Evaluate, and Generate. The degree of brightness is key to reading the graphic results. The darker the shading, the more emphasized the region and time period are in the teachers' instruction. The graphic results are examined along with the interview results. Through a review of both the graphic and interview results, I analyze the ways in which teachers generate, utilize, and manage teaching about diverse racial and ethnic groups. I examine ways in which knowledge of Asia is produced and presented.

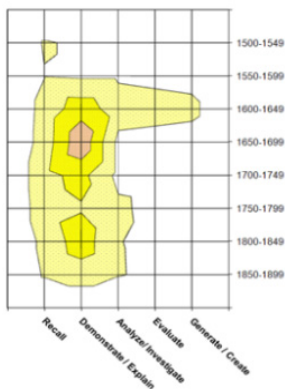
〈Figure 2〉 Europe



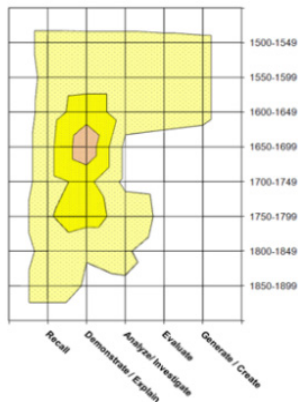
〈Figure 3〉 Africa



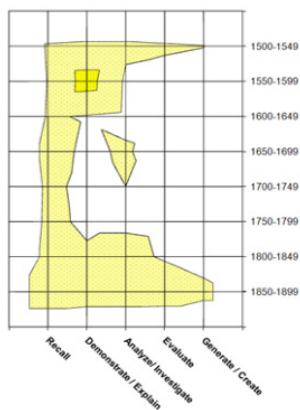
〈Figure 4〉 North America



〈Figure 5〉 Central and South America



〈Figure 6〉 Asia



1. Europe, a norm of content topics

All the regions of the above figures can be compared to each other in terms of teaching time and teacher expectations. For teaching time, Europe of Figure 2 is represented by darker and larger shading than the other regions. This means that Europe is

taught for more time than the other regions. Regarding teacher expectations, Figure 2 is again distinguished from Figures 3, 4, 5 and 6. Europe is indicated with shading over all the teacher expectations. In other words, teachers expect students to recall, demonstrate, analyze, evaluate, and generate knowledge from what they learn about Europe. Meanwhile, the other regions are represented with an emphasis on Demonstrate. This means that students are mostly expected to demonstrate what they learn about the non-European regions.

Asia of Figure 6 is represented with lighter and smaller shading than the other regions, which means it is given less teaching time than the other regions. In addition, the region is displayed in an inconsistent mode. For instance, Figure 6 shows an inconsistency of teachers' expectations for the time period of 1650 through 1749. Teachers usually expect students to Recall but, for this time period, they also expect them to Analyze that period of Asian history.

During the follow-up interview, the teachers whose questionnaire results had been included in the above figures provided the detailed information on teaching topics. The content topics mentioned include the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Enlightenment, African slavery, the earliest settlement in North America, the conquest of Aztec Mexico and Inca Peru, British imperialism in South Asia, Chinese dynasties, and Japanese shogunates. These topics listed by the teachers need to be represented by the frame of Europe. The first three topics are related to the development of European imperial powers. Teachers who mentioned them said that they approach the region of Europe with "an internal focus." They focused on covering Europe's internal transformation into modern societies. The next four topics

are embraced into the scope of Europe's imperial expansion. In attempting to see these topics through a European framework, it is clear that the remaining two topics of Asian history do not have an immediately recognizable link with a European dimension.

In reviewing all the topics, one sees that Europe is a defining factor in constructing knowledge of most of the world regions. Europe's historical impact and significance likely take the main part of the curriculum. The teachers explain the historical events inside Europe and the historical events which happened in the relationship between Europe and the rest of the world. All the topics, except for the two Asian topics, revolve around Europe. Europe operates as a standard in producing knowledge.

Europe as a center corresponds to the Content Map results of Figures 2 through 6. As mentioned before, Europe of Figure 2 is assigned much more teaching time across all the teachers' expectations than the other regions. Africa and America (North, South and Central) of Figure 3 through 5 are displayed in lighter shadow than Europe or are only more highlighted for Demonstrate. Asia of Figure 6 is viewed with a lighter color than the four regions. The difference is that Asia is not as intertwined with Europe as the other four regions. The more connected to Europe, the more covered the Asian section is within the history curriculum.

A nearer affinity to Europe leads to more coverage. Figure 6 shows that Asia is given more coverage for the time period of the nineteenth century. Through the follow-up interview, I learned that most of the coverage is assigned to South Asia under the British imperial rule. Leah at Jefferson High School provided a clear explanation for the teaching time assigned for Asia:

This is when we are hitting Asian history the hardest. It is when Europeans mingled with them. That is when Asian focus comes into the curriculum. It is the relation to when Europeans go out and conquer the world and they are discussed in that framework but apart from that they do not really get discussed.

As Leah revealed, Asia might be included in the core only when “mingled” with Europe. British imperialism in South Asia works as a factor for bringing Asian history into the category of world history. Except for this link, Asia is hardly selected for teaching. Through the follow-up interviews, I found that the teachers actually consider Asia as a region which is hardly integrated into the main structure of the curriculum. Mike at Lincoln High School and Susan at Middletown High School said that Asia is an “isolated” entity in the history curriculum. They explained that Asia does not “fit” into the early modern period in which teachers put much focus on European expansion and colonialism. Beth at Franklin High School provided a more detailed explanation of why Asia is not aligned for the time period:

You would not talk about all the regions, when you talk about Central and South America for eight weeks. In their eyes Asia does not fit in there, European exploration. You don’t see Asia. Because of that, that result [Figure 6] does not surprise me. This is focus on World history for long term. It is really hard for teachers. It frustrates me to say that.

As Beth pointed out, most of Asia was not affected by classic European colonialism. That makes the region less covered than Africa and America, the major colonies of Europe. Asia hardly fits into the history curriculum constructed around a focus which

attempts to teach about Europe and its world relationships.

Despite the teachers' opinion about the exclusion of Asian history, there are two topics of Asian history mentioned during the follow-up interview: the Chinese dynasties and Japanese shogunates. In the following, I will discuss a mechanism by which these topics are included in the curriculum.

2. Asia added at the margins

During the interview, I noted one pattern which includes Asia which is not directly intertwined with Europe. Spring County teachers who employ a thematic approach tend to select Asian history which corresponds to the themes which they have chosen for the class. One of these themes is feudalism. Feudalism is one topic which teachers mainly deal with for European history before the year 1500. Bob at Washington High School uses the concept of feudalism for dealing with East Asia in the early modern period:

Some of these [China and Japan] are comparative with Medieval Europe. The way we look at it is the way Medieval Europe developed. Is there any sort of feudal society growing up then with people in China and Japan? Obviously there it is.

Teaching the concept of feudalism is played out in those areas. Employing a comparative viewpoint, he chooses to explain Europe and then add two East Asian countries. This strategy seems to be quite common among teachers, who look at Europe first and find any similarities in other regions.

Due to the interest in feudal Asian societies, Spring County teachers cover Chinese dynasties and Japanese shogunates. They

tend to teach the Ming and Qing dynasties for China and the Tokugawa shogunate for Japan. Bob provided an explanation of how he generally approaches the Chinese dynasties:

For Chinese dynasties, there are two big questions. How do the dynasties change over? So looking at the whole concept of power and how do people either accept or how are people forced to accept another regime? The other reason is comparing different dynasties. How are they progressing?

Covering a list of Chinese dynasties is quite a common theme among the other teachers. In addition, the Qing dynasty receives much more attention than the Ming since it is the last dynasty of China. However, the dynasty does not seem to be taught in depth.

Other teachers like Susan at Middletown and Leah at Jefferson also practice a similar teaching pattern for the Chinese dynasties. Susan's opinion reflects this present teaching focus on the Chinese dynasty:

We don't get into that much detail on that. We talk about that being the last dynasty in China. So teaching is preceded in an orderly way, step by step from Ming to Qing. We are not necessarily talking about the regions or ethnic groups.

When asked about the ethnic details of the Qing, Susan said that she did not go into it "that much." She said that she is aware of the difference between the Manchus and the Han Chinese. Yet, she assumes that covering the ethnic details of the Qing is inappropriate for her ninth grade students.

Besides the Chinese dynasties, the Japanese shogunate is another popular topic that teachers select for Asian history. Justin

at Kennedy High School is the only teacher who extensively covers Japanese history, from 1500 to 1899. He sets his main focus on the Tokugawa shogunate, like the following:

Now then Japan was unified and they didn't want the Western powers to cause problems. They saw Christianity as corruption. Once Japan was unified, the shoguns got rid of all of the weapons. So nobody was allowed to have guns anymore. If he is associated with Christianity and guns, [Tokugawa] thinks it is kind of bad things. So I tried to show the students that this was the first experiences and they had bad experiences.

Justin says that reviewing the Tokugawa shogunate is necessary to help students understand the complex relationship between Japan and the United States. He said that the reviewing provides background information for understanding Japanese reactions to the arrival of Matthew Perry in 1853:

[Students] understand, "That's why two hundred years of isolation and that is why when the U.S. comes in 1853, the Japanese resist interaction with the West." But [the Japanese] have to make terrible difficult decisions. They must be modernized. So it explains why the mentality and thinking of showing the story to the students. [Students] understand "Oh, that's how Japan was isolated. They didn't like Western peoples. That's why they didn't like when the U.S. came to Japan in 1853." That helps them to understand.

This quotation gives a reason why Justin picked the topic of the Tokugawa rule. The shogunate is used not only in explaining a feudal regime of Japan but also in discussing how the feudal Japanese society is transformed into a modern society under the

influence of the West. The Japanese shogunate, like the Chinese dynasties, is chosen for its relevance to the West, especially the U.S.

Through the conversations with the teachers, I learned that there is a major, ongoing, official dialogue of Asian history in world history curriculums. The format of that dialogue has been standardized and incorporated into the dominant structure of the curriculum. As Mike, Susan, and Beth point out, Asia is an isolated entity in the history curriculum, which revolves around the topic of European expansion. They said that teachers have a hard time connecting Asia into the existing curriculum. Leah says that Asia under British imperial rule might be the only Asian section which is fitted into the curriculum.

There are some teachers who included Asian history which is not connected to European expansion. Susan, Bob, and Justin taught about the Chinese dynasties and the Japanese shogunate, which resemble European feudalism. This pattern can be seen as a format that has been redefined under the European hegemony. The two feudal Asian societies seem to be variations of feudal Europe.

As I have reviewed, the pattern of covering Asian history seems to be very standardized and to correspond to the existing framework of the history curriculum. However, I found that not all teachers see Asian history in regards to its relationship with Europe. Through the interviews, I met one teacher who actually seeks a new form of knowledge for Asian history. Lisa at Roosevelt High School tries to employ new strands of history. She said that she recently found out about the historical worldwide trade in silver. In explaining the silver trade, she mentioned the recent

scholarly interest in Korea:

People try to bridge across cultures. I know Dennis Flynn and [Arturo] Giraldez. These two guys wrote about the silver trade from [the year of] 1571... They [Flynn and Giraldez] went to Korea. They were eager to make connections with Korean historians, because they could not read in Korean. One of them could read in Chinese and the other one could read in Spanish. They cover [the silver flow] in English. They tried to make connections.

According to Lisa, the two American historians in the above quotation assume that Korea was also a major part of the silver flow from America to East Asia. She says that these scholarly efforts contribute to creating new knowledge. Her comment shows the existence of teachers who are actively involved in modifying a marginalized Asian section in consideration of new research by historians.

Reviewing the survey results, I found that the responses from the teachers might be grouped into three patterns. First, teachers like Leah and Mike are critically aware of the Eurocentrism embedded in the curriculum. Leah, a Greek descendent, said that she used to tell her students world history continues to be European history in disguise. Mike, a Cuban descendent, stated that he tried to teach non-Western peoples' reactions to colonialism. However, neither of them provided any further comments except for why Asia is left out when covering modern history. They did not go beyond pointing out that Asia remains unfit for the curriculum revolving around European history.

Teachers such as Bob and Justin included Asian history more than Leah and Mike did. Bob and Justin, unlike the two teachers,

did not assume that Asia is unfit for the teaching of the early modern period. Instead Bob and Justin made efforts to include Asia as much as they could. The way by which they selected topics for Asian history was to find Asian variations of European feudalism. They did not abandon the framework which repeatedly defines Asia as a historically specific case through European subjectivity. Despite their pedagogic efforts, they failed to challenge the assumption that Europe is the norm of producing knowledge.

In this sense, I support the teaching strategy of Lisa. Lisa who grew up in South America not only keeps a critical position toward Eurocentrism but also provides a new framework for understanding Asian history. Lisa prefers the term global history to world history. According to Lisa, global history adopts the assumption that things that emerged in one part of the world spread across to other parts. She tries to view Asian history within this “global history” framework. The silver flow is one of the teaching topics that she selected for her “global history” class. She does not agree that Asia is reduced to a variation of European history or left outside the discourse as an unfit impediment.

I have discussed a structure in which teachers choose certain topics for Asian coverage in the history curriculum. The participating teachers, except for Lisa, seem to hold a mode by which the knowledge of Asia emphasizing the centrality of the West is considered valuable and noteworthy. In the following, I will provide a more detailed explanation of these patterns and a discussion of what is necessary to view Asian history as autonomous history.

V. Discussion

Early modern history is a clear-cut example showing that Europe is seen as the only active shaper of world history. The rise and spread of Europe are major themes which teachers use as general directions in organizing the curriculum. Teachers who are sensitive to a Eurocentric bias in the teaching of history try to give fair emphasis to the non-Western world. Their efforts are currently directed toward the teaching of history before and after the early modern period. For the teaching of history after the modern period, Shin (2007) found that teachers shift their focus to the Pacific Rim for teaching early twentieth century history. Using the same methodology as this study, she found that teachers give extensive attention to many Pacific Rim countries.

Hardly, however, do teachers move away from Eurocentric interpretations of modern period history. As seen previously in the Result section, Eurocentrism is readily apparent in the way that European expansion is still understood as a content topic that brought the rest of the world into history. Highlighting Asia in this setting reveals deeper layers of Eurocentrism.

It is important to note that Asia is not taught as much as the non-Western regions, since the region is not directly connected to classic European colonialism. According to the follow-up interviews, the portion of Asia which is given the most coverage in Figure 6 is South Asia under British imperial rule. This result shows the explicit way in which Eurocentrism is practiced for covering Asian history.

The Asian regions which were not directly colonized by Europe are treated in a way repeating Eurocentric underpinnings. There

are two content topics which are also mentioned with Figure 6: the Chinese dynasties and the Japanese shogunates. The two topics do not seem to have an obvious relationship with Europe. Yet, the two are selected in the way in which Europe is held up as the fountainhead of modernity and progress. Through the interviews, I learned that teachers select these two topics in order to show the Asian variations of European history. Teachers assume that the two topics neatly fall under the theme of feudalism, which originated from European history. It is noteworthy that even these two topics are selected through a European framework. This effectively shows that Eurocentrism is a more complicated or complex structure of seeing the history of the societies of the non-European world.

What is missing in viewing Asian history as part of world history is Asian subjectivity. Asia remains an object which is bound by the European gaze which Hall (1997) described with the term "English eye." Asia which Europeans do not intend to see as history is not integrated into the curriculum. As long as Europe is the source of legitimate knowledge, Asian history which an "Asian eye" sees, reports, and records cannot be treated as knowledge.

In this sense, Chakrabarty's suggestion for "provincializing Europe" needs to be considered. His suggestion provides space for Asia to be a subject, constructing knowledge around Asian subjectivity. In this process, Europe is pushed to the margins. The comment of Lisa shows that history can be reorganized free from Eurocentrism. She shows that what Asia did rather than what Europe did can occupy the center of the history curriculum.

Understanding Asian history with its subjectivity requires a complete rethinking and retelling of history. It demands a different way of looking at the past so that the stories of previously

marginalized Asians have as much weight as the stories which traditionally constitute the framework of the curriculum. When teachers try to rethink the existing curriculum, the knowledge of Asian history can be presented as a significant component of the history curriculum, not as an appendage.

[투 고 일 : 2010년 01월 06일]

[심사완료일 : 2010년 01월 26일]

[게재확정일 : 2010년 02월 02일]

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박사후 연구과정

미국의 세계사 교실수업은 16 세기 이후 근대 유럽의 역사를 중심으로 편성되어 있다. 본 연구는 이 시기에 해당하는 비유럽권인 아시아 역사가 미국 세계사 교육과정에 반영되는지 분석하고 있다. 미국 교사들의 현장 교실 수업을 통해 저자는 아시아 역사에 대한 서구인의 고정관념과 다인종 국가인 미국 사회의 다문화교육이 절충되는 구체적인 과정을 조사 연구하였다. 본 연구에는 미국의 중서부에 위치한 스프링 카운티의 7개 고등학교에서 7명의 세계사 교사가 참여하였다. 저자는 이들 7명의 교사의 세계사 교육과정 중 16 세기 이후 역사를 설문조사와 인터뷰를 통해 분석하였다. 1차 설문 조사에서는 교육과정에 내재되어 있는 유럽 중심주의를 도출하기 위하여 유럽과 모든 비 유럽권 지역이 포함되었다. 2차 설문 조사에서는 아시아가 유럽중심 역사 교육과정에 포함되는 원리를 분석하기 위해서 아시아를 중심으로 인터뷰를 실시하였다. 이론적 배경으로 역사 담론 저변에 있는 유럽중심주의를 분석해온 후기식민주의 학자들의 연구를 참조하였다. Stuart Hall, Ella Shohat, and Dipesh Chakrabarty의 이론이 본 연구에서 분석되었다.

주제어: 아시아 역사, 미국 교육, 유럽 중심 세계관, 탈식민주의