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A New China: Ideology and Curriculum in a Chinese Language Course

A Dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in

Education

by

Ye Tian

June 2017

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. John S. Wills, Chairperson

Dr. Begoña Echeverria

Dr. Margaret A. Nash

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The Dissertation of Ye Tian is approved:

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I dedicate this dissertation to all people who had helped me.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

A New China: Ideology and Curriculum in a Chinese Language Course

by

Ye Tian

Doctor of Philosophy, Graduate School of Education
University of California, Riverside, June 2017
Dr. John S. Wills, Chairperson

In the field of foreign language learning, a leading concern is with political and ideological messages that might be communicated through teaching and learning a foreign language. Worries about possible ideological indoctrination via Chinese language programs on Chinese language learners is a fundamental concern for both the United States of America and The People's Republic of China. This research project involved a case study that investigated the representations of China in the curriculum and pedagogy of an intermediate level Chinese language course offered at an American university. Data gathered included the textbook, observer field notes of instruction taken over a 16-week period, and interviews with two language instructors and all eight students who were enrolled in the course. Through data analysis the research uncovered how China was represented in the formal curriculum, enacted curriculum, and how the enacted curriculum influenced students' understanding of China and their attitudes toward China. Analysis indicated that, by utilizing comparisons between "New China vs. Old China" and

“China vs. the U.S.,” the textbook provided a pro-China ideology that communicated positive images of a new China, and encouraged a positive attitude towards China. China was depicted in the textbook as a country that has been making tremendous social and economic progress since the Chinese economic reform the 1970’s. The textbook also advocated for Westerners to hold a more tolerant and understanding attitude towards China. Due to the instructors’ traditional audio-lingo pedagogy, which was highly teacher-centered and textbook-centered, the positive representations of China and positive attitudes towards China provided in the formal curriculum were consistently privileged in the classroom. Additional supplementary materials also conveyed a similar pro-China ideology to students. This pro-China ideology was taught, practiced, and reviewed repeatedly, alongside the Chinese language teaching. Thus, the ideology of this second-year Chinese language course provided pro-China cultural resources to students, outfitting them with positive representations of China and its people, culture, and society. However, how students responded to these positive representations of China and the extent to which they utilized these in thinking about China depended on the students’ previous experiences and knowledge of China, with the enacted curriculum being a more important resource for students who had few alternative sources of information about China or who had not visited China prior to taking the course.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Figures.....	x
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2: Literature Review and the Theoretical Framework.....	9
Chapter 3: Methodology.....	36
Chapter 4: Establishing a Positive Image of China and Instilling a Positive Attitude towards China in <i>A New China</i>	53
Chapter 5: The Representations of China in the Enacted Curriculum.....	111
Chapter 6: How Did the Curriculum Affect Students' Understandings of and Attitudes Towards China?.....	195
Chapter 7: Conclusion.....	249
Appendix A: Interview Guides for Instructors.....	277
Appendix B: Interview Guides for Students.....	279
Appendix C: Interview Transcripts with the two Chinese Language Instructors....	281
Appendix D: Professor Chou's Speech at the General Discussion at the 24th International Conference on Chinese Language Instruction at Princeton University in 2016.....	310
Bibliography.....	318

Transcript Convention

Prof. Li=Professor Li

PL= Professor Li

Ms. Wang=Teaching Assistant Ms. Wang

MW= Teaching Assistant Ms. Wang

S1=Student number 1

S2=Student number 2

S3=Student number 3

S4=Student number 4

S5=Student number 5

S6=Student number 6

S7=Student number 7

S8=Student number 8

OS=One student

AS=All students

... pause

— emphasized word

() editorial clarification

(UC) unclear

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Pictures of Beijing's Roads.....	139
Figure 2: Picture of a clean restroom.....	144
Figure 3: Pictures of Ms. Wang and her student's handwriting	153
Figure 4: Pictures of a messy neighborhood	154
Figure 5: Pictures of Beijing's night views	155

CHAPTER One: INSTRUCTION

Statement of the Problem

As China's national strength and international influence increase rapidly, U.S. students' interest in educational programs in China are on the rise (Ober, 2013; Walker, 2016). The number of Chinese language learners in the United States is also growing (Wen, 2014; Walker, 2016). The United States and Chinese governments and educational institutions are implementing policies and establishing programs to cope with this trend and the increasing demand for Chinese language programs. The Confucius Institutes (CIs)¹, supported by the Chinese government, and the 100K Strong Foundation², initiated by the U.S. State Department, are good examples of such official projects (Ober, 2013; Wen, 2014; Walker, 2016). However, worries and concerns about the possible ideological and cultural influences of Chinese language programs (CLPs) on Chinese language learners (CLLs) exist in both the U.S. and in China (Kluver, 2014; Link, 2014; Paradise, 2009; Qi, 2000).

For example, in the U.S., some scholars considered CIs to be soft ideological or diplomatic arm of a strong Chinese state (Stambach, 2015). They were suspicious

¹ Confucius Institutes are non-profit public institutions affiliated with the Ministry of Education of the People's Republic of China whose stated aim is to promote Chinese language and culture, support local Chinese teaching internationally, and facilitate cultural exchanges.

² The 100,000 Strong Foundation is an independent, bipartisan non-profit organization that was launched in January 2013 by then-Secretary of State Hillary Clinton. It is an offshoot of the U.S. Department of State's "100,000 Strong Initiative," which seeks to realize President Barack Obama's call for 100,000 Americans to study in China by the end of 2014.

that the Confucius Institutes were designed to increase China’s “soft power” and help China project an image of itself as a benign country (Kluver, 2014; Paradise, 2009). They worried about a Trojan horse effect of the Confucius Institutes. They accused the Confucius Institutes of attempting to “brainwash” U.S. students because the schools use unified textbooks provided for free by Beijing, their instructors are trained by the Confucius Institute headquarters in Beijing, and all activities in the local Confucius Institutes “shall not contravene concerning the laws and regulations of China” (Paradise, 2009, p. 660). They believed these practices and regulations may preclude classroom discussions of what the Chinese government sees as sensitive topics, such as Taiwan or Tibet (Link, 2014; Paradise, 2009). Not only academics are worried about this issue; politicians have also expressed concerns. Congressional hearings have investigated if academic freedom could be threatened by China’s influence on U.S. universities’ research about China. Political leaders also worried that the Chinese government will control the development of China studies in the United States (Link, 2014; Sagnip, 2014).

In China, although the government welcomes American educational intuitions to establish Chinese language programs in both the U.S. and China in general, government officials and leftist intellectuals have long been wary of the values, ideologies, and opinions that these CLPs may instill in their students (Liu, 2014; Qi, 2000). For instance, as early as the year 2000, in response to demands by the Chinese host institution, faculty from the Princeton in Beijing (PIB) — Princeton’s intensive summer Chinese language program — were forced to

eliminate a substantial amount of one of their textbooks: *Newspaper Readings: The U.S.A. in the People's Daily*, which was seen as critical of Chinese domestic policies (Rosenthal, 2000; Williams, 2000). Some scholars in China warn that the Chinese government should pay attention to the infiltration of American ideology through Chinese as a foreign language teaching materials and practices (Qi, 2000). They insist that biased textbooks and teaching philosophies of some Chinese language programs can further deepen CLLs' prejudices and contempt for China. They charge that students in these CLPs are educated to be "anti-China" (Qi, 2000).

The Purpose and Significance of the Research

The number of university students who study Chinese in the U.S. has increased 115% in the last two decades, up from 28,456 in 1998 to 61,055 in 2013 (Walker, 2016). In response, American universities have established more Chinese language programs to accommodate this enrollment increase. In 2013, 866 universities reported having students enrolled in Chinese language classes, jumping up from 646 universities in 2006 (Walker, 2016). While in China, more than 330,000 foreign students studied Chinese in 2012. Second in number only to South Korea, 25,000 of these students were from the United States ("Statistical Report," 2013). In addition to government established programs, such as the Confucius Institutes (CIs) and the 100K Strong Foundation, hundreds of study abroad programs have also been established by nongovernmental agencies in the U.S. in cooperation with universities in China ("Find a Study Aboard Program," 2014; Walker, 2016). Prestigious American universities established Chinese language

study abroad programs in China (either summer or yearlong), including Harvard Beijing Academy, Princeton in Beijing, Columbia in Beijing, and the Inter-University Program for Chinese Language Studies (UC Berkeley). While these Chinese language programs may improve students' Chinese language proficiency (Du, 2013; Kubler, 2002), how will their perceptions and attitudes toward China be changed by their experiences learning Chinese? Will they become "Chinese peoples' old friend" like Timothy Geithner, the former U.S. Treasury Secretary who studied Chinese in Beijing for two years? Or will they become fluent in Chinese but advocate to "take China down" — like Jon Huntsman who studied Chinese in Taiwan, the former Utah governor, former U.S. Ambassador to China, and unsuccessful U.S. presidential candidate (Ford, 2011)? These questions are especially pertinent because American Students studying in Chinese language programs both in the U.S. and in China may someday be responsible for creating and implementing U.S. diplomatic policy with China.

Teaching a foreign language does not consist only of helping students to master the grammar and vocabulary, but also making foreign language learners competent in the target culture (Ros i Solé, 2003). However, concerns about propaganda and ideological infiltration in teaching and learning language and culture long have been an issue of considerable debate (Jabeen & Shah, 2011). Target culture teaching has been passionately advocated and severely criticized by educators and language teachers from various perspectives, including that of globalization, local culture protection, and even national security. For example,

scholars stated that students in the government run educational institutions in Muslim countries, where intercultural tolerance and critical thinking are not advocated, have shown a severely negative response to target culture teaching in English language classes (Jabeen & Shah, 2011). The issue is further complicated by teachers and students, who may have different understandings and expectations of the purposes of teaching and learning culture in foreign language classrooms.

Chinese language teaching in the United States is no exception to this heated debate. Yet, the possible influence of these language programs on Chinese language learners' understandings of Chinese culture remains unclear. Much research has examined Chinese culture teaching and learning through the perspective of linguistics and foreign language education (Ding, 2006; Li & Zang, 2013; Sun, 2009). However, little research has been carried out through the lenses of sociology or education on how knowledge about China and Chinese culture may be intentionally and unintentionally communicated to students in Chinese language courses in the United States. Also understudied are the possible effects that these Chinese language courses may have on students' understandings of and attitudes toward China. Together, an investigation of these two areas could help us to better understand the aforementioned concerns and worries.

Research questions

This investigation seeks to answer the following two research questions: 1) How are China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society represented in the formal curriculum and enacted curriculum in a Chinese language course? 2) How do the

formal curriculum and enacted curriculum in a Chinese language course influence different groups of students' understandings of and attitudes toward China?

Overview of the Findings

This study investigated the curriculum provided to students at a second-year Chinese language course at an American university. Specifically, this research sought to understand representations of China in the curriculum. I argued that the formal curriculum aimed to establish positive representation of China and establish positive attitudes towards China for American college students who study the Chinese language. Due to the dominant audio-lingo teaching pedagogy and the textbook-centered teaching philology adopted by the two Chinese language instructors, the enacted curriculum largely conveyed the positive representations of China and positive attitudes towards China in the textbook. The curriculum became one of the most important cultural resources for students to see China as a modern and progressive country. Some students were more dependent on what was presented in the curriculum if they lacked personal experience or other sources of knowledge.

Outline of the Dissertation

This introductory chapter gives the information about the origins, significance, and research questions of this dissertation study. Chapter 2 provides a literature review that examined the theory and research on the target culture teaching and learning in foreign language education programs. This chapter reviewed 1) research that investigated representations of target nations and their

culture in the formal curriculum, 2) research that focused on factors that influence students' understandings of and attitudes toward the target nation, and 3) research on representations of China in Chinese language programs. In addition, Chapter 2 outlined the theoretical framework that I utilized to understand 1) the curriculum as a set of cultural tools that mediated students' understanding of China and attitudes towards China and 2) the cultural politics of school knowledge and the ideological interests in the curricular materials in one Chinese language course.

Chapter 3 introduces the research site, the second-year Chinese language course at Bison College (pseudonym), as well as the rationales on my selection of this site. The method section explains the qualitative methods utilized in the study and offers information regarding the data collection and data analysis.

Chapter 4 presented the result of a content analysis of the textbook, the formal curriculum, used by the second-year Chinese language course. In this chapter, I argued that the textbook not only aimed to establish a positive image of contemporary China but also aimed to encourage a positive attitude towards China for its readers.

Chapter 5 focused on the specific teaching pedagogy, instructors' teaching philology, and their applications in enacted curriculum of the second-year Chinese language course at Bison College to understand how the formal curriculum made its way into classroom discourse. I argued that the positive representations of China and the positive attitudes towards China that were privileged in the formal curriculum were also highlighted in classroom lessons. Most of the supplementary

materials used in classroom instruction also tended to echo the pro-China ideology of the textbook.

In Chapter 6, I argued that formal curriculum and the enacted curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class provided an important cultural tool for students to talk and think about China. However, different students responded to this cultural tool differently depending on the extent of their access to other information about China, such as personal experiences and knowledge about China from other content courses.

Finally, Chapter 7 drew on different theories of curriculum and ideology to further discuss how my findings answered the research questions. The implications of this research for the field of Chinese language education are examined. Limitations of this research and suggestions for future research were also included.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Literature Review

There is a large body of research on target cultural teaching and learning in the field of foreign language education. For example, in 2003, Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein, and Colby conducted a critical literature review on theory and research pertaining to culture learning in language education programs since the 1960s. They selected 289 references from more than 3000 citations and put them into three categories, which included 158 studies on application (descriptions of teaching methods and materials), 65 research studies on theory (conceptualizations of culture teaching and learning), and 65 empirical studies (Paige, Jorstad, Siaya, Klein, & Colby, 2003). Paige et al. (2003) further stated that research on target culture teaching and learning in foreign language education mainly focuses on the following six aspects: the context, which means “the different types of settings and circumstances within which culture learning occurs” (p. 180); teacher variables; learner variables (e.g. motivations and attitudes); instructional methods; curricular materials (e.g., textbooks and authentic materials); and measuring and assessing culture learning (Paige et al., 2003). Although this literature covers a wide variety of topics and complex phenomenon, only research under the categories of teacher variables, learner variables, and curricular materials are related to my study.

My literature review is divided into three parts. I began by reviewing research that has investigated representations of target nations and their culture in the formal curriculum, mainly textbooks, used in foreign language programs.

Previous studies have found that, in textbooks, knowledge about the target nation mainly focused on the target nation's culture rather than society, economy, or other topics. Furthermore, the information on the target nation and on the target nation's culture is often simplified and highly general. Following this I addressed research that investigated how the enacted curriculum (e.g. actual classroom teaching, extracurricular activities, supplementary authentic materials) and other factors (e.g. length of language learning and school policy on foreign language requirement) influence students' understandings of and attitudes toward the target country. Scholars in the past 30 years found that numerous factors can affect students' understandings and attitudes. Finally, I discussed research that investigated representations of China and Chinese culture in Chinese language programs and how learning Chinese influences different groups of students' attitudes towards China.

Research about Representations of Target Nations in the Formal Curriculum

Scholars gradually came to recognize that textbooks and other materials used in language learning are not value-neutral, but present a certain way of understanding of the world through the author's cultural lens. For example, scholars stated that before the 1940s, language textbooks usually presented a monoculture perspective on target nations and their culture and the included cultural elements were those deemed important in authors' home culture (Koike, Kramsch & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). This understanding means that a target nation's culture

cannot be identified as homogeneous and relatively static, which can be simply described, introduced, and memorized (Koike, Kramersch & McConnell-Ginet, 1992).

In the field of foreign language teaching, scholars also have raised concerns about the knowledge circulated about the target nation's culture and image in foreign language programs (Jabeen & Shah, 2011; Paige et al., 2003; Zarate, 1995). For example, by conducting an eight-months-long ethnographic study with young learners who studied French and Germany in Britain, Byram, Esarte-Sarries, Taylor, and Allatt (1991) concluded that "the textbook is the determining, dominant factor in what teachers choose to offer pupils," however, "the influence of the textbook on the range and depth of cultural information to which pupils are exposed is perhaps a cause for concern" (p. 118). Because textbooks' topics "were frequently poorly chosen and represented a distorted view of reality by taking a tourist's perspective (e.g., focusing on topics such as restaurant meals or public transportation)" (Paige et al., 2003, p. 208). Britain et al. (1991) emphasized that all foreign language educators, especially textbook writers, should be concerned with how textbooks influence students' understandings of the range and depth of the cultural information.

Uber and Grosse (1991) also noticed a lack of complexity in the cultural information in foreign language textbooks. They analyzed the cultural content of twelve business French texts, of which, six are published in the United States, five in France, and one in England; and five are at the intermediate level, three are intermediate/advanced, and four are advanced. They stated that it is not sufficient

to teach the practical needs, such as learning to write business correspondence or conduct conversations with clients, in business French class. Culture should be an important part of the business French course. But they found that the cultural content was extremely narrow and basic. All the twelve textbooks covered basic economic culture, such as business topics about stock market. Many textbooks paid attention to culture at the socio-economic level, such as topics about marketing, advertising, which are people- and business-oriented. They stated that culture in “patterns of living” is largely outside the scope of the leading commercial French textbooks, which means these textbooks do not teach how ordinary French live their everyday lives (Uber & Grosse, 1991).

Scholars also reached similar conclusions in German language classrooms in the U.S. To examine the challenge in teaching foreign reality through foreign language, Kramsch (1987) compared eight first-year German textbooks that were most widely used then at American universities on the topic of sports. She found that many dialogues, readings, and language exercises in these textbooks could be seen as attempts to construct a German reality for language learners in the U.S. But these attempts to construct a view of German culture relied heavily on contrasts with American culture. Learners, who have insufficient understanding of American culture due to their age and knowledge, are often asked to contrast their subjective views of American with not-so-objective view of German that provide by the textbook authors. The cultural truth of both countries is not discussed and the cultural differences between them are also minimized in the textbooks. Therefore,

these German language learners are “unable to critically assess the concepts being presented and they reduce the comparative process to a low-level comparison of facts” (Paige et al., 2003, p. 209). Moreover, Kramersch (1987) pointed out that although the textbook authors perspectives on the target culture are often biased, they become reality and truth for the young learners. Kramersch (1987) concluded that, much of the content of these textbooks and their use would not bring “appreciation of differences and critical understanding of one's own and other cultures” (Kramersch, 1987, p. 115).

In her dissertation, Moore (1991) reached a similar conclusion about the cultural content of Spanish textbooks. She surveyed the five Spanish textbooks and one Spanish elementary cultural reader that are most commonly used for first-year, college-level students. She found that almost 92% of the cultural readings and related practice questions in these six books contained some cultural information that aimed to introduce the norms of behavior in the Spanish-speaking world. But this cultural information was highly generalized about Spanish norms, roles, values, associations, place of residence, and social situations. Most of these six books provide “little or no explanation of how patterns of behaviors develop to fit in with a complex cultural system” (Paige et al., 2003, p. 210). Moore (1991) further stated that these textbooks also failed to show that people who have different identities, such as ages, genders, religions, socioeconomic levels, regions, or political orientations, might have different norms or values. She pointed out that without enough knowledge about the Spanish cultural background, cultural learning

becomes information reiteration and learners become passive consumer of textbook authors' interpretation of the culture (Moore, 1991).

As complicated as the Spanish-speaking world is, the French-speaking world also contains many sub-groups. But Wieczorek (1994) stated that, in the field of teaching French as a second language, students were mainly exposed to the many facets of France. "The texts therefore ignore to a large extent the cultural and sociolinguistic contributions of the 42 countries that boast French as a primary secondary, or tertiary language" (Wieczorek, 1994, p. 487). Wieczorek analyzed the presentation of material concerning the country or area represented in the 12 textbooks. He found that the texts were limited in the scope of French-speaking communities. He pointed out that in the these books that were examined, information about French-speaking countries other than France averaged only about 5.13% of the total content and, even then, much of this information was taken out of its cultural context (Wieczorek, 1994). These French language textbooks established a hierarchical system of representation of the francophone world, within which France, especially Paris, is the ultimate point of reference for students' understanding of French culture. Wieczorek (1994) was concerned that such Eurocentric cultural presentations could further reinforce preexisting assumptions and stereotypes about other French-speaking communities outside of Europe (Wieczorek, 1994).

To balance the viewpoints in the textbooks, which are highly influenced by authors' perspectives, some language instructors choose to use authentic materials

to assist classroom teaching, such as personal diaries, travelogues, news reports, and TV shows (Paige et al., 2003). Many studies have been conducted about the concept of authenticity, and also about incorporating authentic materials into the curriculum. But very little research has been done on the effects of using authentic materials on cultural competency, which is a goal of foreign language programs in addition to language fluency (Paige et al., 2003).

In fact, in their thorough literature review, Paige et al. (2003) only found one study on this topic by Kienbaum, Russell, and Welty (1986). Using a quasi-experimental design, Kienbaum et al. (1986) compared classrooms that only used authentic materials with traditional textbook-based classrooms in second year college French, German, and Spanish courses at Purdue University Calumet. They stated that no statistically significant differences between these two groups were found in terms of language improvement or attitudes toward the target language. But they discovered that 1) students responded favorably to the target country's cultural and social reality offered by the authentic materials; 2) students appreciated the current events selections, such as articles and editorials related to the United States, through which they gained a better understanding of not only the target culture but also their own cultural assumptions and values (Kienbaum et al., 1986).

In summation, although scholars have stated that foreign language instructors should not consider cultural knowledge about a foreign nation as objective, monolithic, or one-dimensional (Ros i Solé, 2003), the existing literature

shows that representations of target nations and target culture in the formal curriculum (e.g. textbooks) are often simplified, highly generalized, and sometimes inaccurate. Both researchers and language instructors should recognize that multiple subjective perspectives are needed to understand the target culture represented in the textbooks and should demolish the fallacy of identifying cultures with nations or with the cultural identity of a dominant group (Ros i Solé, 2003; Zarate, 1995).

Factors that Influence Students' Understandings of and Attitudes toward the Target Nation

Scholars in the field of foreign language education are not only concerned with how the culture and image of a target country is represented in textbooks, but they also want to learn how other factors, including specific curriculum, could affect students' understandings of and attitudes toward the target country, target culture, and members of the target culture. For example, Lambert, Tucker, and d'Anglejan, (1973) conducted a community-based educational experiment on the St. Lambert immersion project in Canada, which was "designed to develop a high level of bilingual competence by having English speaking children in elementary school study through French as a medium of instruction" (p. 141). They pointed out that language learning experience and language proficiency do not necessarily result in positive attitudes toward members of the target culture (Lambert et al., 1973). In fact, scholars in the past 40 years found out that many factors affect students' attitudes, including the length of language learning, exposure to members of the

target culture, students' gender and age, curriculum arrangement, and school policy (Paige et al., 2003).

Massey's (1986) study surprisingly found that the longer students study the target language (French), the more negative attitudes they have towards members of the target culture. He studied 236 sixth and seventh grade students in three schools in Canada. These students had studied French only 20 minutes per day for the three years prior to his investigation, but had recently begun studying French for 40 minutes daily. Massey (1986) administered the Gardner Attitude and Motivation Test Battery at the end of one academic year and again four weeks into the following year; the scores became more negative over time (Massey, 1986). Massey (1986) stated that the major factor that caused the change of attitudes was the students' attitudes toward what happened day by day in French class, such as the frustration of integrating with French-speaking people.

The length of language learning is not the only element that can affect students' attitudes. Hamers (1984) found that being exposed to exchange students is another factor. She studied 439 students in 24 classes in 5th, 6th, 9th, and 10th-grade, who were exposed to exchanges with French or English-speaking Quebecois students in Quebec Canada. She found that 1) students at the secondary level responded more positively to the target culture than students at the elementary level due to the exchange students; 2) and that children from rural areas seemed to benefit more from exchanges than children from urban areas (Hamers, 1984, as cited in Paige et al., 2003). She stated that geographical distance between the

exchange students and the local students became a factor in affecting students' attitudes.

In fact, contact with people from the target culture outside of the school setting can positively influence language learners' attitudes toward the target country under some circumstances. Porebski and Mcinnis (1988) followed almost 2,500 children for three years (1975-1978) in Quebec Canada. They found that children who had daily contact with French peers in middle school were more likely to make contact with French peers outside the classroom. These students not only had a higher listening and reading proficiency in French, but they also had more positive attitudes towards French culture. It is worth noting that Porebski and Mcinnis (1988) did not use a traditional self-reporting scale to measure students' attitudes. Instead, they applied a sociometric friendship-pattern scale, which "operationalized positive attitudes as the willingness of students to seek out speakers of the target culture for pleasure" (Porebski & Mcinnis, 1988, as cited in Paige et al., 2003, p. 207).

In her dissertation, Park (1995) applied a similar method to measure three different groups of adult learners' attitudes at the University of Minnesota. These groups included intermediate Japanese students, beginning Japanese students, and beginning Korean students. She collected students' "voluntary current and past contact with native speakers of the language being studied (Japanese or Korean) as recorded in journals kept over two years, reported in interviews, and noted on a contact questionnaire" (Park, 1995, as cited in Paige et al., 2003, p. 207). In her

quantitative study, Park (1995) found that motivation and current and past contact with the target language is related to attaining foreign language proficiency.

Specific curriculum, of course, is a factor that cannot be ignored. In her dissertation, Stelly (1991) conducted a study on a French course in a 4-year high school in Louisiana, U.S. She designed a study to compare second language learners' listening/reading comprehension and attitudes in two classrooms where different curriculum and pedagogy were applied. She found that being exposed to authentic materials in a learner-centered, communicative environment did not significantly improve students' attitudes towards French culture. Instead, students' attitudes did significantly improve in traditional classroom that used a regular syllabus (Stelly, 1991, as cited in Paige et al., 2003).

In summation, the existing studies show that research on second language learners' understandings of and attitudes towards the target country, target culture, and members of the target culture covered a wide range of topics (Paige et al., 2003). This literature reminds me that in conducting my own research I cannot only focus on formal curriculum but must also study the enacted curriculum. Moreover, some factors outside of the school setting may also be worth my attention. For example, Paige et al. (2003) pointed out that although it is not always the case, many studies show that "favorable contact leads to the discovery of cultural similarities and of our common humanity," which can improve language learners' attitudes towards the target culture (p. 208). These significant insights in the previous research potentially have implications for my study.

Research on Representations of China in Chinese Language Programs

As my research focuses on Chinese language programs, I also need to address what we know about Chinese cultural teaching and learning in Chinese language classrooms from existing research. The existing research on teaching Chinese culture in CLPs in the English-writing and Chinese-writing academic worlds has focused on different types of CLPs and on a variety of topics. Particularly relevant to my study is research in the English-writing academic world that focuses mainly on the Confucius Institutes (CIs).

Research on CIs covers a wide range of topics. For instance, some studies have used CIs as a background setting to analyze Confucianism (e.g., Barabantseva 2009; Jensen 1997; Kam 2011; Li 2008; Qing 2007; as cited in Stambach, 2015). Kam (2011) stated that many social policies and political reforms carried out in China in the name of Confucius in the last century were actually very different from each other. He pointed out that, by naming the government initiated Chinese language promotion project “Confucius Institute,” politicians in China utilized a modernized Confucianism to gain friends and influence in the world (Kam, 2011).

Some studies have examined CIs from a diplomatic and political perspective that takes into account Sino-U.S. relation (e.g., D’Hooge 2008; Kurlantzick 2007; Scobell 2014; Yang 2010; as cited in Stambach, 2015). For example, Paradise (2009) analyzed the Confucius Institutes’ history, basic organizational structures, official missions, related policies and regulations, and general activities. His analysis concluded that CIs could increase China’s “soft power” and help China project an

image of itself as a benign country by affecting students' attitudes toward China. But he also stated that the success of the soft-power projection will ultimately depend on China's culture, political values, and foreign policies.

Yang (2010) conducted an empirical case study of one Confucius Institute based at a major Australian university. Yang (2010) interviewed administrative personnel from both China and the U.S, including the vice-chancellor of the host institution. He examined the role of higher education in globally projecting China's soft power through CIs and how Chinese universities interact with their international peers in the new context of the Chinese government's billion dollars' investment in higher education. Yang (2010) concluded that CIs reflect the Chinese government's understanding of history and CIs also provide Chinese and foreign universities with an opportunity for collaboration and exchange.

In addition, scholars were very interested in examining whether and how Confucius Institutes initiated changes in U.S. students' understandings of and attitudes towards China. For example, Hubbert (2014) offered an ethnographic examination of representations and perceptions of the Chinese state in Confucius Institutes at a coeducational college-preparatory school on the West Coast in the U.S, which includes grade 6 to grade 12. Her data were collected from participant observations, semi- and unstructured interviews, and conversations with students, parents, administrators, and teachers during her two extended fieldwork trips to the campus. In her study, Hubbert stated that U.S. parents and students form their understandings of "China" through their experiences with teachers and pedagogical

materials from Confucius Institutes. She stated that CIs are a part of China's efforts to promote its soft power, which aims to tell the world that Chinese cultural tradition stresses harmony and that "its rise to power will be a peaceful and globally responsible process" (Hubbert, 2014, p. 329). Hubbert concluded that, to a certain degree, CIs reduce U.S. students and their parents' fears about China as a threat to the U.S.

Zhao (2014) conducted in-depth interviews with 17 upper level college students who attended the 2013 summer program at a CI in a Midwestern University. Zhao found that mass media was not these interviewees' major source of information about China, which presumably generates Americans' negative attitude towards China. While this particular CI, same as the other CIs, was trying to create a positive image of China for its students, Zhao found that this CI did not effect a big change in student's attitudes. He stated that students' positive attitudes towards China were based on China's economic success rather than on the attraction of Chinese culture, something that was already formed before they entered into this CI.

Yao (2014) summarized two studies that focused on CIs' curriculum. He suggested that these studies showed that Confucius Institutes adopt a "culture rich" pedagogical approach, which emphasizes extracurricular activities, such as celebrating Chinese cultural traditions, over language learning. For example, Yao (2014) listed all 17 extracurricular activities organized by a CI that affiliates with Arizona State University in the academic year of 2012. He pointed out that there are only two activities related to Chinese language learning: Language camp (1) and

Speech contest (1). The rest of the activities are mainly focused on Chinese culture, including Cultural performances (3), Film screenings (1), Cultural festivals (2), Chinese literature (2), China Day (3), and Chinese history (4). Yao (2014) further stated that most of the students who enter CIs already have a friendly predisposition toward China and their positive feelings are reinforced by their experiences at the CIs.

In the past 30 years, how Chinese teachers should teach culture to foreign students has gradually become a heated issue in the Chinese-writing academic world. Sun (2009) summarized that this thirty years of research on teaching Chinese culture can be divided into three stages. The first stage is from the beginning of the 1980s to the 1990s, when scholars mainly argued that Chinese cultural education must be valued in the Chinese language classrooms. According to Sun (2009), there were only 8 papers on this topic in this stage. The second stage is from the beginning of 1990s to the end of 1990s. The number of research papers increased to 152 in the 1990s. In this period, scholars started to gain substantial research achievements, including affirming the status of cultural education, compiling special textbooks on Chinese culture, and designing the official Chinese culture teaching and learning outline. The third stage is the first decade of 2000s, when scholars added another 125 research papers on this topic. Scholars started to summarize the previous studies and put them into teaching practice, such as how to utilize cultural teaching to improve students' Chinese language competency (Sun, 2009).

In this large body of research, studies that focus on representations of China and Chinese culture, and on how Chinese language education influences students' attitudes towards China, are quite limited. So far, I have only found one sound research study done by Wen Chen. Chen (2012) and his research team conducted a quantitative study on Southeast Asian students' evaluation of China's national image in Guangdong and Guangxi Area. They collected 1189 questionnaires from students who came from 10 different Southeast Asian countries. In addition to questionnaires, Chen's team also conducted more than 80 in-depth interviews. Chen's study has many interesting findings. For example, Chen found that, for these Southeast Asian students, coming to China to study Chinese positively affected their evaluations on China's hard power, such as economic prospects, technological development, and military power. But this learning experience negatively affects students' evaluations on China's soft power, such as the Citizens' civilization, administrative efficiency, and governments' integrity. Chen also found that students' religious beliefs also affected their evaluation of China's image. For example, students who believed in Catholicism and Islam had a more negative evaluation about China than students who believed in other religions or who had no religious affiliations. But Chen and his team did not provide detailed explanations for these findings.

In summation, as I mentioned above, numerous studies have been conducted on target cultural teaching and learning in the field of foreign language education in the past forty years. Research on representations of target nations and target

culture in the formal curriculum shows that textbooks play a crucial role in forming second language learners' understanding and attitudes. However, this representation is often problematic, simplified, and over generalized, which reflects the particular worldview of the textbook author. Research that examined second language learners' understandings of and attitudes towards the target country and target culture reveals that a variety of factors have an effect on this process. Besides the formal curriculum, enacted curriculum, factors outside of the school settings maybe also worth attention in the future study. Research that investigated representations of China and Chinese culture in Confucius Institutes and how learning Chinese influences different groups of students' understandings of and attitudes towards China remind me to pay attention to the complex social, political, and economic relationships between China and the U.S., which could be a unique factor that is not found in other foreign language programs in the U.S.

Research Gap

Although this literature contributes to a comprehensive understanding of how scholars have examined target cultural teaching in foreign language programs, including Chinese language education, there are still gaps in the literature that warrant further investigation. First, instead of Chinese language programs organized by U.S. educational institutions, existing research on Chinese language education mainly focuses on Confucius Institutes. Research on CIs does shed some light on this dissertations study. Even though in a different context, these studies inform my study with some specific findings and useful research methods. But it is

still worth noting that there are significant differences between CIs and Chinese language programs organized by U.S. educational institutions. CIs are a particular type of Chinese language program and are highly affected by the Chinese government' ideology and foreign policies. Scholars have stated that CIs aim to promote China's soft power globally, which is clearly not the mission of a CLP in an American university. This work inspires a more focused research of the everyday activities and lessons that occur in Chinese language programs other than CIs.

Second, the aforementioned literature ignores the gap between academic research results and actual teaching practices. For example, although scholars have advocated for cultural teaching in Chinese language classrooms for over 30 years, ordinary language teachers often have a weak understanding and inadequate training to teach Chinese culture in classrooms (Zhang, 2009). In other words, different language instructors in different language programs might handle Chinese cultural teaching differently. In evaluating research on CIs, Stambach (2015) stated that we do not really know "what actually goes on inside a Confucius Institute classroom" or how "...Confucius Institute teachers and students use language to model social relations and identities" (p. 55). In fact, the existing literature also has failed to inform us of what actually goes on inside a Chinese language program organized by a U.S higher educational institution in terms of how language courses evoke particular understandings of China and Chinese culture. More specifically, missing from current research is an analysis of how students experience "China," "Chinese culture," and "Chinese society" through their interactions with Chinese

language instructors, exposure to textual materials, and participation in program activities. Thus, further qualitative research, which uses multiple forms of data collection, is needed to consider how teachers and students perceive what is taught about China, and whether it is intentional/intended or unintentional/unintended in Chinese language programs in ordinary American educational institutions.

Conceptual Framework

The growing popularity of Chinese language learning and resistance to Chinese language teaching in the United States is the impetus for this dissertation study. As more and more U.S. students have begun to learn Chinese, and the Chinese government has actively promoted Chinese language and culture through various means such as CIs, fears about the possible ideological and cultural influence of Chinese language programs (CLPs) on Chinese language learners (CLLs) have grown in both the U.S. and China (Kluver, 2014; Link, 2014; Paradise, 2009; Qi, 2000). These concerns about the possible ideological and cultural influence of Chinese language programs are well founded if we scrutinize them through the concepts of official knowledge (Apple, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2004) and mediated action (Wertsch, 1991, 1998, 2002). These two concepts informed my research strategy and data analysis. Specifically, these theoretical approaches allowed me to understand the cultural politics of school knowledge in one Chinese language course, the ideological interests in the curricular materials utilized in this course, and how these representations affect students' understandings of China and attitudes towards China.

Apple's (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004) official knowledge addresses the relationship between education and the power structures of a society. Apple (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004) stated that the curriculum in school is "always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize a people" (Apple, 1993, p. 222). Apple believed that education is deeply involved in the politics of culture. School knowledge is not neutral or objective. Only some groups' knowledge, which is defined as legitimate, can be taught and learned in school. Apple referred to this knowledge as official knowledge. He argued that the decision to define whose knowledge is the official knowledge reflects who has power in society. Apple further stated that sometimes the official knowledge is legitimized by the state and sometimes it is only socially legitimized. The process of legitimization is not always peaceful. Thus, the school and its curriculum can become a constant battlefield of different ideologies. Interest groups impose their values by controlling the school system and by altering curriculums and textbooks to regulate what teachers should or should not do in their classrooms (Apple, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2004).

Following this line of thinking, I see the knowledge and curriculum about China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society being communicated to students in CLPs also belong to the category of official knowledge. Unlike knowledge in the Confucius Institutes, which is clearly sanctioned by the Chinese government, I see knowledge in CLPs organized by an American educational institution as socially legitimated

since both the U.S. and Chinese government has little direct control over it. I am interested in investigating whose version of knowledge is being legitimized and selected; what kind of “cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises” (Apple, 1993, p. 222) produce this knowledge; and how this knowledge is being communicated to students.

To answer these questions, I first need to examine the formal curriculum about China in the Chinese language program. The textbook, as one concrete form of formal curriculum and the vehicle of official knowledge, will be my research focuses in chapter 4. Because textbooks are the result of “Political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises ... are conceived, designed, and authored by real people with real interests” (Apple, 1992, p. 4). The argument that cultural and ideological interests are embedded in textbook is further supported by studies that have examined the politics of educational epistemologies, particularly the controversy and battles over a particular curriculum or textbook in elementary, secondary, and higher education (eg. Apple, 2004; Gitlin, 1995; Levine, 1996; Mason, 2009; Schelsinger, 1991; Willinsky, 1998). I believe the adoption of a specific Chinese language textbook and its illustration of its topic is a crucial part of the production of knowledge about China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society in Chinese language programs.

In addition to examining the formal curriculum, chapter 5 focused the enacted curriculum of a Chinese language course. Apple argued culture or ideology is not only taught through formal curriculum, such as textbooks, but can also be

located in various actual teaching practices (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004). Studies (e.g. Epstein, 2009; Schweber, 2006; Wills, 2005, 2011) also have shown that the content of textbooks is not transmitted to students directly nor does it determine the knowledge produced through their use. Therefore, it is necessary to study not only the formal but also the enacted curriculum to understand how texts are used and interpreted in classrooms in the process of producing knowledge in CLPs.

Wertsch's (1991, 1998, 2002) theory about mediated action allows me to investigate how the curriculum provides cultural tools and resources for students to develop understanding when they interact with the world. Wertsch (1991, 1998, 2002) presented a framework for sociocultural analysis, especially in educational settings. Wertsch took "mediated action" as a "unit of analysis," which states that the agent (an individual) and his or her action is mediated through various socio-cultural tools, or the "mediational means," that the agent has, including language, metaphors, images, narrative, technology, etc (1998, p. 17). These cultural tools as resources can both enable and constrain an agent's actions (Wills, 2001). Or in Wertsch's (1998) words, we should pay attention to both the "affordances" that mediational means provide and the "constraints" that they impose (1998, p. 40). In his book: *Mind as Action*, Wertsch provided an example of a mediational mean: the pole-vaulting pole. Wertsch stated that pole vaulters primarily viewed the pole-vaulting pole as, "the cultural tool they had, in terms of the affordances it provided and did not seem to recognize any limitations or constraints it might have had" (1998, p. 41). However, Wertsch highlighted that "a new cultural tool frees us from

some earlier limitation of perspective,” but this new cultural tool also introduces new limitation or constraints of its own (1998, p. 38).

Another cultural tool and another form of mediated mean presented by Wertsch (1998) is the historical narratives that are used to represent the past. To investigate the influences of the curriculum of history courses, Wertsch compared Estonian students’ descriptions of the incorporation of their country into the former Soviet Union with American students’ descriptions of the origins of the U.S. Wertsch further used the terms “mastery, appropriation, and resistance” to describe students’ different mediated actions. Mastery indicates students “know how” to use a cultural tool—the historical narrative in this case—to accomplish a mediated action with ease (1998, p.46). For example, both Estonian students and American students had mastered the official history that they had been taught in school. A successful mastery of the cultural tool often engenders a positive appropriation, which is a “process is one of taking something that belongs to others and making it one’s own” (1998, p54). Or more specifically, appropriation refers to the process of assimilating knowledge from other sociocultural tools into one’s own pre-existing cultural toolkit, taking it as one’s own, and being able to use that knowledge spontaneously and creatively in different situations. For example, Wertsch stated that due to the lack of an alternative cultural tool, American students in his study not only mastered the official history of the founding of the U.S. on a “quest for freedom” narrative, but also had appropriated this tool, or taken it as their own. However, Wertsch also highlighted that an individual, or an agent, can master a

cultural tool without appropriating it. Generally, an individual does not always have to accept the cultural tool or use it. An “important aspect of appropriation” is that “it always involves resistance of some sort” (1998, p. 54). Thus, in many cases, resistance or even rejection, is a more common reaction to the introduction of a cultural tool, than appropriation, which tends to be “the rule rather than the exception” (1998, p. 55). For example, in addition to the official history, the Estonian students in Wertsch’s study had also mastered an unofficial history, which they learned usually off-campus from other Estonians. Since they believed this unofficial history was more authoritative than the official history, these Estonian students would use this unofficial history as a tool to resist or reject the official history. Wertsch’s (1991, 1998, 2002) framework of mediated action distinguished the concepts of mastery, appropriation, and resistance, all of which constitute the relationships between agent and mediational means. This framework allows me to investigate and explain how different students respond to the curriculum of the Chinese language course.

Moreover, in line with Apple (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004), Wertsch (1998) also highlighted that we should pay attention to “power and authority” that is involved in sociocultural settings where human action is situated (p. 65). He suggested an individual agent does not simply accept a particular cultural tool as “a matter of dispassionate, reflective choice” (p. 66). On the contrary, this process is often “shaped by the power and authority associated with items in the cultural tool kit provided by a sociocultural setting” (Wertsch, 1998, p. 65). Wertsch further stated

that, on the one hand, the cultural tools, or the mediational means, “are differentially imbued with power and authority” (1998, p. 66). Thus, the toolkit that is composed of these cultural tools is “organized in accordance with a hierarchy based on power or applicability” (1991, p. 124). On the other hand, Wertsch stated that he preferred to use the term “privileging” to “address the issue of the organization of mediational means in a dominance hierarchy” (1991, p. 124). The term privileging “refers to the fact that one mediational means ... is viewed as being more appropriate or efficacious than others in a particular sociocultural setting” (1991, p. 124). Compared to the terms “domination” or “dominant,” the term “privileging” contains “less theoretical baggage” and is “more dynamic” (1991, p. 124). “Privileging” also allows a focus on “psychological processes,” which are “concerned with the fact that certain mediational means strike their users as being appropriate or even as the only possible alternative, when others are, in principle, imaginable” (1991, p. 124). Because this dissertation study focuses on classroom teaching, where students get access to various cultural tools and crucial forms of classroom discourse between language instructors and students, Wertsch’s framework of “power and authority” and “privileging” particularly fits this dissertation study.

English-speaking students of Chinese language acquire knowledge and opinions about China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society from more than only the language textbook. It is also acquired through many other resources, including travelling to China, taking China-related courses, family connections, and having personal connections. Chinese language instructors and students have their own

agency in responding to a school's official curriculum (e.g. Chavez, 2002; Ros i Solé, 2003; Zarate, 1995). Inden (1990) defined agency as "actions that are self-directed, independent, and personally meaningful" (as cited in Levin & Shaker, 2011, p. 21). Chinese language instructors can choose additional teaching materials that are not consistent with the official textbook. They also have the capability to reinterpret textual materials and to mediate students' cultural understanding (Ros i Solé, 2003). Students may also bring knowledge that conflicts with official knowledge into the classroom from their own life experiences and understandings of the world (Apple, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2004). Adult language learners, such as college students, in particular have sufficient cultural intelligence to perceive the target culture actively and critically. They are not passive recipients of cultural information, but active interpreters (Ros i Solé, 2003). To better understand these processes, this dissertation will examine how the enacted curriculum affected the representation of China and how this representation influenced students' understandings of China and attitudes towards China in chapter 6.

In summation, the conceptual framework for this dissertation is that school knowledge is not neutral, but results from the emergent conflicts among different ideologies and interest groups. Foreign language education, including Chinese language education, is no exception to this. The enacted curriculum of a Chinese language course provides students with various cultural tools, such as the knowledge of China in the textbook; which is highly ideological and the result of conflicts among different interest groups. These cultural tools are both enabling and

constraining resources for students to understand China. These cultural tools are imbued with power and authority, they compose a hierarchical tool kit, and in which certain cultural tools are more privileged or more appropriated than other tools. Students, and language instructors, have their own agency in negotiating the influences. Depending on different situations, students can master, appropriate, and/or resist those cultural tools. Thus, to understand how knowledge about China, Chinese culture, and how Chinese society is being produced, and also how this is communicated to students in a Chinese language course, and how this knowledge affects students' understanding of China and attitudes towards China, we must consider the dynamic interaction between the formal curriculum (e.g. the textbooks) and enacted curriculum (e.g. actual classroom teaching), as well as student's own sociocultural experiences outside of the language classroom. This study will address the gap in the scholarly research which holds these distinctions in a blind-spot, by providing a concrete analysis of a specific cases, in order to better understand the variety of pedagogical and institutional factors that affect both, the representation and the reception, of China in a Chinese language course.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY

Qualitative Case Study

Based on my conceptual framework, I adopted a qualitative approach to investigate the representations of China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society in the formal curriculum and enacted curriculum in a Chinese language course and how this representation influences different groups of U.S. students' attitudes towards China. In the context of educational research, a qualitative approach allows for investigation of the following concerns: (1) social and cultural organization of the institution, (2) reflexivity of the educational environment, and (3) the meaning-perspectives of faculty, staff and students (Erickson, 1986). Furthermore, many studies that successfully examined the representation of target culture and national image in foreign language programs used a qualitative approach (e.g. Britain et al., 1991; Kramsch, 1987; Moore, 1991; Uber & Grosse, 1991). Moreover, in the fields of education and sociology, the qualitative approach is also the most popular method used by scholars to understand the politics of school knowledge in curriculum both inside classrooms (e.g. Epstein, 2009; Schweber & Irwin, 2003; Wills, 1996) and outside classrooms (e.g. Pascoe, 2007; Mehan, Hertweck, & Meihls, 1986) to untangle the complicated relationship among power, ideology, and the production of knowledge (e.g. Alridge, 2006; Mason, 2009; Sano, 2009; Wertsch, 2002) and to account for teachers' and students' agency in this process (e.g. Epstein, 2009; Loewen, 1996; Schweber, 2006; Wills, 2005, 2011).

Setting

As mentioned in my literature review, many studies about Chinese language program were conducted at Confucius Institutes, which has its own unique characteristics due to its Chinese government background. Although as many as 110 Confucius Institutes have been established in universities in the U.S. (“Confucius Institutes in the U.S.,” 2017), there are at least 866 universities in the U.S. offer college-level mandarin Chinese courses (Walker, 2016). Fears and concerns about possible ideological conflicts and cultural influences in Chinese language education not only target these CIs, but also haunt the CLPs organized by American Universities and colleges. For example, besides the aforementioned Princeton University’s textbook censorship incident, some supposedly sensitive content in the textbooks compiled by faculty from Harvard University were also deleted due to the Chinese publisher’s decision to censor references to specific elements of Chinese culture in the textbook. But current literature has not examined the CLP organized by U.S. educational institutions. Therefore, I conducted my study of the Chinese language program in the Department of East Asian Studies at Bison College³ in the U.S. in the spring semester of the Academic Year 2016.

Bison College is a highly ranked private liberal arts college located in central Pennsylvania. It is primarily an undergraduate school (3,500 undergraduate and 150 graduate students), which utilizes a semester-based academic calendar. Its

³ Bison college is a pseudonym. In addition, any person’s name associated with Bison College in this study are also pseudonyms.

tuition and fees are about \$50,000. About 40 percent of students at Bison College take advantage of more than 130 study-abroad programs. Bison has a relatively strong East Asian Studies Department, which offers students a comprehensive education about China, including Chinese history, literature, culture, and language. Students who major or minor in East Asian Studies are encouraged to seek opportunities for summer, semester, or preferably, full-year study in China or Japan.

The Chinese language program at Bison offers Chinese courses at four different levels: first-year Chinese, second-year Chinese, third-year Chinese, and fourth-year Chinese. Students have lectures with their Chinese language instructors on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday and drill sections with their TAs on Tuesday and Thursday. Students usually learn new vocabulary, grammar, and texts in lectures. In the drill sessions, TAs help students review and practice the new content from the lectures. Each lecture and drill session class lasts 50 minutes. The enrollment count for the spring semester of the Academic Year 2015-2016, were 28, 8, 7, and 2 students in each level, respectively.

I chose Bison College as my research field for the following reasons. Its pedagogy and teaching philosophy were deeply influenced by leaders in the field of Chinese language teaching in the U.S., such as Princeton University and Harvard University, which made it representative of CLPs that can be found at American universities. For example, the arrangement of separating one Chinese course into lecture and drill session is the prevailing pedagogy that has been adopted by many CLPs on the East Coast. This technique originated in 1940s at Harvard University.

The textbooks used by the CLP at Bison College were compiled by faculty from Princeton University, which belonged to the most popular Chinese language textbooks on the U.S. market (Wen & Xie, 2013). Scholars utilizing the theory of institutional isomorphism in education have suggested that every educational institution is trying to be like the best in the field and so it leads to institutions that are very similar. Thus, knowing what the best institution does is very important for understanding what everyone else emulates and follows (Frans Van, 2008). By investigating the CLP at Bison, I had the opportunity to generate a case study of a CLP organized by a typical American University.

Data Collection

In the spring semester of the Academic Year 2015-2016, from late January until the middle of May, I observed and audiotaped the lecture and drill session of second-year Chinese language class at Bison College. In addition to analyzing the transcription of audio taped classroom sessions I was also able to examine a good number of essays and oral presentations done by students. I also interviewed the two Chinese language instructor, Professor Li, and her teaching assistant, Ms. Wang, for general information on their teaching philosophy, their opinions on the textbook, and other teaching materials they used, and the goals they had for their students.⁴ In the end of the spring semester, I interviewed all eight students in this language class. The teaching assistant, Ms. Wang, had a Master's degree in Teaching Chinese

⁴ In this dissertation, Professor Li, and Ms. Wang, are often referred as the two Chinese language instructors of the second-year Chinese language course.

as a Second Language in China. She was also trained and worked at Princeton's intensive Chinese language summer program in Beijing, called Princeton in Beijing, during the summer of 2015 prior to coming to Bison College. Professor Li had a closer relationship with Princeton University. She received her Master's degree in China and then started her career as a drill instructor at Princeton University in 2006. She taught there for five years before leaving to pursue her doctorate.

This dissertation can be defined as "the intensive study of a single case" (Gerring, 2007, p. 20) since I have chosen to examine the same group of students in one course on one school site, which were led by one Chinese language instructor and one teaching assistant for one semester (16 weeks) to gather data. This detailed examination of one setting can help me to gain an in-depth understanding of my research subject. Following Echeverria (2000) and Wills (1990), the following three main sources of data were collected to examine the representations of China in the formal curriculum, enacted curriculum, and students' understanding of China and attitudes towards China in the second-year Chinese language course: documents, observations, and interviews. Fontana and Frey (2005) suggested that because humans are complex, the more methods researchers use to study them, the better the chance of gaining some understanding of how they construct their lives and the meanings in them.

Documents. To identify explicit and implicit messages about China, Chinese society, and Chinese culture in the formal curriculum and enacted curriculum that may be communicated to students, three kinds of documents will be collected for

this dissertation: the textbook, instructors' and TAs' teaching plans, and students' essays. The textbook used by the second-year Chinese course at Bison is *A New China: Intermediate Reader of Modern Chinese* (Revised Edition), which was compiled by faculty at Princeton University. According to Princeton University Press's introduction, this textbook "provides the most up-to-date lessons and learning materials about the changing face of China" ("*A New China*," 2015). The revised edition not only includes new lessons on daily life, such as doing laundry, it also contains discussions of "recent social and political issues in China," including divorce, Beijing traffic, the college entrance examination, and the government's policy on minorities ("*A New China*," 2015). I focused on how this textbook portrayed a "new" China for its readers in the text, as a way to understand the representation of China in the formal curriculum.

To study the enacted curriculum, instructors' and TAs' teaching plans were collected. As a part of the tradition in the CLPs modeled after the Princeton University and Harvard University, instructors and TAs usually hold a weekly course-preparation meeting. Together they designed detailed teaching plans for both lectures and drill sessions for the following week. These teaching plans were not always aligned with the content in the textbook because the instructors often incorporated their own understandings, selections, and revisions of the textbook. The example sentences in these teaching plans reflected the instructors and TAs' understanding of China and Chinese culture, which they communicated to their students through actual classroom instruction. These teaching plans were included

in my data collection to investigate the representation of China from the instructors' and the TAs' perspectives.

Students' essays were also collected as the third kind of document to examine how they responded to the explicit and implicit cultural messages communicated to them in this course and what kind of understandings of China and attitudes towards China these messages could foster. Students' essays could provide evidence for understanding the actual influences of Chinese language education at Bison College. By analyzing document resources, such as textbooks, instructors and TAs' teaching plans, and students' essays, this dissertation developed an informed conclusion about how China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society are represented in the formal curriculum and enacted curriculum, and how this representation can affect students' attitudes and perception towards China.

Observation. Qualitative researchers often present their results in a full description of the phenomena that they are interested in (Becker, 1996; Eisner, 2003; Erickson, 1986; Marecek, 2003). Observation is one of the key methods used by anthropologists, sociologists, and educators to give readers this full description (Burgess, 1995; Erickson, 1986; Mason, 2002). Becker (1996) suggested that researchers could increase the accuracy of their studies by “emphasis on the everyday world, everyday life, the quotidian” (p. 58). Thus, my second method was participant observation. It is worth noting that little research examining the Chinese language program has used this method. For example, Zhao (2014) and Yao (2014) conducted two different studies that examined whether and how Confucius

Institutes (CIs) initiated a change in American students' attitudes toward China. Although valuable, these studies either failed to connect students' views to the content of the curriculum, or they examined "learning outcomes" without observing the real social and cultural processes involved in learning within the classroom. As yet, I found that only Stambach (2015) utilized observation in his research (see literature review). As an enrolled student in a Confucius Institute, attending two eight-week courses, Stambach (2015) conducted a study about the social and cultural contexts within which Confucius Institutes operates in the United States. My research incorporated his successful experience and would fill this research gap.

For the classroom observations, this dissertation focused on the way in which the instructors talked about China, Chinese society, and Chinese culture in their classroom instruction. The way instructors used language and the example sentences with regard to China could reveal their underlying attitudes and beliefs about China, which was also the China that students were exposed to in the enacted curriculum. I compared the data that I collected in the classroom observations with the data I obtained from textbook to see what were similarities and differences between formal curriculum and enacted curriculum. Audio taping of lessons was used to complement the observational notes and, more importantly, to help me to understand the discourse of the classrooms. Audio taping helped me to record more data than I could write in my field notes and also provided me the opportunity to revisit the classes for more details, such as the intonations and tones of the instructors and students for further analysis.

Interview. After preliminary findings, stemming from document analysis and classroom observations, in the end of the spring semester of the Academic Year 2015-2016, I conducted in-depth interviews. The subjects of these interviews were the two Chinese language instructors and all enrolled eight students in the second-year Chinese course. The Interviews were semi-structured, and were guided by a set of open-ended questions and prompts (see Appendix A and B). The instructors of the second-year Chinese language course were interviewed to examine the representation of China in the enacted curriculum. Apart from answering specific questions, the instructors were encouraged to talk about a set of themes, including: their general teaching experience, teaching philosophies, the culture and politics of teaching and learning in Chinese language classrooms, the Chinese government's official strategies of promoting Chinese culture and language in the world, and the influence of Chinese language programs on U.S. students' attitudes toward China.

Though I used some of the same questions and themes for interviews with the Chinese language instructors, and the students, the questions that I used for the students tended to focus on their views regarding their knowledge, attitudes, and beliefs concerning the process of learning about Chinese culture and Chinese society. Additionally, my questions to the students inquired about the potential ideological or cultural conflicts experienced during this process, and this language course possible effect on their attitudes toward China. The concerns of these students were influenced by their families' backgrounds and their previous sociocultural experiences with China, so the questions, per interviewee, differed

accordingly. These interviews expanded my investigation the understand the representation of China, Chinese society, and Chinese culture in the formal curriculum, enacted curriculum, and students' understanding of China, and attitudes towards China respectively.

These Interviews were conducted in my office, and they were digitally audio-recorded, and personally transcribed. Interviews with the instructors were mostly carried out in Chinese. Interviews with the students were mostly carried out in English. The Chinese interviews were translated into English for this dissertation (See Appendix C). Besides from formal interviews, more frequent informal interviews between me and the two instructors often emerged since we often walked to the teaching classroom together. This gave us many opportunities to talk about our teaching without the pressure of a formal interview, or with some sort of expectation.

Keeping in mind the dynamics of research, previous scholars have stated that the interaction between the researcher and respondent is context-sensitive and power laden. Data are mutually co-created by interviewer and interviewee (Fontana & Frey, 2005; Lundgren, 2013; Riessman, 2003). Having taught Chinese at Harvard University for seven years, should be seen as a fact not irrelevant to this study. My position and experiences as a researcher and language instructor has influenced not only the interpretation of data, but also the generation of data. When the instructors I interviewed felt uncomfortable with certain sensitive topics, or were hesitant to share their experiences, I often disclosed my experiences to build mutual

understanding. I believed this served as an important interactional tool to encourage interviewees to speak freely. When some students worried about information getting out about their criticisms of the textbooks, or the instructor's pedagogy, I assured them that everything used in the study would be protected under pseudonymous. The Interviewees' responses forced me to take a reflective analytic stance, moving beyond the assumptions I derived from my own experiences, thus learning alongside my interviewees.

Transcript Conventions. A large number of transcripts of classroom lessons and interviews were included in the text for purposes of analysis and explanation. I did not choose standard orthography for the following two reasons. First, the students are still learning Chinese so their utterances are usually slow and constructed word by word. The instructors also slow down their speaking speed and break their sentences into shorter phrases. The standard orthography cannot capture this feature because it can only generate "a literal interpretation on utterances that otherwise may be simply objects of phonological manipulation" (Ochs, 1979, p. 45). Second, the focus of my transcription was the content exchanged in the conversations between the instructors and their students. Although the standard orthography can reveal the meaning conveyed in a conversation, it cannot show the intonations and sounds of a conversation, which also carry information about the content of the conversation that is worth researchers' attention.

Cameron (1997) stated that "analysis is never done without preconceptions" and that researchers "can never be absolutely non-selective" in their observations

(p. 48). Ochs (1979) also argued that a transcript should not contain too much information; that is, rather than including everything that is said or done in a conversation, a transcript should be selective, based on existing studies and the researcher's interests. Since this dissertation research mainly focused on the content and meaning of classroom communication, many other discourse features were not included in the transcripts. For example, many pronunciation and grammar corrections and repetitions that are very common in a foreign language course were not included in my transcripts, which, otherwise, might be crucial if I wanted to analyze how Professor Li establishes an effective classroom instruction.

Data analysis

Content analysis and discourse analysis were applied to analyze the data I collected from documents, observation, and interviews.

Documents. Content analysis is a popular method of studying curriculum and textbooks (Alridge, 2006; Sano, 2009; Wills, 1990). For example, Alridge (2006) applied the content analysis to examine the representations of Martin Luther King, Jr. in six popular and widely adopted American history textbooks. Alridge (2006) argued that content analysis “involves reading source material and drawing evidence from that material to be used in supporting a point of view or thesis” (p. 664). Alridge (2006) stated that content analysis involves (1) reading the literature, (2) noting the themes, (3) discussing the themes, and (4) supporting conclusions with examples. In his study, he stated that American history textbooks present “discrete, heroic, one-dimensional, and neatly packaged master narratives that deny

students a complex, realistic, and rich understanding of people and events in American history” (Alridge, 2006, p. 662). He countered that this presentation also fits the master narrative told about Martin Luther King, Jr. in American society.

The same method Alridge used was applied but I analyzed for representations of China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society in my collected data. Neuman (2003) noted that content analysis is a method that helps to understand the content of the text by analyzing the “words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, or any message that can be communication [sic]” (as cited in Sano, 2009, p. 2). This dissertation followed the aforementioned recommendations. In the data analysis, I repeatedly read the document data I collected from the textbook: *A New China*, instructors’ and TAs’ teaching plans, and students’ essay homework. I identified codes that could identify the content that is related to representation of China, Chinese Society, and Chinese Culture and how these contents affected students’ understanding of China and attitudes towards China.

Following the existing studies related to the target culture teaching in foreign language education, the following themes were my foci when I started the coding of the data: if both the formal and enacted curriculum (1) adopted a tourist’s perspective to introduce China to students (e.g. Britain et al., 1991); (2) attempted to construct a view of Chinese culture by contrasting it with American culture (e.g. Kramsch, 1987); (3) focused on Chinese culture rather than Chinese society, economy, or other topics (e.g. Stambach, 2015); (4) ignored the complexity of Chinese-speaking world, but takes Mainland China, especially Beijing, as the

ultimate point of reference for students' understanding of Chinese culture (e.g. Wieczorek, 1994). Admittedly, these themes were rather informal, but they are the labels that naturally emerge when I compared my many years of teaching experience with the previous studies. More formal and accurate interpretations and analysis occurred when I developed the coding frame after I re-read the data multiple times (Taylor, 2003, as cited in Sano, 2009). New themes emerged, such as, how the textbook not only presented China's history, and rich cultural traditions, but also reflected the rapid changes that occurred in China's society, economy, and politics, over the past three decades. Also how the textbook utilized many comparisons between "New China vs. Old China" and "China vs. the U.S." to establish a positive image of new China, and to encourage a positive attitude towards China for its readers.

Interviews. I interviewed the two instructors and eight students in the second-year Chinese course. Notes were taken during the interviews to remind me what data I should focus on after the interview. Ochs (1979) states that a transcript should not contain too much information; that is, rather than including everything, a transcript should be selective based on existing literature, the researcher's interests, and theoretical goals. And transcribers should also admit and be aware of their biases and subjectivities in the process of transcription. Following Ochs (1979), I only transcribed content related to this dissertation.

Beside the textbook, teaching plans, and students' essay homework, I also viewed interview transcripts as text, wherein the participants provided their own

understandings of teaching and learning about China in Chinese language programs. Similar codes were applied to examine for patterns or themes from which conclusions were drawn about the representation of China in both formal and enacted curricula. I then compared these conclusions to the findings in the analysis of the textbook, teaching plans, and students' essays.

Observations. The observational data collected from classroom instruction were taken and analyzed in the form of field notes, accompanied by the recording of the classroom discourse, with later transcription into Chinese and English text. The coding methods recommended by Miles, Huberman, and Saldaña (2014) were used to condense this data. Codes similar to the document and interview analysis were applied to “assign symbolic meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study” (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014, p. 71).

More importantly, to investigate how the actual curriculum is “enacted or realized by a particular teacher and class,” I examined the communication between instructors and students in the classroom through the perspective of discourse analysis (Cazden, 2001, p. 2). Cazden (2001) stated that “the spoken language is the medium by which much teaching takes place, and in which students demonstrate to teacher much of what they have learned” (p. 2). In short, discourse structure affected how the formal curriculum was transferred into the enacted curriculum.

Furthermore, “spoken language is an important part of the identities of all the participants” in the context of educational institutions (Cazden, 2001, p. 2). By investigating the classroom discourse, I could understand how the language used in

the classroom can “affect what counts as knowledge and what occurs as learning” (Cazden, 2001, p. 3). Since speech, which is the most basic form of classroom discourse, “unites the cognitive and the social” (p. 2), by investigating teachers and students’ communication in the classroom I could understand how they perceived the world. To scrutinize Chinese language instructors’ actual classroom instruction, I conducted a discourse analysis that provided more data of how a certain image of China was evoked in this Chinese language course, one of the central research questions of my study.

Coding. There are different coding approaches with particular functions and purposes (Miles et al., 2014). I found the following four approaches to be particularly useful for my research. 1) Descriptive coding was used to “assigns labels to data to summarize... the basic topic of a passage of qualitative data” (Miles et al., 2014, p. 74). 2) In Vivo coding was applied to use “words or short phrases from the participant’s own language in the data record as codes” (Miles et al., 2014, p. 74). 3) Emotion Coding was used to label “the emotions recalled and/or experienced by the participant or inferred by the researcher about the participant” (Miles et al., 2014, p.75). 4) Value Coding, which reflects “a participant’s values, attitudes, and beliefs, representing his or her perspectives or worldview” (Miles et al., 2014, p.75), was also employed.

These four approaches were used to conduct the first cycle coding that summarized segments of data. I determined which participant data were both congruent with and illustrative of my research interests: the representation of China

in the formal curriculum, enacted curriculum in a Chinese language program and how does this representation influence different groups of U.S. students' understanding of China and attitudes towards China. Conclusions drawn from the coded data of observation were compared to the document and interview data.

Following the advice of Miles and Huberman (1994, as cited in Levin, 2011), I further used coding combined with conceptualizations to reduce the large data set and created coding forms for each document, each interview transcript, and each observation. Finally, in this phase, I further reduced data by developing collective coding forms. As a second cycle method, pattern coding, was used to "group these summaries into a smaller number of categories" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 86) and to identify the "theme, configuration, or explanation" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 86). In other words, pattern coding organized the mass material from the first cycle coding into more meaningful, focused, and analyzable data (Miles et al., 2014).

In the second phase of analysis, I relied upon several techniques to generate findings. These techniques included noting the patterns, seeing the possibility, clustering, making contrasts/comparisons, and making conceptual/ theoretical coherences (Miles et al., 2014). The findings of this dissertation not only relied upon my own analysis of the data, but also developed from my personal observations. Theories led me to relate my findings to larger understandings of the representation of China in the formal curriculum, enacted curriculum in a Chinese language program and how this representation influences different groups of U.S. students' understanding of China and attitudes towards China.

CHAPTER FOUR: ESTABLISHING A POSITIVE IMAGE OF CHINA AND INSTILLING A POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS CHINA IN *A NEW CHINA*

Introduction

To investigate how the enacted curriculum in the Chinese language programs influence students' attitudes towards China, it is necessary to investigate their textbooks first because textbooks play a central role in designing and implementing the curriculum (Kramersch, 1987). Textbooks provide the essential materials for teaching and learning in the classroom and shape what legitimate knowledge is passed on to students (Apple, 1986). Foreign language textbooks are no exception (Kramersch, 1987). Textbook authors tend to provide the conventional and normative information about the target culture to the learners (Moore, 1991). To most language learners at the beginning level, the content in the textbook represents a true depiction of the target language and culture and therefore can be considered the authoritative source of information (Moore, 1991).

However, since no foreign language textbook can contain all the target culture, textbook authors have to decide what to include and what to exclude. Sometimes, the decisions are made based on marketing strategies. As Apple (1986) stated, standardized content is included in the textbook to guarantee it will be accepted by the most amount of buyers and be sold for the longest period. Sometimes, the decisions are made based on certain pedagogies, e.g. whether or not to include authentic materials (Koike, Kramersch & McConnell-Ginet, 1992). Sometimes, textbook authors' unique ideological inclinations in a certain historical

or social background can also affect the choice of target language materials. For example, faculty at Princeton University published a textbook that was full of political implications after the Tiananmen Square Protests of 1989, a textbook that was eventually censored by the Chinese government (Rosenthal, 2000). In other words, the content in the textbooks about the target country, its people's life, and its culture are inevitably selective, biased, subjective, incomplete, political, and ideological (Apple, 1986). Therefore, to investigate how the curriculum in a Chinese language program at Bison College affected their students' understandings of and attitudes towards China, it is essential to first analyze the Chinese language textbook they used: *A New China: An Intermediate Reader of Modern Chinese*.

This research found that, by often comparing China with the U.S. and contemporary China with China prior to the Chinese economic reform⁵, *A New China* (ANC) primarily provided positive images of China and also supported positive attitudes towards China. In this textbook, Beijing, the capital of China and one of the most developed cities in China, was often used to represent China. China was depicted as a country that has modern material conditions, a booming economy, a profound historical heritage, and rich cultural traditions. Chinese society is experiencing enormous change with the movement towards a progressive and Westernized social system and values. Chinese people have different living habits

⁵ The Chinese economic reform started in 1978 by reformists within the Communist Party of China, led by Deng Xiaoping. The success of China's economic policies and the manner of their implementation has resulted in immense changes in Chinese society.

from Americans while still living a prosperous and relaxing life. In ANC, some undesirable aspects of China were also mentioned, including relatively backward material conditions, uncivilized behaviors, and unenlightened political ideology. However, ANC advocated that readers should not look at China - its differences from the U.S. or its shortcomings - from a stereotypical or overly critical perspective. In fact, ANC offered a positive attitude towards China. In some lessons, ANC explicitly asserted that readers should acknowledge the differences between China and the U.S. with a pluralist multicultural perspective and recognize China's tremendous progress since its Chinese economic reform. In some lessons, the positive attitude towards China was very implicit, but became evident through comparing *A New China* and *A Trip to China* (ATC), which was the previous textbook compiled by the same authors. In fact, the differences between ANC and ATC facilitated my analysis of ANC.

The Basic Information of *A New China* as a Textbook

The Chinese language program at Princeton University first published *A New China* (ANC) in 1999 as a supplement to their previous intermediate level textbook *A Trip to China* (ATC), which was published in 1995 also by the Princeton University Press. The authors of ANC stated in the preface that, unlike ATC, which describes Chinese society in the early 1980s, ANC provides "up-to-date" material to reflect the rapid changes in China over the last two decades in the twentieth century. ANC was also further revised in 2010 to better reflect the enormous changes that Chinese society has experienced in the first decade of the twenty-first century. The following

textbook analysis was based on this 2010 revised edition since it was the textbook that was used in the second year Chinese language course at Bison College during the academic year of 2015-2016.

ANC is a huge textbook, with 48 lessons and 503 pages in total. As in other Chinese language textbooks compiled by Chinese language instructors at Princeton for the beginning and intermediate levels, the text of all the forty-eight lessons in ANC were written by Princeton instructors to meet students' language proficiency level and to introduce the vocabulary, grammar, and content the authors desired. No authentic Chinese language materials, such as menus, newspaper reports, or notes, were included in ANC. The format and content of ANC are pedagogically sound yet with few innovations. Unlike many other commonly used foreign language textbooks, this textbook is very linear and contains no images, pictures, multimedia resources, or cultural and communication tips. Each lesson in ANC is composed of text (either dialogues or readings, three to five pages), vocabulary lists (included on the same page as the text), grammar notes (three to seven pages), and exercises (two to three pages).

As the authors stated in the preface, just like *A Trip to China* (ATC), *A New China* "is written from the perspective of a foreign student who just arrived in China" (ANC, p. xv). Most of the lessons were given from the first person perspective of this student. Readers can figure out later from the clues in the text that it is in fact an American college student who studies Chinese in a summer intensive program in Beijing. The gender of this student is not obvious. Sometimes it seems to be a male

student (e.g. Lesson One mentions that he brings several pornographic magazines to China for his Chinese friends). Sometimes it is a female student (e.g. the dialogues in Lesson Two happen between a mother and her daughter, who calls her mother to report that everything in China is okay with her.) This textbook does not mention this American student's race or ethnicity at all.

As for the content of ANC, the first twenty lessons are closely connected to this American student's study abroad experiences, including his/her campus life and leisure activities. In these lessons, this so-called "new China" does not refer to particular aspects of China's actual government, country, culture, people, or society, but to a China that this American student experiences and observes in Beijing. More serious topics, such as China's politics, economy, and society, are presented in the following twenty-eight lessons. Those lessons, although most of them are still written in the first person perspective, explicitly present a new China that the authors believed American students should know and understand. The authors explained this arrangement in Lesson Forty-Seven, which was titled "Is *A New China* a Good Textbook?"

The design of this textbook is to teach everyday Chinese first, then gradually move to relatively more formal vocabulary. After learning from this textbook, not only am I able to talk about daily life with Chinese people, but I am also able to talk about relatively more serious topics, such as politics, economics, and transportation. (这本书的设计是先从日常用语开始, 渐渐地发展到比较正式的词汇。学了这本书以后, 我不但能和中国人讨论日常生活, 也能谈谈政治、经济、交通这些比较严肃的话题。) (ANC, p. 417)

To provide a full picture of ANC, the basic content of all forty-eight lessons of ANC are presented here. Lesson One "Arrived in Beijing" talks about this American

student's experience with customs at Beijing International Airport and his first impression of Beijing. Lesson Two is a telephone conversation between this American student and her mother, which is about the dormitory conditions at the host university in China. Lesson Three tells how this American student has to change his/her American habits (getting up late and taking a bath in the morning) to fit the class schedule and dormitory conditions at the host university in China. Lesson Four involves this student's experience at a local post office. In Lesson Five, this American student develops a health problem (diarrhea). Lesson Six has a similar topic with Lesson Three, but this time the Chinese habits are drinking hot water and taking a nap after lunch. Lesson Seven centers on washing clothes in the dormitory.

Starting from Lesson Eight, the topic of each text goes beyond this American student's campus life. Although the title of Lesson Eight is "getting haircut," it actually focuses on the change of barbershops in China. Lesson Nine consists of the student taking a taxi and exchanging money at a local bank. Lesson Ten depicts the American student's unsuccessful bargaining experience at an antique market. Lesson Eleven discusses how an American student can properly address a Chinese person. Lesson Twelve centers on the conditions of the restrooms in Beijing. From Lesson Thirteen to Lesson Sixteen, the topics focus on leisure activities. Lesson Thirteen is based on this American's opinions about traveling in China by train. Lesson Fourteen introduces Beijing residents' leisure activities at local parks. Lesson Fifteen depicts Beijing's night markets. The American student visits the

Beijing Zoo in Lesson Sixteen and the Great Wall in Lesson Seventeen. Lesson Eighteen showcases how an American student can say “no” politely in Chinese. Lesson Nineteen is regarding the table manners in China. Lesson Twenty teaches how to order dishes in a Chinese restaurant.

Starting from Lesson Twenty-One, although the American student is still the narrator, the focus of the texts shifts from introducing this American student’s life and experiences in Beijing to presenting a variety of more serious aspects about China. These topics involve China’s traffic, education, politics, economy, and social problems, which are not very common in an intermediate level Chinese language textbook. Lesson Twenty-One reveals the chaotic traffic order in China. Lesson Twenty-Two presented the development of the slogans and signs in China from a historical perspective. Lesson Twenty-Three discusses the Chinese government’s basic language policies to use standard spoken Chinese (Mandarin) and standard writing system (simplified Chinese characters). By discussing the topic of “Made in China,” Lesson Twenty-Four praises China’s contribution to the world’s economy. Lesson Twenty-Five discusses China’s gender equality and inequality. Lesson Twenty-Six drops these social, economic, and political topics and focuses on language, introducing several interesting Chinese idioms, common sayings, and proverbs. Lesson Twenty-Seven goes back to the macro topic, and talks about China’s economic reform. Lesson Twenty-Eight discusses the U.S.-China relations. Lesson Twenty-Nine elaborates the merits and the defects of the college entrance exam in China. Lesson Thirty is about China’s developing publishing enterprise.

Lesson Thirty-One discusses the language differences between the Mainland China and Taiwan. Lesson Thirty-Two connects the increasing divorce rate with the women's improving social status in China. Lesson Thirty-Three discusses Chinese people's new physical health problem (obesity) along with the economic growth. Lesson Thirty-Four presents the improvement of Chinese people's living standard in the last three decades of the twentieth century along with the Chinese economic reform. Lesson Thirty-Five discusses the differences between China and the U.S. on providing for the aged. Lesson Thirty-Six introduces the rapid development of China's transportation system. Lesson Thirty-Seven talks about the increasing use of cellphones and emails in the 1990s in China. Lesson Thirty-Eight advocates that China should adopt more liberal policies on sending Chinese students to study abroad. Lesson Thirty-Nine discusses the problem of lay-offs along with the economic reform. Lesson Forty presents the history and the development of Beijing as a city. Lesson Forty-One debates the advantages and disadvantages that are brought by the modernization. Lesson Forty-Two talks about Hong Kong and China's "one country, two systems" policy. Lesson Forty-Three praises the modernization of China and criticizes some Westerners' "nostalgia" about the old China. Lesson Forty-Four talks about the Chinese people's enthusiasm in learning English and the American students' enthusiasm in learning Chinese. Lesson Forty-Five talks about the differences between China and the U.S. in the contents of TV shows and in regulations that go along with them. Lesson Forty-Six is very interesting. It debates whether *A New China* only focuses on the bright sides of China; whether it is like

Chinese government's propaganda, and thus, whether it is a good language textbook. Lesson Forty-Seven introduces the concept of the Chinese Nation, which includes more than 50 minority ethnic groups and the Han Chinese. Lesson Forty-Eight advocates that the greatness of Chinese culture does not lie in its stability and immutability, but in its constant assimilation of new elements when engaged in cultural exchanges with foreign countries.

In short, the dialogues and readings of the first twenty lessons in ANC revolve around the American student's daily life, what he/she has seen and heard in China, and his/her opinions about it. The rest of the twenty-eight lessons focus on introducing more serious topics about China to American students, especially China's politics, society, and economy. This research focused on how the formal curriculum may affect students' understandings of and attitudes towards China at Bison College in the spring semester of the 2015-2016 academic year. During that period, twelve lessons were taught (from Lesson Nine to Lesson Twenty-One, except for Lesson Seventeen). To facilitate the instruction of new content in these twelve lessons, the first eight lessons (from Lesson One to Lesson Eight) were often referenced by both Professor Li and her teaching assistant, Ms. Wang. Therefore, the following textbook analysis mainly drew examples from the first twenty-one lessons to present the findings, though nine examples from the rest of the twenty-seven lessons were included.

The Positive Image of China in *A New China*

Previous studies have confirmed that, in foreign language textbooks, the depiction of the target nation is usually centered on the target nation's culture rather than its society, economy, politics, or other topics (Uber & Grosse, 1991; Kramsch, 1987). Though it is simply infeasible to portray a complete picture of China, Chinese people, Chinese society, or Chinese culture in an intermediate level Chinese language textbook, this research found that ANC, as its name indicated, reflects many of the social changes and improvements that China has experienced since the Chinese economic reform in the 1980s. Generally speaking, ANC presents a very positive image of a new China for its readers. In ANC, readers can not only see that China has a long history and a rich culture, but that China's economy and Chinese people's living conditions have improved by leaps and bounds. Influenced by the Western world, Chinese social system and values have become more and more progressive.

Modern Material Conditions

In ANC, the presentation of a positive image of China, especially China's modern material conditions, can be found in Lesson One, Lesson Two, and Lesson Nine. In Lesson One "Arriving in Beijing," the narrator (the American student) states that Beijing's modernization is beyond his expectation.

The first impression that Beijing gave me is that the customs is lax. It is not as strict as I thought. The highway from the airport to the city is both wide and flat, very modern. This Beijing and the ancient one I had imagined are completely different. (北京给我的第一个印象是海关的检查很松, 没有我想

的那么严。从机场到城里的高速公路又宽又平，非常现代化。这和我想象中古老的北京完全不同。) (ANC, p.3)

Readers can also find this unexpected modern material condition in Lesson Two “Call Mom.” In Lesson Two, this American student talks about the dormitory conditions at the host university in China with her mother over the phone

Mother: ... Does the dorm have an air conditioner?

Daughter: Yes. We not only have air-conditioning, but also a color TV, a telephone, and a private bathroom.

Mother: These kinds of conditions are even better than your dorm in America! Daughter: Yes! And we even have someone to change the towels, to make beds, and to clean the room for us every day!

Mother: This place sounds just like a hotel...

(母:, 宿舍里有空调吗?)

女: 有。不但有空调, 还有电视、电话、热水和自己的浴室呢!

母: 这样的条件比你在美国的宿舍还好嘛!

女: 是啊! 每天还有人给我们换毛巾、整理床铺、打扫房间呢!

母: 这听起来简直像个旅馆.....) (ANC, pp. 12-13)

In this short conversation, readers learn that the dormitory conditions at the host university in China exceed the expectations of this American student and her mother.

Lesson Nine “Going to the Bank to Exchange Money” also mentions Chinese people’s modern living conditions in regard to transportation. Lesson Nine has two conversations. The first conversation happens between this American student and a taxi driver on the student’s way to the bank. When this American student complains about the traffic jam in Beijing, the taxi driver explains that,

There are more and more cars in Beijing in recent years. Many people bought private cars, but the construction of the roads cannot catch up with the increase of the cars. The traffic jams get more serious by the day. (最近几年

，北京的汽车越来越多，许多人都买了私家车，可是北京道路的发展却赶不上汽车的增加，所以交通堵塞就一天比一天严重了。) (ANC, p. 79)

These three examples above present China's modern materials conditions from the perspective of this American student. In these three lessons readers can see that this new China, represented by Beijing, is very modern. The highway from the airport to the city is both wide and flat. The dormitory conditions at this Chinese university are even better than an American university. More and more people buy private cars.

A Booming Economy

ANC also presents the reason behind these modern material conditions: China's booming economy, which is without a doubt the most positive image of China that is acknowledged by the world. Lesson Twenty-Four "Made in China" explains China's important role in the world economic system using plain language.

People often say that China is the biggest market in the world, it actually is also the biggest factory in the world. Nowadays many clothes, shoes, suitcases, furniture and household appliances are all made in China. Their prices are not high and the quality is good. This is mainly because China has abundant resources, cheaper labor force, and a stable society. Therefore, many big American corporations set up their factories in China... The Open Door policy in China not only improved Chinese people's living standard, it also brought a certain degree of contribution to the world economic development. (人们常说中国是世界上最大的市场，其实中国也是世界上最大的工厂。现在美国许多衣服、鞋子、箱子、家具和家用电器都是在中国制造的，价钱便宜，质量也很好。这主要是因为中国既有丰富的资源，又有比较廉价的劳动力和安定的社会，所以许多美国大公司都把工厂设在中国.....中国的改革开放政策不但提高了中国人的生活水平，对全世界的经济发展也做出了一定的贡献。) (ANC, pp. 219-221)

Lesson Twenty-Seven “Iron Rice Bowl’ is Broken” contains similar content. This lesson introduces China’s increasingly vibrant and open economy as well as its economic connections with foreign countries, especially with the U.S. It also implies that learning Chinese can help students increase their competitive advantage in the job market.

There are more and more foreign companies setting up branches in Beijing. From airplanes to computers, from telephones to fast food, almost all big American corporations have offices in Beijing. These companies provide many job opportunities to Beijingers as well as to the foreigners in Beijing. This time I come to Beijing; on the one hand is to improve my Chinese; meanwhile also want to find a job. A few years ago, it was difficult for foreigners to find a job in Beijing, but nowadays it has become quite common. I have quite a few friends that found ideal jobs in Beijing. (在北京设立办事处的外国公司越来越多了。从飞机到计算机，从电话到快餐，美国的大公司在北京几乎都有办公室。这些公司为北京人也为在北京的外国人提供了许多工作机会。这次我来北京，一方面是为了提高我的汉语水平，同时也想找个工作。外国人在北京找工作，几年前还很困难，现在已经是很平常的事了，我有几个朋友都在北京找到了理想的工作。) (ANC, pp. 219-221)

Profound Historical Heritage

Besides the modern material conditions and the booming economy, ANC also covers China’s profound historical heritage, which is a common topic in Chinese language textbooks. After all, China is famous for its long history of civilization. For example, Lesson Thirteen “Taking Trains,” which is about this American student’s weekend trip by train, mentions two famous historical monuments and tourist attractions.

Having lived in the U.S. for over ten years, I have never been on a long distance train. When traveling to faraway places, I either take a plane or drive. After coming to China, not even three weeks yet, I unexpectedly have already been on a long distance train twice. One of the two was a trip to

Chengde to visit the Imperial Summer Residence, and the other was a trip to Shangxi Datong to see the Yungang Caves. (在美国生活了十几年，我从来没坐过长途火车；到远处去旅行，不是坐飞机就是开车。来了中国以后，不到三个星期，居然已经做了两次长途火车了。一次是到承德去参观避暑山庄，另一次是去山西大同看云冈石窟。) (ANC, p. 121)

Though Lesson Fourteen “Beijing’s Parks” claims that foreign students cannot see Beijing residents’ daily lives in famous tourist attractions, it still mentions those places.

Chinese or foreign tourists who come to Beijing tend to only go to visit several famous scenery spots, such as the Palace Museum, the Summer Palace and the Great Wall. Actually, when going to these places, not only because the admission tickets are very expensive, but also because there are always huge crowds of people, one definitely cannot see the daily lives of the Beijing people. There are many small parks inside Beijing City. There is no famous ancient architecture there; nor are there any magnificent decorations. (到北京来的中外游客往往只去参观几个有名的经典，像故宫、颐和园、长城这些地方。其实到这些地方去，不但门票很贵，而且任何时候都是人山人海，是看不到北京人的日常生活的。) (ANC, p. 127)

As its title suggests, Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets” centers on Beijing’s night markets, but this lesson also discusses the history of Houhai, the most famous night market in Beijing:

Houhai is a lake and it used to be the emperor’s garden. After the Republic of China was built in 1912, the Imperial Gardens in Beijing were open to the public one by one and the general public could get in. Houhai at night is particularly beautiful and the bars on the bank and the boats in the lake are all lit with neon lights. There are also people singing on the boats. (后海是一个湖，原来是皇帝的花园，1912年中华民国成立以后，北京的皇家花园都一个一个地开放了，老百姓也能进去了。晚上的后海特别漂亮，岸上的酒吧和湖里的游船都亮起了霓虹灯，还有人在船上唱歌。) (ANC, p. 135)

Lessons Seventeen focuses on one of the most famous symbols of China: The Great Wall.

The Great Wall is the symbol of China, just like the Statue of Liberty is the symbol of America. Anyone who has ever seen pictures of the Great Wall knows that it represents China. The Great Wall is not only the most famous historical monument in China, but also a miracle in the architectural history of human beings. The Great Wall was built on the mountains. According to a Beijing teacher, the Great Wall was initially built during the era of Qin ShiHuang. Later on, every dynasty did maintenance and made repairs. In the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644), there was large scale extension. What we now see is mostly the Great Wall built in the Ming Dynasty, not the original architecture of the Qin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.). (万里长城是中国的象征，就像自由女神像是美国的象征一样。任何人看到万里长城的照片儿，都知道它代表中国。万里长城不但是中国最有名的历史建筑，也是人类建筑史上的奇迹。长城是建在山上的。据一位北京的老师说，长城是秦始皇时代开始建的，后来每个朝代都做了些维护和修理的工作。到了明代（1368-1644），又有大规模的加建。我们现在看到的大多是明代的长城，并不是秦代（221-206 B.C.）原来的建筑。) (ANC, pp. 153-155)

Though ANC does not have a particular lesson to celebrate China's great ancient history, the introduction of China's colorful history is still scattered in different lessons oriented around the American student's leisure activities. This might exemplify that China's profound historical heritage is ubiquitous.

Rich Cultural Traditions

When teaching Chinese language, a textbook cannot possibly avoid teaching Chinese culture. Many lessons in ANC also showcase China's unique and rich cultural traditions. Lesson Nineteen "At the Dining Table" depicts Chinese people's table etiquette, especially how to arrange the seats, show hospitality, and pay for the bill in a restaurant.

Chinese people pay attention to the arranging of the seats on a dining table. However, the seats of the guests are not decided by the host, but by everybody's agreement. If one is very young, and does not hold a high position, it is very inappropriate to have him take the seat of honor.... In order to show hospitality, Chinese hosts often urge the guests to eat and

drink, which means they repeatedly ask their guests to eat and drink more.... In the restaurant, one can often see people fighting over the bill. To Americans, that is new but also weird. However, for Chinese to see American go Dutch after a meal, it certainly makes them feel awkward as well. (中国人很讲究饭桌上座位的安排，但是客人的座位并不是主人决定的，而是大家推让出来的。要是你的年纪很轻，地位又不高，坐在上座是很不合适的.....为了表示热情，中国主人常常劝菜劝酒，也就是一再地请客人多吃菜多喝酒.....在饭馆儿里，还经常可以看到抢着付账的情形。这对美国人来说，是很新鲜也是很奇怪的。当然，美国人吃完了饭各付各的，中国人也觉得挺不习惯的。) (ANC, pp. 171-174)

Lesson Twenty "Order Dishes" teaches China's extensive eating culture by focusing on the variety of special local flavors.

Before coming to Beijing, I thought all Chinese dishes are about the same. Only after I got to Beijing did I realize that each province has its own different distinct flavor. For example, Chuan food and Xiang food are spicier while Jiang Zhe food is sweeter. Chinese people's dining habits are actually not the same either. Generally speaking, Northerners prefer to eat wheat-based food. The staple foods they often eat include: steamed buns, steamed stuffed buns, dumplings, noodles and such. Southerners' staple food is mostly rice. I like rice very much, but I really can't get used to porridge and gruel. Beijing has restaurants from all over China. For me, choosing a restaurant is very difficult. It's because from the signs I often cannot tell what kind of food they sell. They call Hunan food "Xiang Dish" and Guangdong food "Yue Dish" while the Shangdong restaurant offers "Qi Lu style food." For a foreigner, it is already not easy to remember the names of the Chinese provinces. For the sake of choosing the right restaurants, I also need to memorize the abbreviated names of many provinces, which makes it even more difficult. (来北京以前，我以为中国菜都差不多。到了北京以后才发现各省有不同的风味儿。比方说，川菜和湘菜比较辣，江浙菜比较甜。中国人的饮食习惯也并不完全一样。一般说来北方人比较喜欢面食。他们常吃的主食有馒头，包子，饺子，面条这些东西。南方人的主食大多是米饭，米饭我很喜欢，但是稀饭和粥，我真是吃不惯。北京有中国各地的饭馆儿。选择饭馆儿对我来说很不容易。因为从招牌上我常常看不出来卖的到底是什么菜。他们把湖南菜叫做湘菜，广东菜叫做粤菜，山东馆子是齐鲁风味儿。对一个外国人来说，要记得中国省名已经很不容易了，为了选择合适的饭馆，我还得记住许多省名的简称，这就更难了。) (ANC, pp. 182-184)

Unlike many other Chinese language textbooks that are supported by the Chinese government's funds, ANC does not deliberately promote China's long history, splendid culture, or ancient civilization. However, readers can still find similar positive messages about the cultural image of China in this textbook, as the above examples indicate. Scholars highlighted that these cultural points of China often can generate foreign students' interests in learning the language and in discovering the country (Chen, 2012; Sun 2009).

Progressive Social System and Values

This research found that the depiction of the positive image of China in ANC is also accomplished by giving prominence to the enormous progress that Chinese society has experienced since the Chinese economic reform in the 1980s. In ANC, readers can discover that, along with economic development and more frequent communication with other countries and regions, such as the U.S., Taiwan and Hong Kong, China's social system and social values have become increasingly Westernized, which is represented as positive.

For instance, Lesson Eight "Hair Cutting" centers on this American student trying to get his/her haircut near campus after he/she came to Beijing for more than three weeks. But instead of introducing the necessary Chinese vocabulary or sentences for haircutting in China, such as "Xiujian" (trim) or "Dabao" (thin out), ANC focuses on how this American student reflects that the barbershop in contemporary China is different from his/her expectations. This American student first realizes that the Chinese word for barbershop (Lifadian) that he/she is familiar

with is no longer used in China, which might be the word he/she learned in Chinese courses in the U.S. The outdated word barbershop (Lifadian) now is replaced by more modern terms, such as hair salon (Falang) or hairdressing salon (Meifaguan).

There are many barbershops near the school. Some are called hair salon, some are called hairdressing salon, but none is called barbershop. (学校附近的理发店很多, 有的叫发廊, 有的叫美发馆, 就是没有叫理发店的。) (ANC, p. 69)

This American student then explains that the foreign country's influence on China is behind the name change.

It is said that the name barbershop is too "rustic." "Hair salon" or "hairdressing salon" is more foreign style. It seems that Chinese people prefer a little bit of foreign style in their clothing and appearance. "Foreign" means foreign country, and is opposite to "rustic." The mannequins in clothing shops and the pictures in barbershops in China are all foreigners. I find it very interesting. (据说理发店的字太"土"了, "发廊"或者"美发馆"就洋气得多。中国人在服装和容貌上似乎都喜欢带点儿"洋气"。"洋"就是外国, 跟"土"相反。中国服装店里的模特儿和理发店里的照片儿, 都是外国人, 我看了觉得很有趣。) (ANC, pp. 69-70)

In ANC, the description of the rustic "barbershop" becoming the more stylish "hairdressing salon" exemplifies the improvement of specific aspects of material life that are influenced by foreign culture. Lesson Eleven "Comrade, Miss, and Mr." discusses China's social progress on a more abstract level. Lesson Eleven illustrates how to properly address a Chinese person. The text is written with the strategy of combining the comparisons of "New China vs. Old China" and "China vs. the U.S." Lesson Eleven first introduces the term of "comrade," which is the old way to address a Chinese person before the economic reform.

As long as foreigners who come to China learn the word “comrade,” they can address any Chinese person. This situation lasts for about forty years after 1949. Whether male or female, old or young, acquaintance or stranger, you may call all of them “comrade.” I like this term very much, because it didn’t differentiate gender or age and everybody is equal. (1949 年以后，大约有 40 年的时间，到中国来的外国人只要学会“同志”这两个字，就可以称呼所有的中国人。无论是男的还是女的，老的还是年轻的，认识的还是陌生的，都可以叫他们“同志”。我很喜欢这个称呼，因为不分男女老少，大家都平等。) (ANC, p. 100)

ANC then shows that Chinese people now use the same terms as the Western world to address each other.

But since the launch of the Open Door policy, people stopped using this term gradually. The term “male comrade” has become “Mr.,” and “female comrade” has become “Miss” and “Ms.” It’s said that this is influenced by usages in Taiwan, Hong Kong, and overseas. (但是改革开放以后，这个用了几十年的称呼渐渐没有人用了。以前的“男同志”成了“先生”，“女同志”成了“小姐”或“女士”。据说这是受了台湾、香港和海外的影响。) (ANC, p. 101)

This is a very typical example that symbolizes the process of change in Chinese communist revolutionary discourse. By comparing with the old China, ANC presents an image of a new China, one that increasingly resembles the Western world. This Westernization of China indicates that China is moving towards a society with a progressive social system and values. It is also worth noting that, even when Lesson Eleven presents a positive image of China through comparing this new China with the old China, the text does not really hold a strongly negative attitude towards the old red communist China. The text leads the readers to look at the bright side of this special communist term: comrade. The text states that this term is not only convenient for American students to learn but also exemplifies equality across age, class, and gender.

Similar examples of the evolution of certain terms can also be identified in Lesson Thirty-One “Airen (spouse), Husband, and Wife,” which regards the language differences between Mainland China and Taiwan. This lesson uses the term of “Airen (spouse)” as an example.

Ever since the end of eighties of the 20th century when Mainland China and Taiwan started communications, the differences between the languages across the strait have been a topic for discussion.... For example, people in Taiwan or overseas Chinese use “xiansheng” and “taitai” to mean “husband” and “wife.” However, from 1949 to the launch of the Open Door policy, people from Mainland China just used the word “airen” (spouse). “Airen” can be “husband,” but it can also be “wife.” (自从二十世纪八十年代末期，中国大陆和台湾有了来往以后，海峡两岸语言上的不同就成了大家讨论的话题....譬如在台湾和海外的中国人用“先生、太太”来表示“husband and wife”。1949年到改革开放之前，大陆人只说“爱人”。“爱人”可以是先生，也可以是太太。) (ANC, pp. 278-279)

Just as with the term “comrade” in Lesson Eleven, the term “Airen” (spouse) also belongs to the red communist revolutionary discourse. Again, by comparing China before and after the Chinese economic reform, this lesson not only confirms that the language “differences will definitely diminish with the increase of contact between people from both sides of the Taiwan strait (这些不同一定会随着两岸人民交往的增加而渐渐减少的)” (ANC, p. 281), but also establishes a progressive image of China that is moving closer towards Western discourse. Moreover, similar to Lesson Eleven, Lesson Thirty-One’s attitudes toward the old China are still very tolerant. It guides the readers to discover the merits contained in this old red communist term, “airen” (spouse), from the perspective of gender equality,

In fact, from the perspective of gender equality, the phrase “airen” is actually a good one. Why does Miss Wang have to become Mrs. Zhang after she

marries Mr. Zhang? Why can't Mr. Zhang become Mr. Wang? (其实从男女平等的角度来看，爱人这个词儿是很好的，为什么王小姐跟张先生结了婚就一定得变成张太太儿，而张先生不能变成王先生呢?) (ANC, p. 279)

Lesson Twenty-Two "Study Well, Make Progress Everyday" also presents a progressive image of China that gradually shifts from emphasizing communist politics to growing the economy and cultivating more civilized citizens. This lesson investigates the development of slogans and signs in China from a historical perspective. It states that, "in China, one can see all kinds of slogans everywhere. Some of them teach people how to be an upright person; others teach people how to do things. (在中国到处都能看到各种各样的标语，有的教人怎么做人，有的教人怎么做事。)" (ANC, p. 200). The first example is a well-known slogan that was proposed by Chinaman Mao.

There is an elementary school near our school. At the main gate of the elementary school there is a big sign. On the sign there are eight big characters that written by Chairman Mao. It says "Study Well, Make Progress Everyday." Probably every single Chinese elementary school student knows this sentence. (学校附近有一所小学，小学的大门口儿有一块很大的牌子，上面有毛主席写的八个大字：“好好学习，天天向上”。大概每个中国小学生都知道这句话。) (ANC, pp. 200)

This lesson then introduces that slogans in China have gradually changed along with the development of society.

Compared with the sixties and the seventies of the 20th century, nowadays the political slogans have decreased drastically, while the commercial advertisement has increased. There is a fundamental difference between a slogan and an advertisement. Slogans mostly carry political or moral meanings, such as the ones at the Tian An Men Square, which said "Long Live the People's Republic of China" "Long Live the World's People Union" or the ones that are often seen, such as "Serve the people" "Learn from Lei Feng." Each slogan carries a certain type of moral lesson, while the advertisement

only gives you information, and carries no moral lesson whatsoever. (和二十世纪六、七十年代比，现在政治性的标语大大地减少了，而商业性的广告却增加了。标语和广告有个基本的不同：标语大多带着政治或道德的意义，像天安门前的“中华人民共和国万岁；世界人民大团结万岁”，或者像经常看到的“为人民服务”、“学习雷锋”等等。每个标语都带着一定的“教训”，而广告告诉你“信息”，并没有什么教训的意味。) (ANC, pp. 201-202)

Lesson Twenty-Two also emphasizes that slogans in China are now more about cultivating better behaved citizens.

Recently the government has put forward a new slogan, which is “Stress civilization, Establish new practice.” It means to ask people to get rid of some bad habits, such as spitting on the ground, not lining up, randomly throwing garbage, and carelessly parking bicycles, etc. (前几年政府在全国提出的一个新标语是“讲文明，树新风”，意思是要大家改掉生活中一些不好的习惯，像随地吐痰、不排队、乱扔垃圾、随便停放自行车等等。) (ANC, pp. 202-203)

In ANC, the progressive social system and values that Chinese society has experienced is not limited to the political realm, but is also reflected in the economic system. Lesson Twenty-Seven “‘Iron Rice Bowl’ is Broken” focuses on China’s changes in economic realm.

In the past, Chinese college graduates relied on their schools to assign jobs for them, but now they have to find jobs by themselves. For the past few years, the Open Door policy not only promoted economic development in China but also gradually changed the concept of the “iron rice bowl.” Although the system of the “iron rice bowl” provided secure jobs for everyone, it also reduced competition in all walks of life. Nowadays, young people in China all realize that only by working hard can they bring success to themselves. “Iron Rice Bowl” and “Big Pot Rice” are no longer the characteristics of China. (从前中国的大学毕业生都是靠学校为他们分配工作，现在他们也得自己找工作了。改革开放的政策不但促进了中国的经济发展，也渐渐打破了“铁饭碗”的观念。“铁饭碗”的制度虽然为大家提供了稳定的工作，但是却减少了各行各业的竞争。现在中国的年轻人都已经认识到只有努力工作才能为自己带来成功。“铁饭碗”、“大锅饭”已经不再是中国的特色了。) (ANC, p. 244)

The “Iron Rice Bowl” (铁饭碗) is a Chinese term used to refer to an occupation with guaranteed job security, steady income, and benefits. Traditionally, people considered to have “iron rice bowls” include military personnel, members of the civil service, and employees of various state run enterprises. The “Big Pot Rice” (大锅饭) is a negative Chinese term used to refer to socialist equalitarianism, where everyone gets an equal share regardless of the work done. As the text indicates before the Chinese economic reform, the “Iron Rice Bowl” and “Big Pot Rice” reflect the typical socialist economic practices regarding Chinese people’s work and salary, practices that seriously impede China’s economic development. Lesson Twenty-Seven tells the readers that China is reforming its own socialist economic system. Though the term “capitalism” is not explicitly mentioned in the texts, both Lesson and Lesson Twenty-Seven implicitly conveyed a pro-capitalist content in representing China, which is another aspect of a “pro-Western” ideology.

The progressive social values of this new China in ANC also emphasize gender equality, which is the topic of Lesson Twenty-Five “Afraid of Wife” and Lesson Thirty-Two “Divorce.” Lesson Twenty-Five aims to shatter the myth that Chinese women and girls have a low social status. It first admits that,

In Chinese history, there has always been a tradition of regarding men as superior to women. So most parents like boys, and do not like girls. The phenomenon of preferring boys to girls is still very common in rural areas of China. (中国历史上一向有重男轻女的传统，所以父母大多喜欢生男孩儿，而不喜欢生女孩儿。这种重男轻女的现象在中国农村还相当普遍。) (ANC, p. 226)

It even implicitly criticizes this backward value, which has caused people abandon girls: “Therefore, the children that foreigners adopt are almost all girls, not boys. (所以外国人收养的中国孩子几乎都是女孩儿，没有男孩儿。)” (ANC, p. 226).

However, Lesson Twenty-Five also emphasizes that Chinese women and girls’ social status is not as low as foreigners imagine it to be. It says that,

On one hand, China has a tradition of regarding men as superior to women, but, on the other hand, China has a tradition of a domineering wife. (中国人一方面有中那轻女的传统，另一方面又有怕老婆的传统。) (ANC, p. 226)

After introducing a long Chinese joke of a henpecked husband, this lesson concludes that,

There are a lot of jokes like this. Although this is just a joke, it also reflects Chinese family life. In general, in family life, women tend to dominate. Most of the monthly pay of the husband would be handed over to and handled by the wife. Foreigners cannot see this most of the time. They think that Chinese women are always subject to male oppression. In fact, women have a powerful side. (像这样的笑话很多。这虽然只是个笑话，但也反映了中国人的家庭生活。一般来说，在家庭生活里，女人往往占主导地位。先生每月的工资，大多交给太太，由太太来处理。外国人常常看不到这一点，以为中国女人总是受男人压迫，其实女人也有厉害的一面。) (ANC, pp. 227-228)

If the theme of progressing values of gender equality in Lesson Twenty-Five is slightly implicit, Lesson Thirty-Two “Divorce” directly applauds the improving social and economic status of Chinese women. It first states that,

The increase of people getting divorced indeed caused some social problems. But instead of saying that the moral standards are dropping, it may well be that women’s position in society is improving.... In the past women completely relied on men financially. If divorced, they will lose the safety net of their lives, so even if the love is gone, the marriage still has to continue. (离婚人数的增加的确造成了一些社会问题。但是与其说这是道德水平的下降，不如说是妇女地位的提高.....以前女人在经济上完全依靠男人。如果离了婚

，她们就失去了生活的保障；所以即使没有爱情，婚姻还是得维持下去。) (ANC, pp. 288-289)

Lesson Thirty-Two continues to tell the readers that things have improved a lot in the new China,

It is not like this anymore. In some households, the wife's income is even higher than the husband's. If there is no more love between the couple, they don't have to tolerate it anymore. Moreover, nowadays the relationships between couples are more and more open, and also more and more equal, and thus the possibilities of extramarital affairs have largely increased. Therefore, in my opinion, the increase of people getting divorced shows that Chinese women have more freedom in marriage. (现在可不是这样了。有的家庭里，妻子的收入比丈夫还高。要是夫妻之间没有爱情，他们不必再忍受下去。再说，现在男女的交往越来越公开，越来越平等，发生婚外关系的可能也就大大地增加了。因此，在我看来，离婚人数的增多正说明中国妇女有了更多的婚姻自由。) (ANC, pp. 289-290)

The aforementioned seven examples indicate how ANC represents a changing image of China for its readers; an image that moves towards more a Westernized social system and values. Specifically, in these examples, readers can see that with the Chinese economic reform, China's previous revolutionary discourse is replaced by more Westernized ideology. China's socialist economic system is then understood as a system moving towards a market competition mechanism, which is one of the fundamental features of capitalism. Chinese women have gained more freedom in marriage, and gained higher statuses in society, along with increased economic independence, which is a typical aspect of Western ideology. All these changes collectively represent the pro-Western and pro-capitalist ideology of ANC. By selecting these examples of change as the representations of China, ANC presents

that China is familiar and very much like any other Western nation, and becoming more so every day.

Chinese People Have Different Living Habits from Americans

As an intermediate Chinese language textbook that is written for American college students, ANC naturally makes a lot of comparisons between China and the U.S. to establish the image of China. Limited by student language proficiency, these comparisons mainly focus on Chinese people's daily life. ANC highlights that Chinese people have many different living habits from Americans. For instance, Lesson Three "Getting Up Early and Taking Shower" depicts how this American student adjusts himself/herself to Chinese people's habits: getting up early and taking baths in the evening. This text begins with a new and bizarre thing he/she encounters in China.

After I arrived in Beijing, my class begins as early as 7:30am. I am not really used to it. (到了北京以后，早上七点半就开始上课，我真不习惯。)(ANC, p. 24)

The text then states it is different from American habits.

I went to college in the U.S., but I have never gotten up so early. I was often late even for 9 o'clock class, not to mention the 7:30 class. (我在美国上大学，从来没有这么早起来过。九点钟的课还常常迟到，更不用说七点半的课了。)(ANC, p. 24)

Following three paragraphs about getting up early, Lesson Three uses one relatively long paragraph to discuss another different living habit: taking baths. Again, this paragraph starts with the new thing that this student encounters in China.

Only after I arrived in Beijing did I learn that, besides getting up early, Chinese people are also accustomed to taking a bath in the evening. (除了早起以外，中国晚上洗澡的习惯也是我到了北京以后才发现的。) (ANC, pp. 25-26)

It then compares this new discovery with the typical American's habit.

Generally speaking, Americans often take baths in the morning, but Chinese like to take baths at the night. Therefore, the student dormitory in China usually provides hot water after the dinner time and before the bed time. (一般来说，美国人经常早上洗澡，中国人却喜欢在晚上洗澡，所以中国的学生宿舍多半儿是在晚饭以后、睡觉以前提供热水。) (ANC, p. 26)

Lesson Six "Taking a Nap after Lunch and Drinking Hot Water" introduces an additional two different living habits that this American student is initially not used to in China. The first one is taking a nap after lunch.

Most Chinese people like to take a nap after lunch. When I first came to Beijing, I was really not used to it. How could you sleep during the day? Isn't it wasting too much time? (中国人多半儿在中饭以后睡个午觉。刚到北京的时候，我很不习惯。怎么白天睡觉呢？不是太浪费时间了吗?) (ANC, p. 54)

The second one is drinking hot water.

Generally speaking, Chinese people like to drink hot tea. They rarely drink iced water. For me, to drink hot water in the summer is almost torture! (一般说来中国人喜欢喝热茶，很少喝冰水。夏天喝热水，对我来说，简直是受罪！) (ANC, pp. 54-55)

Lesson Eight "Hair Cutting" mentions that tipping is not mandatory or expected in China: "compared to America, getting a haircut in Beijing is much cheaper and one doesn't need to tip (和美国比起来，在北京理发便宜得多，而且不必给小费。)" (ANC, p. 71).

Lesson Thirteen “Taking A Train,” which talks about this American student’s travel experience in China, also mentions a new situation that this American student has never experienced in the U.S.

I have been living in the U.S. for a dozen years, but I have never taken long-distance train. When I travel to distant places, I either ride a plane or drive a car. I have taken long-distance trains twice in less than three weeks since I have come to China. (在美国生活了十几年，我从来没坐过长途火车。到远处去旅行，不是坐飞机就是开车。来了中国以后，不到三个星期，居然已经做了两次长途火车了。) (ANC, p. 121)

Chinese People Live a Prosperous and Relaxing Life

ANC not only showcases that Chinese people have many living habits that differ from American people, but it also depicts Chinese people’s lifestyle from a positive perspective. ANC does not target Chinese people’s busy life or stressful work, but mainly focuses on Chinese people’s affluent and comfortable leisure life. For instance, Lesson Eight “Hair Cutting” portrays the thoughtful service that one can receive at the barbershop in China.

The barber shop that I went to last week was called a hair salon. The facilities are very modern and the service was thoughtful. In addition to haircut, hair-washing and shaving, they also asked me if I wanted a massage and nail-trimming. It didn’t occur to me that a hair salon would provide a massage service. (上星期我去的那家理发店，叫做发廊，设备很现代化，服务也很周到。除了理发、洗头和刮胡子以外，他们还问我要不要按摩，剪手指甲，我没有想到理发店里还有按摩的服务。) (ANC, pp. 70-71)

Lesson Fourteen “Beijing’s Parks” describes the carefree side of the lives of the Beijing residents in small parks.

There are many small parks inside Beijing City. There is no famous ancient architecture there; nor are there any magnificent decorations. However, they are good places for Beijing citizens to have recreational activities. In the early

morning, there are many people working out there. Some are jogging, some are dancing, some are doing Taichi, some are playing badminton, and even some are taking a stroll with their caged birds. When the dusk comes, one can see many people playing chess, relaxing in cool places and chatting there. Once it gets dark, the park turns out to be an excellent place for lovers to have some quality time.... The summer in Beijing is both muggy and humid. These small parks provide a good place for busy Beijing people to go for rest. (北京城里有许多小公园儿，那儿没有有名的古代建筑，也没有华丽的装饰，可是却是北京市民休闲的好地方。早晨有许多人在那儿锻炼：有的跑步，有的跳舞，有的打太极拳，有的打羽毛球，还有人遛鸟儿。到了傍晚，可以看到许多人在那儿下棋、乘凉和聊天儿。天黑以后，公园又成了恋人们谈恋爱的地方..... 北京的夏天又闷热又潮湿，这些小公园为忙碌的北京人提供了休息的好去处。) (ANC, pp. 127-129)

Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road” provides two more unique places where Beijing residents are able to decompress besides the small parks.

There are many overhead bridges and underground passes in Beijing. In summer at dusk, the overhead bridges are also the places where people stay cool and play chess or cards. Sometimes there are even vendors selling stuff there. Overhead bridges and underground passes are special street scenes of Beijing. (北京的天桥和地下通道很多。夏天的傍晚，天桥也是人们乘凉、下棋、打牌的地方，有时甚至有小摊卖东西。过街天桥和地下通道是北京一个特殊的街景。) (ANC, pp. 193-194)

Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets” introduces two night markets in Beijing. One is by the famous lake, Houhai, where tourists often go.

There are often night markets on the major and minor streets in Beijing. I really like to go to these night markets as you can see Beijing people’s daily life there. Some famous night markets, such as the bars in Houhai, are the places that tourists often go to. At night after 8 or 9 PM, it is extremely lively there. Thousands of tourists come to Houhai. Some come to drink, some come to sing, some come to spend time with their lovers, and some come to take a walk. At first I didn’t really know what the word “rènào” means. Only after I came to Houhai, I got to understand what “rènào” really is.... Houhai at night is particularly beautiful and the bars on the bank and the boats in the lake are all lit with neon lights. There are also people singing on the boats. (

北京的大街小巷里常有夜市，我最喜欢去逛这些夜市，在夜市，里可以看到北京人的日常生活。有名的夜市，像后海的酒吧，是观光客常去的地方。到了晚上八、九点钟以后，那儿热闹极了。成千上万的游客到了后海，有的来喝酒，有的来唱歌儿，有的来谈恋爱，也有的来散步。本来我不太懂“热闹”这个词儿的意思，来了后海以后，我才知道了什么是“热闹”……晚上的后海特别漂亮，岸上的酒吧和湖里的游船都亮起了霓虹灯，还有人在船上唱歌儿。) (ANC, p. 134)

The other one is an ordinary night market near a college campus:

The night market that I go to most often is the one that is not far from school. There are all kinds of snacks over there. Because the weather is too hot, many guys don't wear shirts and talk loudly drinking their beers. Although I don't understand what they are talking about I can tell that this is a very relaxing side of the Beijing people's life. (我最常去的是离学校不远的一个小夜市，在那儿有各种各样的小吃。因为天气太热，许多男人都不穿上衣，大声的说话，喝啤酒。虽然我听不懂他们在谈什么，但是我看得出，这是北京老百姓生活里很轻松的一面。) (ANC, pp. 135-136)

Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo” contains a similar topic. Though this lesson mainly centers on descriptions of different lovely animals in Beijing Zoo, some sentences in it also reflect Chinese people's happy life. For example,

Beijing Zoo is not far from the school. It took us less than half an hour to get there by bus. Because it was a weekend, there was a huge crowd of people.... Many parents brought their children to the zoo. Due to the one-child per family policy, I see quite often that parents and grandparents, four people together, take care of one child. I was really worried that the child will be spoiled. (北京动物园离学校不远，我们坐了不到半小时的公交车就到了，因为是周末参观的人真是人山人海……动物园里有许多父母带着孩子来参观，由于一家一个孩子的政策，我常常看到父母和祖父母四个人一起照顾一个孩子。我真担心那个孩子会被惯坏。) (ANC, pp. 142-145)

The aforementioned examples demonstrate that when ANC presents Chinese people to readers, on one hand, it states that Chinese people have some different living habits from American people. On the other hand, ANC also highlights that

Chinese people, represented by Beijing residents, enjoy a peaceful and happy life in small parks, night markets, and zoos with their friends, lovers, and families. One image of China that readers can get from these examples is how similar Chinese people are to Americans, especially to those who reside in cities.

Undesired Aspects of China

Though ANC mainly depicts China's image from a positive perspective, which is demonstrated in the aforementioned examples, it is worth noting that ANC does not overlook that problems exist in China, especially those salient to American students who learn Chinese. ANC mentions the following three kinds of undesired aspects of China: relatively backward material conditions, uncivilized behaviors, and an unenlightened political ideology.

Relatively Backward Material Conditions. Though ANC repeatedly states that China's material life has been improving since the Chinese economic reform, it does not neglect the fact that China is still a developing country. Compared with a developed country, especially the U.S., China's material conditions are still not that advanced in certain aspects. For example, the American student complains in Lesson Seven "Washing Clothes" that China is not as convenient in daily life as in the U.S. because household appliances are not as popular as in the U.S., nor are they as common. The American student says,

Living in a Chinese college dorm, one of the most inconvenient things is to do laundry. Up to this point, many dorms still do not have washing machines and therefore people need to wash their clothes with their own hands. Once it is done, they need to use hangers to hang the clothes in their rooms or on the balcony. (在中国大学宿舍里，最不方便的一件事就是洗衣服。许多宿舍

到现在还没有洗衣机，衣服得用手洗。洗好了，还得用衣架晾在房间里或者阳台上。) (ANC, p. 62)

Then, he/she compares China's situation with American's situation.

I never washed clothes with my own hands when I was in the US. In the foreign student dorms although there are washing machines, they are very small. There are lots of people that need to do laundry and thus people have to line up and wait, which is really a waste of time. Dryers are not common in China and the laundry that is done needs to be hung in the house to be dried. I am not used to hanging my underwear out and letting everybody see it. That will make me feel very embarrassed. (在美国我从来没用手洗过衣服。留学生宿舍虽然有洗衣机，但是很小。洗衣服的人很多，得排队等，非常浪费时间。烘干机在中国还不太普遍，洗好的衣服都得晾在屋子里。我不习惯把自己的内衣、内裤晾出来让大家看见，这让我觉得很不好意思。) (ANC, pp. 62-63)

Although Lesson Seven's title is "Washing Clothes," the text also discusses another domestic appliance: the dishwasher, which is very common in the U.S.

Dish-washers are even less common in China. Up until now, I have never seen a Chinese household that has a dish-washer. Plates, cups, chopsticks, spoons, knives and forks, pot, etc., everything has to be washed by hand. Therefore, after dinner, doing the dishes is a troublesome thing. I would rather do the food shopping and cooking rather than doing the dishes. (洗碗机在中国就更不普遍了。到现在，我还没看见过中国人家里用洗碗机。盘子、杯子、筷子、勺子、刀子、叉子、锅都得用手洗，所以吃完饭以后，洗碗是一件很麻烦的事儿，我宁可买菜做饭，也不愿意洗碗。) (ANC, p. 63)

Lesson Nine "Going to the Bank to Exchange Money" mentions the terrible traffic situation in Beijing.

I hate traffic. In Beijing, once the traffic is heavy usually you will have to wait for an hour. You can't do anything in the car. It's extremely nerve-racking. (我最怕堵车，在北京常常一堵就是一个小时。在车上什么都不能做，真急死人了。) (ANC, pp. 78-79)

Much of Lesson Twelve "Restrooms" reveals all kinds of gross conditions of the public restroom in Beijing.

The bathrooms in China rarely have toilets that you can sit on. Most of them have you squatting. I have never used toilets like that in the US. When squatting for a long time, both legs really can't take it.... There are many public toilets on the street in Beijing and they provide much convenience to the citizens and pedestrians. Some public toilets are free but this kind of public toilet doesn't have toilet paper or sinks. I often smell the odor even before I see the toilets, so it's not difficult to find them. To use this kind of bathroom, you have to move fast, so probably no one will read newspapers inside. There are often no doors in this kind of bathroom, which makes one feel very embarrassed. (中国的厕所很少有坐的马桶，大多是蹲的。我在美国从来没上过这样的厕所。蹲久了，两条腿真受不了.....北京街上有不少公共厕所，为市民和行人提供了许多方便。有的公共厕所是免费的，这种公共厕所既没有卫生纸也没有洗手台。我常常还没有看到厕所就先闻到了一股臭味儿，所以并不难找。上这种厕所，动作一定得快，大概不会有人在里头看报。这种厕所也常常没有门，让我觉得很不好意思。) (ANC, pp. 113-114)

Uncivilized Behaviors. ANC also names some uncivilized behaviors that can be found in China. For example, Lesson Ten “Bargain” contains a long conversation between the American student and a Chinese antique dealer. This chapter records how this American student is fooled into buying a worthless fake painting at the end. Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo” criticizes the fact that some Chinese people do not have the habit of waiting in line.

There were lots of people buying tickets. Some of them don't queue up, which makes me angry. It took us half an hour to buy the tickets. (买票的人很多，有些人不排队，这让我很生气。我们花了半个小时才买到票。) (ANC, p. 143)

Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road” criticizes some Chinese drivers' commonly seen bad driving habits.

... it was really dangerous to cross the road, because cars did not yield to pedestrians, and the pedestrians had to walk across quickly among many cars. I was really afraid that I might be hit. In China, drivers do not seem to take care of the pedestrians.... In the US, cars have to let pedestrians pass first, while in China pedestrians have to yield to cars. This is something that I

feel the least used to in my daily life. Although there are also pedestrian crossings and traffic lights in Beijing, they do not seem to be effective. I really hope that the Beijing drivers will obey the traffic rules and think more about the pedestrians. (过马路真危险，因为汽车是不让行人的，行人得在许多车子当中很快的走过去，我真怕会被车子撞着。在中国，开车的人好像不太照顾走路的人.....在美国汽车得让行人先走，而在中国行人却得让汽车。这是我在日常生活中最不习惯的事。在北京虽然也有斑马线，也有红绿灯，可是好像起不了什么作用。我真希望北京开车的人都能遵守交通规则，多为行人想想。) (ANC, pp. 192-193)

Unenlightened Political Ideology. As an intermediate level Chinese language textbook, one of the most prominent features of ANC is that its topics are not confined to the daily life level. Serious topics, such as China's politics, economics, and diplomacy are also included. Perhaps more impressive is that ANC is bold enough to mention China's unenlightened political ideology: human rights and censorship, which are definitely the most sensitive topics in China's publishing realm.

Lesson Twenty-Eight "Ping Pong Diplomacy" is centered on the establishment of Sino-U.S. diplomatic relations. This lesson first admitted that China's relations with the U.S. have improved dramatically in the past thirty years.

In the past three decades, the people of China and the US have conducted large-scale communications from sports and academics to economics and politics. (在过去的 30 几年里，中美两国的人民和政府从体育、学术到经济、政治都进行了大规模的交流。) (ANC, p. 251)

Then, it points out that there are many ideological conflicts that exist between China and the U.S., especially on the issue of human rights.

Since the two countries had been separated for so long, many difficulties and obstacles have emerged during the course of their interaction. Especially in the topic of "human rights," both sides stick to their own points of view. They

can't reach agreement until today. (由于两国隔离的时间太久，社会制度和语言、文化又有很大的差异，在交流的过程中常常出现一些困难和障碍，尤其在“人权”这个问题上，双方都比较坚持自己的看法，到今天还没法达成协议。) (ANC, p. 251)

Another shameful political ideology, censorship, is mentioned implicitly in

Lesson Thirty “Beijing’s Bookstores.”

In recent years, many books that were banned after the liberation of China have been re-published. This is a very gratifying phenomenon. This shows the liberalization of thoughts and the relaxation of freedom of speech. Although there are still some issues that cannot be criticized, compared with the 70s, the progress in this respect in China should be acknowledged. (许多解放 (1949) 以后被禁的著作，最近几年又重新出版了，这是一个非常可喜的现象。这说明了思想的解放和言论自由的放宽。虽然现在还有一些问题是不能随便批评的，但是和 20 世纪 70 年代比较，中国在这方面的进步是应该受到肯定的。) (ANC, p. 272)

Though Lesson Thirty holds a positive outlook towards the relaxation of censorship in China, it still discloses that censorship exists in China and that freedom of speech is not being completely protected.

As these excerpts demonstrate, ANC generally depicts a positive image of China, which is often represented by Beijing, for its readers. It illustrates Chinese people's different living habits, China's profound historical heritage, and China's rich cultural traditions, which are all common topics of Chinese language textbooks. More importantly, by frequently comparing the new China with the old China before the Chinese economic reform, ANC highlights China's huge improvement in the fields of economics, culture, and politics. Readers can clearly see that along with rapid economic development and increased communication with the Western world, Chinese people's material standard of living has made a huge improvement.

Additionally, readers can see how Chinese society has come to incorporate a more progressive social system and set of values. It is worth noting again that in ANC, all these “improvements” and “progressiveness” indicate that China has been becoming a more Western, and more capitalist country. Again, this is a main key ideological messages of the text. Though ANC shows some undesirable aspects of China, including some relatively backward material conditions, uncivilized behaviors, and unenlightened political ideologies, these negative issues only comprise a small part of ANC. Moreover, when these issues are addressed, ANC takes a positive approach toward dealing with these problems. These positive attitudes towards China will be presented in the following section.

The Positive Attitudes towards China in *A New China*

The descriptions of this new China in ANC are very positive. In ANC, the China of the 1990s is portrayed as a country that continually improves in almost every aspect; a vindication and legitimization of a country that is not too familiar to Americans. These improvements too are the results of the modernization, or be more specifically the results of Westernization obsessed with modernization. It should be noted as well, that it is typically not rare for a language textbook to mainly introduce the positive aspects of the target country. But what makes ANC unique is its way of promoting a positive attitude that Westerners should hold toward China. This research found that ANC advocated that Westerners should observe all phenomena in China with positive attitudes, especially things that are different from the West or things that still lag behind developed countries. When evaluating these

phenomena in China, Westerners should not simply take a critical position, but rather seek to understand them by considering China's special historical, cultural, political, social, and economic conditions.

A More Tolerant and Understanding Attitude

For instance, though Lesson Seven "Washing Clothes" vividly depicts the relatively backward dormitory conditions in Chinese colleges and less convenient living conditions of ordinary Chinese families due to a lack of washing machines and dishwashers, the text concludes in the last paragraph that,

In China, appliances are not as numerous nor as widely used as in America; of course, in terms of daily life, it is not as convenient as in America. However, one saves a lot of water and electricity by washing clothes and dishes by hand. It is beneficial to the protection of the environment. (中国的家用电器没有美国的那么多, 也没有美国的那么普遍, 在日常生活上当然也就没有美国那么方便。但是用手洗衣服、洗碗, 节省了许多水和电, 对保护环境是很有好处的。) (ANC, pp. 63-64)

In this conclusion, ANC clearly aims to promote a more positive way of observing China by advocating that "every cloud has a silver lining." ANC reframes the fact that China does not have enough washing machines and dishwashers for everyone by advocating washing clothes by hand as a way to protect the environment.

There is another similar example in Lesson Twelve "Restrooms." As stated above, that the American student says that he or she cannot use the squatting toilet in China, while the text emphasizes that the squatting toilet's hygienic properties can prevent any possible spread of diseases that could occur through using the sitting toilet.

The bathrooms in China rarely have toilets that you can sit on. Most of them have you squatting. I have never used toilets like that in the US. When squatting for a long time, both legs really can't take it. But such toilets have one good thing, they are very hygienic. I don't need to worry that I will get an infectious disease..... (中国的厕所很少有坐的马桶，大多是蹲的。我在美国从来没上过这样的厕所。蹲久了，两条腿真受不了。但是这样的厕所也有一个好处，就是很卫生，我不必担心得传染病。)(ANC, 113)

Lesson Thirteen "Taking Trains" has a similar statement. At the beginning of the text, this American student states that he/she is not accustomed to travelling by train. But after talking about this American student's two specific travel experiences by train in China, the text does not let this American student complain about his/her travel experience by train. The text continues with benefits that this American student gets from travelling by train as a foreign student who studies Chinese in China.

Although the train is not as fast as the plane, on the train you can see the scenery along the way. You can also buy special local products and taste local snacks at the train stations. What's most interesting about taking the train is that you can chat with the passengers. Not only can you practice Chinese, but also make new friends. Up to the present, the main transportation tool for Chinese domestic long distance travel is still the train. On the train one has more opportunities to observe the lives of Chinese people. (火车虽然没有飞机那么快，但是在火车上可以看到路上的风景，在火车站还可以买到当地的特产，尝到当地的风味儿小吃。坐火车最有趣的是可以在车上跟乘客交谈，不但可以练习中文，还可以交到朋友。到目前为止，中国国内长途旅行的主要交通工具还是火车，在火车上有比较多的机会观察众人的生活。)(ANC, p. 122)

In this example, although travelling by train is strange and inconvenient to this American student, by emphasizing all kinds of benefits he/she can get, ANC still tries to persuade its readers to look at this backwardness from a positive perspective: it makes sense for an American student to travel by train in China.

Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road” contains a similar statement of tolerance. After describing the dangerous traffic situation in Beijing, the text ends with a suggestion that American students get used to Beijing’s chaotic traffic:

The traffic in Beijing is indeed very chaotic, but once you get used to it, you can also discover a peculiar kind of order. Chinese call this situation “finding order in chaos.” (北京的交通乱是乱，可是习惯以后也能发现一种特有的秩序，中国人把这种情况叫做乱中有序。) (ANC, p. 194)

In some lessons, the promotion of a positive attitude towards China in ANC is not always as obvious as it is in Lesson Seven “Washing Clothes” and Lesson Thirteen “Taking Trains.” For example, Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets” introduces the booming night markets in Beijing. The text also mentions one interesting phenomenon: “skin-exposing men,” which is about some Chinese men’s relatively uncivilized habit: walking around shirtless during the summer.

The small night market near the campus is the one that I go to the most often. They have all kinds of snacks and refreshments. Because of the hot weather, lots of men have no tops on. They talk loudly and drink beers. (我最常去的是离学校不远的一个小夜市，在那儿有各式各样的小吃。因为天气太热，许多男人都不穿上衣，大声地说话，喝啤酒。) (ANC, pp. 135-136)

There is no doubt that this kind of behavior is increasingly considered uncivil in China. Even the public opinion in China believes this practice can harm the public image of China. For example, the Beijing Municipal Government sent volunteers to discourage men from going shirtless during the Olympics in 2008. The Shanghai Municipal Government made an announcement calling on everyone to wear “proper

attire" for the World Expo in 2010. But ANC does not take a critical position on this issue at all. On the contrary, it let the narrator (an American student) state that,

Although I cannot understand what are they talking about, I can see that this is the relaxed side of ordinary people's lives in Beijing. (虽然我听不懂他们在谈什么，但是我能看得出来，这是北京老百姓生活里很轻松的一面。) (ANC, pp. 135-136)

This lesson does not mention that even in China, this "skin-exposing men" habit is viewed by the public as weird behavior. On the contrary, it hopes that the readers can look at "skin-exposing men" in China with a positive and forgiving attitude.

Lesson Twenty-Four "Made in China" involves another sensitive topic: job loss in American manufacturing. This lesson first explains that China's abundant resources, cheaper labor force, and stable society are the reasons that many big American corporations set up their factories in China. Then, it admits that "some Americans worry that this situation will cause American workers to lose their jobs. (有些美国人担心这个情况会造成美国工人失业。)" (ANC, p. 220). However, it also highlights the benefits of European and American companies setting up their factories in developing countries.

On the one hand, it certainly reduced the job opportunities for European or American workers, but on the other hand, it lowered the cost of products and let people all around the world be able to enjoy goods with good quality at low prices. (欧洲和美国的把工厂设在发展中国家，一方面可能减少了欧美工人的就业机会，但是另一方面却降低了商品的成本，使全世界的人都能享受到物美价廉的东西。) (ANC, pp. 220-221)

Certainly, many American people, including some politicians, hold a negative view towards trade between the U.S. and China. For example, President Donald Trump

blamed China for the “greatest job theft” in the history of the world (Mui, 2016). This kind of claim also existed before Trump when ANC was written. Compared with this kind of claim, it is very clear that ANC tries to promote a positive attitude towards China even when talking about the transferring of manufacturing jobs, such as the production of shoes, cheap electronics, and toys, from developed country to developing countries.

We must note that a strategy that ANC adopts in these examples to promote the more tolerant, and understanding attitude in these examples. ANC does not spend much more time on the negative aspects of certain phenomena in China before noting that there are positive aspects; to spend too much time on more negative phenomena could potentially undermine sending a positive message about China. As with this strategy, ANC often only mentions the negative aspects of a phenomenon when it can quickly turn to the positive aspects of the same phenomenon. In this case, the content of the text, as well as the structure and sequence of the text, serve as a vehicle for the pro-China ideological messages in ANC.

Lesson Eighteen “Let’s Talk about This Then” contains another example that indirectly conveys a tolerant attitude towards Chinese culture. This lesson discusses the culture of gaining and losing “face” or “mianzi” in China.

In the Chinese language there is a term called “mianzi” (face). There is no completely corresponding word in English. When coming into contact with Chinese, one definitely has to pay attention and give the others “mianzi,” especially when turning down others’ requests or when disagreeing with others’ opinions. For example, somebody wants to invite you for a meal next

week, but you actually do not want to eat with him, yet you do not want to find a dishonest excuse either. At this time, the best answer is: "Let's talk about this then!" which means "Let's not talk about this right now." For another example, someone wants to ask you for a favor, but you are not sure if you can help. You can say: "There is no big problem, but there is certain kind of difficulty." You can also say: "Let's study this later." If that person asks you further, you can say: "Let's do this step by step." All these mean: "I cannot agree to your requests right now." ... Teaching you these phrases does not mean to ask you to be dishonest or insincere, but to let you know how to say "no" in a polite way. (在中国话里头有个词儿叫“面子”，英文里没有一个完全相应的词儿。和中国人打交道一定要注意给对方面子，尤其是在拒绝别人的要求或者不同意别人意见的时候。比方说，有个人想请你下星期和他一块儿吃饭，可是你并不想和他一块吃饭，你又不想找个不诚实的借口。这时候，最好的回答是“到时候再说吧！”意思是：“我们现在不谈这件事。”又比方说，有人请你帮忙，可是你没有把握，你可以说：“问题不大，可是有一定的困难。”你也可以说：“我们在研究研究。”要是那个人进一步问你，你可以说：“我们一步一步地来。”这些话的意思都是说“我现在不能答应你的要求。”) (ANC, pp. 162-164)

One might not find explicitly positive attitudes towards China by reading ANC alone. But when comparing the text in ANC with the description of the face-saving culture in other Chinese language textbooks, ANC's attitudes appear quite friendly. For example, the faculty at Harvard University compiled *When in China* in 2007, which is also an intermediate level Chinese language textbook. This textbook explains the face-saving culture in China with the same example but with a very different tone. Here is the text in *When in China*:

Mary: If someone wants to invite me to his home or to dinner, and I don't want to go. How should I answer?

Xiao Wen: You can say, "I am kind of busy these days. We will talk when the time comes."

Mary: You want me to lie? How awkward it is! This is equal to deceiving people. What if he asks me "when will we talk?" What should I do?

Xiao Wen: Oh, Chinese people all understand what you mean is "I am busy, I cannot go with you."

Mary: I simply do not want to go, but I have to say I cannot go. It is a little bit too hypocritical!

(玛莉：要是有人请我去做客或者吃饭，我不想去，怎么回答呢？

小文：你可以说：“这几天有点儿忙，我们到时候再说吧。”

玛莉：你让我说谎啊？那多别扭啊！这等于是骗人嘛！要是人家问我“到什么时候再说呢？”那我怎么办呐？

小文：咳！中国人都明白你那么说意思就是：“我很忙，不能去”。

玛莉：明明是不想去，却偏偏说不能去，这未免太虚伪了吧！) (When in China, p. 148)

In this example, when talking about the face-saving culture, the words chosen by the faculty at Harvard University are more explicitly negative (“lie,” “awkward,” “deceiving,” and “hypocritical”). It is worth noting that many Chinese people are also very sick of this face-saving culture and consider it as part of backward cultural traditions. However, ANC takes a very neutral attitude towards this face-saving culture. It concludes in Lesson Eighteen that,

The reason that I am teaching you to speak these words is not that I want you to be dishonest, but rather that I want you to know how to say “no” politely. (教你们说这些话，并不是要你不诚实或不诚恳，而是要你们知道怎么有礼貌地说不。) (ANC, p. 164)

As the above excerpts demonstrate, ANC encourages its readers, American college students, to hold a more tolerant, positive, and understanding attitude towards China, though some excerpts only indirectly convey this attitude.

An Explicit Pluralist Multicultural Perspective

In fact, in many other lessons, ANC explicitly asserts that readers should acknowledge and celebrate cultural differences between China and the U.S. without judgment but from a pluralist multicultural perspective. This perspective insists that “in addition to teaching students that they should not hold prejudices against others

..." students should learn "about the knowledge, values, beliefs and patterns of behavior that demarcate various groups" (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997, p. 15). For example, when talking about different living habits in Lesson Three "Getting Up Early and Taking Shower," the American student first states that he/she cannot understand why he/she has to get up so early in China:

Because I like to stay up late, getting up early is very difficult to me. Chinese people often say that people has clearest mind in the morning, therefore, morning is the best time to study. But, as for myself, my mind is most unclear when I have just gotten up in the morning. I need to drink two to three cups of coffee to really wake up. I really don't understand why we have to have class this early. Chinese people always say that early to bed early to rise makes one healthy. I, however, still think that there is no relation between waking up early or late and one's health. (因为我喜欢晚睡，早起对我就特别困难。中国人常说早晨头脑最清楚，是学习最好的时候。可对我来说，早上刚起来的时候头脑最不清楚，需要喝两三杯咖啡才能完全醒过来。我真不懂为什么得这么早上课。中国人常说：早睡早起身体好。我却觉得起得早晚跟身体健康没有什么关系。) (ANC, pp. 24-25)

Admittedly, this text is directed at an American audience (i.e., college students who study Chinese) and it may have a variety of purposes. By letting this student complain about an undesirable Chinese habit (getting up early) and express doubt about Chinese wisdom ("early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy"), the texts might become more accessible to American students. But the text soon discontinues this negative description of China. It turns to subtly defend Chinese habits and wisdom by having the American student conclude: "But now I stay up late and get up early every day. I am terribly tired the whole day. (不过，我现在是每天晚睡早起，整天都累得要命。)" (ANC, p. 25). Here ANC directly indicates that this "weird" Chinese habit makes some sense in China.

After expressing that he/she should go to bed and get up early, the American student continues to narrate the habit of taking a bath in China. Again, the student tells readers that he/she was not used to the Chinese habit at first.

I used to take baths in the morning. After I came to China, I had to change over to taking baths in the evening. (我本来总是早上洗澡，来了中国以后，不得不改成晚上洗澡了。) (ANC, p. 26)

However, the student then concludes that the Chinese habit is not necessarily bad and still makes some sense in China:

Before I came to China, I thought it is not bad taking a shower in the morning and starting the day's work with a clean feeling. Now I think it is not a bad idea to take show at the night because you can go to bed comfortably. (以前我觉得，早上洗完澡，干干净净的，开始一天的工作也很不错。现在我认为，晚上洗完澡，舒舒服服地睡觉也很好。) (ANC, p. 26)

The last paragraph of Lesson Three summarizes the American student's reflections on these two adjustments of living habits. It explicitly demonstrates the pluralist multicultural perspective that ANC hopes its readers will hold towards China. The American student concludes that:

Before I came to China, I never thought about which one is better: taking a bath in the morning or in the evening. There were many things that I thought had to be done this way. But, after I arrived in China, I realize that Chinese people may do the same things differently. I learned to look at things from another angle, which is exactly the benefit to go to a foreign country. (来中国以前，我从来没想到早上洗澡好还是晚上洗澡好。有许多事情，我本来以为一定是这样做的，到了中国，却发现中国人不一定这样做。我学会了从另一个角度看事情，这就是到外国去的好处。) (ANC, pp. 26-27)

In this paragraph, ANC argues, through the mouth of the American student, that China is different from the U.S., that the American way is not necessarily the only correct way of doing things, that China may have different ways of doing things that

are not necessarily bad, and, most importantly, that Americans should try to learn how to understand China from China's perspective and to accept these cultural differences.

Lesson Six "Taking a Nap after Lunch and Drinking Hot Water" discusses how this American student deals with two different living habits: taking a nap after lunch and drinking hot water in China. The first paragraph of Lesson Six states that,

Chinese people usually take a nap after lunch. When I just arrived in Beijing, I am really not used to it. How come they sleep during the day? Isn't it a waste of time? (中国人多半儿在中饭以后睡个午觉。刚到北京的时候, 我很不习惯。怎么白天睡觉呢? 不是太浪费时间了吗?) (ANC, p. 54)

But, unlike in Lesson Three, where the American student complains about the Chinese way of doing things (getting up early), in Lesson Six, the student easily accepts the Chinese way of living, saying, "But after two weeks, I too began taking afternoon naps" (但是两个星期以后, 我自己也睡起午觉来了。) (ANC, p. 54). The text continues to let this American student tell the readers that this habit really makes sense considering the schedules of China's colleges.

We start our class as early as 7:30am. After lunch I was already exhausted. Resting for half an hour makes me more energetic in the afternoon and evening. No wonder most Chinese people are used to taking afternoon naps. (我们早上七点半就开始上课, 中饭以后已经很累了。休息半个小时, 让我下午和晚上都比较有精神。怪不得中国人大多有睡午觉的习惯。) (ANC, p. 54)

After introducing the habit of taking a nap after lunch, Lesson Six continues to discuss another habit: drink hot water, and how the student deals with it.

Generally speaking, Chinese people like to drink hot tea and seldom drink ice water. Drinking hot water in summer, to me, is simply a nightmare! But because the tap water in China cannot be drink directly, it is not that easy to

get cold water to drink. Buying bottled water every day is not only expensive but also inconvenient. Therefore, recently, I am learning to drink hot water from a thermos. Sometime, I also made tea. Surprisingly, after drinking it for a few days, I got used to it too. And I feel that hot water is not that difficult to drink! (一般说来，中国人喜欢喝热茶，很少喝冰水。夏天喝热水，对我来说，简直是受罪！但是因为中国的自来水不能直接喝，要喝到凉开水并不容易。每天买矿泉水不但贵也不方便，所以最近我学着喝热水瓶里的热水，有时也泡茶。没想到喝了几天以后，我也习惯了，而且觉得热水并不难喝呢！) (ANC, pp. 54-55)

Both Lesson Three and Lesson Six discuss the difference in living habits between China and the U.S. However, unlike in Lesson Three, where the American student is still experiencing culture shock and sticks to his/her American way of living (staying up late), Lesson Six goes one step further. The American student has already accepted these Chinese ways of living and has come to believe that these habits make sense considering the particularities of living in China. In the last paragraph of Lesson Six, the American student makes a final statement, which also explicitly reflects the pluralist multicultural perspective.

Each place has its own customs, and they all have a reason behind it. When we arrive in a new place, we should not insist on maintain our original way of living; instead, we ought to learn from the locals. (各地有各地的习惯，这都是原因的。我们到一个新地方，不应该再坚持自己原来的生活方式，得向当地人学习才行。) (ANC, p. 56)

ANC compares not only the different living habits but also the different cultural customs between the U.S. and China. With regards to cultural customs, ANC again advocates the use of a pluralist multicultural perspective to look at these differences. For instance, Lesson Nineteen “At The Dining Table” depicts customs

and etiquette in Chinese dining. It mentions that Americans would not be used to the Chinese way of paying the bill at a restaurant.

In the restaurant, one can often see the situation that people fight for the right to pay the bill. For Americans, it is both new and weird. (在饭馆儿里，还经常可以看到抢着付账的情形。这对美国人来说，是很新鲜也是很奇怪的。) (ANC, pp. 173-174)

The text does not make any negative comments about this “weird” Chinese custom, even though to many Chinese people the act of fighting over the bill is very hypocritical. The text concludes that,

Of course, Americans go Dutch when eating out. Chinese people are not quite used to it too. Different culture has different table customs and etiquette. It is hard for us to say which one is better than the other one. The important thing is “When in Rome, do as Romans do.” (当然，美国人吃完了饭各付各的，中国人也觉得挺不习惯的。不同文化表现在饭桌上的客套和礼节都不相同。我们很难说一种方式比另一种方式好，重要的是“入乡随俗”。) (ANC, pp. 173-174)

In this example, it seems that this lesson only advocates that, around the world, people have different ideas about what “good” table manners are. But this example also represents the practice of viewing China from a pluralist multicultural perspective. With this perspective, when compared to the U.S., everything in China, whether it is the backwardness or the weird customs, makes some sense, and thus seems less undesirable. Westerners, especially American students, are taught not to focus mainly on China’s shortcomings but to try their best to find the bright spots in China—to think not about the differences but to embrace these differences.

ANC insists on a pluralist multicultural perspective not only towards the different living habits and cultural customs, but even also towards political and

ideological conflicts between the U.S. and China. This includes issues such as human rights and censorship, topics which often cause conflicts between Chinese language instructors and American students. For instance, Lesson Twenty-Eight “Ping Pong Diplomacy” admits that China and the U.S. have many ideological conflicts, such as the concept and practice of “human rights.”

Since the two countries had been separated for so long, many difficulties and obstacles have emerged during the course of their interaction. Especially in the topic of “human rights,” both sides stick to their own points of view. They can’t reach agreement until today. (由于两国隔离的时间太久，社会制度和语言、文化又有很大的差异，在交流的过程中常常出现一些困难和障碍，尤其在“人权”这个问题上，双方都比较坚持自己的看法，到今天还没法达成协议。) (ANC, p. 251)

However, the text then concludes that,

During the course of two countries’ communication, the contradictions and conflicts can’t be completely avoided because of the different historic and cultural background. At this time, what’s most necessary is mutual respect and understanding, not one country forcing another to accept its standards. (两国进行交流的时候，由于历史和文化背景的不同，矛盾和冲突是不能完全避免的。这是最需要的是相互尊重和理解，而不是一国强迫另一国接受自己的标准。) (ANC, p. 252)

This example shows, again, how ANC explicitly advocates looking at China from a pluralist multicultural perspective, even if the topic is human rights, one of the most sensitive topics for which China is criticized by the Western world. The text defends China’s well-known undesirable human rights record by highlighting the difference in historic and cultural background between China and the U.S.

Recognizing China's Tremendous Progress

This research found that ANC utilizes many “China vs. the U.S.” comparisons to establish the image of China. Though these comparisons often result in China appearing undesirable, by encouraging its readers to recognize China's tremendous progress, ANC still advocates a more tolerant and understanding attitude towards China. Specifically, there are two ways that ANC addresses the results of the “China vs. the U.S.” comparison. First, if a less satisfactory condition in China is more or less acceptable, ANC usually tries to reframe it, as in the example of washing clothes by hand to protect the environment. Second, if the backwardness is too backward to be glossed over, ANC still tends to lead its readers to think about it positively by highlighting the fact that the current condition is better than the past.

For example, as indicated above, Lesson Twelve “Restrooms” contains several paragraphs complaining about the horrible conditions of the public restroom in Beijing. In its conclusion, however, the text emphasizes the progress that Beijing has made in this respect.

In recent years, there is a great change in the public restroom in Beijing. Stink and dirty restroom becomes less and less, and most of the restrooms are no longer charged/toll anymore. This is really a great improvement. (最近几年，北京公共厕所的改变很大，又臭又脏的厕所越来越少了，而且大部分厕所都不收费了，这真是一大进步。) (ANC, p. 115)

Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road” also shows the improvements China has made in solving unsafe traffic problems. Although it is very dangerous to cross the road in Beijing, the text states that

A bridge that goes across the street was recently built in front of the school gate. It is much safer to cross the road now.... there are many overhead bridges and underground passes in Beijing. (学校大门口儿最近建了一座过街天桥，过马路的时候安全多了..... 北京的天桥和地下通道很多。) (ANC, pp. 192-193)

ANC sticks to the same technique to even whitewash China's censorship and lack of freedom of speech. In Lesson Thirty "Beijing's Bookstores," the text talks about how the American student gains a certain understanding of Beijing denizens' daily cultural activities by watching stage plays and movies and by visiting bookstores on the weekends. This lesson first introduces a tourist attraction where books, calligraphy, paintings, and antiques are sold in old buildings. It then portrays a picture of new China by writing that the publishing enterprise in Beijing has greatly developed in recent years (最近几年北京的出版事业非常发达。) (ANC, p. 271). It writes that,

From ordinary fictions to serious academic works, from ancient poems to computer textbooks, new books are getting published every day. After editing and compiling, many important Chinese ancient classics are also published in simplified Chinese characters. (从一般的小说到严肃的学术著作，从古典的诗歌到电子计算机的教材。几乎每天都有新书出版。有许多重要的中国古代经典，也都在整理以后出了简体字的版本。) (ANC, p. 271)

The text then mentions the censorship that exists in China, which is an unavoidable topic when discussing China's cultural policy or publishing enterprise from the perspective of the Western world. The text, again, first praises the improvements that the Chinese government has made regarding this issue.

Many books that were banned after the Liberation (1949) are getting published again in recent years, which is an extremely gratifying phenomenon. It illustrates the liberation of ideology and the relaxed

restrictions on freedom of speech. (许多解放 (1949) 以后被禁的著作, 最近几年又重新出版了, 这是一个非常可喜的现象。这说明了思想的解放和言论自由的放宽。) (ANC, p. 272)

Then, the text applies the same technique of “New China vs. Old China” to this issue and argues that readers should not overly criticize China’s still existing censorship because it is already much better than 30 years ago. The conclusion of Lesson Thirty reads:

Although there are still some issues that people are not allowed to criticize freely, compared to the seventies in the twentieth century, the progress that China has made in this regard ought to be recognized. (虽然现在还有一些问题是不能随便批评的, 但是和二十世纪七十年代比较, 中国在这方面的进步是应该受到肯定的。) (ANC, p. 272)

As the above examples clearly show, the use of comparisons between the “New China vs. Old China” and “China vs. the U.S.” is ANC’s major tool to show readers a contemporary China. Although this new China, compared with the Western world, still leaves much to be desired, compared with China before the Chinese economic reform, it has already made great strides. Therefore, ANC advocates that readers not look at China, no matter its shortcomings of backward material conditions, weird customs, or conflicted ideological concepts, from a stereotyping or critical perspective, but to recognize China’s tremendous improvement with an understanding attitude.

A New China vs. A Trip to China

Such non-critical and understanding attitudes towards China can also be found in Lesson Five “Diarrhea and Can Not Sleep Well,” Lesson Ten “Bargain,”

Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets,” Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo,” and Lesson Seventeen “The Great Wall.” In these four lessons, direct and explicit statements about tolerating problems in China are not as easily found as they are in the above examples. However, when comparing ANC with *A Trip to China*, which was the authors’ previous textbook, these four lessons noticeably contain more positive attitudes towards China.

For example, both ANC and ATC have texts that involve the topics of food hygiene in China. In ATC, the given narrative is very negative of China, as in one text excerpt that vividly describes the disgusting condition of the restaurant near the campus.

[The restaurant is] certainly not expensive, but it’s a little dirty. I found a fly in the stir-fried beef. There are cockroaches on the table. (贵倒是不贵，可是有点脏，我在炒牛肉里发现了一只苍蝇，桌上还有蟑螂呢。) (ATC, p. 38)

However, ANC adopts a much more positive approach to reporting the same topic. For instance, both Lesson Five and Lesson Fifteen contain the topic of food hygiene in China. In Lesson Five, when this American student reports to his/her teacher that he/she has diarrhea problems, the text does not allow the teacher to highlight the problem of food hygiene, but only to make the understatement that “Maybe what you ate was not clean. (也许你吃的东西不大干净。)” (ANC, p. 47). In Lesson Fifteen, the American student states that his/her mother is worried about the safety of the food that he/she ate in the night markets.

I also ate lamb kebabs a few times at the food stands in the night markets and they were so delicious. I called my mom and told her that I ate at the stands in the night market. She was really worried and asked me to watch the

hygiene. (我也在夜市的小摊儿上吃过几次羊肉串儿，好吃极了，我给妈妈打电话，告诉她在夜市的小摊儿上吃了东西。她很担心，要我注意卫生。)
(ANC, p. 136)

But the text lets this American student respond with a traditional Chinese saying that he/she just learned in China, a saying that is often used to understate the importance of food hygiene. “I said: ‘Eat filthy things, and you will stay healthy.’ (我说别担心，不干不净吃了没病。)” (ANC, p. 136).

Lesson 10 “Bargain” in ANC contains a long conversation between an American student and a Chinese antique dealer. Although the American student is fooled into buying a worthless fake painting at the end, ANC does not criticize this phenomenon of forgery at all. The whole conversation in Lesson Ten is about the process of bargaining in Chinese. When the American student realized that he/she was fooled, he/she only says “Oh no! I’ve been conned again! (糟糕! 又上当了!)” (ANC, p. 92). However, in ATC, the same phenomenon is strongly belittled and is even considered a bad character trait of all Chinese people. The text in ATC angrily complained that,

Today was not the first time I’ve been ripped off or cheated. I believe that the Chinese have two basic attitudes towards foreigners: one is to treat them very politely... and the other is to treat them like rich idiots and foreigners who deserve to be ripped off and cheated. (像今天这样上当受骗的事已经不止一次了。我觉得一般中国人对外国人基本上有两种态度一种是对外国人特别客气.....另外一种态度是觉得外国人都是有钱的傻子，老外上当受骗都是应该的。) (ATC, pp. 94-95)

ANC also talks about another common uncivil behavior in China, “not waiting in line,” in Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo.” Again, the text in ANC only mentions it lightly.

There were lots of people buying tickets. Some of them don't queue up, which makes me angry. It took us half an hour to buy the tickets. (买票的人很多, 有些人不排队, 这让我很生气。我们花了半个小时才买到票。) (ANC, p. 143)

But in ATC, the entire text is about analyzing this uncivil behavior of Chinese people.

The text in ATC features an American student angrily denouncing this behavior:

My worst impression about China is that for some Chinese people, no matter what they are doing, they don't line up. From riding on a public bus to eating in a restaurant, from withdrawing cash and depositing money at the bank to defecating and urinating in the restrooms, they often jostle or shove with each other. When I just arrived in China, I always thought we should queue up at crowded places. Therefore, I always stand in the back of the crowd. As a result, I can't get on the bus; can't get food at the restaurant; and can't withdraw money at the bank. I even have problems going to the restroom. (在中国给我印象最坏的是: 有些中国人无论做什么事都不排队。从坐公共汽车到上餐厅吃饭, 从去银行取钱、存钱到上厕所大小便, 常常都是你挤我, 我挤你。刚到中国的时候, 我总觉得人多的地方应该排队, 所以我总是站在最后面, 结果公共汽车上不去, 餐厅的饭也吃不到, 银行的钱取不出, 甚至连上厕所都有问题。) (ATC, p. 68)

ANC keeps a neutral and uncritical tone when it introduces the American student's trip to the Great Wall in Lesson Seventeen “The Great Wall.” The text of this lesson is mainly about the history and scenery of the Great Wall. But, compared with ANC, ATC takes a more critical approach when it discusses visiting scenic spots and historic sites in China. The text of this section is as follows:

I didn't expect the famous Chinese scenery to become so commercialized. One can find street vendors sell light refreshments and low-quality plastic souvenirs at almost every place that has tourists. From the Great Wall to the

Fragrant Hill, there is no exception. Another thing that makes me uncomfortable is [China] has not done enough to protect the environment. Although the sign “Please do not spit” is posted everywhere, people spit everywhere. I really worried that whether China will still have these scenic spots and historic sites after fifty years or one hundred years since Chinese people protect the environment with such an ignorant attitude. (我没想到中国的风景名胜竟然都这么商业化了。几乎在任何有游客的地方都可以看到小贩们卖点心饮料和质量很差的塑料纪念品，从长城到香山都没有例外。另一个让我觉得不舒服的是环境的保护做得实在不够。虽然到处都贴着“请勿随地吐痰”的标语，但随地吐痰的人却到处都是。我真担心中国人这么不知道保护环境，五十年，一百年以后，中国还有没有这些名胜古迹。) (ATC, pp. 220-221)

To discuss which of ANC or ATC has the more “correct” description of China is not the purpose of this research. However, these four examples clearly show that, when presenting China for the same group of readers—American college students—differing perspectives exist between *A New China* and *A Trip to China*. Simply speaking, when compared with the U.S. (even though some of the comparisons might not be explicit), China has some shortcomings. ATC takes a more critical approach to this phenomenon of backwardness. However, ANC takes the opposite approach, even as the same problems may still exist. ANC chooses either to neglect, understate, or even deliberately reframe these problems. Although, in these examples, ANC does not explicitly state that its readers should look at China with a positive attitude, this attitude still permeates the text.

Conclusion

To investigate how the formal curriculum in the second-year Chinese language course at Bison College represents China for their students, I conducted a content analysis of their Chinese language textbook, *A New China*. This analysis

mainly focused on the first twenty-one lessons of ANC, which were the lessons that were taught during my research period, though a few examples from the other twenty-eight lessons were also included to supplement the arguments made in this chapter. This research found that ANC is written from the first-person perspective of an American student who studies Chinese in Beijing. Beijing, which is one of the most prosperous, open and culturally advanced cities, is often used to represent China in ANC. Most of the lessons, especially the first twenty-one lessons, are about this American student's daily life, what he/she had experienced in China, and, most importantly, his/her opinions about China. In ANC, readers can not only find lessons introducing China's splendid history and rich cultural traditions, which are common topics in Chinese language textbooks, but also can realize that many materials reflect the rapid changes that occurred in China's society, economy, and politics in the 1980s and 1990s. By utilizing comparisons between "New China vs. Old China" and "China vs. the U.S.," ANC aims to establish a positive image of new China and to encourage a positive attitude towards China for its readers. As depicted in ANC, along with the Chinese economic reform, China's economy and Chinese people's material living standards have made tremendous progress. More frequent communication with the Western world have caused China's social system and social values to become increasingly progressive and Westernized. Although ANC mentions some problems that still exist in China, it mainly insists that Westerners should hold a positive attitude towards China. When evaluating phenomena in China, especially things that are different from the West or things that still lag

behind developed countries, ANC recommends that its readers take a pluralist multicultural perspective; consider China's special historical, cultural, political, social, and economic conditions; and recognize China's huge progress.

However, the formal curriculum does not determine the content of the enacted curriculum. How (or, even, whether) this positive image of and attitude towards China in the textbook can make their way into the classroom and affect students' attitudes toward China requires further examination. This will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE REPRESENTATIONS OF CHINA IN THE ENACTED

CURRICULUM

Introduction

In the previous chapter I analyzed how the textbook, the official curriculum, not only aimed to establish a positive image of contemporary China but also aimed to encourage a positive attitude towards China for its readers. In this chapter, I will focus on the specific pedagogy and its application in actual classroom teaching of the second-year Chinese language course at Bison College to understand how the content of official curriculum made its way into classroom discourse. I argue that, though the course instructors had different teaching philosophies regarding how to present China as a country in this language class, the positive representations of China evident in the textbook were privileged in classroom lessons. This was due to the specific pedagogy used by the course instructors, which was focused on teaching the language rather than the country, and their reliance on the textbook to organize the class. Most of the supplementary materials used in their language instruction also tended to echo the ideology of the textbook. However, I noticed that the instructors also provided a few supplementary materials that conflicted with the overall theme of presenting a positive representations of China.

The Pedagogy of the Second-Year Chinese Language Course at Bison College Professor Li's Lecture

Professor Li held weekly course preparation meetings with Ms. Wang, usually on Friday afternoon, during which they discuss course-related issues for the

following week, such as student performance and teaching difficulties. Both Professor Li and Ms. Wang had used this textbook before and were very familiar with how to teach a second-year Chinese language class, but they still spent most of their time during the course preparation meetings discussing what grammar elements⁶ and content from the textbook should be included and excluded from next week's teaching activities, and how exactly they should be taught. After the preparation meetings, Professor Li revised her teaching plans from previous semesters in order to best connect to the current second-year students.

The lecture was held in a small but modern classroom. All eight students sat in tablet armchairs in a semicircle facing Professor Li. Ms. Wang and I sat in the back of the classroom behind the students. Professor Li usually arrived at the classroom several minutes early to set up the computer. She used PowerPoint to facilitate her instruction, which not only included most of the content of the text, but also included all grammar elements, sometimes along with the translations and explanations, that she wanted to teach. In addition, Professor Li always added extra examples to supplement the contents in the textbook in these PowerPoint slides. Professor Li printed out the PowerPoint slides before the lecture, and held them in her hands as a teaching guide during the lecture. All the PowerPoint slides were posted on the course website after the lecture for students to download as their

⁶ Grammar element is an extremely broad phrase. In context of Chinese language teaching and, particular in this research, it refers to all linguistic features that were taught in the Chinese language class, including Chinese vocabulary, grammatical structure, sentence patterns, and idiomatic expressions.

review materials. As a result, her students did not have to, and it was suggested that they not, look at the textbook or to take notes during the lecture but to focus on practicing Chinese with Professor Li.

The lecture always started on time at 11am, and began with a short greeting and casual conversation. The dictation was usually the first element of the formal classroom teaching. Students were required to preview and be familiar with the new vocabulary and basic content of the new lesson before they come to the lecture. The teaching assistant, Ms. Wang, read 10 to 15 new vocabulary words. The students were asked to write down the Chinese characters and the English meaning of these words on flashcards, which were to be handed in to Ms. Wang for grading. Ms. Wang usually spent 10 to 20 minutes grading those flashcards in the back of the classroom and handed them back to students after the lecture.

After the dictation, Professor Li's instruction started. Her lecture can be categorized as a typical Chinese language class, as it adopted the traditional "audio-lingual" teaching method. This teaching method emphasizes repeated drilling of students in the use of grammar elements in the target language (Kumaravadivelu, 2005; Liu, 2007; Rivers, 1983). The basic format of Professor Li's instruction contained two parts. First, she asked students an introductory question based on the text to introduce the grammar element that she wanted to teach. After one of her students answered that question, she evaluated this answers and corrected student's mistakes in grammar or pronunciation. She sometimes presented the answer to the question, which was usually the original sentence from the text, on

the PowerPoint slides. Then she asked all of the students to practice and repeat that sentence. Second, Professor Li presented the grammar element that she wanted to teach on the next slide. Then, she asked students several other questions that were answered using the same grammar element. These additional questions and their answers were designed to teach students how to use the grammar element in more contexts than those provided by the textbook. The traditional "I-R-E" sequences (a teacher initiates a question, a student replies, the teacher evaluates the answer), which is also the key feature of the audio-lingual teaching method, dominated Professor Li's classroom discourse. Once she believed that her students had mastered this grammar element, Professor Li repeated the introductory question to ensure all of the students understood the content in the textbook. She then proceeded to the next grammar element, and the same procedure repeated until the end of the class. Sometimes Professor Li also provided supplementary materials, such as pictures, video clips, newspaper articles, and movies to facilitate and enrich the teaching the content, and to enliven the classroom atmosphere.

Following Sperling (1997), each cycle of the grammar element teaching was called an "episode" in this study, in other words, the "stretches of discourse bounded by major topic shifts" (p. 214). Each of Professor Li's lectures usually contained eight to ten of these episodes, which meant eight to ten grammar elements were taught. After the class went over two to three episodes, Professor Li sometimes combined elements from multiple episodes together and asked students to produce a relatively long paragraph, which contained two to four sentences. By asking

questions about the text at the beginning of each episode, all the content of the text was naturally illustrated by Professor Li, and therefore practiced by students in the lecture.

Here is an example of how Professor Li taught her lectures. This episode is based on one short conversation from Lesson Nine “Going to the Bank to Exchange Money”:

Driver: Where do you want to go?

Student: The Chinese Bank at the Wangfujing area.

Driver: Which way do you want to go? The Second Ring Road or city center?

Student: It’s a little bit closer to go through city center.

Driver: It is a little bit closer, but the traffic jam is terrible. It’s much faster if we use the Second Ring Road. (ANC, P. 78)

Professor Li used this episode to teach the grammar point: “verb. /adj. +delihai (得厉害),” which means “badly, severe, terribly,” that can be found in the above text.

Here is the transcript of how Professor Li taught this paragraph.

Episode 1.

Prof. Li: (She shows a map of Beijing on the slide.) This is a map of Beijing. Which one is closer? The Second Ring Road or city center? Which one is closer? The Second Ring Road or city center? S1!

S1: Mm ... The Second Ring Road ... city center ... (He doesn’t understand this question at all.)

Prof. Li: Which one is a little bit closer?

S1: Mm ... ah...

Prof. Li: Which one is a little bit closer? S2. (When She finds out that S1 doesn’t know how to answer the question, she asks student 2 to answer the question.)

S2: Uh ... he asks the driver ... to take the Second Ring Road.

Prof. Li: Yes, he asks the driver to take the Second Ring Road. Say this sentence together.

AS: He asks ... the driver ... to take the Second Ring Road.

Prof. Li: Why? Which one is closer? The Second Ring Road or city center?

S3: Uh ... because taking the Second Ring Road is much faster.

Prof. Li: Much faster? Go through the city center is not fast?

S4: The traffic in the city center is terrible.

Prof. Li: Correct! Pay attention, in Chinese, we say “Jiaotong Duse” (交通堵塞), which means “traffic jam.” But in English you just say “traffic.” For example, “there is a traffic,” “the traffic is terrible.” But in Chinese, you have to say “Duse,” which means “jam.” So how to say “The traffic jam is terrible,” or “there is a heavy traffic” in Chinese? The verb is “Du” (堵).

PL & AS: (She says the answer with students together.) The traffic ... jam ... is ... terrible. (“Jiaotong dude lihai; 交通堵得厉害”).

Prof. Li: Correct. Why doesn't the driver take the road in the city center? Together!

PL & AS: Because the traffic in the city center is terrible.

Prof. Li: Pay attention to this structure. (she points to the structure on the slide “verb./adj. +delihai (得厉害).”) It means “badly, terribly, heavily, severe” in English. “There is a lot of traffic.” Do not say “There are many traffic” (“You hen duo Jiaotong; 有很多交通”) in Chinese. You should say “The traffic is terrible” (“Jiaotong dude lihai; 交通堵得厉害”). Why does the driver not take the road in the city center? Say it together.

AS: Because the traffic in the city center is terrible.

Then, Professor Li gave students extra examples that go beyond the context provided in the textbook to practice this structure.

Episode 2.

Prof. Li: We have seen this structure before. (she points the structure on the slide “verb./adj. +得厉害” again.) It means “badly, terrible, heavily, severe” in English. “I am very sick.” How do you say it (with this grammar) in Chinese?

PL & AS: I am terribly ill. (“Wo bingde lihai; 我病得厉害”) Right.

Prof. Li: “badly, terribly, heavily, severe” all of them are not good things. “Today is very cold.” How to say it (with this structure)?

PL & AS: Today is terribly cold. (“Jintian lengde lihai; 今天冷得厉害”)

Prof. Li: You haven't eaten for three days. So ... I ... S4!

S4: I am ... terribly ... hungry. (“Wo ede lihai; 我饿得厉害”)

Prof. Li: Yes! No AC in the summer. S5!

S5: I am ... terribly ... hot.

Prof. Li: Yes, because -- (She extends the word to let her students know to finish the rest of the sentence.)

S5: Because there is no AC in the summer, I am terribly hot.

Prof. Li: Correct.

Prof. Li: Therefore, why doesn't the driver take the road in the city center? Because ...

AS: Because the traffic jam in city center is terrible.

Prof. Li: Yes, say it again together.
AS: Because the traffic jam in city center is terrible. Correct.
Prof. Li: You ate something not clean. So ...
S6: I am ... I am ... terribly ... ill.
Prof. Li: In Wangfujing area (one of the most famous shopping streets of Beijing), there are many stores. But do not go there if you have no money. Why is that? What do you think? S7?
S7:
Prof. Li: Very expensive.
S7: Oh, because ... things ... in Wangfujing area ... are ... terribly ... expensive.
Prof. Li: Correct. Things in Wangfujing area are terribly expensive. What about 5th Ave in New York? Together!
AS: Things ... on 5th Ave in New York ... are ... terribly ... expensive.
Prof. Li: Correct. We often use this structure for something undesirable.
Prof. Li: How do you know the traffic in the city center is terrible? In Beijing, once the traffic is terrible usually you will have to wait for an hour, right? (Now, she officially finishes teaching the grammar point: “verb./adj. +delihai (得厉害),” which means “badly, severe, terribly,” and moves to next episode.)

From the above episode we can see that, due to the limitations of the class size and the time, not all students could get a chance to practice their Chinese by answering Professor Li's questions. Most of the time only one or two students could answer a given question, and the rest of the class could only repeat that answer together. In other words, students did not have adequate opportunities to practice speaking Chinese, and the Professor Li had no way to know if all students had understood or mastered that grammar element. Therefore, the second-year Chinese language course offered two drill sections for its students on Tuesday, and two sections on Thursday, which were both taught by the Teaching Assistant, Ms. Wang. Four students attended the morning section and the other four attended the afternoon section.

Ms. Wang's Drill Sessions

Ms. Wang's drill session had the same teaching pedagogy as the lecture. She also used PowerPoint slides to facilitate her instruction, which were designed based on discussion in the weekly course preparation meetings. She also printed those slides out as her teaching plan and uploaded them to the course website as student review material. Here is an example of how Ms. Wang taught the aforementioned grammar: "verb./adj. +delihai (得厉害)," which means "badly, severe, terribly."

Episode 3.

Ms. Wang: So, he (the American student in the text) wants to go to the bank in Wangfujing area. How is the traffic in Beijing?

S1: The ... traffic ... is ... bad.

Ms. Wang: Bad. Correct. Often ... during the rush hour ... the traffic in Beijing is — (She extends the word to let her students know they should finish the rest of the sentence.)

S1: Terrible.

Ms. Wang: Correct. Together.

AS: The traffic is terrible.

Ms. Wang: Okay. Answer my questions. Do I know how to cook? Do I know how to cook?

S1: You know how to cook.

Ms. Wang: (Laugh) I know how to cook?! I told you guys last semester that I don't know how to cook. Who was your TA last semester? I've never —

AS: You've ... never ... cooked before.

Ms. Wang: Correct. Then, where can I eat? I don't know how to cook. Where can I eat?

S2: You can go the cafeteria to eat.

Ms. Wang: But the food in cafeteria is not clean. So... (She points at her stomach and shows a painful expression.)

S2: (Laugh) had terrible pain.

S3: (Laugh) Ms. Wang is terribly ill.

Ms. Wang: Yes, Ms. Wang is terribly ill. Where should she go?

S4: Ms. Wang should go to see the doctor.

Ms. Wang: Yes. To go to see the doctor. How can I get there?

S2: By walking.

Ms. Wang: (Smile) What? I am terribly ill.

S3: By bus.

S4: Take a taxi.
Ms. Wang: Yes, take a bus to see the doctor at the hospital.
Ms. Wang: Say that again. Ms. Wang —
S1: Ms. Wang is terribly ill.
Ms. Wang: So —
S2: She goes to the hospital to see a doctor.
Ms. Wang: Can I walk to the hospital? I have to —
S2: ... take the bus.
Ms. Wang: However, on my way, what happened? What happened? What happened? (She points the structure “verb. /adj. +delihai (得厉害)” on the slide.)
S2: The traffic is terrible.
Ms. Wang: I see the doctor. The doctor says —
MW & AS: You are terribly ill.
Ms. Wang: Correct! (Now she points her forehead to indicate that she has a fever.) I have a fever. So —
AS: So you have a terrible fever.
Ms. Wang: So I have to have a rest. I sleep for 12 hours. I wake up in the morning. I am very hungry.
S2: You are terribly hungry.
Ms. Wang: (Smile) Yes. It’s a long story. It’s a long story. Let’s say it again together.
AS: What? That’s too long.
Ms. Wang: Let’s say it again together. Only these few words.
AS: Ms. Wang ... has never ... cooked before.
Ms. Wang: So —
AS: So she has to go the cafeteria to eat.
Ms. Wang: But —
AS: But the food in the cafeteria is not clean.
Ms. Wang: So —
AS: So she has terrible stomach pain. She is terribly ill.
Ms. Wang: So —
AS: So she has to go to see the doctor by bus.
Ms. Wang: The doctor says —
AS: The doctor says ... she has a terrible fever.
Ms. Wang: So —
AS: So ... she sleeps for 12 hours.
Ms. Wang: As a result, the next day —
AS: Ms. Wang is terribly hungry ... the next day.
Ms. Wang: Very good.

From this episode, it is clear that Ms. Wang had the same teaching method as Professor Li, but with less explanation and more drilling practice beyond the topics of the textbook. Almost every student had better opportunity to practice their oral Chinese in the drill sessions. From the perspective of language teaching, Professor Li and Ms. Wang's teaching was very typical — their classroom teaching was clear, effective, and satisfactory. But how did their teaching affect the representations of China in their classrooms?

The Representations of China in the Enacted Curriculum

As chapter 4 found, *A New China* (ANC) positively presented many aspects of contemporary China in different lessons, including its people's living habits, societal progress, economic development, historical heritage, and cultural traditions. However, the second-year Chinese language class at Bison College in the spring semester of the 2015-2016 academic year only taught twelve lessons (from Lesson Nine to Lesson Twenty-One, excluding Lesson Seventeen). Thus, because the lessons stopped at Twenty-One, certain aspects of China included in the rest of the textbook were not discussed in class, such as China's unenlightened political ideology (Lesson Twenty-Eight "Ping Pong Diplomacy" and Lesson Thirty "Beijing's Bookstores") and China's booming Economy (Lesson Twenty-Four "Made in China" and Lesson Twenty-Seven "'Iron Rice Bowl' is Broken").

This research found that due to the textbook-centered pedagogy of the second-year Chinese language class, most representations of China evident in these twelve lessons were generally repeated and privileged in classroom teaching.

Moreover, as experienced Chinese language instructors, both Professor Li and Ms. Wang tended to use content from previous lessons to teach new grammar elements. Thus, the representation of China from previous lessons were repeated frequently in the classroom. In addition to using the textbook, Professor Li and Ms. Wang also provided students with extra materials, such as pictures, news reports, and video clips, to facilitate their teaching. Their textbook-centered pedagogy determined that most of these materials served as visual-aids for students to understand the content of the textbook more intuitively. Thus, these materials usually conveyed the same representations of China as the lessons in the textbook. However, a few supplementary materials conflicted with the ideology of the textbook. They revealed some horrible problems in China while providing little to no excuses for those problems.

Let me present a full transcript of Professor Li's first lecture on Lesson Twenty-One "It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road" as an example. The following analysis provided valuable insights into how much of what was in the textbook was actually privileged in the classroom. Lesson Twenty-One is a very representative lesson in ANC, as it reflects many of the features of ANC that I analyzed in chapter 4. For example, by comparing China with the U.S., this lesson criticizes Chinese people who have uncivilized traffic habits (e.g. drivers who do not yield to pedestrians or people who do not follow traffic lights). But by comparing the new China with the old China, this lesson also encouraged its readers to recognize China's tremendous progress (e.g., it is much safer to cross the road now because

many overhead bridges and underground passes were recently built in Beijing). This lesson also encourages Americans to have a more tolerant attitude towards this dangerous traffic situation (e.g. American students can discover a peculiar kind of order when they got used to it. Chinese people call this situation “finding order in chaos.”) This lesson also shows that Chinese People live a prosperous and relaxing life (e.g. the overhead bridges and underground passes are also the places where some Beijing residents decompress.) The following transcript and analysis showed how China was represented in Professor Li’s lecture when she taught Lesson Twenty-One in class.

As I analyzed in chapter 4, Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road” describes China’s horrible traffic order:

It was really dangerous to cross the road, because cars did not yield to pedestrians, and the pedestrians had to walk across quickly among many cars. I was really afraid that I might be hit. In China, drivers do not seem to take care of the pedestrians.... In the US, cars have to let pedestrians pass first, while in China pedestrians have to yield to cars. (过马路真危险，因为汽车是不让行人的，行人得在许多车子当中很快的走过去，我真怕会被车子撞着。在中国，开车的人好像不太照顾走路的人.....在美国汽车得让行人先走，而在中国行人却得让汽车。) (ANC, pp. 192-193)

After the dictation, Professor Li started her class, as usual, by asking questions based on the text.

Episode 4.

Prof. Li: Is it dangerous to cross the road in the U.S.?

S1: Mm ... Mm ... not dangerous.

Prof. Li: Correct, not dangerous. Are there a lot of cars on the road in the U.S.?

FY: There are not a lot of cars on the road in the U.S.

Prof. Li: Are you afraid?

KJ: I am not afraid.

Prof. Li: Why?

KJ: Because cars yield to pedestrians.
 Prof. Li: Very good! Very good!
 [Grammar explanation of “yield” omitted]
 Prof. Li: Let’s say it together. Cars let pedestrians pass first in most parts of the U.S.
 AS: Cars let pedestrians ... pass first ... in most parts of the U.S.
 (Pointing to the sentence on the PowerPoint slides.)
 Prof. Li: Let’s read it together.
 PL & AS: Cars let pedestrians pass first ... in most parts of the U.S. But, in New York,
 Pedestrians let cars pass first.
 Prof. Li: Is it the case?
 KJ: Mm ... Mm ... in New York, yes, cars let ... pedestrians pass first.
 Prof. Li: (laugh) Okay, how to say “he doesn’t agree with the teacher’s opinion”? Together!
 AS: He doesn’t agree with the teacher’s opinion. In New York, cars let pedestrians pass first.
 Prof. Li: In his opinion —
 AS: In his opinion ... in New York ... cars let pedestrians pass first.
 Prof. Li: Is that the case, JK?
 JK: Yes, correct. In New York, cars let pedestrians pass first.
 [Grammar explanation about “let” omitted]

The above transcript shows how Professor Li taught the content in the textbook through the “audio-lingual” teaching method. After explaining the grammar element of “let,” Professor Li continued her class by asking her students another question, the answer of which was also the content of the textbook.

Episode 5.

Prof. Li: So we say that it is not dangerous to cross the road in the U.S. Then why is it dangerous to cross the road in China?

Before any student answered her question, Professor Li played a 15-second-long video clip on YouTube⁷, which basically showed the chaotic traffic in China.

Prof. Li: What did you see just now?
 S1: Cars did not yield to pedestrians.

⁷ <https://youtu.be/TQnOdVLmMYM>

Prof. Li: So in the U.S., together!

Prof. Li & AS: In the U.S., cars yield to pedestrians. In China, cars do not yield to pedestrians.

[Grammar explanation of “yield” omitted]

Prof. Li: Let’s say it together.

Prof. Li & AS: In the U.S., cars yield to pedestrians. In China, cars do not yield to pedestrians.

This short video presented no new information to students, as it simply provided an image of China that was presented in the textbook. Professor Li used this video clip as a visual-aid for her students to understand the content of the textbook, “in China pedestrians have to yield to cars,” more intuitively. This example shows that, in classroom instruction, supplementary materials, which usually echoed the representations of China in the textbook, provided another way to privilege the representation of China in the textbook.

After teaching the grammar element of “yield” and “let,” Professor Li moved to the next grammar element “take care of.” She pointed to the sentence on the PowerPoint slides, and asked:

Episode 6.

Prof. Li: In the U.S., drivers take care of pedestrians. We have learned “take care of,” right? China has a one-child policy, so the parents together with the grandparents take care of the child. How do you say this? (This is the content from Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo”.)

AS: The parents together with the grandparents take care of the child.
(Professor Li moves to another grammar element “however.”)

Prof. Li: In the U.S., drivers take care of pedestrians. However, in China, pedestrians have to yield to cars. What are the differences between the public toilets in China and in the U.S.? (This is the content from Lesson Twelve “Restrooms.”)

S1: Public toilets in China don’t have toilet paper.

S2: And sinks.

Prof. Li: America is different from China. How do you pay for the bill after a meal with your friends? (This is the content from Lesson Nineteen “At The

Dining Table.”)
S3: In the U.S., when eating out, we ... mm ...
Prof. Li: Go Dutch!
S3: In the U.S. ... when eating out ... we go Dutch.
Prof. Li: Continue!
S3: However, in China, they fight for the right to pay the bill.
Prof. Li: Who?
S3: The guests and the hosts.
Prof. Li: Together!
AS: In the U.S., when eating out we go Dutch. However, in China, they fight for the right to pay the bill.

The above transcript showed how Professor Li used the content from previous lessons to help students learn the new grammar elements. She used content from Lesson Sixteen, “Beijing Zoo,” to teach “take care of” and content from Lesson Twelve, “Restrooms,” and Lesson Nineteen, “At The Dining Table,” to teach “however.” All these sentences conveyed certain images of China, as I analyzed in chapter 4. “China has a one-child policy, so the parents together with the grandparents take care of the child” represents the idea that Chinese people live a happy life. “In the U.S., when eating out we go Dutch, however, in China, they fight for the right to pay the bill.” This sentence highlighted that American students should acknowledge the differences between China and the U.S. with a pluralist multicultural perspective. This transcript illustrates that the representations of China in the textbook were taught and practiced by Professor Li repeatedly.

After discussing the content in previous lessons, Professor Li adeptly returned to the current content in Lesson Twenty-One.

Episode 7.

Prof. Li: How do Chinese people cross the road? What is there on the road?
S1: A lot of cars.

Prof. Li: Correct. Therefore, pedestrians had to cross among many cars.
[Grammar explanation about “among” omitted]
(Professor Li points to the sentence on the PowerPoint slides.)
PL & AS: Because cars do not yield to pedestrians, and the pedestrians had to cross quickly among many cars.
Prof. Li: Is that dangerous?
S2: Very dangerous.
Prof. Li: Correct. If you did that (cross quickly among many cars), what could happen?
[Grammar explanation about “hit” omitted]
S3: You could get hit.
[Grammar explanation about “hit” omitted]
Prof. Li: Why would someone get hit?
S3 In China?
Prof. Li: (Laugh) Yes, in China.
S3: Because cars do not yield to pedestrians.
[Grammar explanation about “hit” omitted]

To further practice the grammar element of “hit,” Professor Li led her class to talk about a supplementary material, an English newspaper article that she emailed to her students before the class. The newspaper article, “Driven to Kill: Why Drivers in China Intentionally Kill the Pedestrians They Hit” (Sant, 2015), told students a horrific phenomenon regarding China’s chaotic traffic. As the title indicated, the article reported that in China, drivers who have injured pedestrians would sometimes then try to kill them because killing is far more economical. This article explained that the hit-to-kill phenomenon stems at least in part from perverse laws on victim compensation. In China, the compensation for killing a victim in a traffic accident is relatively small—amounts typically range from \$30,000 to \$50,000—and once payment is made, the matter is over. By contrast, payment for lifetime care for a disabled survivor can run into the millions (Sant, 2015). The following transcript shows how Professor Li discussed this newspaper article with her students.

Episode 8.

Prof. Li: You all read that newspaper article, right? What did it say?

Sometimes, drivers —

AS: Sometimes ... drivers ...

Prof. Li: Hit and run (laugh), right? Say it together.

PL & AS: Drivers hit the pedestrians ... and

Prof. Li: And what? Run away.

PL & AS: Drivers hit the pedestrians ... and run way.

Prof. Li: Sometimes, in the U.S., we also have this kind of thing, right? But in China, it is more serious. What is the situation in China? S1.

S1: In China, it is ... hit and die?

Prof. Li: (Laugh) Correct. You can say, originally they did not kill them, but afterwards ...? Say it together.

PL & AS: Originally the drivers did not kill pedestrians.

Prof. Li: Originally the drivers did not kill pedestrians, right? But, why ...?

What about afterwards?

S2: Then, they kill them.

Prof. Li: Right. Why?

S2: Because drivers don't want to waste money.

Prof. Li: Right. Or, "not to spend."

AS: Not to spend money.

Prof. Li: What do the drivers do?

PL & AS: They don't want to spend money.

Prof. Li: Or "They don't want to take care of pedestrians." Say it together.

PL & AS: They don't want to take care of pedestrians.

Prof. Li: Right. They don't want to take care of pedestrians. How do you say "hit the pedestrians several times" in Chinese?

PL & AS: The drivers hit the pedestrians several times.

Prof. Li: Correct. So, you all read the news. What does it say? Say it together.

PL & AS: Originally they did not kill the pedestrians, but afterwards, they would rather hit pedestrians again to kill them because drivers do not want to spend money to take care of them.

Prof. Li: Right, that's what was written in the newspaper.

(Professor Li then resumes with the content in the textbook.)

As I discussed in the theoretical framework section, the enacted curriculum does not always equal the official curriculum. The above transcript provides a perfect example. Though for most of the class, China was presented positively by Professor Li, as was the China in the textbook, this newspaper article and how

Professor Li taught it actually conflicted with the ideology of the textbook. The newspaper article itself took a very negative stance toward China. After introducing several of these kinds of crimes with vivid descriptions, the reporter explained that drivers who decide to hit-and-kill do so because killing is far more economical. The reporter not only considered this phenomenon to be a traffic and legislation problem, but he also proposed that it resulted from China's lack of media freedom and judicial fairness.

Even in today's age of cellphone cameras, drivers seem confident that they can either bribe local officials or hire a lawyer to evade murder charges Hit-to-kill drivers regularly escape serious punishment. Judges, police, and media often seem to accept rather unbelievable claims that the drivers hit the victims multiple times accidentally, or that the drivers confused the victims with inanimate objects. (Sant, 2015)

Obviously, compared to ANC, which established a positive image of China, this newspaper article presented another China for students. It portrayed a country with a corrupt government, a lack of freedom of speech, and a faulty judicial system. Though this is probably the most common portrayal of China that is found in the mainstream American media, *A New China* mentioned nothing about it.

Moreover, in Professor Li's lecture, this negative image of China was not being thoroughly discussed but simply presented to students without elaboration. Though Professor Li emailed this newspaper article for her students before class, she only spent about four minutes in her class talking about this supplementary material. From the transcript we can see that Professor Li's priority was still teaching the language. All she did was to make sure her students can express the

basic meaning of this situation (“hit-and-kill”) in Chinese. As analyzed in chapter 4, ANC also mentioned some undesirable aspects of China, but it always encouraged American students to have a tolerant attitude towards China and acknowledge China’s improvement since the Chinese economic reform. However, the above transcript shows that Professor Li did not always follow this pattern. She only laid out the ugly truth about China to students and did not provide any excuse or explanation for it. A negative image of China was being presented to her students without any reframing or sugarcoating.

Let’s now go back to Professor Li’s class to see how she taught the more reframed version of China’s horrible traffic that the textbook provides for the students. Lesson Twenty-One states that “a bridge that goes across the street was recently built in front of the school gate. It is much safer to cross the road now There are many overhead bridges and underground passes in Beijing” (ANC, pp.192-193). Here is how Professor Li taught this part:

Episode 9.

Prof. Li: Right, that’s what was written in the newspaper. So, to cross roads in China, if you are a pedestrian, you are not safe, right? What do you do? It is not safe. What do you do?

S3: (Very puzzled) What do we do?

Prof. Li: Yeah, what do you do? It is not safe for you to cross the road.

S3: Mm

(Professor Li now switches her topic back to the textbook.)

Prof. Li: (Showing her a picture of an overpass in the PowerPoint slide) What is this?

S3: Highway.

Prof. Li: (Laughs) Is that a highway?

S3: Oh, an overhead bridge. You can use overhead bridges.

Prof. Li: Right. Don't cross the road. Use the overhead bridges. You can use the overhead bridges over the roads. It is safe, right? You can also use ... underground —

AS: Underground passes.

Prof. Li: So in China, people built many overhead bridges and underground passes.

[Grammar explanation about “build” omitted]

Prof. Li: If you want to cross the road, do you think it is a good method to use overhead bridges and underground passes?

Jake⁸: Mm ...

Prof. Li: In the U.S., cars yield to pedestrians. In China, cars do not yield to pedestrians. Pedestrians use overhead bridges or underground passes. Do you think it is a good method?

Jake: Mm ... It is not a good ... method to use ... overhead bridges and ... underground passes.

Prof. Li: Why?

Jake: Mm ... Because it will ... cost a lot of money ... if you want to ... Mm ... build overhead bridges and ... underground passes.

Prof. Li: Okay. Together.

PL & AS: It will cost a lot of money if you want to build overhead bridges and underground passes.

Prof. Li: So he thinks —

PL & AS: So he thinks that is not a good method to use overhead bridges and underground passes.

Prof. Li: S5, what do you think?

S5: I think it is a good method to use overhead bridges and underground passes because it is safer.

Prof. Li: Great! So do you think it is necessary to build overhead bridges and underground passes in the U.S. SY!

S6: I think ... China ... has to build ... overhead bridges and underground passes.

Prof. Li: Because —

S6: Because in China, cars do not yield to pedestrians.

Prof. Li: Yes, what about in the U.S.? Is it necessary to build overhead bridges and underground passes in the U.S.?

S7: Mm ... in big cities, the U.S. needs to build overhead bridges and underground passes.

Prof. Li: Because —

S7: Because ... in big cities, cars do not yield to pedestrians.

Prof. Li: Yes, very good! Very good!

⁸ This student's answer will be discussed in chapters 6 and 7. Thus, I used this student's name “Jake” instead of “S4.”

As analyzed in chapter 4, by mentioning that Beijing has been building many overhead bridges and underground passes, Lesson Twenty-One highlighted the progress that China made in solving its horrible traffic problems. This reduced the negative descriptions of China, at least to a certain degree. The above transcript also shows that Professor Li led her students to practice this point. What is also worth noting is how Professor Li dealt with student's answers that did not align with the content of the textbook. When she asked, "Pedestrians use overhead bridges or underground passes. Do you think it is a good method?", the first student answered, "It is not a good method because it will cost a lot of money to build overhead bridges or underground passes." Apparently, this was not the answer that Professor Li expected. Her response was a little bit discouraging: "Okay.... he thinks it is not a good method" But when another student provided the answer from the textbook ("It is a good method to use overhead bridges and underground passes because it is safer."), Professor Li's comments became much more affirmative: "Great!"

Besides the reframing provided by the textbook, another reframing of the problems in China can be found in the above episode when Professor Li used an extra example sentence to further reduce the negative descriptions of China in her class. In the above episode, Professor Li guided her students to say, "In big cities, the U.S. needs to build overhead bridges and underground passes because in big cities cars do not yield to pedestrians." In this sentence, students are taught to say that China is not the only country has traffic problems and the U.S. has similar problems.

Professor Li's comments on this sentence were more affirmative: "Yes, very good! Very good!" In fact, Professor Li had already utilized this "U.S. vs. China" comparison at the beginning of her lecturer. In Episode 4, she also led her students to say that "cars let pedestrians pass first in most parts of the U.S. But, in New York, pedestrians let cars pass first." However, when she asked, "Is that the case?", two students did not really agree with this sentence. Professor Li had to say "he doesn't agree with the teacher's opinion. In New York, cars let pedestrians pass first." In the above Episode 9, Professor Li finally successfully made her students say the sentence that she wanted them to say, which reduced the negative description of China.

Though the textbook suggested that using the overhead bridges and underground passes is a safer way to cross the road in Beijing, Professor Li did not completely stick to this. Instead, she showed her students a 1-minute-long funny video clip⁹, "How to Safely Cross the Street in China."

Episode 10.

Prof. Li: Now, I want to ask you. It is dangerous to cross road in China. Then, do you want to drive a car in China? AM!

S1: I don't want to drive a car in China.

Prof. Li: Why?

S: Because it is dangerous.

Prof. Li: Why?

S1: Because ... I don't know the traffic ... regulations in China.

Prof. Li: Yes. Let's say it together.

AS: It is dangerous to drive car in China because she doesn't know China's traffic regulations.

Prof. Li: Very good. Let's watch a video.

This video was made by an African American who had lived in Shanghai,

⁹ https://youtu.be/_DAdZrUjneE

China for 12 years. He has his own YouTube channel, called “Loser Laowai in China,” which contains hundreds of video clips that he made about China. At least 10,000 people subscribed to his channel. The video, “How to Safely Cross the Street in China,” introduces a foreigner, who is not used to China’s chaotic traffic, to the best way to cross the street safely in China. In this video, this American guy stood at an intersection and watched all cars turn at all directions even though there was a red light. He suggested that foreigners should wait at the zebra crossing, and follow or walk parallel with a local Chinese person to cross the street safely. The content of this video clip was slightly exaggerated and aimed to amuse viewers. It actually worked in that way. All the students had a good laugh when watching this video clip. After they watched the video, Professor Li asked:

Episode 11.

Prof. Li: “Laowai” means foreigner. What did you just see? How do you say “cross road with other people?”

AS: Cross road with other people

Prof. Li: Why you need to cross road with other people?

SL: Because it is much safer.

Prof. Li: Correct. Why it is much safer?

FY: Mm ... because ... the people ... near you ... will get hit ... first.

Prof. Li: (Laugh) Correct, correct (Laugh). Or, you can say (the reason) is “in China, cars don’t follow the traffic rules.” (Laugh). Let’s say it together.

AS: In China, cars don’t follow the traffic rules.

Prof. Li: (Laugh) If a car is going to hit someone. It is going to hit the one near you first. How do you say it?

PL & AS: If a car is going to hit someone. It is going to hit the one near you first.

Prof. Li: Cars do not watch the traffic lights. Say it again.

AS: Cars do not watch the traffic lights.

Prof. Li: Correct. Only cars don’t watch the traffic lights? What about pedestrians?

JK: Pedestrians watch the traffic lights.

Prof. Li: Is that the case? Did you see them watch the traffic lights (in that video)? So ... “not only ... but also ...”

AS: Not only cars don’t watch the traffic lights, but pedestrians also don’t watch the traffic lights.

Prof. Li: Therefore, when you cross the road, what should you do?

PL & AS: You should cross the road with local people together.

Prof. Li: Great! Let’s call it for today.

The textbook stated that it was much safer to cross the road because many overhead bridges and underground passes were built in Beijing. Professor Li indeed led her students to practice this content. But the video clip also told a different story. The above transcript shows again that the extra supplementary materials and the way in which Professor Li taught them, were not always completely aligned with the description of China in the textbook. The representations of China in the “Driven to Kill” newspaper article and in the “How to Safely Cross the Street in China” video can hardly be categorized as positive. And, unlike the textbook, Professor Li did not lead students to find any silver lining in those negative images either.

The above classroom transcripts and analysis counter the simple arguments that students only learn what is in the textbook as if the textbook content completely determines what students learn. It demonstrates the process of realizing the specific representations of China in the second-year Chinese language class at Bison College. In this process, the textbook was indeed a major resource. Most of the content in the textbook that contains the representation of China was taught without much revision and was practiced repeatedly by the whole class. Moreover, Professor Li did not only teach the content from Lesson Twenty-One, but she also continuously helped students review content from previous lessons. For example,

she mentioned content from Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo,” Lesson Twelve “Restrooms,” and Lesson Nineteen “At The Dining Table.” Naturally, the representations of China contained in these lessons, as I analyzed in chapter 4, were generally repeated and privileged in these classes. These representations include that of the prosperous and relaxing life of Chinese people; the backward material conditions in some parts of China; the uncivilized behaviors of some Chinese people; and the many differences between China and the U.S. Professor Li also provided three extra learning materials, two short video clips and one newspaper article, in her lecture. The first video clip gave students a more intuitive feeling of the content in the textbook (the chaotic traffic order in China) and, thus, conveyed the same description of China. However, the second video and the newspaper article contributes a negative description of China. In the following section, I present more examples to further illustrate the process of realizing the specific representations of China in both Professor Li’s lectures and Ms. Wang’s drill sessions.

The Representations of China in ANC Were Privileged in the Classroom

As stated above, this research found that representations of China in the textbook were still largely communicated to students due to the fact that the second-year Chinese language course was a textbook-centered class and, as such, the pedagogy was highly teacher-centered. Scholars stated that though the role of grammar has been rendered secondary to communicative goals in the present “post-method” era in the field of foreign language teaching in the U.S., grammar instruction has continued to occupy an important place in Chinese language

classrooms (Liu, 2016). This was exactly the case in the second-year Chinese language class. My 16-week-long observation found that Professor Li and Ms. Wang's priority was to ensure that their students understood the content of the textbook, especially the grammar elements, and could speak Chinese correctly. Their interviews with me also confirmed my accounts.

Therefore, the grammar elements contained in the text, such as the “verb./adj. +delihai (得厉害)” (“badly, severe, terribly”) in Episode 1, were the focus of the classroom teaching in the second-year Chinese language class. When teaching those grammar elements, both Professor Li and Ms. Wang always began by asking students questions based on the text, such as “How is the traffic in Beijing?” or, “Which one is closer? The Second Ring Road or city center?” Students were expected, guided, and taught to answer those questions using the original sentences in the textbook that contained the grammar element instructors wanted to teach. For example, “The traffic in the city center is terrible,” or, “The traffic in Beijing is terrible.” These answers were then corrected, polished, and repeatedly drilled by Professor Li and Ms. Wang. Often the instructors, especially Ms. Wang, did not move on to the next question until they believed that every student could say those sentences correctly. The above episodes of classroom transcripts clearly showed that the illustration and the practice of the text content took a large proportion of class time. As a result, the content of the text was naturally introduced and illustrated by Professor Li in her lectures, and reviewed and practiced by Ms. Wang in her drill sessions, and therefore practiced and acquired by students.

Here I would like to give a few more examples to show how the representations of China in the textbook was being communicated to students through the language teaching and learning in Professor Li's lectures and Ms. Wang's drill sessions.

As analyzed in chapter 4, Lesson Nine talked about the traffic jam in Beijing. Rather than criticizing the government in Beijing and holding them responsible for not solving the problem, the textbook attributed the traffic jam to the improvement of Chinese people's living standards, which created a positive image of China.

There are more and more cars in Beijing in recent years. Many people bought private cars, but the construction of the roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars. The traffic jams get more serious by the day. (最近几年，北京的汽车越来越多，许多人都买了私家车，可是北京道路的发展却赶不上汽车的增加，所以交通堵塞就一天比一天严重了。) (ANC, p. 79)

In Professor Li's lecture, this message was completely conveyed to students without any revision. Here is how she taught this paragraph.

Episode 12.

Prof. Li: Why does Beijing have traffic jams? It's true that Beijing has terrible, terrible traffic. Why does Beijing have traffic jams? S1.

S1: Mm ... because ... development ... cannot catch up with ... Mm ... increase...

Prof. Li: The "development" of what? What is getting more and more?

S1: The development of the highway ... cannot catch up with ... the increase...?

Prof. Li: The "increase" in what?

S1: ... (Silence)

Prof. Li: Private Car? How do you say that in Chinese?

S1: Private Car.

Prof. Li: Correct! Let's say it together.

PL & As: Private Car.

Prof. Li: Because of the increase in private cars ... in recent years, right? How do you say recent years in Chinese?

AS: ... (Silence)

Prof. Li: Recent years, right? Let's say it together.

PL & AS: Recent years.

[Grammar explanation of "recent" omitted]

Prof. Li: Great. So, how do you translate this sentence in Chinese? "In recent years, the traffic in Beijing has become more serious because more and more people are buying private cars."

[Grammar explanation of "more and more" omitted]

PL & AS: In recent years, the traffic in Beijing has become more serious because more and more people are buying private cars.

Prof. Li: Great! Now, I want to ask you. Now, Beijing is different from the past, understand?

S2: Understand.

Prof. Li: What are the differences?

S3: In recent years ... traffic jam ... in Beijing ... has become more terrible.

Prof. Li: Great. (Then she moves on to the next paragraph.)

In this episode, when Professor Li asked the question, "Why does Beijing have traffic jam?" the answer that she expected was the original sentence from the textbook—that "more people are buying private cars." As I analyzed in chapter 4, this textbook excerpt presented China's modern materials conditions. Professor Li taught it sentence in class without any revision.

Because of the same textbook-centered pedagogy, Ms. Wang's drill session also repeated this message with the same method (asking questions about the text). Yet Ms. Wang's class was more vivid and intensive. Not only did she use two pictures that compared the different traffic situations between the new Beijing and the old Beijing, but she also ensured that every student in her class could say the sentence correctly without assistance. For example, here is how Ms. Wang taught this paragraph. She first showed the following two pictures on her PowerPoint slide, and then proceeded:

Episode 13.

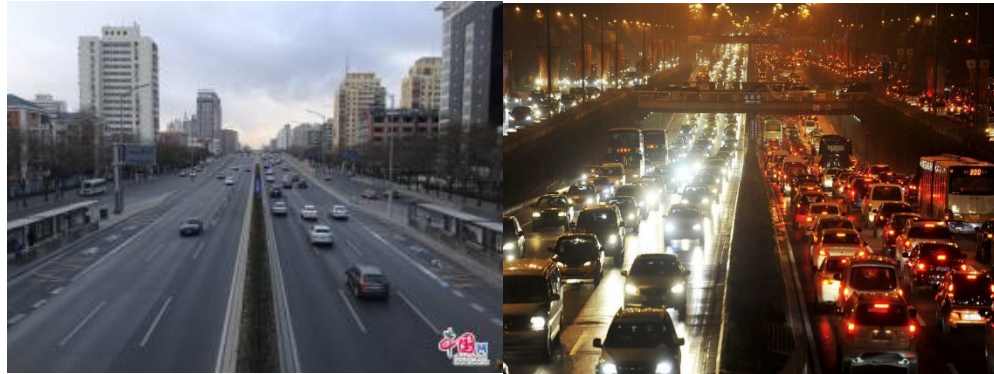


Figure 1. Pictures of Beijing's Roads

Ms. Wang: Look at the pictures. Look, (pointing to the picture on the left) this is Beijing's road in the past. Were there many cars?

S1: No.

Ms. Wang: Then how about the traffic?

AS: No traffic jam.

Ms. Wang: What about now? (Pointing to the picture on the right.)

AS: Now the traffic in Beijing is terrible.

Ms. Wang: Then, why is the traffic in Beijing becoming more and more terrible? S2, why do you think the traffic in Beijing becoming more and more terrible?

S2: Because Beijing has more and more people?

Ms. Wang: Is that right? Look at the picture, what has changed between these two pictures?

S2: Oh, there are more and more cars.

Ms. Wang: Correct, because Beijing has more and more cars. Many people bought — —

S3: Private cars.

Ms. Wang: Correct. Say it together. More and more people bought private cars.

AS: More and more people bought private cars.

Ms. Wang: But, look, mm, is there any change about Beijing's road? There is no change, right? However, —

MW & AS: However, Beijing has more and more private cars.

Ms. Wang: Therefore, The traffic in Beijing —

AS: Therefore, the traffic in Beijing became more and more terrible.

Ms. Wang: Therefore, we say, the development of Beijing's roads, follow me!

AS: The development ... of Beijing's roads.

Ms. Wang: Again!

AS: The development ... of Beijing's roads.

Ms. Wang: Follow me! The increase in the cars.
AS: The increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: So, can the development of Beijing's roads catch up with the increase in the cars?
AS: ... (Silence)
Ms. Wang: S1!
S1: The development of Beijing's roads ... cannot ... catch up with ... the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: Correct. The cars increased, so the roads should be more —
S1: Wider?
Ms. Wang: Yes! Yes! Yes! However, are Beijing's roads getting wider? No. Therefore ... Together!
AS: The development of Beijing's roads cannot ... catch up with ... the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: Again!
AS: The development of Beijing's roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: S1!
S1: The development of Beijing's roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: S2!
S2: The development of Beijing's roads ... cannot catch up with ... the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: S3!
S3: The development of Beijing's roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: S4!
S4: The development of Beijing's roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: One last time, together!
AS: The development of Beijing's roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars.
Ms. Wang: Very good. Class dismiss!

This episode perfectly reflects how Ms. Wang tirelessly ensured that students could master the content in the textbook. In this class, Ms. Wang required students to supply answers from the textbook and instructed students to practice these answers repeatedly. For example, when she asked “Why is Beijing’s traffic terrible?”, students could not provide any answer other than the answer in the textbook.

Therefore, although one student's answer, "Beijing has more and more people," also made sense, Ms. Wang did not approve of that answer. She kept asking questions, such as, "Is that right? Look at the picture, what is different?" until students could say, "more and more people bought private cars." In this episode, she also mentioned that Beijing's roads were "not getting wider," which obviously is not correct. She only used this instruction in the class in order to teach the content in the textbook.

Moreover, this episode also exemplified how positive messages about China in the textbook were privileged in class due to the nature of language instruction through imitation and mechanical language drills. In the lectures, Professor Li mentioned the positive information twice that reflects Chinese people's improving living conditions: "More and more Chinese people are buying private cars." Due to the time limitation, students only have to say this sentence together with Professor Li once. However, in Ms. Wang's class, the whole class repeated this information at least ten times. Ms. Wang did not dismiss the class until she ensured that every student could say this sentence fluently in Chinese.

The above Episode 12 and Episode 13 exemplified how positive images of China in the textbook— in this case "Chinese people's modern living conditions in regard to transportation" — were privileged in the classroom. Due to the highly textbook-centered and teacher-centered pedagogy positive representations of China in the textbook, which I analyzed in chapter 4, were largely communicated to students in the second-year Chinese language course.

The Representations of China from Previous Lessons Were Repeatedly Taught

It is important to note that a particular representation of China contained in a particular lesson in the classroom would often be repeated in other lessons. Because of the nature of language teaching, when teaching new grammar elements, both Professor Li and Ms. Wang preferred to drill students repeatedly on the same topics in the textbook. The above Episode 6 in the transcripts of Lesson Twenty-One is an example. The following section provided more examples to show how repetition in the second-year Chinese language class became one of the methods of privileging representations of China in the textbook.

In Lesson Nine, Professor Li taught the positive message: “More and more Chinese people are buying private cars.” Five weeks later, when Professor Li taught the grammar element “... is a huge problem/improvement” in Lesson Twelve, “Restrooms,” she also repeated the message about Chinese people’s modern living conditions in regard to transportation.

Episode 14.

Prof. Li: We say now Beijing has more and more private cars. Do you understand? Therefore, what about the traffic? S1! What about the traffic?

S1: Mm ... traffic ... traffic jams are terrible.

Prof. Li: Correct! Continue.

S1: Mm ... this is a huge problem. (“A huge problem”)

[Grammar explanation of “huge” omitted]

Prof. Li: Together!

PL & AS: The traffic jams in Beijing are very terrible. This is a huge problem.

Prof. Li: In the past, Chinese people all rode bikes. What about now?

S2: Mm ... now ... Chinese people ...

Prof. Li: In the past Chinese people rode bikes. What about now?

S2: Now, Chinese people drive private cars.

Prof. Li: Yes. Chinese people drive private cars. Continue.

S2: Therefore, it is a huge improvement.

Prof. Li: Correct! Correct! Correct! Let's put them together.

PL & AS: Now Chinese people drive private cars. This is a huge improvement.

Ms. Wang also adopted the same teaching practice in her drill sessions. In fact, when teaching the new grammar elements, she was expected to drill students repeatedly on the same topics in the textbook. And she was really good at it. The following episode shows how she included previous knowledge from the textbook into new grammar element drilling. The new grammar element that Ms. Wang taught in the following episode is “unexpectedly,” which was from Lesson Thirteen “Taking a Train.” Here are the original sentences that contain “unexpectedly” in Lesson Thirteen.

Having lived in the U.S. for over ten years, I have never been on a long distance train. When traveling to faraway places, I either take a plane or drive. After coming to China, not even three weeks yet, I unexpectedly have already been on a long distance train twice. (在美国生活了十几年，我从来没坐过长途火车；到远处去旅行，不是坐飞机就是开车。来了中国以后，不到三个星期，居然已经做了两次长途火车了。) (ANC, p. 121)

When drilling this grammar element, Ms. Wang did not ask students questions based on Lesson thirteen. Her questions were actually based on Lesson Twelve, “Restrooms.”

Episode 15.

Ms. Wang: What do you think about Beijing's restrooms?

S1: Very awful.

Ms. Wang: How so?

S1: Uh ... No toilet paper.

Ms. Wang: What else?

S2: No basin.

Ms. Wang: What else?

S3: Mm ... No toilet that you can sit on.

Ms. Wang: What else?

S4: Mm ... stinky.

Ms. Wang: Correct, correct, let's say it together. I thought —

MW & AS: I thought Beijing's restrooms ...

Ms. Wang: "neither ... or" and "in addition" —

MW & AS: I thought Beijing's restrooms ... had either toilet paper or ... basin.
In addition, I thought Beijing's restrooms ... did not have a toilet that you can sit on.

Ms. Wang: However, after I went to Beijing, unexpectedly —

(she shows the following picture on her PowerPoint slides, which is a very clean and modern restroom.)

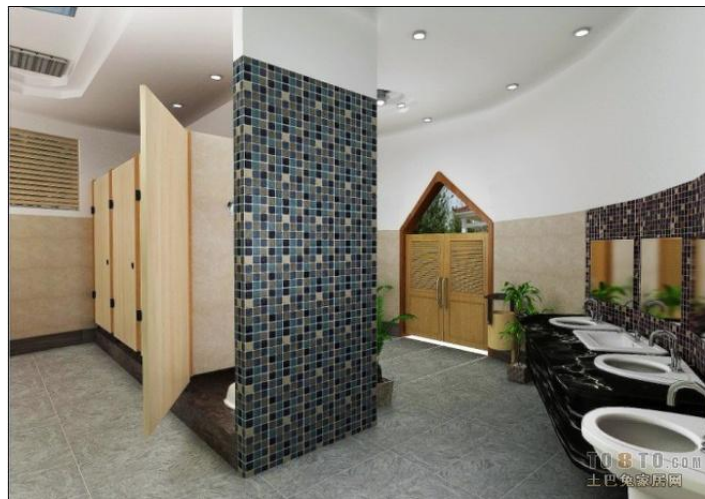


Figure 2. Picture of a clean restroom.

S1: Very clean.

Ms. Wang: And also provides —

S2: Toilet paper.

Ms. Wang: And —

S1: Basin.

Ms. Wang: Correct. Let's say it together.

AS: I thought Beijing's restrooms had neither toilet paper or basin. In addition, there was no toilet that you can sit on.

Ms. Wang: After I went to Beijing —

MW & AS: After I went to China, unexpectedly, I found Beijing's restrooms ... were very clean and ... they provided both toilet paper and basin.

Ms. Wang: Correct! Very good.

As analyzed in chapter 4, although Lesson Twelve, "Restrooms," described

the horrible conditions of the public restroom in Beijing, in its conclusion the text

emphasized that Beijing has made progress in this respect. In the above episode, by

drilling the grammar element in Lesson Thirteen, Ms. Wang led her students to review this message from Lesson Twelve, which encouraged American students to recognize China's tremendous progress.

Professor Li and Ms. Wang's repeated mechanical drilling was very effective. Most students mastered the content in the textbook. They were able to answer the instructor's questions with the content from the textbook even several weeks later. For example, they learned Lesson Eleven "Comrade, Miss, and Mr." in the third week. Students can still memorize most of content in this lesson correctly almost ten weeks later when Ms. Wang conducted the final review session with them at the end of the semester.

Episode 16.

Ms. Wang: What contains "Chinese characteristics?" We have learned a lot about a new China? Right? What contains "Chinese characteristics?"

S1: Drinking hot water.

Ms. Wang: Yes. What else?

S2: Great Wall.

Ms. Wang: Yes. What else?

S3: Taking a stroll with caged birds in a small park.

Ms. Wang: (Laugh). Correct. Yes, drinking hot water; Great Wall; Taking a stroll with caged birds in a small park. What else?

S4: Traveling by train.

S1: Using chopsticks.

Ms. Wang: Mm ... Koreans also use chopsticks.

S2: Speaking Chinese.

Ms. Wang: (Laugh) ... What about "comrade?" Do you still remember?

S2: The word "comrade" has ... a unique Chinese characteristic. (This is the original sentence from Lesson Eleven. And, this is the answer that Ms. Wang expects.)

Ms. Wang: Perfect! Let's say it together.

AS: The word "comrade" has a unique Chinese characteristic.

S2: But, Russians also used the word "comrade."

Ms. Wang: Yes. (A little embarrassed). They stopped to using that a long time ago.

S2: (Laugh).

Ms. Wang: How did Chinese people address each other in the past?

S1: Mm ...

Ms. Wang: How did Chinese people address each other in the past?

[Grammar explanation of “address” omitted.]

S1: Oh, oh, in the past, they used the word “comrade” to address everyone.

Ms. Wang: Correct. Together!

AS: In the past, Chinese people used the word “comrade” to address everyone.

Ms. Wang: What do you mean by “everyone.” Use “Whether A or B.” Whether

--

MW & AS: Whether they were male or female ... old or young ... acquaintances or strangers ... (This is the original sentence from Lesson Eleven.)

Ms. Wang: What about it?

AS: Chinese people used the word “comrade” to address everyone.

Ms. Wang: What about now? How do we address a female in China?

S2: Mm ... Now Chinese people address a female as “Mrs.”

Ms. Wang: Or --

S2: Or “Miss.”

Ms. Wang: What about a male? S3!

S3: Now Chinese people address a male “Mr.”

Ms. Wang: Correct. So, how long did we use the word of “comrade” in China?

S3: Mm ... about forty years?

Ms. Wang: Okay.

[Grammar explanation of “Whether A or B” omitted.]

Ms. Wang: Which scenery spot has more visitors? The Great Wall or the Forbidden City? The Summer Palace? Tiananmen Square?

AS: There are always ... huge crowds of people, whether one is at the Great Wall ... or the Forbidden City; whether it is the Summer Palace... or the Tiananmen Square.

Ms. Wang: Great! Have Chinese people changed the way in which they address each other? We address a male --

AS: Chinese people address a male as “Mr.”

Ms. Wang: Female --

AS: Chinese people address a female as “Mrs.”

Ms. Wang: Or --

AS: Or “Miss.”

Ms. Wang: Why? S3? Use “A is influenced by B.”

S3: Mm ... because ... China is influenced by the U.S.

Ms. Wang: Correct. You can also say that the U.S. influenced China.

AS: The U.S. influenced China.

Ms. Wang: Is that really the case?

S2: Of course!
Ms. Wang: For example --
S2: For example, Chinese people like American music.
Ms. Wang: Yes, and --
S2: American movies, American computers, American foods, and American cellphones.
Ms. Wang: (Laugh). Okay, okay. We can use "all kinds of things." So --
AS: The U.S. gave China all kinds of influences.
Ms. Wang: Correct. Correct. It is true. In the past, in the past, Chinese people used the word "comrade" to address everyone. What about now? "Comrade" became ...
AS: Mr., Mrs., and Miss.
Ms. Wang: Together!
MW & AS: Now, Chinese people use "Mr., Mrs., and Miss" to address each other.
Ms. Wang: Use "A is replaced by B."
AS: Now, the word "comrade" was replaced by "Mr., Mrs., and Miss."
Ms. Wang: Is it proper to address someone as "comrade" in China now?
Together!
AS: It is not ... proper to ... address someone as "comrade" in China now.

The above transcripts showed that Ms. Wang's final review session still focused on drilling grammar elements. However, the content from Lesson Eleven that contained these grammar elements was inevitably repeatedly practiced by the whole class. As I analyzed in Chapter 4, by comparing the new China with the old China, in contrast to the U.S., Lesson Eleven portrayed China as a country that was influenced by the Western country, and moved away from the communist discourse and moved towards a more progressive social system with more progressive social values. This episode illustrated again that the repetition, which is a common technique in a foreign language class, was part of the process of privileging specific representations of China in the second-year Chinese language class.

The Representations of China in Supplementary Materials Were Consistent with Those Privileged in Class

The above section demonstrated how the content of the textbook was repeatedly taught by Professor Li and Ms. Wang, whose lessons inevitably carried the representations of the textbook's China. Additionally, Professor Li and Ms. Wang were able to provide some supplementary materials for their students, which went beyond the content of the textbook. This section of this study focused on how China was represented in these supplementary materials.

As stated at the beginning of this chapter, there were two types of supplementary materials in the second-year Chinese language class. The first was extra example sentences provided to help students to learn the grammar elements beyond the context of the textbook. For example, in Episode 1 and Episode 2, when teaching the grammar element “verb./adj. + delihai (得厉害)” (“badly, terribly, heavily, severe”), in addition to the sentence in the textbook “the traffic is terrible in Beijing,” they also added extra example sentences. For example, “I am terribly ill; today is terribly cold; I am terribly hungry; I am terribly hot; things in Wangfujing area are terribly expensive; things on 5th Ave in New York are terribly expensive; Ms. Wang has terrible pain; you have a terrible fever.” The second type of supplementary material was authentic language materials, such as the video, “How to Safely Cross the Street in China,” and the newspaper article, “Driven to Kill,” which both were analyzed in previous section.

In terms of how China was represented in these two kinds of supplementary materials, this research found that most of the supplementary materials echoed the positive representations of China in the textbook. Or, in other words, these supplementary materials were another form of repetition that privileged the positive representations of China in the textbook. Although a few supplementary materials conflicted with this image, they were insufficient to disrupt the “pro-China” ideology that was privileged in the classroom. These representations still belonged to the “pro-China” ideology, broadly defined, because Professor Li believed that revealing the problems that existed in China can be helpful to solve the problems.

Extra Example Sentences. First, to be clear, many of these extra example sentences were not about China or do not have political or ideological implications, such as “I love all dogs not matter if it is a big dog or a small dog” or “my room is getting messier and messier.” After all, the second-year Chinese language course was still an intermediate level language class. However, many example sentences were indeed about China, Chinese society, or Chinese people. Most of these examples established a positive image of China. Yet, some of these examples also revealed the problems that exist in China. Here is an example, also from Lesson Nine “Going to the Bank to Exchange Money.” The following two episodes uncovered how Professor Li used the extra example sentences to teach two different grammar elements: “catch up” and “day by day,” which were contained in this sentence in the text:

The construction of the roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars. The traffic jams get more serious by the day. (北京道路的发展却赶不上汽车的增加，所以交通堵塞就一天比一天严重了。) (ANC, p. 79)

Here is the transcript of how Professor Li taught these two grammar elements.

Episode 17.

Prof. Li: How do you to say “living conditions,” “living standards” in Chinese, Okay, who has better living standards? The Chinese or the Americans?

S1: Mm ... I think ... the Americans’ ... living conditions ... cannot catch up with ... the Chinese people’s living standards.

Prof. Li: (Hesitate, smile) she said ... in her opinion ... the American people’s living standards, cannot catch up with ... the Chinese people’s living standards. Let’s say this sentence together.

PL & AS: In her opinion, the American people’s living standards cannot catch up with the Chinese people’s living standards.

Prof. Li: S2, what do you think?

S2: I think ... the Chinese people’s living standards cannot catch up with the American people’s living standards.

Prof. Li: Good, good. Supposedly, let’s say the Chinese people’s living standards ... are not as good as ... the American people’s living standards.

How can you translate this sentence: “I think in five years, they will catch up? The Chinese will catch up?” So, how do you say that in Chinese?

PL & AS: In five years ... the Chinese people’s living standards ... will ... catch up with ... the American people’s living standards.

In the above episode, when teaching “catch up,” beside the original sentence in the text, Professor Li also provided an extra example sentence for student to learn this grammar element. She first led her students to compare the different living conditions between the U.S. and China. Obviously, she wanted students to say “the Chinese people’s living standards cannot catch up with the American people’s living standards.” That’s why Prof Li was surprised that a student would state that China had a higher living standard. At first she hesitated. She emphasized “in her opinion.” And, when another student said the Chinese standards cannot catch up to the American standards she said “good, good,” which implied that this was the correct

answer. It seemed that China looked bad in this comparison, but what is worth noting was how she dealt with her unfavorable results. She first admitted that “the Chinese people’s living standards are not as good as the American people’s living standards,” but she continued to lead all her student to say that “In five years the Chinese people’s living standards will catch up with the American people’s living standards.” This process closely resembled how the textbook focused on progress to conceal existing problems in China (as I analyzed in chapter 4). This extra example sentence certainly presented a positive image of China for the students, which though presented a somewhat negative image of China, and at the same time firmly established the belief that China is making progress.

After finishing teaching “catch up,” Professor Li moved to the next grammar element “day by day.” She first repeated the example sentence in the text “but the construction of the roads cannot catch up with the increase in the cars. The traffic jams get more serious by the day.” Then, she explained in English to students that they could expand this grammar from “day by day” to “year by year.” To drill this grammar element, Professor Li first let the students read an example sentence on the PowerPoint slides: “Beijing’s air is getting worse day by day.” Then, she started to ask students different questions.

Episode 18.

Prof. Li: How do you read this sentence? (Pointing to the sentence on the PowerPoint slides.)

AS: Beijing’s air ... is getting worse ... day by day.

Prof. Li: Mm ... I say ... Beijing ... previously ... was old, but what about now? S3?

S3: Beijing is getting more modern year by year.

Prof. Li: Good, very good. Come on. Say it together!
PL & AS: Beijing is getting more modern year by year.
Prof. Li: very good, very good. Then, then, what about Chinese people? S4.
S4: Chinese people's salaries are getting higher year by year.
Prof. Li: very good, very good. Say it together.
AS: Chinese people's salaries are getting higher year by year.
Prof. Li: I bet you have forgotten this: "household appliances." (This is the word that they learned last semester.) How do you say it in Chinese?
AS: Household... Appliances...
Prof. Li: Oh, you remember it. That's good. (Laugh). What can be counted as "household appliances?"
S1: Dishwasher, washing machine, and dryer.
Prof. Li: Yes, yes. We just said that Chinese people's salaries are getting higher year by year. What about household appliances?
S5: China's ... household ... appliances ... become more common ... year by year.
Prof. Li: Correct. Very common. Very good. You remember that word. Come on, let's say it together.
PL & AS: China's household appliances become more common year by year.

In this episode, though Professor Li did not directly present a positive example sentence about China, yet her leading questions, and all the sentences produced by students, portrayed a positive image of China. In this episode, China was depicted as a country getting more and more modern, with people's salaries getting higher year by year, leading to more and more household appliances at home. And, this positive depiction was encouraged by Professor Li, with constant positive feedback such as "good, very good, correct," followed by the entire class repeating the sentence.

It is valuable to note that Professor Li did not praise everything in China. As I said, in Episode 18, the first sentence that Professor Li asked the students to read was about the serious air pollution in Beijing. Unlike the textbook, which often tried to reframe the problems in China, Professor Li did not try to find an excuse for this

problem, which again, seemed like making China look bad. In the end of this chapter, I will analyze how these seemingly negative representations of China did not conflict with the overall theme of establishing a positive image of China in the second-year Chinese language class at Bison College.

Similar phenomena to the use of extra example sentences to convey a positive image of China can also be found in Ms. Wang's drill session. Here is an example, also from Lesson Nine. In the following three episodes, Ms. Wang gave students three extra example sentences to drill the grammar element: "I (mistakenly) thought.... I didn't expect that.... A is worse than B." She first projected the picture on the left, which was her handwriting, on the PowerPoint slides.

Episode 19.

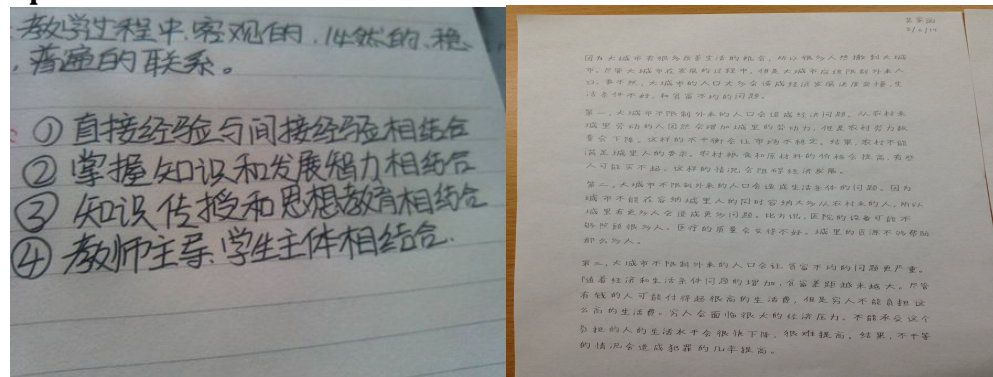


Figure 3. Ms. Wang and her student's handwriting

Ms. Wang: What do you think about my handwriting? Is that beautiful?

S1: Mm ...

Ms. Wang: (Smile) (Showing another picture on the right) What about this one? This is my student's handwriting.

S1: Really?

Ms. Wang: It's true. She was a student from UCLA.

AS: (Laugh).

Ms. Wang: Look, what do you think about her handwriting.

S2: It's like print.

Ms. Wang: Yes, unbelievable, right? Look at my handwriting (laugh).

AS: (Laugh).
Ms. Wang: So, I thought...?
AS: I thought Ms. Wang's handwriting was good.
Ms. Wang: But, I didn't expect...?
AS: (Laugh) I didn't expect Ms. Wang's handwriting ...
Ms. Wang: ... was worse than ...
AS: Was worse than her student's handwriting.
Ms. Wang: Together, let's say it one more time.
AS: I thought Ms. Wang's handwriting was good. I didn't expect Ms. Wang's handwriting was worse than as her student's handwriting.

Right after she finished drilling the first example sentence, Ms. Wang projected another two pictures on the PowerPoint slides to introduce the second example sentence.

Episode 20.



Figure 4. Pictures of a messy neighborhood.

Ms. Wang: Do you know where those are?
Jake: China.
Ms. Wang: (Smile) Why do you think it is China?
Jake: Because there are Chinese characters (on the right picture).
Ms. Wang: Okay. Take a look. What do you think about this place?
Jake: It's Beijing.
Ms. Wang: How do you know?
Jake: Because Beijing is not clean.
Ms. Wang: (A little bit impatient) Fine, fine.
Jake: Huh, huh.
Ms. Wang: So what do you think about this place?
S2: Messy.
Ms. Wang: And?
S3: Relatively unclean.

Ms. Wang: And? ... How do you say “trash?” in Chinese?
S4: Trash.
Ms. Wang: Okay, let’s say it is a place in Beijing. In your imagination... I thought...
MW & AS: I thought ... Beijing was very clean. But I didn’t expect Beijing was worse than ...?
Jake: New York.
Ms. Wang: Okay. New York works. Let’s say it together.
AS: I thought ... Beijing was very clean. But I didn’t expect that Beijing was worse than New York.
Ms. Wang: Good, good, so what’s your impression of Beijing? Remember how to say “impression”?
AS: My impression of Beijing is not good.
Ms. Wang: Good. We learned a new word from Lesson 9, right? “Awful ...?”
AS: Awful.
Ms. Wang: Right, so...?
AS: My impression of Beijing is awful.

After she finished drilling the second example sentence, Ms. Wang projected another two pictures on the PowerPoint slides to introduce the third example sentence.

Episode 21.



Figure 5. Pictures of Beijing’s night views

Ms. Wang: Oh, your impression of Beijing is that it is awful. Okay, then, take a look, where is this?
S1: It is Philadelphia.
Ms. Wang: (Smile) No, it is not.
S2: It is San Francisco.
Ms. Wang: Nope.
S3: Los Angeles?
Ms. Wang: (Smile) No.
S3: Beijing?

Jake: Boston.
Ms. Wang: (Laugh) Beijing, Beijing, correct.
Jake: Beijing?
S3: I thought it was (somewhere) in California.
Ms. Wang: Oh, you thought it was California. You did not expect that it is Beijing.
Jake: Beijing?
Ms. Wang: Correct, both of them are Beijing.
Jake: I don't like Beijing.
Ms. Wang: ... (A little bit irritated) Whether you like it or not, this is what Beijing looks like.
Jake: Haha.
Ms. Wang: So, I thought Beijing –
AS: I thought Beijing was not clean ...
Ms. Wang: However, I did not expect that --
AS: Beijing was very clean.
Ms. Wang: and very mode...?
AS: Modern.
Ms. Wang: Yes, you can say both clean and modern.
AS: Both clean and modern.
Ms. Wang: Okay. Give me a complete sentence.
AS: I thought Beijing was not modern, but I didn't expect that Beijing was ...
Ms. Wang: Both!
AS: Both clean and modern.
Ms. Wang: Great. One more time.
AS: I thought Beijing was not modern, but I didn't expect that Beijing was both clean and modern.
Ms. Wang: Beautiful sentence!

These three episodes showed how the extra example sentences provided by Ms. Wang conveyed a positive image of China. As I said before, a lot of extra example sentences had no ideological or political implications at all. The example sentence in Episode 19 is a good illustration: "I thought Ms. Wang's handwriting was good. I didn't expect that Ms. Wang's handwriting was worse than her student's handwriting." However, both Episode 20 and Episode 21 were about the image of China. In Episode 20 and 21, the positive image of China, which was represented by

Beijing, was successfully presented to students through grammar drilling. Apparently, in Episode 20, Ms. Wang's design was to lead students to say that, in student's impression or imagination, Beijing was full of trash and awful. However, in Episode 21, by showing pictures with gorgeous night views, Ms. Wang created a natural context that would lead students to say positive things about China, like, "I thought Beijing was not modern but I didn't expect that Beijing was both clean and modern."

Authentic Language Materials. This section discusses China's image in the second type of supplementary materials: the authentic language materials. Though Professor Li gave abundant extra example sentences, she only provided limited authentic non-textbook language materials to her students in the entire semester. This included the aforementioned video, "How to Safely Cross the Street in China;" the newspaper article, "Driven to Kill," when she taught Lesson Twenty-One; and four other authentic language materials, all of which addressed a certain aspect of China. Professor Li provided three video clips to introduce the small parks,¹⁰ the night markets,¹¹ and Chinese food,¹² when she taught Lesson Fourteen "Beijing's Parks," Lesson Fifteen "Beijing's Night Markets," and Lesson Twenty "Order Dishes."

¹⁰ <https://youtu.be/pLwSLhLOJsY>

¹¹ <https://youtu.be/X6JZFg5R1G0>

¹² <https://youtu.be/S0pObWcSINI>

In addition, in the last week of the semester Professor Li showed the movie, *Not One Less*, which revealed the poor educational situation in China's countryside.

As stated above, these authentic language materials had similar purposes — to enrich the teaching content and enliven the classroom atmosphere. Just like “How to Safely Cross the Street in China,” these three video clips served as visual-aids for students to understand the content of the textbook more concretely. All three clips contained the same information that could be found in the textbook. Thus, these three video clips conveyed the same positive representations of China as their correlating lessons in the textbook: China has a profound historical heritage and extensive eating culture and Chinese people live happily in a stable, relaxed, and prosperous society.

For instance, as stated in chapter 4, Lesson Fourteen introduced students to the leisurely side of the lives of ordinary Beijing residents by mentioning what Beijing people do in small parks:

In the early morning, there are many people working out there. Some are jogging, some are dancing, some are doing Taichi, some are playing badminton, and some even are taking a stroll with their caged birds. When the dusk comes, one can see many people playing chess, relaxing in cool places and chatting there. Once it gets dark, the park turns out to be an excellent place for lovers to have some quality time. (早晨有许多人在那儿锻炼：有的跑步，有的跳舞，有的打太极拳，有的打羽毛球，还有人遛鸟儿。到了傍晚，可以看到许多人在那儿下棋、乘凉和聊天儿。天黑以后，公园又成了恋人们谈恋爱的好地方……北京的夏天又闷热又潮湿，这些小公园为忙碌的北京人提供了休息的好去处。) (ANC, pp. 127-129)

Lesson Fifteen also advocated that American students should visit the night markets in Beijing so they can see the relaxed side of Beijing residents' daily life. The text

introduced a night market by the famous lake, Houhai, in Beijing, where tourists often go.

There are often night markets on the major and minor streets in Beijing. I really like to go to these night markets as you can see Beijing people's daily life there. Some famous night markets, such as the bars in Houhai, are the places that tourists often go to. At night after 8 or 9 PM, it is extremely lively there. Thousands of tourists come to Houhai. Some come to drink, some come to sing, some come to spend time with their lovers, and some come to take a walk.... Houhai at night is particularly beautiful and the bars on the bank and the boats in the lake are all lit with neon lights. There are also people singing on the boats. (北京的大街小巷里常有夜市，我最喜欢去逛这些夜市，在夜市，里可以看到北京人的日常生活。有名的夜市，像后海的酒吧，是观光客常去的地方。到了晚上八、九点钟以后，那儿热闹极了。成千上万的游客到了后海，有的来喝酒，有的来唱歌儿，有的来谈恋爱，也有的来散步..... 晚上的后海特别漂亮，岸上的酒吧和湖里的游船都亮起了霓虹灯，还有人在船上唱歌儿。) (ANC, p. 134)

All of these descriptions provided a vaguely positive image of China for students because of the nature of the written description. However, the video clips provided by Professor Li gave students an intuitive feeling about the content in this lesson. In the video clips, students could directly see Chinese people enjoying their leisure time peacefully in the park, where old people sing songs, dance, and exercise in groups while children play games with their parents. In the night markets, young Chinese people drink beer and eat barbeque with their friends in trendy bars by the lake with gorgeous night views.

Even when using these authentic language materials in class, Professor Li and Ms. Wang stuck to their textbook-centered pedagogy. It may seem that the instructors provided non-textbook materials to depart from the textbook, but in fact, these materials were given to help students review the content of the textbook.

The following episode, transcribed from the second drill session of Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets,” exemplified how Ms. Wang used the video clip to teach the context of the textbook in class.

Episode 22.

Ms. Wang: Let’s watch a video now. This video introduces Houhai in Beijing. You watch it first and then tell me what you saw in it using the grammar elements we’ve learned. There is a lot of information.

(She plays the video for about 3 minutes.)

Ms. Wang: What did you just see? What did you hear?

S1: I saw people are singing.

Ms. Wang: Yes, people are singing. Where? Where do they sing?

S2: In the bars.

Ms. Wang: Good ... S1 ... You say it first.

S1: People are singing on boats.

Ms. Wang: Very Good. S2, what did you see?

S2: People are singing the bars on the bank.

Ms. Wang: Correct. What else did you see? S3!

S3: I heard the music.

Ms. Wang: What else?

S2: I saw people riding the bikes.

Ms. Wang: Correct. What else? Give me a full sentence.

S3: I saw the bars are lit with neon lights.

Ms. Wang: Good. Good. Let’s continue to watch the video.

(Ms. Wang plays the video for about another minute.)

Ms. Wang: What did you see? What did you hear? Full sentence.

S1: Take a walk.

Ms. Wang: Full sentence! Full sentence! Full sentence!

AS: (Laugh).

MW & AS: I saw some people come to take a walk in Houhai.

Ms. Wang: This is a full sentence. Okay? What else?

S2: I saw a lot of tourists.

Ms. Wang: Which country do these tourists come from?

S1: Chinese and foreign tourists?

Ms. Wang: Yes, Yes. Are there a lot of them? Full sentence.

S1: There are a lot of Chinese and foreign tourists.

Ms. Wang: Yes. Let’s continue to watch the video.

(Ms. Wang plays the video for about another minute.)

Ms. Wang: What did you see? What did you hear? What did you observe?

S1: Lamb kebabs.

Ms. Wang: What else?

S3: There is a long line at the vendor's stand.
 Ms. Wang: Yes, there is a long line at the vendor's stand.
 (Grammar explanation of "to line up" omitted.)
 Ms. Wang: There is a long line at the vendor's stand. Together!
 MW & AS: There is a long line at the vendor's stand.
 Ms. Wang: Does Houhai have a lot of people? Use the four words that we have learned.
 S2: "Huge crowds of people." (This grammar element is from Lesson Fourteen.)
 MW & AS: There are huge crowds of people in Houhai?
 Ms. Wang: Why are there huge crowds of people in Houhai?
 S1: It is a famous scenery spot. (The grammar element, "famous scenery spot," is from Lesson Fourteen.)
 Ms. Wang: Correct. Correct. Together!
 AS: Houhai is a famous scenery spot.
 Ms. Wang: Therefore --
 AS: Therefore, there are huge crowds of people.
 Ms. Wang: Use "anytime!"
 AS: Anytime, there are huge crowds of people.
 Ms. Wang: Very good. What else did you see?
 S1: Tasting local snacks (The grammar element, "tasting local snacks," is from Lesson Thirteen and Lesson Fifteen.)
 Ms. Wang: Use "all kinds of."
 AS: Tasting all kinds of local snacks.
 Ms. Wang: What else did you see?
 S2: People wearing clothes with Chinese characteristics. (The grammar element, "Chinese characteristics," is from Lesson Eleven.)
 Ms. Wang: Very good. What did S2 see?
 MW & AS: She saw that people wear clothes with Chinese characteristics.
 (Ms. Wang plays the video for about another 10 seconds. Then, she points to the screen and asks:)
 Ms. Wang: What about these two people? What are they doing?
 S1: Dating.
 Ms. Wang: (Laugh) Yes, yes. Who are they? What are they doing?
 AS: They are lovers. They are dating.
 Ms. Wang: Together! Lovers --
 MW & AS: Lovers are dating in Houhai.
 Ms. Wang: Therefore, Houhai is --
 AS: Houhai is an excellent place for lovers to have some quality time. (The grammar element, "an excellent place for lovers to have some quality time," is from Lesson Fourteen.)
 Ms. Wang: Yes, yes. So, besides the small parks --

AS: Besides the small parks, Houhai is also an excellent place for lovers to have some quality time.

Ms. Wang: Perfect! That is all about this video.

The above episode showed that though Ms. Wang's teaching still focused on grammar elements of the text, students' answers were closely related to the content of Lesson Fifteen. In other words, Ms. Wang expected students to use original sentences from the text to answer her questions. For example, students answered "people are singing on the boats and in the bars on the bank at Houhai; the bars are lit with neon lights; some people come to take a walk in Houhai; there are a lot of Chinese and foreign tourists; there is a long line at the vendor's stand that is selling lamb kebabs; any time, there are huge crowds of people in Houhai because it is a famous scenery spot; people are tasting all kinds of local snacks; lovers are dating in Houhai." These answers showed that students had become proficient in describing the video clip with the original sentences from Lesson Fifteen in the second drill session, which was the fourth class session that dealt with Lesson Fifteen. Though this video clip was a supplementary material, it was designed to help students learn and practice the content from the text. Thus, this video clip still conveyed the same positive representations of China as the correlating lesson in the textbook. Using this video clip was a part of the process of privileging a specific textbook's representations of China in the class.

As these three video clips varied in length, sometimes Professor Li asked Ms. Wang to show them in class, as the above episode illustrated. Sometimes Professor Li asked students to watch them before the class. For instance, when teaching

Lesson Twenty “Order Dishes,” Professor Li asked students to watch a video clip about Chinese cuisine before class. This video clip was collected from A Bit of China (2012), which is the most watched documentary in China of the past two decades. This documentary television series was about the history of food, eating, and cooking in China. The video clip that Professor Li asked students to watch was the second episode of the series: “The Story of Staple Food.” This video contained a lot of information that can be found in the text of Lesson Twenty. For example, the narrator stated at the beginning of this episode:

China has diverse natural conditions across its land. As a result, Chinese people living in different areas enjoy absolutely different but rich staple foods. From the south to the north, the diverse staple foods provide energy for human bodies.... Therefore, people in the south love eating rice and those in the north cannot live without wheaten food. (A Bit of China, 2012)

Here is one paragraph from the text of Lesson Twenty:

Chinese people’s dining habits are actually not the same either. Generally speaking, Northerners prefer to eat wheat-based food. The staple foods they often eat include: steamed buns, steamed stuffed buns, dumplings, noodles and such. Southerners’ staple food is mostly rice. (中国人的饮食习惯也并不是完全一样。一般说来北方人比较喜欢面食。他们常吃的主食有馒头，包子，饺子，面条这些东西。南方人的主食大多是米饭。) (ANC, p. 182)

A comparison of these two paragraphs shows that the video clip provided very similar information to Lesson Twenty, which was also about Chinese people’s diverse dining habits.

As an hour-long documentary, this video naturally contained more information than Lesson Twenty, which only had about three hundred Chinese characters. In fact, one of the purposes of this documentary television series was to

use Chinese food to show China's traditions, culture, customs, and values. For example, the narrator concluded at the end of this episode:

No matter how the past year is like, eating dumplings is a must at the year-end Spring Festival. It symbolizes family reunion. When a lot of food have been put onto the production lines for manufacturing, the Chinese people, who treasure the concept of family the most in the world, repeat the same things every year at their homes. In the mind of the Chinese, nothing is more important than being together with their family. This is all their hope. This is how the Chinese people are like. This is the tradition of the Chinese. This is the story about staple food for the Chinese. (A Bit of China, 2012)

Thus, by watching this video, students not only received a taste of the extensive and profound Chinese food culture, which can also be found in the textbook, but also gained a positive image of China's cultural tradition and Chinese people's family values, such as the above closing remark that stated: "the Chinese people... treasure the concept of family the most in the world.... In the mind of the Chinese, nothing is more important than being together with their family" (A Bit of China, 2012).

As with a few descriptions of China in the textbook, (and also with a few descriptions of China in the extra example sentences), the authentic language materials provided by Professor Li did not always portray China positively. For example, the newspaper article, "Driven to Kill," not only revealed the existence of a horrible crime in China but also criticized China's judicial and administrative system. Similar to this newspaper article, the last authentic language material, a movie named Not One Less, presented a negative image of China. Professor Li only mentioned the article for about four short minutes in class. In contrast, the students were asked to watch the movie first over the weekend and then spent four days on

this movie in the last week of this semester. Professor Li also sent students a movie review as their learning material, which introduced the basic plot and meaning of the movie. This movie review was revised to fit students' limited language proficiency, with Professor Li adding English explanations of the new vocabulary and grammar elements.

The movie was set in the People's Republic of China during the 1990s. It centered on a 13-year-old substitute teacher, Wei Minzhi, who was called in to substitute for the only teacher in a remote mountain village for one month. Wei was promised an extra 10 yuan (about \$1.50) per day if she retained every student until the regular teacher returned. Wei did not know how to teach at all so she only asked students to copy the text. No student listened to her and the class fell into chaos. Wei held the door and did not let any student leave until the class was over. When one of the boys living in poverty was forced to search for work in the big city, Wei, possessed with a stubborn streak, was determined to bring him back. She enlisted the 26 remaining pupils to earn money for her trip. She then hitchhiked to the city and began her search. The boy, meanwhile, was in the city lost and begging for food. Eventually, with help from good people in the city, she found the boy and got many supplies for their poor school. The film addressed educational difficulties brought on by the poverty in the Chinese countryside, the economic gap between urban and rural populations, and the prevalence of bureaucracy and authority figures in everyday life.

Here I present one concrete example to illustrate how this movie presented a different image of China than the textbook. In fact, Professor Li made it very clear to students at the beginning of their class that the China in this movie was different from the China they had been learning in the textbook.

Episode 23.

(After dictation, Professor Li's lecture begins.)

Prof. Li: Where did the story in the movie take place? In a big city like Shanghai or Beijing?

S1: Mm ... in the village.

Prof. Li: What in the village was the story about?

S2: The education ... in the village.

Prof. Li: Correct. The educational problems in rural areas. Let's say it together.

PL & AS: The educational problems in rural areas.

Prof. Li: Yes, you saw a village in the movie. What kind a village is it?

S3: It is a ... poor village.

Prof. Li: Correct. Together.

AS: It is a poor village.

Prof. Li: Did you expect China's village to be so poor? Did you expect China's village to be so poor?

AS: (No student answers this question.)

Prof. Li: How do you say "I didn't expect" --

AS: I didn't expect China's village to be this poor.

Prof. Li: For example --

(No student answers this question.)

Prof. Li: Can they afford to go to school?

AS: They cannot afford to go to school.

[Grammar explanation of "afford" omitted.]

Prof. Li: What else?

S4: They cannot afford textbooks.

S5: They cannot afford chalk.

Prof. Li: Correct. They cannot afford textbooks and chalk.

Prof. Li: We've learned a lot about China, right? What is your impression of China that we've learned? What is your impression of China in our textbook, *A New China*?

S1: Mm ... I think ... in our textbook, China ... is very modernized.

Prof. Li: Yes. What else? Does China look very good in our textbook?

S2: (Very hesitatingly) mm ... not good?

Prof. Li: (Laughs). Is that the case? *A New China* talks about which part of China?

S2: Oh, China looks very good in *A New China*.

Prof. Li: Which part of China?

S2: Beijing.

Prof. Li: Correct. It is Beijing, right? Beijing is a big --

AS: Big city.

Prof. Li: Does the big city in China look good?

S6: China's big cities are good.

Prof. Li: For example, --

S6: For example, big cities ... have many ... skyscrapers.

Prof. Li: Yes, though that was not in our textbook. What else?

S7: Big cities have very beautiful scenic spots.

Prof. Li: Correct. Then, what about rural areas?

S8: The rural areas are very poor. For example, they live in very dirty houses.

Prof. Li: Correct. They live in very dirty houses. Generally speaking, when foreigners visit China, where do they go?

S2: Foreigners visit the big cities.

Prof. Li: Yes, but why?

S2: Because foreigners feel comfortable and convenience.

Prof. Li: Yes, yes, yes. China's big cities are often located along the coast line. What about rural areas?

PL & AS: The inland.

Prof. Li: Does the inland have a good economy? Use "develop."

AS: The inland's economy is not developed.

Prof. Li: Correct, when foreigners visit China, they often visit big cities. However, China's inland is not developed. The rural areas are very poor. Let's say it together.

PL & AS: When foreigners visit China, they often visit ... big cities. However, China's ... inland is not developed. The rural areas ... are very poor. (Professor Li also asks several students to repeat these sentences individually.)

Prof. Li: How do you say "surprise" or "shock" in Chinese? What aspects of rural areas would surprise foreigners? You saw the movie, right? What in the movie shocked you?

S2: Mm ... the conditions of the houses in the rural area ... shocked me.

Prof. Li: Good. What else?

S3: Their dirty clothes shocked me.

Prof. Li: Yes, what else?

S4: That kids have to do odd jobs shocked me.

Prof. Li: Very good. What else?

S5: The poor conditions of their school shocked me.

Prof. Li: How do you say “get contact with?” What kind of Chinese people do foreigners usually get contact with?

S6: Mm ... they often get contact with residents in big cities.

The above episode clearly showed that not only did the movie, *Not One Less*, not align with the description of China in the textbook, but Professor Li hoped her students would notice the difference between the movie and textbook. Professor Li's leading questions and the answers that she expected were very straight forward. The movie was about the educational problems of a poor village in a rural area, where people cannot even afford textbooks and chalk. The new China that students learned in the textbook is very modern, but it is mainly about big cities, like Beijing and Shanghai. When visiting China, foreigners also usually visit these big cities, which are different from the villages in inland China, such as the one in the movie. Foreigners, including the students in the second-year Chinese language class, would be shocked by the poor living conditions in these villages.

The Representations of China in the Second-Year Chinese Language Class in Spring 2016

Obviously, the image of China in the newspaper article, “Driven to Kill,” and in the movie, *Not One Less*, contradicted the positive image of China in the textbook, which was also the image of China that Professor Li and Ms. Wang constantly presented to students in their classes. Before I continue to explore the reasons behind this practice, I first summarized how China was represented in the second-year Chinese language class at Bison College in Spring Semester of 2016, when this research was conducted.

The above 23 episodes of classroom transcripts in this chapter showed that due to the textbook-centered pedagogy of the second year Chinese language class, most representations of China evident in the twelve lessons that had been taught in Spring Semester of 2016 were reinforced in classroom teaching. In other words, for most of the classes, China was taught by the instructors as the China in the textbook, as a country that has a profound historical heritage (Lesson Thirteen “Taking Trains,” Lesson Fourteen “Beijing’s Parks,” and Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets”) and rich set of cultural traditions (Lesson Nineteen “At the Dining Table” and Lesson Twenty “Order Dishes”). As in ANC, Chinese society was presented in the classroom as having experienced enormous change with movement towards a more progressive social system and set of values (Lesson Eleven “Comrade, Miss, and Mr.”). Additionally, Chinese people have different living habits from Americans (Lesson Thirteen “Taking A Train”) while still living a prosperous and relaxing life (Lesson Fourteen “Beijing’s Parks,” Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets,” Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo,” and Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road”). Some undesirable aspects of China contained in the textbook were also taught in the classroom, including relatively backward material conditions (Lesson Nine “Going to the Bank to Exchange Money” and Lesson Twelve “Restrooms”) and uncivilized behaviors (Lesson Sixteen “Beijing Zoo” and Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road”). The instructors also taught the content in the textbook, which encouraged a positive attitude towards China. This included emphasizing that readers should not look at China from a stereotypical or overly

critical perspective (Lesson Thirteen “Taking Trains,” Lesson Fifteen “Beijing’s Night Markets,” and Lesson Twenty-One “It was Really Dangerous to Cross the Road”). Rather, readers should acknowledge the differences between China and the U.S. with a pluralist multicultural perspective (Lesson Eighteen “Let’s Talk about This Then” and Lesson Nineteen “At The Dining Table”). Readers should also recognize China’s tremendous progress since its economic reform (Lesson Twelve “Restrooms”).

Moreover, repetition is an important method of privileging the textbook’s specific representations of China in the second-year Chinese language course. As experienced Chinese language instructors, both Professor Li and Ms. Wang tended to use content from previous lessons to teach new grammar elements. Thus, the representations of China from previous lessons were repeated frequently in the classroom. For example, the following ideas were repeated in multiple lessons: a) that Chinese people live a happy life and American students should acknowledge the differences between China and the U.S. with a pluralist multicultural perspective (Episode 6); b) that the Chinese people’s living conditions have been improved, as demonstrated by more and more Chinese people buying private cars (Episode 13 and Episode 14); c) that China’s backward material conditions (e.g. dirty restrooms) have been improved and American students should recognize this tremendous progress (Episode 15); and d) that, influenced by Western countries, China has moved towards a more progressive social system with more progressive social values (Episode 16).

In addition to using the textbook, Professor Li and Ms. Wang also provided students with supplementary materials, including extra example sentences and authentic language materials, to facilitate their teaching. The representations of China in many extra example sentences were consistent with those privileged in the classroom. For instance, the following the representations of China were introduced: a) though the Chinese people's living standards now are not as good as the American people's living standards, in five years the Chinese people's living standards will catch up with the American people's living standards (Episode 17); b) China is getting more and more modern, Chinese people's salaries are getting higher year by year, and they have more and more household appliances at home (Episode 18); and c) China, represented by Beijing, is modern and clean (Episode 20 and Episode 21).

The instructors' textbook-centered pedagogy determined that most of the authentic language materials served as visual aids for students to understand the content of the textbook more intuitively. Thus, these materials usually conveyed the same representations of China as the lessons in the textbook. For example, the video clip about the night markets presented the idea that Chinese people enjoy their leisure time peacefully by the lake with gorgeous night views (Episode 22). The documentary television series, *A Bit of China*, not only introduced the Chinese people's diverse and profound food culture but also established a positive image of China's cultural tradition and Chinese people's family values.

However, a few supplementary materials conflicted with the ideology of the textbook. They revealed some horrible problems in China while providing little to no justification or those problems. These materials included the newspaper article, “Driven to Kill” (Episode 8), the video “How to Safely Cross the Street in China” (Episode 11), and the movie Not One Less (Episode 23). Though the second-year Chinese language class spent four days on the movie, Professor Li only spent about four minutes on the newspaper article “Driven to Kill,” and about five minutes on the video “How to Safely Cross the Street in China” in her class. Thus, these few materials posed a potential challenge to the ideology of the textbook, but in the end they were insufficient to disrupt the “pro-China” ideology that was privileged in the classroom.

Why did the Instructors Present China Like This?

The importance of investigating the teacher’s role in designing and implementing curriculum cannot be overemphasized. The following section will discuss both Professor Li and Ms. Wang’s perceptions of the textbook, goals and objectives for students, their philosophy of teaching, and their views on learning about China alongside the Chinese language. Understanding these key issues were important for comprehending how China was represented in the enacted curriculum. My interviews with Professor Li and Ms. Wang revealed that both of them were aware of the pro-China ideology of the textbook: establishing a positive image of China and establishing a more positive attitude towards China. Indeed, most of the time China was positively presented by these two instructors in their

classrooms, but this was not purely intentional. Due to their pedagogy, which focused on grammar drilling and teaching the content in the textbook, and also due to practical teaching difficulties, the instructors had to prioritize the language teaching instead of actively promoting the ideology embedded in the textbook. My interviews also showed that Professor Li and Ms. Wang had different attitudes toward the ideological content in the textbook. Particularly, Professor Li's philosophy of teaching—humanistic education—explained why certain negative representations of China were presented to students.

Instructors Knew the Ideology of the Textbook

This research found that, due to their work experience and their relationship with the textbook authors, both Professor Li and Ms. Wang were quite aware of the features of this textbook. The second-year Chinese language class at Bison College was deeply influenced by Princeton University. This was not only because the textbook that they used, *A New China*, was compiled by faculty from the Chinese language program at Princeton University, but also because Professor Li and Ms. Wang had formed a close relationship with Princeton University. As the leading institution in the field of Chinese language teaching in the U.S, the Chinese language program at Princeton University has trained many Chinese language instructors, including many Chinese language program directors in the U.S., who play crucial roles in promoting Princeton's textbooks and pedagogy. As a result, Princeton University's Chinese language textbooks, such as *A New China*, are widely adopted across the continent. Likewise, Princeton's teaching pedagogy is being broadly

learned and imitated in other U.S. higher education institutions. Like many Chinese language instructors in the U.S., Professor Li and Ms. Wang were also heavily influenced by the Chinese language program at Princeton University.

Both Professor Li and Ms. Wang personally knew and once worked under the supervision of the lead author of *A New China*, Professor Chih-p'ing Chou, who is the long-time director of Princeton's Chinese language program and also the leading figure in the field of Chinese language teaching in the U.S. Thus, it is not surprise that Professor Li and Ms. Wang were clearly aware of the ideological implications of the textbook.

Due to her five years of work experience at Princeton University and her association with Professor Chou, the lead author of ANC, Professor Li was conscious of many features of this textbook. For instance, she understood how the authors portrayed the image of China through a U.S. vs. China comparison:

This textbook is about an American kid. Its main character is an American student who goes to China. It is from an American's perspective.... **ANC contains a U.S. vs. China comparison.** It's not a Japanese student or a Korean student's experience in China. **It emphasizes more strongly how an American would think about it.** I think an East Asian student's idea might be different from an American student's idea on the same controversial topics. Therefore, I believe this textbook is relatively proper for our students.

Professor Li also acknowledged the existence of the two major themes in the textbook. Although she did not use the exact words "establishing an image of new China" and "establishing a positive attitude towards China" in the interview, her statement conveyed similar meanings. When she was asked why she thought this textbook was named *A New China*, she answered that:

Obviously, the authors want to say that **contemporary China is different from the China of the past ...** (The new China) must be China after the 1990s. It is definitely not the China in Chairman Mao's era. It is definitely not the China in the time when ideological control was very strong.

She also understood how the textbook perceived the differences between China and the U.S. in this textbook. As I stated in chapter 4, the textbook encouraged American students to perceive the undesirable aspects of China, which are often highlighted in comparisons between China and the U.S., with a more tolerant attitude. When I asked Professor Li about her opinions of the description of China in this textbook, she used the same word: "tolerant."

I think, except for those out of date contents, (the description of China in this textbook) is quite normal. And it is very **tolerant**. Although it is called a "new" China, when you read this book, you will find the so-called "new" China is not that new. **There are still some old things, or things that China is still improving.** I think when the authors said it is a new China, even though it is a new China, a lot of Americans would still feel inconvenienced when they go to China. For instance, the problem of the restrooms and the problem of the traffic. When we say a "new" China it means it is different from the past. But as you can see this "new" China still has many problems. Therefore, at the end of each text there is always a paragraph to summarize and to reflect on this.

When I asked her to evaluate the authors' summaries and reflections, she said:

I think the authors use the perspective of an (American) student who is not used to China, but he (the American student) tries to understand how exactly it came to be. And he (the American student) tries to see these differences with a **tolerant** attitude.

Similar to Professor Li, Ms. Wang was also familiar with features of the textbook and its ideology. In my interview with her, she provided detailed examples to illustrate her understanding of the textbook. When I asked her "Why do you think

this textbook is called *A New China?*”, she pointed out that the authors want to promote a positive image of China:

Why a new China? From the perspective of the authors, I think they still wanted to **promote something positive**.... This textbook is more about China after the Chinese economic reform. It is the new China after the Chinese economic reform.

Ms. Wang was also able to provide me specific examples from the textbook to answer my questions about how the textbook presented the idea of a new China after the Chinese economic reform. She said,

.... something like, **being affected by the West, nowadays Chinese people have gone through some changes, such as in their habits**. The textbook also mentioned some social changes. Things like public restrooms are small examples of the new changes. **The way of addressing people is also affected by foreign countries**, and it also reflects the features of the new era. After the Chinese economic reform, to address people as comrade is too old-fashioned.... And also, the lesson on slogans... talks about the (different) slogans in China. The textbook later offered comparisons. It compared the slogans when the new China (the Communist China) was just established, such as in the Great Leap Forward Era, with the slogans in the late 1990s, such as “Civilization,” “Establishing New Ethos,” and things like that. It is a change. I think these are examples that convey a new China.

When I asked her for her evaluation of this textbook, she did not use “establishing a positive image of China” or “establishing a positive attitude towards China” to describe it. Yet she conveyed very similar meanings.

I feel like the authors must be thinking about conveying Chinese culture, because as you can see the title is different from others. Other textbooks are like, elementary, elementary Chinese, intermediate Chinese, and advanced Chinese. This is called *A New China*. I think it is like, making students understand China from the perspective of culture, not just from the language....

(I asked her “do you think it is a good textbook or not? We are not talking about language or grammar. We are talking about the content.”)

Do I like this textbook? Is *A New China* a good textbook?” (Laughs.) There is a lesson in the textbook that discusses this topic (Lesson Forty-Six “Is *A New China* a Good Textbook”). I think it is okay. I agree with the general things that he conveyed, **because almost everyone wants to convey a positive image.** Of course, we should not ignore some of the existing problems in China. **The textbook talked about the existing problems and looked forward to the future as well, which is good.**

As evidenced by the interviews above, Professor Li and Ms. Wang understood this textbook well. Their understanding of the text also aligned with my analysis of the textbook in chapter 4. This was not surprising, considering their work experience and close association with the textbook authors. The analysis of their classroom teaching at the beginning of this chapter also revealed that the positive representations of China in the textbook were privileged in classroom teaching. So the question is, did Professor Li and Ms. Wang purposefully convey those positive images of China? Did they consciously promote the ideology of textbook in their classes?

Instructors Still Focused on Teaching the Language

This research found that representations of China in the textbook were privileged in classroom lessons, but the emphasis on these depictions of China was not purely intentional. In our interviews, Professor Li and Ms. Wang emphasized repeatedly that the second-year Chinese language course still focused mainly on the language teaching, rather than on teaching the positive social developments in China. Practical teaching difficulties, such as limited class hours and students’ low

language proficiency, also prevented them from actively promoting the ideological content in the textbook.

When I interviewed Professor Li, I asked her whether she taught the ideological content in the textbook. Professor Li admitted that she intended to help her students gain information about China through language teaching. She was aware that the textbook aimed to introduce a positive image of contemporary China to students. In fact, this was one of the reasons that she chose to use this textbook at Bison College. She believed that through this textbook, her students could gain more knowledge about contemporary China, including how Chinese people live their lives.

I believe that this textbook talks a lot about contemporary China. Maybe some of the content is out of date. However, it does not only talk about the daily life. Yes, *A New China* also talks about the daily life, but it is unlike other textbooks... which still focused on the language functions and tasks such as eating, drinking, and asking for directions. Those textbooks do not really have topicality ... They are not focused on things like how Chinese live their lives, which is related to the society and culture. This “culture” is not only about Chinese people using chopsticks, or about the so-called representation of ancient culture, like Beijing Opera. The culture in *A New China* is more about things related to society and life. Therefore, I use this textbook... I hope that I can arouse their basic interests about China.

When I asked her then why, according to my observation, she mainly limited her teaching to the language side of the textbook. It seemed that she did not put much effort into teaching the ideological side of the textbook. Professor Li explained that the second-year Chinese language course was still a language class. Teaching the language was more important than teaching the positive social developments in China. In fact, she said that this had to happen because in lecture the first order of business was making sure students knew what the text was about.

We divide our class into lectures and drill sessions. In my lecture, first I need to make sure students know what the text is about. In the drill session, the TA is supposed to lead the discussion. I don't know if it is possible for her (Ms. Wang) to do that. It is related to students' language proficiency. How much they can discuss is related to students' language proficiency level. But, above all, I selected this textbook. It means I am going to use this textbook. It means I want students to learn how to use the vocabulary and grammar in this textbook and know what the text is about. I think an important issue is, from the perspective of language learning, after you have learned a text you can't not know the content. You don't have to agree with what the authors said but you have to know what they said. And then the next level is your reflection. First, you need to know what did the authors say, then the next level is whether you agree with them, disagree with them, or criticize them him.

Although Professor Li claimed that students could do the "reflection" at the "next level," she also admitted that some practical difficulties, such as limited class hours and students' low language proficiency, prevented her from focusing on ideological content:

I think most of the time I do not have time to do this (the "reflection") in my class. It is limited by the class hours. And, as I said, I told the TA that she should try her best to discuss these things. But I doubt the degree to which she can do that in practice and I doubt if students can make reflections. Many students in fact know nothing about China. All they know is from the textbook. They don't have the ability to reflect. Using this textbook here is quite different from using the textbook in China. In China, students can see (China) every day. For example, they can see the overhead bridges; they can see the beggars; they can see the night markets; they can see what the public bathroom looks like. I think in China (American) students have a stronger ability to reflect.

Professor Li further emphasized that, ideally, she wanted to teach her students more about China beyond the language, but practically, she could not:

So I think that on the issue of whether students can reflect on (the ideology of the textbook) ... Ideally, I certainly hope I can teach my students to do it. For example, if we use this textbook in China maybe there will be more discussions. It is related to the language proficiency because students can

speak Chinese better in China than here. Here, they can't even say the text clearly (laughs). I think the teacher should be practical about how to design the goal and to what extent the teacher can achieve that goal. I think, sometimes, you can't ask for too much. This is a very practical issue, a pedagogical issue.

These practical teaching difficulties, including limited class hours and students' low language proficiency, meant that Professor Li had to limit her teaching to the content of the textbook, especially the language side of the textbook. These limitations also meant that she could not provide more updated information about China, which would have been more in line with the textbook's ideology of establishing the positive image of China. For example, in my classroom observation, when she taught Lesson Thirteen on taking the train, I noticed that Professor Li did not mention the high-speed rail, a recent source of national pride, because it was not in the textbook. When I interviewed her, I asked her why she didn't talk about those relevant and updated contents. She answered:

I think it is a very practical consideration. This course is not allowed to do that. It is not ideologically prohibited, but I just have no time to do that. As I said, my responsibility in the lecture is introducing the new grammar, covering most of the new vocabulary. And the drill session should do the specific things. For example, what's the point of introducing the new content if I can't even finish teaching the basic contents in the textbook because students in the classroom don't prepare or study? Yes, I can show them something just for fun. But can they speak Chinese? They can't speak Chinese. They can't even say the content in the text. They can't even say the basic vocabulary. In this situation, I don't think (introducing new content) is very effective. There must be a reason to do anything. But eventually you have to compare which one has the advantage and which one has the disadvantage. However, I think, to me, I want to compare which (pedagogy) can (help my students to) achieve more in my limited class hours, which helps my students speak more useful Chinese.

As my interview with Professor Li clearly showed, practical constraints necessitated that Professor Li focus on the language first—even as she agreed with the ideological intentions in the textbook and had a strong desire to introduce China to her students beyond merely teaching the language. Professor Li mentioned at least twice that drill sessions should be the place for students to reach the “next level,” where they are expected to discuss the content and implications of the textbook. However, unfortunately, the classroom transcripts and analysis provided in the first half of this chapter revealed that, counter to Professor Li’s expectation, Ms. Wang’s drill sessions were, like Professor Li’s lectures, mainly about the language teaching. Ms. Wang seldom led her students to reach the “next level” beyond language teaching. In my interview with her, Ms. Wang revealed the reasons behind this.

In my interview with her, Ms. Wang confirmed that the same reasons that constrained Professor Li’s teaching, including limited class hours and students’ low language proficiency level, also determined her focus on language teaching. When I observed Ms. Wang’s drill sessions, I noticed that she mainly had students practice the same grammar elements, all from the textbook, that were taught in the lectures by Professor Li. When I interviewed Ms. Wang, I summarized her teaching patterns based on my observations as follows:

Generally speaking, in your drill session, you drill several grammar elements separately first. When drilling an individual grammar element, you use the sentences from the textbook to ask students questions first, and then you give students new example sentences. After you finish drilling these individual grammar elements, you connect these grammar elements and

construct a short passage. You then let the students practice this passage, which most of the time is the content in the textbook.

Then I asked Ms. Wang whether or not my summarization was correct, and why she mainly focused on the contents in the textbook. Ms. Wang explained that, although she was supposed to bring some new content and lead more discussions, students in the second-year Chinese language class at Bison College simply did not have the ability to absorb the knowledge in the textbook. As a result, she didn't see the point of adding extra knowledge to the drill sessions:

Yes, (your summarization) is correct.... Of course, we should focus on the content in the lesson that we are learning. Compared with talking about other topics, I think we should give priority to the topics in the textbook. It's depending on the situation. They are just second-year Chinese language students. They can't even remember the things that we taught them. Therefore, I have to use the topics that they have learned. Basically, (I had to) drill them again and again on those few topics (in the textbook). But, when I taught the second-year Chinese class at Princeton in Beijing (Princeton University's Summer Language School) last year, I could include more topics.

I knew what Ms. Wang told me was true since I had similar problems when I taught the first year, the third year, and the fourth year Chinese language class at Bison College as I collected data for this research. After I expressed my consent and sympathy ("I agree with you. We should be satisfied if most students can understand the content in the textbook."), Ms. Wang seemed relieved. She got a little bit emotional and gave me an example to further share her frustration:

They still cannot understand (the text) even though I do this (giving priority to the text and drilling on limited topics again and again). I asked them questions (based on the text). They responded to me with, "How should I know the answer?" For example, I asked, "In the past we called each other comrade, what about now?" Student 7, that (problem) student, said "How am I supposed to know that?" You know what? I really wanted to kick her ass at

that time. This just happened a couple of weeks ago.... I have to revise all my teaching plans from last summer.... They are not as smart and as hard-working as students in the Ivy League schools.

The above interviews showed that Professor Li and Ms. Wang still considered the second-year Chinese language class at Bison College to be primarily a language class. In addition, practical teaching difficulties forced them to put more effort into teaching the Chinese language rather than teaching about the country. Thus, the question becomes why the positive representations of China in the textbook were still privileged in classroom teaching, as I analyzed in the first half of this chapter.

The Instructors' Teaching Philosophies on How to Present China in Their Class

Though Professor Li and Ms. Wang shared the same pedagogy and faced similar difficulties when teaching the language, they had different teaching philosophies about how to teach about China as a country in their classes. These teaching philosophies, especially Professor Li's teaching philosophy, explained why the positive representations of China evident in the textbook were privileged in classroom lessons; why most of the supplementary materials used in language instruction also tended to echo the ideology of the textbook; and why few supplementary materials conflicted with the overall theme of presenting positive representations of China.

Though Professor Li emphasized that her abilities to teach students more about the country were undermined by practical teaching difficulties, she also stated that she was still able to naturally communicate the ideological content of the textbook to students through the language instruction. She believed that in teaching

the text, even though the focus was learning the language, students still learned the content.

I don't think it (the ideology of the textbook) needs to be taught. It is in the sentences in the texts. First, you need to teach students how to speak Chinese. It is not like those paragraphs (about the ideology of the textbook) don't have grammar points and new vocabulary (that need to be taught). Even if I want to teach students (the ideology of the textbook), they need to know how to say the sentences, right? Then we can ask if they agree with the statement. When I deliver the lectures — I don't know if it is the case in the drill sessions — occasionally I would mention things like “do you agree with this point of view?” or “do you think it is the case?”

It is worth noting that these practical teaching difficulties, not Li's personal feelings about the textbook, formed the major reason for why Professor Li did not actively communicate the ideological messages in the textbook to her students. On a factual level, she agreed that the descriptions of China in the textbook were an accurate reflection of China's reality. Therefore, she believed that there was no need for her to re-emphasize the textbook's ideology or any other ideology, because it was already contained in the textbook's description of China. When I interviewed Professor Li, I asked her whether she taught the ideological content in the textbook in her class. She told me that,

Why do I have to teach any ideology? I think what the authors say are the facts. I agree with these facts that he said. For example, sometimes we also would say that the restrooms in China are much better than in the past. This is not what the authors are trying to deny. The authors are trying to let us see a China in the process of improving, right? What they let us see is China's progress and backwardness. They don't deny that China is going to improve, right?

Moreover, on an emotional level, she believed that the positive image of China conveyed in the textbook aligned with her own patriotic passion. When I asked if

she had a certain image of China or understanding of China that she wanted to teach her students, she told me that she still hoped that her students would have a positive impression of China because “I love China. (Emphasizes and laughs). And I think China’s image in this textbook is relatively positive. Moreover, it is not an unacceptably propagandistic image.”

On the level of teaching philosophy, Professor Li stated that her own understanding of humanistic education determined that she supported to teach the ideology of the textbook. She believed that as a part of humanities, Chinese language courses should also provide students with more perspectives to think about China:

Language courses also belong to the humanities. I think we should let students see more perspectives through the textbook we selected and the things we present to them. For example, this textbook has different perspectives. There is not only one perspective. The author would say what he saw as an American. Then, he would reflect. There are two perspectives at least. I think, to me, I also want to give students different perspectives, which means that students can disagree with me but they can’t be ignorant.... I think helping students gain different perspectives to understand China is very important. For example, you can dislike a person or disagree with a person but you can’t ignorantly deny or criticize a person before you completely understand that person or a society or a phenomenon. I think that would be the failure of the humanities education.

Her response reinforced her desire to promote a positive image of China, yet she also taught supplementary materials that might convey a negative image of China in her classes, such as the movie *Not One Less* and the newspaper article “Driven to Kill.” On this contradiction, Professor Li used similar statements of her understandings about humanistic education to explain her points:

A very practical reason is we need a text if we want to show students a movie. But most texts (for movie class) are compiled for advanced learners.

We revised this text and cut a lot. **A very important reason for us to show this movie is we don't have other texts.** Moreover, although this movie is about a story in the Nineties, education in rural areas is still a problem now. I don't want to show them a funny movie but they can't say anything after watching it. First, I need a text for a movie class. Second, I don't want to show a movie with no topicality or with nothing that can make them think.... I think, from my perspective, I LOVE my country very much. I am worried about the future of my country. I am worried whether the people in my country are treated fairly. Then, I hope my students can see China beyond the superficiality of prosperity. Or maybe they know China is not that prosperous but they lack specific understanding. I don't want my students who want to criticize China to only say "the communist party is bad." I want my students to be able to see China from the perspective of a human being. As I said, language course belongs to the humanities. Language contains culture. I hope I can let them see a different society, a different culture, or a different social phenomenon from the perspective of a human being. You need to reflect from the perspective of a human being not only from the perspective of ideology.

Professor Li further stated that her goal in this class, besides their priority in language teaching, also included providing students a more specialized image of China that was full of details:

I think my course probably made my students' understandings (of China) more detailed and more specific. For example, students may know that China's economy is developed, but they probably have never learned what the restrooms in China look like, or that it is dangerous to cross the street.... we provide more information about Chinese life. Not only do we teach students to accomplish a language task, but we also provide students with a more specific image of China, such as people taking a stroll with their caged birds and dancing in small parks. We don't provide students with information that is solely positive or solely negative. We provide students with a more detailed and well-rounded description of China.

Professor Li also believed that, from the perspective of language learning, it was the proper time for her students, the intermediate learners, to know that some controversy existed in Chinese society in addition to their more superficial knowledge about China.

I think first of all this textbook is for second-year students who have relatively low language proficiency. Therefore, it can't discuss very specific stuff. But I think it was already at the end of the semester when we learned that ("Driven to Kill" newspaper article). I think students shouldn't only know some basic common knowledge superficially, such as "Chinese people like to take the train," or "taking airplane is more expensive." I think I can let them see some real controversial things in Chinese society.

When I asked if she would worry that the negative information in the newspaper article would make students think poorly about China, Professor Li emphasized that to solely propagandize the positive image of China was not a wise choice in Chinese language class.

It sounds very like propaganda, um, if you always say "China is good in this aspect," and "China is good in that aspect too." And (that kind of textbook) is based on the assumption that people who learn this cannot think independently. I think it feels like taking people as idiots, which would make students really feel antipathy (laughs). It's just like Chinese people would feel antipathy to the Spring Festival Gala (laughs). I think it is a very horrible idea if you (teacher) don't respect other people's (student) intelligence.

Moreover, she believed that it was not improper to reveal to American students that problems existed in China: "I think that Chinese people, including me, believe this phenomenon ('hit-and-kill') should be criticized. Why can't we show it to foreigners?"

During our interview, I said that there are at least two kinds of Chinese language instructors. One claims that their job is to just teach language rather than ideology or culture. Another claims that they want to promote Chinese culture.

When I asked Professor Li what kind of instructor she believed she was, she answered:

I don't think I belong to the category of promoting Chinese culture (laughs) because I think "promoting Chinese culture" is a wording that is full of figurative meaning. It makes me think that "Chinese culture" is a special culture that needs to be promoted in a special way. I hope students can learn language. But you can choose what kind of materials they use. I hope I could let them see a relatively real China. But I think that real China in my eyes is different from China in the eyes of anti-China forces. First of all, as I said before, I feel I have deeply attached myself to this nation and this culture, but I think a person with this attachment will not appreciate or promote something blindly. You still feel anxious because it is not a perfect world or a Utopia. You still want to see problems and solutions and hope more people pay attention to whether the problems have been solved yet. I hope that my students can look at things from a perspective of humanism.

The above interviews showed Professor Li's teaching philosophy on how to present China as a country in her Chinese language class. My interviews showed that Professor Li had the intention to help students gain more information about China through language teaching. She believed that as a part of humanities, Chinese language courses should also provide students with more perspectives to think about China. Still, Professor Li believed that simply by teaching the language she could naturally convey ideological textbook descriptions of China, which aligned with her own patriotic passion. Therefore, she did not have to overemphasize the ideology of the textbook.

However, Ms. Wang held a different teaching philosophy regarding how to present China as a country in her class. She told me that she did not care whether the information about China in the textbook was correct or what ideology was contained in the textbook. Her job was straight and simple: making sure that students can say Chinese sentences that are grammatically correct. When I asked her to evaluate the textbook, unlike Professor Li, who believed that the textbook

introduced the “facts” about China, Ms. Wang told me that she believed the textbook was not introducing a real China, or at least an updated China:

But is that the real China? Look at what they wrote in the textbook. For example, the lesson on haircutting. I don't feel it keeps up with the times.... I don't think the barbershop provides massage and nail cutting services now.... Moreover, they wrote Chinese people must take a nap after lunch. Now everyone is so busy with work in China. How can we have time to take a nap after lunch? We don't take a nap after lunch. We drink coffee, okay? We get tired and then we drink coffee and we continue to work in the afternoon, okay? And, drinking hot water. Some people don't like to drink hot water either.

But when I asked her if she would tell students such information was not updated or even not correct, she told me that even though she disagreed with some descriptions of China in the textbook she would not tell her students that:

Of course not (telling my students that) It's too troublesome and they can't understand anyway (because of their language proficiency). Moreover, I would like them to think this textbook is correct. I am not willing to tell them “in fact, the textbook is wrong.” In other words, a language teacher should not criticize the textbook. When we teach them, if we have our own points of view (that are different from the textbook) we should keep them to ourselves. This is the training that I've received at PIB (Princeton in Beijing).

Ms. Wang provided an example to further illustrate her points. She told me that she repeatedly asked over-generalized questions such as, “What do Chinese people like to drink?” even though she knew students would respond with, “Hot water.” Such an answer, she believed, was stereotypical and did not reflect what average Chinese people today liked to drink. Ms. Wang claimed that while she was willing to provide more information about China after class to students who “especially like China and want to know more about Chinese culture,” no student had ever asked her for further lessons about Chinese culture after class.

Ms. Wang was not only indifferent to information about China in the textbook, but she was also indifferent to the ideological implications of the textbook. She highlighted again that teaching the language and the grammar was her priority. I asked her if she would communicate with her students about the ideological content in the textbook, for example, if she would explicitly tell her students that they were learning about transportation in the “new” China, which was different from the past. She told me that she seldom did it on purpose. Even if she did, she did it for the purpose of teaching the grammar.

I usually did this in order to help students practice grammar. Because the words that you want use to talk about previous China and new China are similar. My main purpose is involving different grammar points but not letting them know that China develops very fast now or whatever. The comparison between the new and the old China is not important; grammar is important. Or, the theme in the textbook is not important. I don't care about the new or the old China. I just want to finish teaching the grammatical elements. For instance, when I drill the grammar, I do not care if certain grammar points or themes can make student have a new understanding (of China.)

Besides the practical teaching difficulties mentioned above, it is worth noting that Ms. Wang also provided another very interesting reason that limited her teaching to the language level: She did not believe that a Chinese language teacher or a Chinese language class, for that matter, could influence students' opinions on China in such a short time period.

I think, in fact, a Chinese language teacher really does not have such a big influence on students' opinions about China, not through several lessons. Therefore, in the classroom, I am not inclined to ask students to follow my way. For example, if a student says that China is an underdeveloped country, I will not argue with him by saying “China's development is obvious...” Some teachers might dispute that because of patriotic feeling. I won't do that. As

long as you can say the sentence correctly.... I can accept that you say “China is the worst country in the world” as long as you can say the sentence correctly.

Furthermore, Ms. Wang emphasized again that although she knew that the authors hoped that students could have more positive attitudes toward China, she personally did not care about their attitudes toward China—she just wanted to finish teaching the grammar elements. In her case, teaching Chinese was just a job to make a living. She explained that, compared with Chinese language teachers in the Confucius Institutes, she did not have the patriotic passion to promote Chinese culture or to instill any positive attitude in her students.

Okay, maybe I'm not so patriotic. Yes. I think it is probably because we don't have this kind of (patriotic) atmosphere. Maybe in the Confucius Institutes, or after training by the Confucius Institutes, the Chinese language teachers will have a more patriotic complex? It is because I have never experienced the training of the Confucius Institutes and its main purpose is to promote Chinese culture....

I told her that I attended a conference at Princeton University a week ago before our interview. A scholar there indicated that he had conducted many job interviews with many applicants who wanted to work for the Confucius Institutes as Chinese language teachers. When he asked why they wanted to work for the Confucius Institutes as Chinese language teachers, he said that almost every interviewee said something like, “I want to promote Chinese culture.” Ms. Wang laughed and said:

Oh, I used to say that too in the past. But I didn't really think like that. I just want to find a way to making a living (Laughs). Correct, I just want to find a job. That's it (Laughs). For me, I don't want to promote the Chinese culture.

My interview uncovered the different attitudes towards the ideological implications of the textbook between Professor Li and Ms. Wang. As a professor who also taught other content courses about China (Chinese literature and films), Professor Li not only believed the descriptions of China in the textbook were accurate but also agreed with the textbook authors' ideological intentions to affect American students' understandings of and attitudes towards China. By contrast, as a young Teaching Assistant not yet dedicated to a career in the field of teaching Chinese as a second language (in fact, Ms. Wang abandoned her career as a Chinese language teacher and moved back to China after finished her TA contact with Bison College), Ms. Wang showed indifference to those ideological inclinations. She did not believe some of the descriptions of China were accurate, but she still taught them anyway. She did not believe that any Chinese language teacher or Chinese language class could affect American students' understandings of or attitudes towards China, nor did she have the patriotic passion to communicate any positive information about China to her students.

Despite these different attitudes toward the ideological content in the textbook, my interviews showed that both Professor Li and Ms. Wang understood the ideological implications of the textbook: establishing a positive image of new China and to establishing a more positive attitude towards China. However, due to their teaching pedagogy, which emphasized grammar drilling, and also due to practical teaching difficulties in both lectures and drill sessions, they had to prioritize the language teaching instead of actively promoting the ideology

embedded in the textbook. These interviews explained why the positive representations of China in the textbook were repeatedly taught and were privileged in the classroom, and why most supplementary materials were consistent with these positive representations while only a few supplementary materials conflicted with them.

Conclusion

Chapter 5 investigated how China was represented by the two instructors, Professor Li and Ms. Wang, in the second-year Chinese language class at Bison College in the spring semester of 2016. It found that due to their pedagogy, which relied on using the textbook to organize the class and valued the teaching of language over teaching about the country, the positive representations of China in the textbook were largely privileged in their classrooms. Most supplementary materials provided by Professor Li and Ms. Wang also conveyed similar positive representations of China to students, though a few supplementary materials conflicted with that ideology. My interviews with Professor Li and Ms. Wang also explored their teaching philosophies regarding how to present China in their class. Though both instructors were aware of the “pro-China” ideology of the textbook, and most of the time China was positively presented by these two instructors in their classrooms, this was not purely intentional. Both instructors still considered the second-year Chinese language class to be primarily a language class. Their priority was to teach the Chinese language, not to teach about the country. My interviews also showed that Professor Li and Ms. Wang had different attitudes

toward the ideological content in the textbook. Besides teaching the language, Professor Li, a scholar whose specialty was Chinese literature and film, also hoped her students could gain more information about China. She believed that a language teacher could affect students' understandings of China, and she cared what her students were likely to think about China. Her viewpoints on humanistic education explained why a few negative descriptions about China were presented to students. Compared to Professor Li, Ms. Wang was indifferent to the ideological inclinations in the textbook. She did not believe that any Chinese language teacher or Chinese language class could affect American students' understandings of or attitudes towards China, nor did she have the patriotic passion required to communicate any positive information about China to her students. The textbook-centered pedagogy determined how China was represented in her classes. Therefore, though the instructors had different attitudes towards the ideology of the textbook, the result was the same: representations of China evident in the textbook were privileged in classroom lessons.

Just as Professor Li said in her interview with me, indeed, there was no need for her to actively promote the ideological content of the textbook. Those ideological messages were already embedded in the language that the textbook used to describe China, and the language was already the focus of the classroom teaching. The next chapter will investigate what students might come to know about China based on the representations of China provided by the enacted curriculum in the second-year Chinese language classes.

CHAPTER SIX: HOW DID THE CURRICULUM AFFECT STUDENTS' UNDERSTANDINGS OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHINA?

Introduction

Chapters 4 and 5 answered the first research question of this dissertation study: how China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society are represented in the formal curriculum and enacted curriculum in a Chinese language course in an American university. These two chapters showed that, largely due to the audio-lingual teaching method, the representations of China in the enacted curriculum echoed the positive representations of China that were contained in the textbook. Therefore, this chapter investigates the second research question: how does the curriculum in the Chinese language course influence different groups of students' understandings of and attitudes toward China? By analyzing students' oral presentations, and by examining my interviews with students, I argue that on the one hand, the second-year Chinese language course not only helped students to learn the language, but to gain knowledge and to make sense about China, especially when the knowledge was unfamiliar to them before. But on the other hand, students also used their sociocultural experiences and prior knowledge to interpret and comprehend the curriculum. Depending on their past experiences with China and their previous knowledge or lack thereof, different students perceived and responded differently to the representations of and attitudes toward China in the curriculum. Moreover, students' critical thinking abilities also helped them to not blindly accept the curriculum.

Oral Presentation

Oral presentation was an important part of the assignment system of the second-year Chinese language class. There were four oral presentations in total for the whole semester, which were assigned in weeks 4, 6, 11, and 14. Students' oral presentations were based on students' essays. There is a composition question at the end of the exercise section of each lesson. Students were usually required to write a short essay (at least 220 Chinese characters) every week in response to the composition question, which was closely related to the topics and content of the lesson that was covered in that week. Students often had the whole weekend to write their essays in Chinese, and then submitted them to the instructors. The instructors handed them back with the revisions and comments. Students needed to revise their essays again and resubmit them.

Unlike the essay, oral presentation was not assigned every week. Therefore, students could choose different essays to present. On the day of oral presentation, students were required to do the oral presentation in front of the whole class without looking at any notes, and answer at least two questions from classmates after the presentation in Chinese. During the presentation, Professor Li often sat in front of the classroom with copies of students' revised essays on her desk. She took notes to grade students' performances and reminded students when they forgot the content of their essays.

Because of the specific "audio-lingual" pedagogy and the instructor-controlled classroom discourse in the lectures and drill sessions, as I presented in

chapter 5, students in the second-year Chinese class did not have many opportunities to express their own opinions about the contents of the textbook. Limited by the dominant pattern of “teacher Initiation, student Response, and teacher Evaluation (IRE),” students could only produce sentences that their instructors wanted them to speak in class. Therefore, most of the time, students could only speak, repeat, paraphrase, and remember the sentences that described China in the textbook. Yes, students were also asked to use the grammar elements to compose new sentences, but most of these sentences were not commenting on the content of the text. In other words, the content of the textbook, which contains lots of information about China, has seldom been discussed, let alone critically evaluated in class. However, the oral presentation gave students an opportunity to express their own thoughts and reflections about this content as college students in a prestigious university. Therefore, the oral presentations also became a valuable resource for me to investigate to what extent the curriculum affected students’ understandings of and attitudes towards China.

How did the Students Think and Talk about China?

As analyzed in chapters 4 and 5, the textbook used by the second-year Chinese language course sought to present positive representations of China, as well as to establish positive attitudes towards China. By using a pedagogical approach that centered on drilling grammar, the enacted curriculum conveyed these representations of China to the students. This approach ultimately led students to recite sentences from the textbook with few opportunities to encounter alternative

representations of China. In this section, I will demonstrate that, when thinking and talking about China, most students' attitudes and knowledge about China were largely influenced by the curriculum. They constantly reproduced positive representations of China, and positive attitudes towards China, from the information of the curriculum, in their presentations and interviews with me. Other resources, such as personal experiences in China and other content courses about China, were also used by a few students to comprehend, supplement, and occasionally challenge the curriculum.

Students Drew on the Curriculum to Think and Talk about China

Chapter 5 demonstrated that Professor Li and Ms. Wang adopted the traditional "audio-lingo" pedagogy to conduct their language teaching, mechanically drilling the grammar elements in the textbook in class meetings. Most of the students remember the content about China in the textbook very well since the content of the textbook was taught, practiced, and reviewed repeatedly in both lectures and drill sessions. Students became proficient in using the original sentences from the textbook to talk and think about China, especially when this information was not familiar to them before taking the second-year Chinese language class. In other words, when they thought and talked about China, most students simply reproduced information from the curriculum. This phenomenon was not only evident in their answers to instructors' questions in class, as exemplified in chapter 5, but also in their oral presentations and interviews with me.

The following examples were collected from four students' five oral presentations in week 4 and 6 when students could choose to present their essays based on the composition questions in Lesson Eleven and Twelve. Here are the composition questions from each lesson.

Lesson Eleven, "Comrade, Mr. and Ms.:"

Do you believe that using the address "comrade" is more Chinese-like, while using the addresses "Mr." and "Ms." is a manifestation of modernization? In Chinese there are no gender differences in forms of address, but there are gender-differentiated forms of address in English such as "he" and "she," "chairman" and "chairwoman," "host" and "hostess." Is this differentiation more confusing, or is it a way of showing gender equality in language? (ANC, p. 112)

Lesson Twelve "The Restrooms:"

You have been in China for a few weeks. Have you experienced any culture shock? What do you find inconvenient about living in China? What have you found that you might not like, but still find interesting, such as sharing a table with strangers in a restaurant, seeing people buying passes in scenic spots, etc.? (ANC, p. 120)

The first example shows the oral presentation done by a white, male student, Sam, in week 4. He was also one of the only two students in the second-year Chinese language class who had never been to China before. He was a hardworking student and his course grade was good, but he had the lowest proficiency in speaking Chinese. His oral presentation not only contained the same positive information in Lesson Eleven, agreeing that the term "comrade" exemplifies gender equality, but also went one step further. He praised Chinese as a more logical language than English.

Sam: Um ... I think "comrade" is a term that is very characteristically Chinese. And I think Chinese people using "Mr." or "Miss" are influenced from overseas. For me, it is a waste ... if two words have the same meaning. It is

meaningless ... I like most Chinese people's way of addressing ... because using one word to express a lot of meanings ... it is very efficient. For example, (Chinese people) use the same term for waiter and waitress. Male or female, should not, have ... um ... For me, if male and female is not the same ... um ... um ... they are definitely not equal. It may not be clear if two words have the same meaning. (UC). I think English is illogical. But Chinese is logical. Chinese is more logical than English. Therefore, I think learning Chinese is easier than learning English.

Prof. Li: (Laughs.) This is something we do not often hear. He said Chinese is more logical than English.

OS: Do you like English or Chinese?

Sam: I like Chinese the most ... because ... in my opinion ... Chinese is more logical than English.

OS: If you think Chinese is the best language, why don't you speak Chinese more often?

Prof. Li: Why don't you speak Chinese more often? Yes. (Laughs.)

Sam: I don't know how to answer this question ... (Embarrassed smile.)

Prof. Li: You can try (to answer this question).

Sam: Um ...

AS: (Laugh.)

Prof. Li: You asked a mean question, right? Not very polite, a question that makes people uncomfortable. But you guys should speak more Chinese, the more the better.

It is clear that the information about China in Sam's presentation came directly from the content of Lesson Eleven, which conveyed a positive representation of and attitude towards China regarding the terms for addressing people. In fact, similar phenomena can be found in his other oral presentations and in other students' oral presentations.

The following example is the second oral presentation given by Sam in week 6. Because Sam had never been to China before, his responses to the culture shock that is mentioned in the question in Lesson Twelve were mostly based on the textbook. In essence, he reproduced and combined the information and

representations about China from different lessons. The so-called “friend” in his presentation apparently was the narrator (the “American student”) in the textbook.

Sam: I have never been to ... um ... I have never been to China before. But my friend told me his experience in China. He thinks ... he thinks ... living in China ... the most inconvenient part is you have to walk ... or take a taxi or bus ... to go everywhere. He was used to ... driving private cars ... to go to school, friends’ houses, and department stores. In China, in general, people do not have private cars. Moreover, he told me that ... he is not ... is not ... is not used to washing clothes by hand. When in the U.S., he used a washing machine. (UC). He said that Chinese people always hang their laundry outdoors. My friend told me ... this is ... very common. In China, washing machines or dryers ... um ... um ... are not very common. He told me that he does not like these things. He was just not used to it. He also told me that ... Beijing ... is very modern. And many other places ... are different ... um ... are completely different from Beijing. Therefore, I cannot wait ... cannot wait ... and cannot wait to go to China. I am very excited.

Prof. Li: Are you really excited? You don’t look like very excited. (She laughs. She is joking about his dry tone.)

Sam: Yes. (Laughs.)

OS: Do you think drying out your laundry outdoors has any advantage?

Sam: I don’t think there is any advantage. Because ... um ... using a dryer is faster.

Prof. Li: I have a follow up question. Yes, using a dryer is faster. But using a dryer wastes a lot of electricity. What do you think?

Sam: I ... um ... although a dryer wastes electricity, I have ... no time ... to wait, while clothes dry out.

The composition question of Lesson Twelve requires students to write on the topic of “culture shock” and things “inconvenient about living in China.” Sam’s second oral presentation fully met this requirement. His presentation contained many familiar descriptions about China, all of which came from the representations about China in the curriculum that had been repeatedly practiced in the class. For example, Chinese people do not have as many private cars as American people do (Lesson Nine);

Chinese people often wash clothes by hands and dry out their laundry outdoors (Lesson Seven); and Beijing is very modern (Lesson One).

The third example was the first oral presentation made by a female student, May, in week 4 on the topic of Lesson Eleven. May was adopted by her white American parents from China when she was a baby. She had travelled to China once for a month. May had a relatively high language proficiency level. Her presentation had only a few grammar mistakes. Here is her presentation and responses to her classmates' questions.

May: In China, the current way of addressing (other people) is different from the past. In the past, Chinese people called everyone "comrade." But ... they ... now ... don't use this term of address any more. I think calling everyone "comrade" is ... has Chinese characteristics ... because after Chinese economic reform, overseas ... overseas countries ... deeply influenced China. Because China is influenced by ... um ... foreign ... other countries, Chinese people now use "Mr." and "Ms." to replace "comrade." (In the past) no matter whether the person is male or female, everyone calls other people "comrade." Therefore, everyone looks equal. (Now) on one hand, (the word) to address a male is different than (the word) to address a female. Therefore, (it is) a little bit difficult ... because you have to know ... many characters ... to be able to address other people. However, on the other hand, (this kind of address) is very clear. Because now every Chinese uses "Mr." and "Ms." ... it seems ... they like this address more.

Prof. Li: Okay, two questions.

S1: When you were in China ... did you call them "comrade" or "Mr." and "Ms.?"

May: When I ... went to China ... um ... (laugh) I did not chat with Chinese people.

S2: Do you like to use "comrade" or "Mr." and "Ms.?"

OS: I like to use "comrade."

Prof. Li: Because?

S1: Because... because ... it is equal.

From May's oral presentation, it is clear that she remembered, and also probably agreed with, the statements in Lesson Eleven that, influenced by the Western world,

Chinese people have started to use the terms “Mr.,” “Miss,” and “Ms.” to replace the communist term “comrade.” As I stated in chapter 4, this information manifests China’s Westernization, which is represented as positive progress in the textbook. May’s oral presentation overall conveyed the same information.

The next presentation example is from Peggy. Peggy is one-quarter Chinese, and she also has travelled to China once in 7th grade for one and a half weeks. Her presentation contained the same positive messages about China in Lesson Eleven. Lesson Eleven guides students to hold a tolerant attitude towards the old Communist term “comrade” --which is convenient to use and it shows equality across age, class, and gender. In Peggy’s presentation, she not only repeated the content from the textbook, but she also used her own experience in the U.S. to argue that the old Chinese way of addressing (which is to call everyone “comrade”) is better than the American way (which is to make distinction between Mr., Miss, and Mrs.).

Peggy: I really do not like the American form of addressing. America ... Um ... I hope that American society would have a term that can address everyone. Um ... in Beijing ... in China, before the economic reform, you can use “comrade.” You can use “comrade” to address everyone. “Comrade” is very characteristically Chinese. I want to use “comrade.” Um ... one can (use) this term to address everyone, no matter if they are male or female, old or young. Everyone is equal. “Mr.” or “Ms.” is the modern form of addressing. Although I think “comrade” is more old-fashioned than “Mr.” or “Ms.,” it is very convenient. “Mr.” or “Ms.” indicates male or female. In the U.S., using “he” or “she” is not convenient because now I don’t know if someone is male or female. (Everyone laughs.) Once I said, “Excuse me, Sir,” in the library. I thought “he” was male but she was female. Using “comrade” or some other term ... um ... um ... you can address everyone.

OS: Do you want every American to begin to use “comrade?”

Peggy: Yes, because it is very convenient.

OS: Do you think “comrade” means “equal”?

Peggy: Um ... yes, you can use “comrade” to address everyone.

The fifth presentation by Selena also contained the same positive judgment about the old Chinese way to address everyone as “comrade.” As with Sam, Selena had never been to China before. I was told that she was the student who struggled the most in this course because she took more courses than she could handle during that semester. In fact, she was the “problem student.” Ms. Wang said she wanted to “kick her ass” in her interview with me in chapter 5. Surprisingly, I found Selena’s presentation was very good.

Selena: I think calling everyone “comrade” not only, not only, not only, shows Chinese characteristics but also is friendlier. Calling people “Miss” or “Mr.” is influenced by the West. “Miss” or “Mr.” is more formal than “comrade.” Why do we not like to call everyone “comrade”? Are we not friends? Don’t we like each other? Or are we too busy to stop to chat? I believe the U.S. has a negative influence on China. I like how Chinese people talk about gender because no matter male or female, no matter old or young, everyone is equal. The U.S. seems very open, but in fact, male and female are not equal in work and in society. This is a huge problem. As for inequality and work, men and women should earn the same money.

OS: What do you think is the advantage of the term “comrade”?

Selena: I think there is an advantage. For example, if you call people “comrade” it is very polite.

OS: If you call other people “comrade” in the U.S., do you think they will like it?

Selena: I think in the U.S. people like to be called “Miss” or “Mr.” because it is more formal.

Selena’s presentation not only contained the knowledge from Lesson Eleven, but she also further elaborated on this use of “comrade.” In her presentation, the merits of the term “comrade” in the curriculum became her evidence to criticize the

gender inequality in the U.S. These criticisms including “no equal pay for equal work,” were not a part of the curriculum at all.

The above five examples suggest that students tended to draw on the information from the textbook when talking and thinking about China, especially when the topics were unfamiliar to them. For example, when commenting on the traditional Chinese way of addressing people as “comrade,” all four students adopted the positive description in the textbook: that though “comrade” is a special communist term, it is not only convenient to use but also exemplifies equality across age, class, and gender.

Sam’s second presentation is another typical example that illustrates that his knowledge about China largely came from the textbook. In fact, when I interviewed Sam at the end of the semester, he admitted that the second-year Chinese language class was his major information source about China. When I asked him “is the China you learned here different from or the same as the China you learned from somewhere else or from some other information resources,” he answered,

Um ... I am not, I don’t really read too much of the news. So I don’t get much information from there.... I guess most of the information about China I get are from school, from this class. Um ... yeah, maybe movies, but those aren’t very informational. So ... I don’t really ... I barely pay attention to what’s happening in this country, let alone in China.... I don’t really know too many ... native (Chinese) people. Um... they are not in my close friends group. I don’t get extended interaction with them.

(personal communication, April 4, 2016)

As Sam said in his interview with me, though “what we have learned a lot is mostly the language and grammar stuff” and “the cultural aspects ... were not prioritized,”

the second-year Chinese language course “definitely” changed his understandings of China. The examples that he gave to me in the interview further proved the importance of the second-year Chinese language course in contributing to his knowledge about China.

Tian: Do you think this course changed your understandings of China?

Sam: Yeah, I think so. I think it could change my understanding of China more, but I think it’s definitely changing it.

Tian: Can you give me more examples?

Sam: Um, just like the small things, like the hot vs. cold water, shower, drinking water, um, how to go to bed early and get up early, um, and the “Tongzhi” (Comrade), the “Chenghu” (the way of addressing people), um ...

Tian: Because you didn’t know that before?

Sam: Yeah, I didn’t know that before. Um, different types of “Cesuo” (restrooms).

(personal communication, April 4, 2016)

Though Sam’ heavily relied on the curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class to gain knowledge about China, the curriculum was not the only resource for everyone else in this course to understand China. In fact, students also utilized their sociocultural experiences and prior knowledge to interpret and comprehend the curriculum, and thus, to further understand China. For example, in Peggy and Selena’s oral presentations, both of them used their own experiences in the U.S. and understandings about American society to argue the merits of the term “comrade,” that it is convenient to use and shows equality across age, class, and gender. When I interviewed Peggy about whether or not she believed what she said in her presentation, she stated the same reason as in her oral presentation.

Peggy: I think the reason I wrote about it is because a lot of time on campus that I’ll see someone that I don’t really know, but I know, but I know her through my friends for whatever reason. I just think it is kind of interesting, I

mean I know the context that it is being used, the communist China, so in that context, I guess it is not that great term but theoretically, if you have something to call everyone. It is just easier ... sometimes in the U.S. you cannot really tell whether it is a girl ...

Tian: (Laughs) it is a girl or a boy.

Peggy: If you have a gender-neutral term it might be easier.

(personal communication, March 24, 2016)

In Selena' oral presentation, she stated that the U.S. has a negative influence on China. The old way of addressing everyone as "comrade" is much better in term of gender equality. Though this is exactly the statement in the textbook, she also used "equal pay for equal work" as her argument, which completely went beyond the contents of the text. Since her statement was a little bit vague in the presentation, I asked her to clarify her meaning in English during our interview.

Tian: You mentioned that you really like the Chinese way of addressing people. Was that true, or just an oral presentation?

Selena: No, I do. Um, I like that, it's a little more formal. And, um, it also helps set the tone for the conversation ...

Tian: And you also mentioned something about the gender equality. I really like that. You mention the "equal pay for the equal work," right?

Selena: Yeah.

Tian: Equal pay for the equal work, yes, so where do you get that kind of information?

Selena: Um, just from the news. Um, I am ... still like ... keep really good touch with my Chinese teacher from high school, he will post articles every so often. I think that week I was reading one that said that 60% of Chinese women had bank accounts, and that is one of the highest percentages of like any country, of gender equality for, like, having bank accounts. They have one of the highest percentages of women CEO positions, so yeah, that's why (I wrote it).

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

The above interviews and presentations indicate that, when talking and thinking about unfamiliar topics regarding China, most students tended to draw on the curriculum and just reproduced the information in the curriculum. This is not a

surprising result since the curriculum might be their only resource on these topics about China. Sometimes, some students would use their own sociocultural experiences, and prior knowledge in the U.S., to comprehend and supplement the information about China from the curriculum.

Students Used Other Resources and the Curriculum to Talk and Think about China

The curriculum was by no means the only resource that students had to gain knowledge about China. For example, there were eight students in the second-year Chinese course. Six of them had traveled to China previously, either for fun, to study abroad, or to visit family members. These six students were somewhat familiar with many of the representations of China in the curriculum, particularly about the daily lives of Chinese people. Besides this language class, some students also took different content courses about China at Bison College. There was also a Chinese heritage student in this class, who had more accesses to information about China through her cultural background. This research found that the curriculum still played an important role in their discussions of China, though these six students drew less on the curriculum when talking and thinking about familiar topics of China. Students supplemented the curriculum material with their experiences and previous knowledge about China, and the curriculum provided a framework to help students make sense of their own perceptual experiences in China. For example, while many had taken the train themselves, they did not know the role of the train in Chinese society, until they learned the curriculum.

Below, I present two students' first oral presentations about their experiences in China. These oral presentations were based on composition questions from Lesson Nine and Lesson Ten.

Lesson Nine, "To Go To The Bank To Exchange Money:"

There are some things in China which international students may feel helpless about, such as the traffic jams. Have you had any experiences that make you feel this way? Do similar things that make foreigners feel alienated or helpless happen in your country? (ANC, p. 88)

Lesson Ten, "Bargaining:"

Shopping in China can be a very interesting experience. Not only can one polish one's Chinese, one can also learn how to deal with street peddlers. Imagine you are writing a guidebook for tourists. What are some good methods for haggling with or avoiding peddlers? What can you learn from your shopping experiences as a foreigner in China? (ANC, p. 99)

The first example is the presentation done by Jessica, which was based on the question in Lesson Nine. Jessica is a white female who grew up in New York. She visited China twice as a high school student in summers of her junior and senior years. In her presentation, she focused on comparing her traffic experiences in Beijing and New York.

Jessica: I have been to Beijing twice. I went to Beijing ... with people from New York. In Beijing, when I went to school, I found out that the traffic was really terrible. My house in Beijing was far away from school. I did not like to spend a lot of money ... to take taxi every day. I took the bus. But taking the bus was very troublesome. Therefore, I ride a bike to go to school. It took me only twenty minutes to ride bike to school. In ... generally speaking, in Beijing, many people ride a bike to work or to go to school. Originally, riding a bike made me nervous, but later I felt more and more comfortable. In New York, my house was close to school. It only took me fifteen minutes to walk to the school. I listened to music while walked to the school. Although I believed the streets in New York are better than the streets in Beijing, the subway in Beijing is more convenient.

Prof. Li: Beijing's subway? (She doesn't agree with this opinion.)

Jessica: Yes ... (Forgets her content.)

Prof. Li: (Reminds her) Only 3 RMB ...

Jessica: Oh, it only takes ... oh ... It took me three RMB to get on subway in Beijing. Beijing has seven loops. New York doesn't even have one loop. New York has the most subway routes ... in the world. Although New York has many routes, they are very dirty. Oh, you can see garbage or mice everywhere in the subway. Beijing's subway is both modern and clean. Um... in these cities, I feel that taking taxi is not as fast as taking subway. Because I like to take subway in New York ... therefore ... I found that other subways (in Beijing) are very comfortable.

OS: Do you often ride bike?

Jessica: In New York?

OS: Now.

Jessica: I often ride bike now.

OS: Do you like New York's subway or Beijing's subway?

Jessica: I like Beijing's subway the most because it is very modern.

Prof. Li: I have an extra question. Do you like the subway in D.C.?

Jessica: I have not been to ... um ... I have not taken D.C.'s subway before.

Prof. Li: D.C.'s subway is very clean. New York's subway is really dirty ... really dirty.

In Jessica's presentation, information about traffic in Beijing that came from the curriculum was limited to a few descriptive comments, such as "the traffic in Beijing is terrible" and "generally speaking, in Beijing, many people ride a bike to work or to go to school." Other information in Jessica's presentation was neither from the textbook, nor from the instructors' teaching, but from Jessica's own experiences. For example, she mentioned that the subway, which has seven loops, is cheap and convenient. She compared the subway in Beijing to the subway in New York: "They are very dirty. Oh, you can see garbage or mice everywhere in the subway." She praised Beijing's subway for being "both modern and clean." This comparison had not been previously made by the instructors or the authors of the textbook. In our interview, she continued drawing this comparison.

Tian: You make a lot of comparisons between Beijing and New York, and there is a lot of the content not from the textbook.

Jessica: Yes, I said, like the ... let me think of an example. Oh, the subway system. We haven't learned that here, but I think the subway system in Beijing is amazing. I can actually navigate it probably better than the New York City one because it's so organized, so clean, so modern. The fact that you can use your cellphone in the subway, it's very advanced.

(personal communication, April 15, 2016)

Thus, when Jessica talked about China, the positive image she conveyed about Beijing's subway system in fact came from her own experience. However, Jessica's focus on her own experiences does not necessarily suggest the curriculum had no impact on her. During our interview, she mentioned her experience of riding a bike to school in Beijing. She highlighted that the curriculum added a more rational form of knowledge to her perceptual experience of China, knowledge which included the logical reasons for the customs she encountered in China.

Tian: Can you tell me, besides the Chinese language, what facts about China you have learned here in the second-year of Chinese language class?

Jessica: I learned a lot about Chinese traffic rules. **I didn't know about all of them before.** I actually ... when I was living in China, I had to bike to school in Beijing, which is like the scariest thing ever. I thought I was going to die every time. (Laughs). It's so frightening, and people were looking at me like, who is this Waiguoren (foreigner) on a bike next to me? It was really, **I didn't know all the rules about ... just the traffic rules,** I didn't know them, and I didn't know about that article. Did you see the article? About how they hit and kill rather than they hit and run? **I didn't know about that.**

Tian: What's the story in the article?

Jessica: Well basically they're saying how in a lot of big cities, rather than hitting a person with the car and then like helping that person, they'll run over that person continually because it's cheaper for the person to die than not to die. I don't know if that's a big phenomenon, but ...

Tian: It happens.

Jessica: Yeah, it happens. So **I didn't know that before.**

....

Tian: What else did you learn about China in this course?

Jessica: I mean, most of the things, like the bargaining, the fact that Chinese people like to drink warm water, I kind of learned that while I was abroad.

(Laughs). But the textbook that we're using right now, it's really ... **I've never had a textbook that talks so much about Chinese culture**, like what it is.

(personal communication, April 15, 2016)

The above interview shows that while Jessica drew on other resources to further understand China, the curriculum still helped her to make logical sense of her own impressions about China's hazardous traffic.

Similar themes were found in Nancy's presentation and interview. Nancy is a white female who was enthusiastic about China. In addition to the second-year Chinese language course, she took Chinese history and movie courses at Bison college. She also travelled to China with other students from her high school for two weeks. During that tour, they visited three different cities: Beijing, Xi'an, and Shanghai. Her oral presentation responded to the question in Lesson Ten about "good methods for haggling with or avoiding peddlers."

Nancy: Besides traffic jams ... in China ... I was also worried about bargaining. When bargaining with the shopkeeper, I am afraid that I will be fooled by him and I will lose a lot of money. It costs me a lot of money to go to the college. Therefore, I tell the shopkeeper I am a poor student. But ... often ... he does not care. I do not expect ... that ... as soon as I open my wallet, he immediately would walk to me. And then, he (unclear) wants to talk to me. In those days, walking on the street ... is not as safe as ... walking in a small alley. In order to live comfortably, I need to protect my wallet. I prefer to spend ... spend money to take a taxi rather than see them (shopkeepers). In the U.S., being able to drive a car ... is very important. Therefore, foreigners who don't know how to drive, probably, do not know what to do. If they need to work or go to school, they should take a taxi. Because ... their bosses think ... everyone should arrive on time. For these foreigners, this kind of thing would make them feel anxious.

OS: Were you used to the life in China?

Nancy: I was used to the life in China. But sometimes I was afraid of bargaining.

OS: What do you think represents China's characteristic?

Nancy: Um ... I think bargaining with the shopkeeper represents China's characteristics.

Nancy's presentation suggests that when talking about shopping in China, she relied more on her own impression and experience rather than the curriculum's description. Lesson Ten illustrated an American student bargaining with a Chinese antique dealer, who fools the American student into buying a worthless fake painting. As I stated in chapter 4, the text does not critique the antique dealer's behavior, but records the dialogue of bargaining with a relaxed and humorous tone. The composition question in Lesson Ten also sets a positive tone about bargaining in China. For example, "shopping in China can be a very interesting experience. Not only can one polish one's Chinese, one can also learn how to deal with street peddlers." However, Nancy's presentation, which was supported by her own experience in Beijing, was more negative. She stated that she would rather take taxi or walk in small alley to avoid street peddlers, who would immediately walk to her as soon as she opened her wallet. The audience could feel that she was afraid of bargaining in China. Nancy's description of China was not as positive as the one in the textbook.

Her interview with me confirmed that when talking and thinking about the familiar topics of China, she relied more on her own experience than the curriculum.

Tian: Your first presentation is about bargaining in Beijing. So, can you still remember what is the textbook's attitude towards bargaining in Beijing?

Nancy: The textbook says that ... the shop owner played a trick on him (the narrator). He ended up paying too much because he did not know how to bargain correctly. He fell for the, the higher price. He just ended up buying them.

Tian: Is there any advantage to bargaining?

Nancy: In, in China?

Tian: Uh-huh, for foreign students.

Nancy: Yes, I think so ... because ... it is a good practice if you are going to live in that place. But ... personally, it makes me feel overwhelmed ... but I really think it is interesting. When I was there I felt it was cool to watch, but I am not that great about bargaining. Yeah, so I feel, when I was doing the bargaining I felt a little bit overwhelmed.

Tian: So, you also mentioned that in your presentation that you were a little bit nervous about that. And you would rather walk in a small alley than on the big street. Is this a true story or just reflects your concerns?

Nancy: Oh, escaping the bargaining and the street peddlers. (Laughs) ... that seems something that I will still do. Sometimes, I don't, because if I don't want to buy something I'm not sure what to say ...

Tian: Even the textbook told you this is a good practice?

Nancy: (Laughs) Yeah, I think it is a good practice but I think I still ... I am too afraid to do this practice.

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

The above interview echoed Nancy's negative impression about bargaining in China in her presentation, which was not aligned with the neutral or even positive attitude towards bargaining contained in the text and composition question in Lesson Ten.

Though the curriculum suggested that bargaining with the street peddlers is interesting and can polish one's Chinese, Nancy was still afraid of bargaining because it was overwhelming to her.

Like Jessica, while Nancy used her own experience to talk and think about familiar topics, the curriculum still contributed to her knowledge of China and to her interpretation of her experiences in China. In our interview, she stated that she learned a lot about China in the second-year Chinese language class, such as the Chinese culture of "saving face" and Chinese economic reform.

Nancy: In class each lesson is always about Chinese culture and the different customs. Last week, we learned about the custom of saving face, "mianzi."

And other times, we also learned about different sites of attractions, mostly in Beijing. It seems like that this class is mostly focused on Beijing. I think that the aim of the class is to give us an understanding of the vocabulary but it also gives us understanding of the culture and the customs, something that students really need when they are learning a new language.

Tian: Can you give me more examples?

Nancy: We learned a little bit, some historical things, like the Chinese economic reform in the 1970s. We talked about that briefly. We learned facts like, how Houhai was once I think the emperor's garden.

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

Also like Jessica, Nancy used the knowledge about China from the curriculum to reflect her own experience in China. For example, Lesson Ten led her to believe that she probably paid more than was necessary when shopping in China.

Tian: You just mentioned that you learned a lot in the Chinese language class, such as a lot of Chinese customs and Chinese culture. Can you give me more examples?

Nancy: In Chinese language class, we learned about customs that ... I remember that once we learned about bargaining with the storeowner. And... I mean, I have been to China. I went one time. So, I knew about that. But when I went, I didn't learn the lesson. So I didn't really know what to do. So I am sure that I probably paid too much when I was there. (Laughs). But I thought it was interesting that we got to see the dialogue, which means someone buying something in the shop.

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

In our interviews, when I asked what else about China she learned in this language class, Nancy also used the topic of Lesson Seven "Washing Clothes" to think about her travel experience in China.

Nancy: I remember learning a few things that I had never heard before, such as the process for washing clothes. It is completely different. I just didn't think about that they don't have, in China, it's not common to use dryers.

Tian: So how did you wash your clothes when you were in China?

Nancy: I just didn't wash it when I was in China. Since it was only about two weeks, I just packed a lot of clothes. Yeah, so that was another thing I didn't get to experience.

Tian: (Laughs) No, you don't want to experience that, to wash your clothes with hands.

Nancy: (Laughs) or just put it outside to dry. Oh, they (instructors) also teach a lot about the different customs, (Chinese people) take shower in the night

...

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

Both Jessica and Nancy are white and had been to China as a high school student for a short period of time. Compared to Sam and Selena, who had never been to China, Jessica and Nancy had more direct contacts and intuitive feelings about China.

Jessica and Nancy's prior knowledge about China played an important role in how they talked and thought about China. The second-year Chinese language class also had a Chinese-heritage student: Grace. Did the curriculum or her own prior knowledge had different impacts on her understandings of and attitudes towards China?

Though May's biological parents are Chinese, she grew up in a white family. Thus, Grace was the only Chinese-heritage student in the second-year Chinese language class. Grace shared many similarities with other Chinese-heritage students in other Chinese language courses. For example, her family does not speak Mandarin, only Cantonese. Her grandparents live with her family. They eat Chinese food and celebrate both Chinese and American festivals at home. Her parents had taken her back to China for family visits and tourism. Though she did not like to study Chinese, she was forced by her parents to go to weekend Chinese school for many years since she was a child, where she did not really learn a lot Chinese. She renewed interests in Chinese and started to seriously learn the language and culture

as a college student to reclaim her Chinese American identity and to gain advantages in the future job market. As a Chinese-heritage student, Grace apparently has more information sources about China than her classmates. Thus, it is not surprising that when she talked and thought about China, she utilized more of her own experiences and knowledge than the curriculum. Grace's second oral presentation and her interview exemplified this.

For the second oral presentation, the other six students (May, Nancy, Jessica, Peggy, Jack, and Grace), all except for Sam and Selena, chose to give their presentations based on the composition question in Lesson Thirteen "Taking A Train":

Write a journal entry describing your experiences of riding trains in China. Start from the train station. Write down what kind of people you meet on the road and the content of your conversation. After going on a long trip and coming back to your well-equipped dormitory, is your impression of China different from the one you had before going on the trip? (ANC, p. 126)

(Since Sam had not been to China, his presentation was based on the composition question in Lesson Twelve. Selena simply did not show up that class.) Though all of these six students' presentations were about their experiences of riding trains in China, Grace's presentation was different from the other five students' presentations. The other five students used some of their own real experiences in their presentations, but the descriptions of riding a train in their presentations came largely from the text of Lesson Thirteen. Grace's presentation was in full detail. The information in her presentation was not from the textbook but from her own family

experience. To avoid redundancies, I will only compare Grace's presentation with Jessica and Peggy's presentations. First, here is Peggy's presentation:

Peggy: I had two long train journeys within one week after I arrived in China. I didn't expect that the long-distance train in China would be even cleaner and more modern than the long-distance train in the U.S. I have taken the train to visit tourist attractions like the Forbidden City, Summer Palace, and the Great Wall. Um ... I have had a soft berth, which is especially comfortable. Um ... on the train, I talked to Chinese passengers. I, I, had two new friends after I got off the train. On the train, I had the opportunity to observe local people's lives. They often buy local products, such as local flavor snacks. Many people take the train. Um ... I believe that the major transportation in China is the train. After I came back to my dormitory, I needed to rest. The first impression that China gave me is that, um, the buildings are very old, but I found that Beijing is very modern too.

OS: What kind of local food have you eaten in Beijing?

Peggy: I have eaten dumplings and steamed stuffed buns.

OS: Which one do you like, the Forbidden City, the Great Wall, or the Summer Palace?

Peggy: I like the Summer Palace. I don't like the Great Wall because I have to use a squat toilet. (All laugh.)

OS: Did you talk to the passengers?

Peggy: Yes, I talked to the passengers. They told me the interesting places in Beijing.

As Peggy has been to China before, her presentation included some of her own experience about riding a train in China, which was not mentioned by the textbook. For example, "I didn't expect that the long-distance train in China would be even cleaner and more modern than the long-distance train in the U.S." and "I don't like the Great Wall because I have to use squat toilet." Her interview with me confirmed that this information came from her own memory about Beijing.

Tian: If someone else reads your presentation, they will see a really positive image of China. For example, you mentioned that the soft berth is comfortable, that the train in China is even cleaner and more modern than the train in the U.S. To me it is a very positive image. Is this because of the textbook, or because of your own experience in China?

Peggy: I think it is probably from my own experience ... I lived very close to New York City, which is gross and garbage everywhere. The subway is gross. So I guess my image is probably faded. But I remember that the train we went on (in China) was very clean and, I just remember Beijing is so crowded. But I remember it being cleaner than New York. And that's a specific instance.

(personal communication, March 24, 2016)

The majority of the content of Peggy's "experiences of riding trains in China" presentation directly came from the textbook. For example, soft berth is especially comfortable; on the train, she can talk to Chinese passengers, make new friends, have the opportunity to observe local people's lives, buy local products and local flavor snacks; the major transportation is train in China; the buildings in Beijing are very old; but Beijing is very modern too.

Similar content can also be easily found in Jessica's oral presentation:

Jessica: Um, in China, I once rode a long distance train to travel. Because in China, the train is the major transportation, I therefore took the train ... from Beijing to Shanghai. Um, before that, I had never taken a train before. I had never taken a train before that. In the U.S., when travelling to a far place, I either take a plane or drive a car, because the U.S. does not have a lot of railway lines. It took me less than six hours to arrive in Shanghai. The train has both a hard cushion seat and a soft berth. Although the train is not as fast as a plane, the train is not as expensive as a plane. Therefore, almost every Chinese person takes a long-distance train. In Beijing Station, I had the opportunity to observe Chinese people's lives. I talked to one passenger. He asked me questions like where do I live? Why do I want to go to Shanghai? He told me he taught English in an elementary school. His English was very good. He sounded like an American. Um ... although I could not practice speaking Chinese with him, I found a new friend. On the train, I saw scenery on my way. It was very beautiful. The train provided many conveniences for the passengers, such as free drinks, plates, and local flavor snacks. Generally speaking, on the train, you can buy local products and local flavor snacks. I also ate some candies from Beijing, which were very delicious. I think the train in China is not only clean but also comfortable. Even the bathroom was clean. If I travel to far places from Beijing, I will take the long-distance train again.

OS: What do you like the most on the train?

Jessica: I like that I can make a new friend.

OS: In the U.S., which one do you think is more comfortable, driving a car or taking a plane?

Jessica: I think taking a plane is more comfortable, but an airplane ticket is more expensive.

OS: What do think about the condition of the Beijing Train Station.

Jessica: I think Beijing Train Station is both clean and modern.

The content in Jessica's presentation was a combination of her own experiences and what was written in the textbook. For example, as in the textbook, she stated that the train is the major transit in China. As traveling by train is much cheaper than traveling by plane, the train is the choice of transportation for people going on long-distance trips. In a train station, one has the opportunity to observe Chinese people's lives, and on the train, one can see beautiful scenery, buy local products and local flavor snacks. But in the U.S., when travelling to a far place, people either take a plane or drive a car because the U.S. does not have a lot of railway lines. Jessica also used her own experience to supplement the content from the textbook. For instance, on the train, she met a new friend who taught English in an elementary school and she ate very delicious candies from Beijing. She felt the train in China was not only clean but also comfortable; even the bathroom was clean.

By contrast, Grace's oral presentation about the experience of riding the trains in China was different.

Grace: When I was twelve, I traveled to China with my family. Our plane landed in Shanghai, but we needed to go to Guangzhou. My dad wanted to take the bus, but my mom hated the bus because it was not comfortable and it was very hot. Therefore, we had to take a train to Guangzhou. Um, it took one day to go to Guangzhou by train. We were able to buy tickets for a hard cushion seat or a soft berth. I thought my father would buy tickets for a hard

cushion seat because they were much cheaper. But, I didn't expect that he would buy the tickets for a soft berth. Back then, I had never take a train before because ... I had no opportunity to take trains ... in the U.S. This is because (in the U.S.) the major transportation is car. We felt the train was very comfortable. We all went to the dining car to eat dinner. However, the food on the train was either not clean or not fully cooked. My father told the chef ... that ... he wanted better food. The chef said that he only had an oyster omelet. I felt weird ... although ... we thought this dish was weird ... it was delicious. We ate three of them. But the chef was really bad because we all went to the restroom several times because of diarrhea. All I can say is that my first train experience was very interesting. (Everyone laughs.)

Prof. Li: I think this is very interesting. Did you really eat something unclean? Was it real? Or did you make it up?

Grace: No, it's not real. But I really ate an oyster omelet on the train. Um ... that train only had this dish that was delicious.

Prof. Li: (To all students) Have you heard of oyster omelet before? Very delicious. It is a very famous local food from Taiwan.

OS: How long did you take the train?

Grace: It took me one day.

OS: Did you go to other places in China?

S4: I went to many places in China, but I've forgotten ... where I have been to.

Compared to other students' presentations, Grace's oral presentation only contained very little content from the curriculum, but was full of details from her real experiences, such as having diarrhea because of eating an unhygienic oyster omelet. When I interviewed her, I asked her why she wrote about this incident, to which she admitted that it was a not a real story in class. She told me that she had heard a lot about China's food safety problems from her friends and family members.

Tian: Why did you come up with ... that kind of conclusion that after you eat the omelet you will ...

Grace: Get sick? Um, because I've heard from some of my friends who have gone to China.... When I was looking for jobs ... I considered China, but like one of the things that people tend to talk about is either they get food poisoning, or they get sick from drinking the water.... So I asked my dad why I never got sick when we went China, he said because he was always like watching what we would eat and drink.... He would make sure that we

wouldn't get sick from it, so even though it didn't happen, I knew ... it could have happened if ... probably my dad wasn't as vigilant as he was.

(personal communication, April 19, 2016)

When I asked how well the second-year Chinese language class prepared her for China, Grace stated because of her heritage background, she was already familiar with most of the course topics:

Grace: I did visit China when I was 12 so I know a little bit about like the weather, some of the food, um ... the small aspects of like the culture. Most of what I know is from my family so like ... things like being polite ... chopstick etiquette, eating etiquette, those kinds of things. Or like giving respect to your parents and to your grandparents ...

Tian: What other facts do you know about China?

Grace: I already knew about traffic before the class because ... my dad told me stories and stuff about it and showed me videos before I've walked through the traffic. So I know what it's like. Um, I knew what the bathrooms were like because I've used them. So like ... only recently I have started to like learn things I didn't know.

(personal communication, April 19, 2016)

Grace's answer is typical of Chinese-heritage students. To these students, because of their family background, Chinese people's daily lives were already familiar to them, which is often the major content of elementary and intermediate level Chinese language textbooks. Still, Grace believed she benefitted from the curriculum. Grace's last sentence in the above interview shows that as the content of the second-year Chinese language class gradually moved from Chinese people's daily life, to more formal topics such as politics, economics, and transportation, she began to engage with more knowledge of China. For example, in her interview with me, Grace stated,

Even though I knew some things, I didn't know the really specific things.... I didn't know there is a difference between ... south and north cuisines. I didn't know that Beijing people ... eat more wheat-based products, whereas the south they eat more rice. I always thought just rice was what people would

eat because that's what they eat in my household.... I thought that was normal. And sometimes we would have ... Baozi (steamed stuffed bun), Jiaozi (dumplings) but then I thought that was like part of the cuisine. I didn't know it was separate. Um, I didn't know there was a seat of honor, I knew that there was a place where ... if we had a family dinner ... where my grandpa would sit. He'd always sit at like the biggest chair ... at the table, but I didn't know it was actually ... a designated spot, like across from the door.... I didn't know trains were a main form of transportation, that's a new thing....

(personal communication, April 19, 2016)

Thus, as with other students, the curriculum can still provide Chinese-heritage students such as Grace with ways for understanding their general, sometimes cursory, knowledge about China.

Grace's case exemplifies, that when talking and thinking about China, Chinese-heritage students tend to rely more on the knowledge carried with their family and from their cultural backgrounds. Jack contrasts with Grace, who is a white male student. Jack's story shows how non-heritage students may gain knowledge about China by taking other college content courses, such as a course on Chinese history, which is more comprehensive than Chinese language courses. Jack demonstrated the most profound connection to China among all of the students. His father had been doing business in China for many years, and Jack had been to China eight times for different purposes, including visiting different cities and factory towns. At Bison College, he majored in Global Management, and minored in Chinese. Both his presentation and interview suggest that Jack had more resources at his disposal than his classmates. For example, in his first oral presentation, Jack made rather sophisticated comments about the term "comrade" in China:

Jack: “Comrade,” this form of address, is not Chinese society’s characteristic. After the Chinese economic reform Chinese people don’t use the term of “comrade” ... um ... before 1949 they did not use this term either. Now Chinese people use less formal terms. They use “Ms.” to replace “Female Comrade,” use “Mr.” to replace “Male Comrade.” After the economic reform, Chinese people gradually do not use the term of “Comrade.” They ... um ... Hong Kong, Taiwan, and overseas deeply influenced the Mainland China. Um ... (He forgets his presentation.)

Prof. Li: (Professor Tian reminds him.) “Before the economic ...”

Jack: Before the economic reform, after 1949, China ... also ... deeply influenced by other country (he wants to say Soviet Union). They started to use this term. Um ... I think this term of “Comrade” is very ... unfamiliar. Um... However, no matter whether the person is male or female, old or young ... (they) are all equal. I believe, although it is equal, it is not convenient. Um ... um ... call other people ... um ... (Smiles, he cannot remember his presentation). As a result, they don’t use this term now. (They) use other terms.

OS: When you were in China ... which term did you use?

Jack: When I was in China, I used the American term ... because when I was in China, my Chinese was not very good. Therefore, I didn’t know how to address other people.

OS: Why do you think “comrade” is an “unfamiliar” term?

Jack: Because, in the U.S., we (Americans) don’t use this term “comrade.” If I use this term, I feel “unfamiliar” (UC).

Unlike other students’ presentations on the term of “comrade,” which mostly contained the same positive statement in the textbook, Jack’s presentation was more informed and analytical. He disagreed with the textbook’s conclusion that the term “comrade” has unique to China characteristic and reflected gender equality. In fact, his statements were more historically accurate, as the usage of the term was imported from the Communist Revolution in the 20th Century.

This was not the first time Jack disagreed with the ideas taught in the curriculum. I found at least three other examples by only looking at the classroom episodes listed in chapter 5. For example, in Episode 9, Prof. Li wanted students to

say that building overhead bridges or underground passes in Beijing is a good method to solve the traffic problem. Jack countered this by focusing on the cost of building additional infrastructure. In Episode 16, Ms. Wang wanted students to view the term “comrade” as uniquely Chinese. Jack argued that Russians also used the word “comrade.” In Episode 20 and 21, Ms. Wang wanted students to say “I thought Beijing was not modern but I didn’t expect that Beijing was both clean and modern.” Jack interrupted and insisted that Beijing was not clean and that he did not like Beijing. To be clear, Jack was highly engaged with the class and was a cooperative student, but his background knowledge was more comprehensive than the other students, thus allowing him to engage with the material on a deeper, more critical level. Just as Jack said in his interview with me, this course did not provide him with much more new knowledge about China.

Tian: Could you please tell me that besides the language, what facts about China you have learned here in this course?

Jack: Um, personally I don't think I learned that much. Just because ... um ... I've already done so much stuff with it.

Tian: You mean you already know that?

Jack: Yeah, exactly. I can see how some people it definitely has stuff you wouldn't know and especially if this is your first introduction to China as a country. But, um, you know things like, like this whole section was on using trains and stuff like that. And for someone who's been there, that's pretty obvious, that's been made obvious to me. But for someone who's American, doesn't necessarily know.

Tian: Any other example besides taking the train?

Jack: I mean, that I already knew? I knew all these already, like Communist, Comrade thing, the opening up to foreign countries. I knew all about Deng Xiaoping and Chairman Mao and all that too. And ... like night markets and stuff like that.... I knew that.... I've been to a lot of those. I've been to Houhai. I had no idea until I actually looked at what it was... I've been to a lot of banquets and stuff, so I already knew that Quancai Quanjiu (persuade guest to eat more and drink more), Ganbei (toast).... I kind of been able to see the

real transition from ... you've definitely seen it from ... the first time my dad went there was in 1998 ... until now. It's been a lot of transitions from the whole Communist idea, you know Tongzhi (Comrade) until now. It's more of a social and western society. In terms of dressing and things like that, especially amongst the younger people.

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

Jack stated that the descriptions of China in the textbook basically fit his experiences and impressions in China, except for one thing: the seat of honor. This was the only new thing about China that he learned in this course:

I've already knew things like treating someone to dinner. In my experience, that's been very much how it is. The only thing I hadn't had an experience with all that was how to figure out the honor seat.... And so that was the one thing I hadn't figured ... I hadn't seen before. But I think a lot of that was that I was an American going into a Chinese thing and I didn't necessarily see the differences there. But apart from that ... I agree with the majority descriptions of China in the textbook ... because they're very broad basic things. So, in that way, the textbook makes sense a lot.

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

In Jack's opinion, the second-year Chinese language class was still a language class, students had to take other content courses in college to gain more comprehensive knowledge about China.

Tian: Let's say a student from the first-year Chinese class asked you what he or she will gain in the second-year language class besides the language. How will you answer him or her?

Jack: Um, that's interesting. Um ... looking back... well ... besides the language.... I think language is the majority of the thing.... This course is like an introduction, in my mind. It's an introduction to China as a culture and as a society. If you want to pursue that in more depth, I don't think a language class is the place to do it. So, it's nice if you're able to take another class and be able to put it together. You're getting an introduction, in my mind, to the culture. It's a good palette taster for if you want to pursue it more.

Tian: What other courses about China you've taken here at Bison College?

Jack: Well, in Professor Li's course I learned more about Taoism and Confucianism and Buddhism than I'd ever thought I'd know.... I'm taking "Global Strategy" I've just read Henry Kissinger's book on China about his

diplomacy there. And to be able to really understand the underlying philosophical ideas helps inform ... how you see the culture so much. Because you really see the ancient, uh, the ideals they are basing their behaviors on. Even now ... you can see a lot of behaviors that are occurring in people even my age is based in Confucian ideas in the last 2000 years. So I think that one was a really good course if you want to really get into depth with China.

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

In our interviews, when I asked students “what do you know about China,” two other students also mentioned some knowledge about China that was not in the curriculum of the second-year Chinese language course, but was gained from other content courses about China. For example, Jessica talked about the phenomenon of migrant workers in China:

Jessica: The one child policy. I know it's changing, I learned a lot about how it's changing. Oh, I also learned about ... is it migrant workers? That they're all coming to big cities like Beijing and Shanghai and their children are usually being like ... they're trying to get into the education system in the city but it's too hard to get into or it's too expensive, so they're not really getting an education, I learned a lot about that.

Tian: Where did you learn that?

Jessica: **Oh, I just read that from other classes.**

(personal communication, April 15, 2016)

Selena commented that the second-year Chinese language course mainly focused on Chinese people's daily life. Since she was a Chinese minor she gained more comprehensive knowledge about China in other courses.

Selena: Um, this year we learned a lot about, um, what Chinese culture is like, so kind of their daily life, like when they wake up, when they like to shower, when they like to eat. Um ... we learned about traffic, and getting around, travelling. Um, in high school, we did more like, idioms and texts, and ... a lot about like the Chinese government.

Tian: High school?

Selena: Yeah, we learned about like the Cultural Revolution. That was my senior project ... I know a little bit about history from my high school. But in college it's most been just like daily life, kind of things ... I liked doing the

history aspect. I am a Chinese minor, so I take a lot other Chinese courses at Bison College, and like the Chinese religion courses in the Religion Program really interest me. I've taken two of courses on Buddhism and just Asian religion. And then I have taken Introduction to Asian philosophy. Like couple of other ones. So I like those a lot.

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

The aforementioned three students' cases indicate that, for American college students who might have comprehensive knowledge about China from their own experiences and other content courses, the representations of China provided by the second-year Chinese language course were sometimes relatively shallow. The nature of the second-year Chinese language course (an intermediate level foreign language course) determines that this course, for these students, was more about mentioning things about China, rather than discussing things about China in depth.

In this section, I examined eleven oral presentations that had been done by all eight students in the second-year Chinese language classes. These oral presentations, as well as students' interviews with me, demonstrate that the curriculum deeply influenced how the students thought and talked about China. When encountered unfamiliar topics about China, such as the word "comrade," most students, especially students who had limited information resources of China, tended to draw on the curriculum, and simply reproduce the information from the textbook. For students who had previous personal experiences in China, and for the Chinese heritage student who had more profound Chinese cultural background, the curriculum provided them a more rational form of knowledge for their general and perceptual experience of China. It is also worth noting that a few students who had

additional knowledge about China from other resources, such as personal experiences or content courses, would use this knowledge to supplement (and occasionally even challenge) the information in the curriculum. Thus, depending on students' past experiences and their additional knowledge about China, or lack thereof, different students perceived and responded differently to the positive representations of and attitudes toward China in the curriculum. Most students simply supplemented, and did not challenge the information in the textbook and enacted curriculum – and thereby reproduced the pro-China ideology in the curriculum. Occasionally, other information was used to challenge the information in the textbook, and thus the entire pro-China ideology of the curriculum.

Students' Views on the Potential Usefulness of the Curriculum

Jack's case is unique because few American college students who study the Chinese language also take other content courses about China, or have the same privilege to gain in-depth personal experiences with China. My interviews with Jack, and other students showed that, to fully answer my second research question, students' views on the potential usefulness of the curriculum also needed to be examined. This information also has implications for the acceptance (or the resistance) of the curriculum's pro-China ideology.

Interviews with eight students about the representations of China in the curriculum suggested a mixture of results. On the one hand, the five students with insufficient knowledge about China considered the curriculum the authority for constructing the realities in China although they were suspicious or skeptical about

some of the information about China in the curriculum. They readily accepted the positive representations of China in the curriculum, and made little effort to critically evaluate the material. On the other hand, three other students, because of their basic critical thinking skills and previous knowledge about China, would occasionally challenge or refute some of the positive presentations of and the attitudes towards China in the curriculum. In other words, the curriculum enabled and supported a pro-China ideology for students with few other sources of knowledge, but that this is more problematic or less effective with students who do have other sources for knowledge about China.

The Curriculum Enabled and Supported a Pro-China Ideology for Students with few Other Sources of Knowledge

For example, although Sam mentioned that the curriculum might provide an overgeneralized description of China, he generally accepted all the representations of China in the curriculum. When I asked him to imagine he was giving advice to a student who was planning to study abroad in China, he expressed some skepticism about what he had learned in class:

Um ... **I don't know if this is necessarily true**, but we learned ... that some of the dorms only provide hot water ... in the evenings.... **It is not that I don't believe the textbook....** Like the textbook says there are "Dunde Cesuo" and "Zuode Cesuo" (the squatting toilets and sitting toilets). I don't know how common each one is. And I don't know if every single dorm in China provides hot water only at night. So, I guess, that's where it is. **I guess I just don't know if that's true, universally true.**

(personal communication, April 4, 2016)

However, when I continued to asked about his expectations for China for his next

trip, he back-pedaled and his answers suggested he generally accepted the textbook information:

Tian: Let's say you will go to China next year, so what do you expect to see in China?

Sam: Um ... I know there is kind of two extremes. There is Beijing, there is like really modernized, big cities, and I know there is very rural, and kind of, like right where we are now in Pennsylvania, kind of wooded in the middle of nowhere essentially. (Laughs). Yeah, so, I guess it depends on where I am going. Like in the big cities, I guess a lot of fast paced action. And, in the more rural agriculture areas, kind of more relaxed farming communities I guess I would expect.

(personal communication, April 4, 2016)

He further stated that he believed the curriculum would help him to minimize the potential cultural shock when he goes to China in the future.

Tian: Do you think you will experience some culture shock?

Sam: **I've kind of developed the sense that China is ... kind of no nonsense.... [the instructors] kind of say, this is their way of doing things... we just don't use washing machines.**

Tian: What about the bathrooms? The bathroom is dirty in China. They don't have the washing basin; they don't have the toilet paper.

Sam: Um, again, I didn't think that was a criticism. I mean, personally, I wouldn't like to go to the bathroom there, **but I feel like the book is presenting it in a way that makes it seem like it's not a big deal.**

(personal communication, April 4, 2016)

As stated in chapter 4 and chapter 5, the curriculum advocated that American students should observe differences between China and the U.S. with positive attitudes, especially things that still lag behind developed countries. Sam's statements— "I've kind of developed the sense that China is ... kind of no nonsense; this is their way of doing things; it's not a big deal," — suggest that he adopted this positive attitude towards China.

Like Sam, Selena had not been to China. She too stated that this course could prepare students to study abroad in China since it focused on introducing Chinese people's daily life. This indicated that Selena believed the curriculum provided accurate representations of China. Regarding culture shock, she believed the course prepared her for a smooth transition:

I think ... a lot of people that I know that have gone to China even if they were educated about the culture, they still have a little bit of culture shock. But I don't think it will be as bad because I do know more what I am getting into.... I know about the food ... I can read menu that stuff.... I know about like washing and drying your clothes. (Laughs.) The bathrooms ... um ... the "Dunde Cesuo" (Squatting Toilet) Having to bring you own toilet paper; and traveling ... you are not going to get a car. So I feel like I will be more adjusted than some my other friends.

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

She repeatedly emphasized that this course had changed her understandings of China, especially how Chinese people live their life:

I've learned more about China. I do plan to go there. So I think it has been very helpful for me. I have a better understanding about what to expect when I get there, how to act and how to live. I don't think it's really changed my like understanding of religion, or history, or government just because we haven't talked about it. But, with daily life it definitely has. **I feel more confident going to China after taking this class. I am going to be just more accustomed to what Chinese people are used to.**

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

Selena expressed a similar positive attitude towards China that can be found in the curriculum, especially considering the differences between China and the U.S. with a pluralist multicultural perspective. Selena said the curriculum "normalized" China and Chinese culture, which she believed is a good approach.

Tian: Do you remember what's the textbook's attitudes toward the Chinese customs, such as washing clothes by hand or hang the clothes outside?

Selena: Um, I don't totally remember. **I think it normalized it.**

Tian: "Normalized" it. What do you mean by "normalized" it?

Selena: Just saying like **everyone does it. So it's not like different or weird. It's like ... it's just the norm.**

Tian: So what do you think about this approach? The textbook does not criticize that China is underdeveloped.

Selena: I think it's good. I mean, you're not expecting to go to China and expect it to be just like America. **You can't make comparisons between cultures.... There are different efficiencies in both...** so like having a car is more efficient in America but having a bike is more efficient in China. **It doesn't make one better than the other. It's just how you need to get around.**

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

Selena also thought the textbook took a neutral stance in making comparisons between China and the U.S.

Tian: Do you think this textbook compares China with the U.S. a lot?

Selena: I never feel like it's unbalanced, like it's favoring one over the other. It depending on the chapter, like switches back and force. So **the comparisons ... it doesn't make one seem worse than the other.** It will say, like, Chinese people drink hot water but Americans drink cold water. **There's no better or worse in that. It's just making a comparison.**

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

Selena used the example of "taking the train" to illustrate how this neutral stance in the curriculum influenced how she thinks about China:

For example, travel. Like, not just the cars and bikes, but also trains and planes because it emphasizes lot of the trains. But **it (the curriculum) does not make it (travel by a train) seem bad.** In America like you wouldn't take a train as much. But I never thought of it. Like even I was interviewing for my final oral presentation. I was talking to my professor from high school. And he talked all about the trains, and he had never even mentioned the planes. And I was like, "**oh, that's a normal thing.**" So, that was definitely, like, I didn't make the comparison in my head: "Oh, why do they take trains, but in America, we only take planes." I just thought that it was the best way to go in China.

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

At times, it seemed that the curriculum had a greater influence on Selena. Not only

did she adopt the positive attitudes towards Chinese culture, but she also believed that some Chinese cultural practices are better than the American cultural practices:

Selena: And also the “Rejection.” I thought it was a really interesting chapter because in America you kind of tiptoe around rejection. Um, and they (the instructors or the textbook authors) were talking about how it’s an art form in China. That was our essay question for that week. “Rejection is an art form.” Um, so **I thought that was really cool.** Um, it was like sympathizing with China a little bit because it was, they could make seem it seem very harsh, like brash and rude. **But they make it seem like culturally accepted. It was something you have to do. Like it’s part of life. No one’s feelings were getting hurt by it. There are nice ways to do it. It was culturally accepted.**

Tian: But you know some people criticized it as a backward culture. Chinese people do it because you are just hypocritical. There are some criticisms about this kind of culture. So what do you think about this kind of criticism?

Selena: Um, I don’t really see it as hypocritical. I mean, I feel, it’s just being more forward, if anything I would see Americans as being hypocritical because our form of rejection is usually like lying or avoiding, or like skirting around it. So like just coming forward and saying I think it is less hypocritical than like how Americans reject others.

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

The content about “Rejection” that mentioned by Selena is from Lesson Eighteen “Let’s Talk about This Then.” As I analyzed in chapter 4, this lesson teaches students how to reject a request politely in China, and it advocates that American students should hold a more tolerant and understanding attitude towards this Chinese custom. Apparently, in the above interview, Selena’s defense of this Chinese custom illustrates that she accepted this positive attitude.

Both Sam and Selena had not been to China before. Thus, their positive beliefs or imaginations about China were largely grounded in their beliefs in the accuracy of knowledge about China in the curriculum. However, students who had been to China tended to trust that the curriculum provided a real description of

China in aspects that they had not personally experienced in China, as many of their lived experiences in China had already been matched by the representations of China in the curriculum. For example, though Jessica pointed out that the curriculum might provide a stereotyping image of China, she still believed that she gained a genuine understanding of China in this course:

Tian: Is the China that you learned in this course different or the same as the China that you've experienced?

Jessica: **I see a lot of similarities, but definitely it's a lot of overall facts about China, and every case is different, right? It's not all the same, not everyone in China is the same person, so it's kind of I guess stereotyping but it's great to learn it. But I thought it was a pretty accurate representation.**

Tian: Okay. Can you give some examples?

Jessica: Definitely the traffic situation, I totally agreed with that. The "Nali Nali." (Nali Nali means "no, no," which is a typical Chinese way to politely accept a compliment). I remember I was talking to my China host sister and I was complimenting her and she was telling me not to. Then what else ... the hospitality when you're eating. I got so fat in China because my host mother would not let me leave the table without completely finishing everything.

(personal communication, April 15, 2016)

Jessica further emphasized that they were learning a real China in the course, and this real China was different from common images of China depicted in the U.S.:

We get such an Americanized version of China here, like whether it's through the media or through the food we eat, it's just completely different. I think it's so amazing learning the real China versus what America's version of China is, because sometimes we'd learn that instead.

(personal communication, April 15, 2016)

Jessica also held a tolerant and understandings attitude towards China when talking about China's backward material conditions. This attitude also aligned with the positive attitudes in the curriculum.

Tian: Some people criticize this textbook. They claimed that it sugarcoats the problems in China. What do you think?

Jessica: I don't think it sugarcoated most of them. I mean, the squatting toilets I know were definitely disgusting. I would say that. I mean, only with the very, very public ones like malls, but ... you could say it sugarcoated that part, but squatting does have its advantage, you do get diseases from sitting on the toilet, so it does make sense.

Tian: What about Chinese people don't have the washing machine? They wash clothes by hands but it saves the electricity. What about this one?

Jessica: Yeah. I don't think it sugarcoated that. A lot of people still don't use dryers because it's a waste of electricity so I don't think that was sugarcoated.... Because if you write about it in American mindset, you could definitely start to criticize China as not being (backward) ... I don't know ... **but you have to be in their perspectives when you're writing about their customs ...**

(personal communication, April 15, 2016)

Jessica also admitted this course impacted her views of China:

Tian: So looking at this of textbook or the second-year Chinese class as a whole, do you think they affected your understandings of China?

Jessica: Definitely. I mean, **if I hadn't gone to China, this would definitely be my ... the only thing that I really learned about the customs of China, the culture there.**

Tian: But you have been to China.

Jessica: I have been, so I have the experience firsthand and I understand it a little more. **I can visualize it....** This course it definitely just makes me want to go back there because it's such a different culture. I want to go back and experience it again. **I think it's improving how I see China.**

(personal communication, April 15, 2016)

Peggy expressed similar viewpoints about this course. She believed the China that she learned about in this course is very similar to the China that she experienced.

Tian: Is the "China" you learned in the second-year Chinese language class different from the "China" or the same as the China you know from the information you get elsewhere? Can you provide me some examples?

Peggy: I think it is pretty similar. I went to China for a week and a half in 7th grade.... I remember a lot because it's my first time for me ever been to any Asian country. So I remember a lot of it. Surprisingly.... I think it is pretty

similar, like the bathrooms, I experienced the squatting bathroom. Um... we went to the Tiananmen Square, the Summer Palace.

(personal communication, March 24, 2016)

The same as with Sam, Selena, and Jessica, Peggy also mentioned that she had learned a lot about Chinese people's daily life in this course.

Tian: Let's say a student from the first-year Chinese language class asks you what he/she will gain in the second-year Chinese language course besides the language proficiency. How will you answer him/her?

Peggy: I think many things are daily life ... like Chinese people don't have washing machines, they hung their clothes outside, and, um, wash their dishes by their hands, and things like that. And, like parks, and Taiji, and dancing, and walking the birds.

(personal communication, March 24, 2016)

Besides the daily life, Peggy especially highlighted that this course had expanded her knowledge about general Chinese culture:

My dad's family is Chinese. So, I also learned a lot from his father. But I learned a lot about the cultural things, like this chapter (Lesson Eighteen) talking about how Chinese people love "face-saving." That whole topic was new. Um, I never learned that before until recently.... This semester ... was the first time that I really noticed, um, learning more about the culture than the language because I think it is really hard to learn about the culture before you have a certain level of language. You have to learn all the words first in order to describe the culture so I think this semester was when I start to get advanced enough to really learn about lots of stuff.... **It expanded my knowledge about it (Chinese culture).** It's kind of making me want to go back again. See other things that we learned about.

(personal communication, March 24, 2016)

As to how the curriculum influenced her understandings of, and attitudes towards to China, I had an interesting finding. In chapter 4, I analyzed that the textbook contains a pro-China ideology. This is evident, for example, when the textbook reframes the problems in China by either highlighting China's particular national situations, or by advocating "every cloud has a silver lining." Peggy was attuned to

the ideological framing of China in the textbook, and she accepted this particular way of observing China. She believed that it is important for students to get “both sides” of China, and she thought the textbook “does a really good job of not showing any bias.”

Tian: (Show her the preface) The authors mentioned that this textbook is different from the previous one. It contains less criticism and has more sympathetic understandings. For example, although this textbook mentions that the bathrooms in China are dirty, it also mentioned that, um ...

Peggy: You won't get diseases.

Tian: Yes. Did you notice this theme before today?

Peggy: Well, um, it is interesting because I have noticed that **this textbook does a really good job of not showing any bias.... Every chapter has both sides of it, which I have been noticing more in this semester.**

Tian: Okay, besides the bathroom example, can you give another example that contains the “both sides?”

Peggy: Um ... like the train ... it's longer but it's cheaper ... you can buy local things on the train. You can talk to people. You can blah, blah, blah. Um, what else? Oh, like, the bargaining, you can be fooled and pay way more or you can learn about bargain. And with the “Comrade,” there are parts about that.

(personal communication, March 24, 2016)

When I asked Peggy to comment on this way of compiling a textbook, she was conscious about how the curriculum could affect Chinese language learners' opinions of China. However, she insisted that it is easier for college students to formulate their own opinions by seeing “both sides” of China.

Um, I think **it is important to see both sides... because when people are, like especially when you have beginners to learn Chinese, you learn whatever your teachers told you. You learn whatever the textbook tells you to learn. So I think it is important whether it is from the teacher or from the textbook to have, I guess, all the information rather than just learning certain things.** And, you can also see from the topics too. Like, the textbook has a pretty wide range of topics that you have to deal with it, like Chinese culture. So that's an advantage to learning it.... **Especially the college level, I think, at least you have the skill to sort of making of my own opinions on everything rather than ... just focuses on the bad**

things and criticisms. It's easier, I guess, to formulate your own opinions.

(personal communication, March 24, 2016)

Nancy stated that in this course she had learned a lot about Chinese culture, customs, life styles, even the way of thinking.

Tian: Okay, let's say a student from the first year Chinese language class asks you what he/she learn in the second year Chinese language course besides the language proficiency. How will you answer him/her ?

Nancy: Well ... **each lesson is always about Chinese culture and the different customs.** Last week, we learned about the custom of face, "mianzi." And other times, we also learned about different sites of attractions, mostly in Beijing. It seems like that this class is mostly focused on Beijing. I think that the aim of the class is to, to give us an understanding of the vocabulary but it also **gives us understanding of the culture and the customs,** something that students really need when they are learning a new language. I will probably tell them **that they will learn a lot about Chinese life style, the customs, even the, sometimes, even the way of thinking.** Um ... I think ... this course ... does a good job of showing ... the way of thinking ... the different customs by placing the person in the situations; showing the everyday situations ... enjoying what he (the narrator of the textbook) observes, and how he reacts.... For example, taking the showering at night, washes the clothes by hands, the toilets, and take a nap after lunch ...

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

Like Peggy, Nancy noticed the positive attitudes towards China in the textbook. She also believed this is a good approach and accepted this attitude because it "gives us a new perspective," and make students more "open-minded."

Tian: Did you notice what are the authors' attitudes towards this different customs?

Nancy: Oh, yeah, sometimes, he (the narrator of the textbook) doesn't like it. He thinks it is strange, the types of, the ways of life. Other times, I think **it gives us a new perspective.** He just kind of let us think about, their ways, "**Oh, that makes sense because ... you are in China.**" (Laughs)

Tian: What do you think about this kind of approach?

Nancy: Um ... I really like it ... um ... because ... I think, that generally, **it's pretty open-minded** even though ... the college student (the narrator in the textbook) he, sometimes he is not used to certain things but I think he is

always willing to try it. At least he is willing to show each custom, or willing to ... explain the reasons.

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

Nancy further stated that this approach might influence her attitude toward China, because it made her “more knowledgeable of China.”

Tian: Do you think this course has any influences on your attitudes towards China?

Nancy: Um... hopefully a little bit. I think that the course wants those who take it to ... consider the differences between China and the U.S. **And maybe to not jump so quickly to conclusions about China just from the things that they have heard. Just to show, and even to give them a better understanding of why the different cultural aspects are the way they are.... It makes me more knowledgeable of China.** Maybe it influenced a little bit because before I didn't have that kind of the background of the culture that I have now.

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

Being interested in Nancy's supporting attitudes towards the curriculum, I continued to probe:

Tian: The authors mentioned that this textbook is different from the previous one. It contains less criticism and has more sympathetic understandings. The previous textbook often compares China with the U.S., and of course the result is not good to China. The previous one contains more criticisms of China. So what do you think about this approach?

Nancy: Yeah, I prefer the more sympathetic understanding **because I don't think that there is any right way to do something or any right way to, um, I guess to carry out your everyday life. There is always or there is usually a reason for the way that other cultural custom is.** So the best they can do is just try to offer the person who is reading it an open to ... try to get them take an **open-minded perspective of the issues.**

Tian: Well, some people claimed that this kind of approach is like “sugarcoated” a lot of problems in China, such as the toilet. Do you remember how does the textbook talks about the toilet in China?

Nancy: I know he criticizes it, the toilet. Um ... but I think that he says it is more sanitary, right? (Laughs). I don't, I don't think it is completely “sugarcoated” though. I think, he, um ... **I think that he was just trying to consider the positive sides and the negative sides.** Well also, I didn't see that. Maybe this was an influence from the textbook that I didn't realize, but I

didn't think the toilets were considered a big problem. I just thought it was a cultural norm. Maybe that's the impression I got from the textbook.

(personal communication, March 29, 2016)

The above five students' interviews show that most students largely believed in the representations of China in the curriculum. This is partly because the curriculum provided several noticeable points about daily life in China, such as Chinese people drinking hot water, hanging clothes outside, and using a squatting toilet. For the students who had been to China it was easy for them to connect these noticeable contents of the curriculum to their own experiences, and then, generalize other similarities and then conclude that the curriculum presented accurate representations of China. Once they accepted these other representations of China in the curriculum as accurate, it is not surprising to see that, to varying degrees, these students expressed similar tolerant and understanding attitudes towards China.

Students with Other Sources of Knowledge Challenged the Pro-China Ideology in the Curriculum

However, I also found that three other students' cases are a little bit different. They either found the flaws in the representations of China in the curriculum, or questioned the positive attitudes contained in these representations. Likewise, they stated that the curriculum did not really affect how they saw China. For example, in her interview with me, May showed that she understood that much of the curriculum focused on Chinese people's daily life.

Tian: Can you tell me besides the Chinese language, what facts about China you have learned here in the second year of Chinese culture class?

May: Um, like how people tend to travel ... sort of flavors that go with the regions.... Um, sort of more lifestyle stuff, like, habits...

Tian: Can you give me some examples?

May: Like people, um, people generally travel by either train or by plane.

People tend to prefer train because it's cheaper. Um, every day, I mean ... that people drank hot water because the water isn't clean.

(personal communication, April 20, 2016)

What makes her different from the above five students is her negative attitude or the skepticism towards the curriculum. For example, when mentioning the squatting toilet, both Jessica and Nancy explicitly quoted the textbook, and said that though squatting toilet is not comfortable, it could prevent people getting diseases. However, May thought this descriptions of toilets in the curriculum were nonsense.

Tian: Do you remember how does the textbook talks about the toilet in China?

May: They're, I don't know. They talked about how, um, with the squatting toilets, you don't have to worry about catching a disease, which **is kind of BS** (Laughs).

Tian: Why, why do you think it is BS?

May: That's not how diseases are passed.

Tian: Okay. So what's your major?

May: Biology. (laughs)

Tian: Okay, that makes sense. (laughs) Okay.

May: Um, so yeah, that, that was, that's, **I remember just looking at that text. Okay whatever.** (Laughs).

(personal communication, April 20, 2016)

Her biology background may explain her skepticism about the “sanitary” aspect of using squatting toilets mentioned in the curriculum, but in our interview, she also showed her disagreements about other aspects of the curriculum. For example, she did not believe that the word “comrade” stood for gender equality and “Mr.” and “Miss” indicated gender inequality.

Tian: Do you remember how the textbook say about the word “comrade?”

May: Yeah, um, well before the open to foreign policy, um, it's, Chinese people all, sort of regardless of how old they were whether their male or female ... called each other a comrade. Um, but after they started being influenced by other countries, um, like America they sort of changed titles, comrade fell by the wayside and they started using Miss, Mr. and Mrs.

Tian: Okay, so which one do you think is good?

May: Um, I don't know. I think there are pros and cons to both. Um, with Mr. and Mrs., it's, there is sort of more clarity if you are telling a story as to whether or not someone is a guy or a girl. Because if someone just says this, this is this person then, do you ask if she did something or if he did something? The textbook made some comments about, um, comrade is more equal I think. Um...

Tian: Do you believe that?

May: I don't know, um, yes and no. I guess, yes, um because it is just one title for everyone. Regardless of age, there's equality in that, but then, I don't know if splitting it into two different titles really makes people unequal.

....

Tian: Do you take any courses related to China?

May: Um, I just take Chinese.

Tian: Only the language class? You didn't take the Chinese religion, culture, or movie course?

May: No.

(personal communication, April 20, 2016)

The above interview show that May might believe the facts about China in the curriculum since she did not have any other resources for comparison. For example, she believed that instead of the word “comrade,” Chinese people started to use “Mr., Miss, and Ms.” after the Chinese economic reform. However, it does not necessarily mean that she also believed in the attitudes, the judgments, or values of these facts, which are usually pro-China.

Grace expressed similar disagreements. For example, when we talked about how the textbook presents the traffic situation in China, Grace said:

I was kind of uncomfortable when we were talking about the, um, crossing the street, how it's dangerous. And before we had the lesson on

the traffic Professor Li sent us an article about how people, like, will run people over and, like, instead of like hitting somebody and like paying for their life support. And I was, **I just felt it was very strange that we were talking about something that could be so sensitive but so easily....** We were talking about like "oh, you could hit somebody and kill them" or like you can hit somebody and they can be thrown 300 feet from your car, like those kinds of things. And **we never really addressed why is that, why is that okay.** Unless you read the article, you wouldn't know the reason that this is so normal is because just economically ... it makes sense to kill somebody rather than injure them. So this textbook didn't address that at all and instead kind of putting the responsibility on the pedestrian to pay attention to the car and to defer to the car and kind of put blame on both sides. Both the car and the pedestrian, neither of them paid attention to traffic signals. But in my perspective, at the end of the day, (since) you're driving a car you should have more responsibility to look for other people because you have more power at the end of the day. **So I was a little thrown off by the textbook's representation of that.**

(personal communication, April 19, 2016)

Grace also expressed her dissatisfactions about how the curriculum only introduce positive side of the term "comrade." She believed that curriculum did not provide enough context, and necessary information for students to fully understand the implications of this Communist term.

Tian: Do you remember how did they talk about the term of "comrade?"

Grace: Um, well they mentioned like the pre Mao era, like how people would use "comrade," they don't go into why the political, I mean I understand that might be too advanced for a language, but **there was no acknowledgement of why comrade was used**, what the Cultural Revolution was. **So they did mention that it happened. The lack of context was a little strange for me.**

Tian: Do you still remember what are the authors' attitudes towards this "comrade" as a form of addressing people?

Grace: Um, well didn't they say that it's easier to use but maybe like ... I don't know if this had something like to the contrary?

Tian: What about the gender equality?

Grace: Yeah, it would be gender equality but then, I mean, the thing is like, the word "comrade," within the context of the revolution, I think is more complex than just giving like.... It has more baggage than just being

something that equalizes your gender, your status, and whatnot because there is a lot of like problems with the Cultural Revolution.

(personal communication, April 19, 2016)

When I asked her to comment on this textbook, Grace explicitly expressed her skepticism about textbook's propaganda's nature. She stated that this textbook does not reveal many controversial aspects of China, and it tends to lighten the heavier topics.

Tian: So would you like to learn in a textbook like this again in the future?

Grace: Oh, um, I don't know because ... **I didn't feel like they touched on the more controversial aspects of Chinese culture and life.** I don't know if, within the language, because we are trying so hard just to learn words, that's a place to repurchase. Maybe if you know Professor Li tries to introduce some interesting things with offsite sources. Um, I think that's more of an appropriate venue rather than a textbook. Um although I can kind of read ... **this textbook as slight propaganda maybe** (smile). Uh, I mean, **I would hope that most people who read the text ... can recognize the sort of lightening of the heavier topics within the textbook because we don't have the tools to engage in something so complex in dialogues.**

(personal communication, April 19, 2016)

Grace's summarizations show that as a senior college student she had basic critical thinking ability to make reflections on the positive representations of China, and positive attitudes contained in the curriculum. As I stated at the beginning of this chapter, due to the highly teacher-centered pedagogy, student seldom had the chance to express their own thoughts in class. For a majority of the time May and Grace just responded to the instructor's' questions with the pre-set answers that were based on textbook in class. I had observed their class for a whole semester, but I did not notice that May and Grace in fact did not really agree with some of the descriptions of China in the curriculum until I interviewed them.

However, Jack was a different case. Unlike May and Grace, Jack was not afraid of showing his disagreements in class. When I illustrated how the students utilized the curriculum to think and talk about China in first half of this chapter, I've already showed how Jack expressed his critical thinking sprits or skepticisms towards the curriculum in class. When I asked him to comment on the ideology of textbook in our interview, Jack said that he could feel the textbook was trying to avoid potential conflicts: "In general I think **the textbook is trying to put a reconciliatory thing between everyone.** Just so they can show what's happening. They don't have anyone judging either way" (personal communication, April 12, 2016). When I further probed his opinions on this issue, he said the curriculum cannot affect his opinions on China since he had already had his mind set.

Tian: So what do you think about this kind of approach?

Jack: **It's good for someone who hasn't... who doesn't have an opinion formed about it.**

Tian: Is it not good for you?

Jack: Um, well, I already have opinions about how all of this... yeah, whether I like all of this stuff. So, I can go either way. You know if they had a book that said, you know this is definitively the right way, you know the Chinese way is definitively the right way and any other way is wrong. I'd have my own, you know **I've already had this set in my mind** that some of these things are right and some of them aren't. **Whereas I think if someone who doesn't have that sort of mindset already is able to go into this and be like influenced.... Okay, you kind of evaluate it for yourself.**

(personal communication, April 12, 2016)

I believed that Jack's words encompass why these eight students showed two different attitudes toward the knowledge of China, and the ideological messages hidden in it. Indeed, as Jack said, the curriculum could have greater impacts on students who had no, or limited, previous knowledge about China. Students'

previous knowledge and opinions about China, and their critical thinking abilities also affect how they see the curriculum.

Conclusion

In this section, I argued that the influence the curriculum had on American college students' understandings of and attitudes towards China should neither be underestimated nor exaggerated. The second-year Chinese language course provided an important cultural resource for students to talk and think about China as a modern and progressive country. These positive representations of and positive attitudes towards China in curriculum were more important to students who had never been to China, especially when taking and thinking Chinese people's daily life, since these students did not have other access to this information. More knowledge and information that directly derived from the curriculum was found in their oral presentations and interviews compared to the other students. For students who had been to China, on one hand, since the representations of China in the curriculum often fit their limited experiences and impressions about China, they tended to generalize this similarity and believed the accuracy of the rest representations of China in the curriculum, which they had not been exposed to before. On the other hand, their real life experiences and knowledge about China that was gained outside of language class impacted their understandings of, and attitudes towards, China as much as— or perhaps even more than— the content of the curriculum. Moreover, as adults and college students, who had basic cultural intelligence and critical thinking abilities, some students did not blindly believe in everything in the curriculum,

especially those students who had more accesses to China. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that even if that involved challenging or refuting what was presented in the second-year Chinese language class, these students still made use of that knowledge.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSION

Discussion of Findings

This dissertation study has argued that school knowledge is not neutral but reflects dominant ideologies (Apple, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2004). Chinese language education in the U.S. is no exception. The formal and enacted curricula of a Chinese language course outfitted students with various cultural tools that were ideological and the result of conflicts among different interest groups (Apple, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2004). Students, as active agents, used the tools they had available to them, such as language, knowledge from the curriculum of this Chinese language class and from other courses, and prior sociocultural experiences, to understand China (Wertsch, 1991, 1998, 2002). These cultural tools, imbued with different degrees of power and authority, composed a hierarchical toolkit, in which certain tools were more privileged than others (Wertsch, 1991, 1998, 2002). All these cultural tools both enabled and constrained how students thought and talked about China (Wertsch, 1991, 1998, 2002; Wills, 2001), as their affordances and constraints conveyed different ideological messages about Chinese culture and society (Apple, 1992, 1993, 2000, 2004; Wertsch, 1991, 1998, 2002). Interviews demonstrated how students mastered, appropriated, or resisted these cultural tools (Wertsch, 1998) in thinking and talking about China.

Curriculum Provided Ideological Knowledge

This dissertation study exemplified Apple's (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004) theory of school curriculum as ideological knowledge, which proclaimed: no school

knowledge is purely neutral or objective but is the product of cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises. The formal curriculum and the enacted curriculum of the second-year Chinese language course at Bison College also reflected the “selective tradition” illustrated by Apple’s research (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004). Curriculum is not ideologically neutral but always reflect and convey certain ideology (e.g. sociocultural values, understandings, beliefs, and attitudes) to their readers. When the instructors making their curriculum choices, they basically “select” for the existence of such ideology in their classroom. Positive representations of China and positive attitudes towards China, which conveyed a pro-China ideology, were designed, selected, legitimized, and taught in this language class. This process was accomplished through the mediated activity of the enacted curriculum.

As I demonstrated in chapter 4, the positive representations of China and the positive attitudes towards China that came from the formal curriculum were privileged over negative ones, which conveyed the pro-China ideological stance of the second-year Chinese language class. In Chapter 4, I conducted a content analysis of *A New China*, the textbook used by the second-year Chinese language class, to illustrate how the textbook established a positive image of a new China and encouraged a positive attitude towards China for American college students. Similar to many Chinese language textbooks, *A New China* celebrated China’s long history and rich civilization (e.g. the Great Wall; tourist attractions; Chinese cuisine; table etiquette; face-saving culture). Moreover, this textbook introduced the idea that

China has undergone dramatic and positive changes in almost all aspects as a result of the rapid development of the economy since China's economic reform in the late 1970s. For instance, the textbook showed that Chinese people's living standards and material conditions in China are improving every day (e.g. more private cars and household appliances; excellent highway and dormitory conditions). Chinese people live a prosperous and relaxing life (e.g. small parks; night markets; zoos).

Communications with the world, especially the Western world, have become more often, which has caused China's social system and values to become more and more Westernized (e.g. less communist influence; less propaganda slogans more commercial advertisements; capitalistic economic system; improving gender equality; less restrictions on freedom of speech). The fact that Beijing, not "backward" rural areas, was often used to represent China in the textbook helped in establishing China as progressing towards a more Westernized, modern, and prosperous nation. This reflects one of the key features about the ideology of the formal curriculum.

Some negative representations of China were also found in the textbook, such as relatively backward material conditions (e.g. no dryers; traffic jams; dirty restrooms), uncivilized behaviors (e.g. not waiting in line; bad driving habits), and unenlightened political ideology (e.g. censorship). But compared to the actively promoted positive representations of China, these negative representations of China were not only limited to a few aspects, but were often understated in the textbook. Furthermore, when evaluating these negative representations of China, whether

they are things that are different from the West or things that still lag behind developed countries, the textbook led its readers to three choices: to take a pluralist multicultural perspective, to consider China's special historical, cultural, political, social, and economic conditions, or to recognize China's huge progress. By using these strategies, the textbook spared no effort in advocating that American college students should hold a more tolerant and understanding attitude towards China. Thus, the formal curriculum, that is, the content of the textbook, reflected and enabled a pro-China ideology by privileging positive representations of China and attitudes towards China while also providing, but understating, negative representations of China and attitudes towards China.

Curriculum Outfitted Students with Cultural Tools

Chapter 5 demonstrated how the formal curriculum enabled and supported the production of positive images and representations of China in the enacted curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class. From a theoretical point of view, this chapter illustrated how the enacted curriculum, as mediated activity, outfitted students with different cultural tools in their cultural toolkits, utilizing the knowledge of China in the textbook and in the supplementary materials provided by instructors, to understand and represent China. In this cultural toolkit, positive representations of China and thus a pro-China ideology were legitimized and privileged over negative representations of China. As a result, the enacted curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class conveyed to students a highly ideological and pro-China form of knowledge.

Specifically, due to the two instructors' traditional audio-lingual pedagogy and textbook-centered teaching philosophy, the positive image of China in the textbook were privileged in their classrooms. Most supplementary materials provided by Professor Li and Ms. Wang conveyed similar positive representations of China and positive attitudes towards China to students. Besides the few negative descriptions of China in the textbook, supplementary materials also contained several negative representations of China (e.g. horrible traffic conditions; poor educational situation in the countryside). The existence of the negative descriptions of China in both the formal and enacted curriculum exemplified Wertsch's concept of privileging, which addressed "the issue of the organization of mediational means in a dominance hierarchy" (1991, p. 124). In line with Wertsch, we can see that the curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class was not about privileging only the positive representations while eliminating others, but instead was about creating a hierarchy of representations in students' toolkits. In this toolkit, certain tools were viewed as more legitimate or more appropriate than other tools.

This hierarchy of knowledge of China in students' cultural toolkits is reflected in many aspects. First, the larger quantity of positive representations of China compared to the limited negative representations of China in both the formal and enacted curriculum definitely provided students with more available resources, or cultural tools, in their toolkit to understand China in positive ways, thereby enabling a pro-China ideology. In other words, though negative representations of China that were contained in the curriculum were found in students' toolkits, they

were not sufficient enough to disrupt the positive representations that were privileged in the curriculum.

Second, the verbal representations of China in class that were conveyed in the everyday communications between the instructors and students also shaped student's views on the usefulness or appropriateness of these cultural tools. For example, in Episode 9 of chapter 5, I demonstrated how Professor Li used different response words to both invalidate a student's own negative comments on China's solution for traffic problems and to buoy the positive statements in the textbook. When Professor Li asked, "Pedestrians use overhead bridges or underground passes. Do you think it is a good method?", a student (Jake) answered, "It is not a good method to use overhead bridges and underground passes because it will cost a lot of money if you want to build overhead bridges and underground passes." Professor Li's response was relatively discouraging: "Okay," and "he thinks." When other students answered the same questions with the original sentences in the textbook, which conveyed a positive attitude about China's solution: "it is a good method to use overhead bridges and underground passes because it is safer," Professor Li's response became more encouraging: "great," "yes," "yes, very good, very good." Even if it seemed that Prof Li was praising these students' grammar, ability to speak Chinese, and not their "correct" positive depictions of China, it is possible that the effect of praising these students' grammar and speech also confirmed the validity or credibility of these positive representations of China. In other words, the appropriateness of what students were talking about (positive

representations of China) was not directly commented in class, but was instead an unintended yet desired byproduct that was indicated in Professor Li's praise for students correctly speaking Chinese.

Wertsch (1998) stated that cultural tools are differentially imbued with cultural "power and authority," which are provided by the sociocultural setting in which they are produced or used (p. 65). This explains why "certain knowledge is publicly available and openly taught while other forms of knowledge are not" (Wertsch, 1998, p. 66). Wertsch exemplified this point with the teacher-student discourse in formal instructional settings. He stated that the traditional classroom is often organized around "I-R-E" sequences (a teacher initiates a question, a student replies, and the teacher evaluates the answer). In this discourse sequence, because the teacher initiates the question and evaluates the response, he or she "occupies a position of authority" (Wertsch, 1998, p. 69). The "I-R-E" sequences is one of the key features of the audio-lingual pedagogy (Kumaravadivelu, 2005; Liu, 2007; Rivers, 1983), which was applied in the second-year Chinese language class. In the second-year Chinese language class, the instructors' preferred instructional method imbued positive representations of China with authority and social legitimacy, signaling to students that these positive representations were more useful and appropriate cultural tool than negative representations of China.

In addition, there are similar examples in episodes 20 and 21 of chapter 5. When the student (Jake) told Ms. Wang that he thought Beijing was not clean according to his own experience, Ms. Wang gave an impatient response "fine, fine."

When the same student kept saying that “I don’t like Beijing,” after Ms. Wang showed two pictures with Beijing’s gorgeous night views, Ms. Wang got irritated and responded in a harsh tone, stating: “Whether you like it or not, this is what Beijing looks like.” Ms. Wang’s reaction to this student’s negative comments about Beijing revealed a contradiction with what she had previously told me in the interview. This reaction perhaps substantiated how she really considered the image of China in her class. In the interview, Ms. Wang expressed that she did not care what students said about China, as long as they can speak the grammar elements correctly, though she spontaneously defended China when she heard something negative about China. Similar to Professor Li’s case, Ms. Wang’s discouragement or even harshly critical responses to the negative representations of China, met every negative criticism of the student, even if those observations came from the students’ actual personal experiences. This gave power and authority to positive representations of China and contributed to the production of a hierarchy of usable knowledge about China in the students’ toolkits, wherein negative information about China was positioned as less desirable and useful. These negative responses gave students a clear indication that the positive representations of China in the textbook were more useful. Or, in Apple’s (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004) framework, the positive representations of China and the pro-China ideology contained in these presentations were socially legitimized by the two instructors in their class.

Third, chapter 6 demonstrated that students’ knowledge about China not only came from the curriculum, but also came from other resources. These

resources included personal experiences, family background, and other content courses related to China and they were also part of students' cultural toolkits of China. Most students had some knowledge about China beyond the curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class. However, this knowledge was generally limited or superficial (with the possible exception of Jake). Moreover, the two instructors' teacher-centered and textbook-centered teaching methods (which are the two common consequences of the audio-lingual teaching pedagogy), determined that classroom instruction was always be focused on the content of the textbook that was emphasized by the instructors. In other words, in the process of language teaching and learning, the knowledge about China from the textbook was privileged over the knowledge that students had gained from other resources.

Thus, with all of the aforementioned findings, this process exemplified the privileging of positive representations of China and positive attitudes towards China in the curriculum, over negative ones in the curriculum, or those from other resources. This process structured students' cultural toolkits of China hierarchically from most accessible, useful, sensible, and appropriate representations, to those which were less so. Those negative representations of China were still available to students (e.g. students still knew and remembered the dirty restrooms or the horrible traffic situation in Beijing), but they were less likely to use that negative information about China when they talked and thought about China.

Curriculum Enabled a Pro-China Ideology

Wertsch (1991, 1998, 2002) highlighted that the cultural tool has an inherent functional dualism. When discussing how individuals mediate their minds and actions to find meaning in that relationship, Wertsch stated that cultural tools, which include many forms (e.g. narrative, knowledge of texts, language, technology, and specific textual resources), provide “affordances” as well as impose “constraints” (1998, p. 40). In other words, cultural tools are both enabling and constraining resources that are used by the agents (Wills, 2001). Wertsch (1991, 1998, 2002) reminded us that in the examination of any cultural tool, we must pay careful attention to the semiotic resources that both enable and constrain the mediated actions of the agent.

In the case of this dissertation study, as stated above, the curriculum contributed various cultural tools and resources to students’ cultural toolkits of China. All these cultural tools inevitably enabled a particular way in which students could understand China while constraining alternatives. For instance, the specific representations of China and attitudes towards China provided in the curriculum was a cultural tool. This cultural tool enabled a pro-China ideology (e.g. China is in the process of modernizing and improving; China’s Westernization represents a huge progress) and constrained the negative ones (e.g. only a few limited aspects of China could be improved). When evaluating these negative representations of China, the curriculum also enabled a positive attitude towards China while constraining the critiques of China’s problems. Chapter 4 demonstrated that the formal

curriculum repeatedly advocates that American college students should observe the negative representations of China with an understanding and tolerant attitude. Westerners should seek to understand China's problems by considering China's special historical, cultural, political, social, and economic conditions. Thus, this cultural tool, the specific representations of China and attitudes towards China provided in the curriculum, enabled a specific pro-China ideology while providing fewer resources for constructing a negative view of China.

The extra example sentences, visual images, and authentic language materials provided by the two instructors were also different forms of cultural tools that contributed to students' toolkits of China. All of these cultural tools afforded, supported, or enabled positive understandings of China and positive attitudes towards China while constraining alternative negative ones. The extra example sentences in the Episode 17 and 18 of chapter 5 were just one instance. Students were repeatedly taught to say that "the Chinese people's living standards are not as good as the American people's living standards. However, in five years the Chinese people's living standards will catch up with the American people's living standards" and "Beijing's air is getting worse day by day. However, Beijing is getting more modern year by year Chinese people's salaries are getting higher year by year. China's household appliances become more common year by year." The images of a clean and modern bathroom in Episode 15 and of Beijing's gorgeous night views in Episode 21 constrained negative attitudes towards China that students might have gained from the textbook or their personal experiences and instead enabled

students' positive understanding of China. Because the three clips that introduced small parks, the night markets, and Chinese food basically contained the same information that could be found in the textbook, they enabled the same positive representations of China as their correlating lessons in the textbook: China is a country that has a rich historical heritage and eating culture and its people live happily in a stable, relaxed, and prosperous society. Chapter 5 demonstrated a few supplementary materials, or cultural tools, indeed conflicted with the pro-China ideology of the textbook, included the newspaper article, "Driven to Kill" (Episode 8), the video "How to Safely Cross the Street in China" (Episode 11), and the movie Not One Less (Episode 23). These cultural tools enabled negative understandings of China while constraining positive ones, but they were not privileged in students' cultural toolkits of China.

Thus, most cultural tools in students' toolkits enabled positive representations of and positive attitudes towards China and constrained negative representations and attitudes. Although students had access to all the tools in their toolkits, for most students, the ones that could convey positive image of China were more appropriate than negative knowledge of China. When students drew on their cultural toolkits to think about China, the toolkit constrained the negative ones and made them less accessible and available than others, perhaps to make them seem less sensible and "accurate" than others. This is how the curriculum structured students' cultural toolkits hierarchically to make positive representations of China most accessible and usable. That is, in line with Apple, the curriculum embodied and

communicated a pro-China ideology because the positive representations of China and the positive attitudes towards China were privileged and viewed as being the most appropriate or correct, meaning they were socially legitimized through the audio-lingual pedagogy.

The Possible Ideological Effects of the Curriculum on Different Students

Students have been outfitted by the curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class with cultural toolkits, but how did they use those resources in the toolkits to talk and think about China? What were the possible ideological effects of the enacted curriculum on different students? Chapter 6 illustrated how different students used the various resources available to them, including the curriculum as well as other resources, to talk and think about China in different ways. This finding also fits Wertsch's statements that cultural tools are usually unequally distributed among different students because certain "mediational means" are "viewed as being more appropriate or efficacious than others in a particular sociocultural setting" (1991, p. 124). As a result, students use the same cultural tools differently. Wertsch (1998, 2002) used the terms "mastery, appropriation, and resistance" to describe these different processes and results. Mastery indicates knowledge of how to utilize a cultural tool to accomplish an action with ease. Appropriation pertains to the process of integrating knowledge (an attitude, or a point of view, etc.) from other social and cultural resources into one's own pre-existing cultural toolkit. An individual can also master a cultural tool without appropriating it, but a successful mastery of the cultural tool would engender a positive appropriation, which would

indicate that the individual can spontaneously and creatively use the cultural tool in different situations. Moreover, Wertsch (1998, 2002) highlighted that appropriation often implies resistance, which means that an individual, or an agent, does not always accept the cultural tool or use it. In many instances, resistance or even rejection, as the rule rather than an exception, is more common than the appropriation. In sum, mastery, appropriation, and resistance all constitute the relationships between agent and mediational means.

Mastery. Chapter 5 and chapter 6 demonstrated all eight students' mastery of cultural knowledge about China from both the formal curriculum and the enacted curriculum. Representations of China, especially the privileged positive representations of China in the curriculum, as cultural tools, have been repeatedly "filling" in students' toolkits following the dominant method of instruction in both the lectures and drill sessions. In other words, students were successfully outfitted with these cultural tools and resources about China. Thus, students were able to easily remember, retell, and reproduce the specific knowledge of China when they answered the instructors' questions in class, when they performed oral presentations, and when I conducted interviews with them. For instance, the curriculum stated that the communist term of "comrade" is not convenient to use but also shows equality across age, class, and gender, which enabled a positive representation of China. Different examples in chapter 5 and chapter 6 demonstrated that students have mastered this cultural tool. Students' oral presentations in chapter 6 showed that they could use this cultural tool to

accomplish this task (giving an oral presentation). Episode 16 in chapter 5 and students' interview with me in chapter 6 demonstrated that even after almost ten weeks, students were still able to memorize this positive message about China and use them to answer the instructors' questions in class and my questions in our interviews.

Appropriation. Though all eight students mastered the knowledge of China in the curriculum in the similar way, there was variation in their manners of appropriation of the cultural tools provided by the curriculum. Chapter 6 showed that five students were much more dependent on the curriculum, because they did not have enough information about China from other sources to challenge or resist the privileged knowledge of China in the curriculum. When these five students talked in interviews about the potential usefulness of the curriculum, they tended to spontaneously draw on the positive representations of China provided by the curriculum and used them to answer my different questions. In particular, their attitudes towards China were often consistent with the positive attitudes towards China that were privileged in the curriculum. For example, Sam stated that he developed the sense that there is no nonsense in China. Selena expressed that one should not make comparisons between different cultures because they each have different merits. Jessica insisted that one had to consider Chinese perspectives when writing about Chinese customs. Peggy applauded that this textbook did an excellent job of not showing any bias toward China and that it helped her to formulate her

own opinions on China. Finally, Nancy stated that the curriculum gave her a new perspective and opens her mind about China.

Resistance. The three students who were not mentioned yet also mastered the content of the curriculum. However, what makes them unique is that they had access to other cultural tools that they believed were more “appropriate or efficacious” (Wertsch, 1991, p. 124) than what limited their peers, that is, mainly the curriculum. Examples of these tools are: more profound personal experiences, more extensive knowledge about China from other content courses, a deeper Chinese heritage cultural background, and more developed critical thinking skills. When thinking about China, these students sometimes resisted the use cultural tools provided in the second-year Chinese language class, and turned to those other cultural tools. Occasionally, when the cultural tools provided by the curriculum conflicted with other cultural tools, the students used their personal cultural tools in order to reject the privileged positive representations of China and positive attitudes towards of China. For example, May explained to me that her knowledge from her biology courses refuted the information in the textbook that the squatting toilets in Beijing are more sanitary than the sitting toilets in the U.S. While May accepted the facts in the textbook, such as how Chinese people started to use “Mr., Miss, and Ms.” to replace the communist term “comrade” after the 1970’s Chinese economic reform, in juxtaposition, she rejected the pro-China values mentioned by the textbook, which suggests the term “comrade” stood for equality. Another student, Grace, also rejected some of the positive representations of China in the

textbook. She explicitly stated that she could feel the propaganda nature of the textbook, which in her words, lightened the heavier topics in China, by not touching the more controversial aspects of Chinese culture and life. In his interview with me, Jake stated that the curriculum could have had more influences on students who had limited previous knowledge about China. As for him, since he already had a set of opinions about China from other cultural tools beyond the curriculum, the curriculum provided did not really add any new knowledge about China for him, or was able to change his understandings of and attitudes towards China. In other words, in Jake's case, we can find the all three relationships between the student (agent) and the mediated means: mastery, appropriation, and resistance. Jake, as one of the best students in the second-year Chinese language class, he mastered the cultural tools about China provided by the curriculum very well. He appropriated the cultural tools provided by the curriculum when there was no conflict with other cultural tools that he already had. But, when conflicts occurred, Jake tended to resist and even reject the cultural tools provided by the curriculum, as he refused to admit that the term "comrade" as uniquely Chinese in his oral presentation.

In summary, the curriculum of the second-year Chinese language class provided students various cultural tools to understand China. The cultural tools that enabled positive understanding of China and positive attitudes towards China while constraining negative ones were privileged over the cultural tools that enabled the negative ones while constraining the positive ones. One of the major ideological effects of the curriculum of this course was that it enabled a pro-China ideology

while constraining an anti-China ideology, with privileged representations supporting an image of China as a progressive, modernizing, and Westernizing country. This pro-China ideology also consisted of students' positive attitudes towards China, which also enabled by specific cultural tools (e.g. positive representations of China and positive attitudes towards China provided by the curriculum). The curriculum enabled students to grasp a set of specific knowledge of China together, into a consistent knowledge entirety. China has been experiencing dramatic changes in the past 30 years, yet it is still quite different from any Western country with which American students may be familiar. It is not easy for a second-year-level Chinese language textbook to describe such a complex country for its students, let alone to help students to understand China's entirety. Instead of providing different methods for understanding particular culture, events, customs, actors, history, or policies in different settings, the privileged positive representations of China and the positive attitudes towards China in the curriculum, serves as the basic tool in presenting and interpreting China, which has enabled a simplistic, yet unified pro-China ideology in the student's understanding of China. Students' mastery and appropriation of, and resistance to, these cultural tools varied according to their dependency on this language course for their knowledge about China. For many students, this course made a huge difference in terms of how they were outfitted to think about China. This case study exemplified how Chinese language instructors, researchers, and legislators should examine whose interests are reflected in the politics surrounding the production of knowledge about China

within Chinese language courses. This study also sheds light on the possible ideological effects of the curriculum on students' understandings of China and attitudes toward China.

Implications

The impetus for this research follows the growing popularity of Chinese language learning, and related concerns about possible ideological influences via Chinese language teaching on Chinese language learner. Throughout the corpus of foreign language education literature, especially the teaching of the target nation, there is very little research that focuses on the ideological implications of Chinese language courses offered by American universities. Much of the literature focuses on linguistics and second language acquisition (Ding, 2006; Li & Zang, 2013; Sun, 2009). This dissertation will add to this small body of research, and offer a critical understanding of the politics behind the knowledge that is provided to students about China in Chinese language courses.

Significant implications arise for Chinese language education in practice, and have not been recorded in the academic literature as such. My interests in investigating these ideological implications of Chinese language teaching are derivatives from my professional history. As a veteran Chinese language instructor who has been actively teaching Chinese for ten years in the U.S., I had discovered a surprisingly large gap between Chinese and American views of many issues, such as the Korean War, the 1989 Tiananmen Incident (known to Americans as “Tiananmen Square Massacre”), the Taiwan and Tibet issues, the single-child policy, Chinese

democracy reform, environment protection, and Sino-U.S. relations. I had witnessed, and experienced, many classroom conflicts between the instructors and the students over these sensitive and highly politicized topics. I have experienced and overheard many battles, including textbook censorship incidents, over the ideological disputes of the Chinese language textbook, in both the U.S. and China. This dissertation is not only a response to my own intellectual inquire, but also reminds practitioners (e.g. the Chinese language instructors, the school administrators, and the textbook publishers) how to look at ideological conflicts in Chinese language education through a theoretical dialectic to originate new perspectives.

In addition, I encourage practitioners to connect this research to larger battles over how China is seen in the world as the rising world power. Many general reasons can explain why Chinese language courses primarily present the positive aspects of the China. Two reasons could be: 1) to increase enrollment and 2) to simply reflect the facts of China's rapid developments in the recent decades. But, this dissertation reminds us not to neglect the ideological implications and the politics of school knowledge. It is not a secret that China is often seen in the U.S. as an adversary, a post-communist nation that is guilty of human rights abuses and authoritarian ruling, an economic powerhouse, but one posing potential threats to the U.S., a rising world power in international political arena, but also exerting its power in troubling ways (e.g. wrangling over territory in the South China Sea; shielding North Korean). However, for the eight student who took the second-year

Chinese language course at the Bison college in 2016, and for hundreds of thousands American college students who used this popular textbook, *A New China*, elsewhere in the past two decades, they were taught that China is modernizing and becoming more like the U.S., and that the differences between China and the U.S. are no longer big deal, and instead, only cultural differences exist that should be respected. These students perhaps are (or will be) deeply involved in the communication between China and the U.S. in politics, diplomacy, trade, culture, education, and even the military. This dissertation can help to explain how their perceptions, and attitudes toward China, are influenced by their experiences in learning Chinese. In recent years, the Chinese government has been actively enhancing China's image worldwide. Establishing thousands of Confucius Institutes globally, to promote Chinese language and culture is a good example. This study shows that Chinese language courses that are offered by American universities, which have nothing to do with the Chinese government, also play a key role in proliferating the interests of China, by providing students with a pro-China ideology.

While this research will contribute to our understanding of the ideological aspects of Chinese language programs in particular, it will also be beneficial to broader research about ideology and curriculum in educational settings. Besides academic contributions, this study can also help to answer the aforementioned real-world concern over the controversies between the ideological aspects of Chinese language teaching in both the U.S. and China.

Limitation and Recommendations for Future Research

This dissertation showed that the ideology and curriculum of a Chinese language course is a “rich ore” that is worth the exploration and examination by academe. This section of the dissertation will provide a few recommendations for future research.

More Case studies

First, this dissertation is a preliminary case study, focusing on the ideology and curriculum of a Chinese language course provided by a highly prestigious American university. As with most qualitative case studies, this project does not aim to generalize its findings, but rather provide rich contextualized descriptions, understandings, interpretations and explanations of this particular case. It is worth noting that different Chinese language programs may use different textbooks, which may present China differently. Other instructors may have different teaching philosophies and teaching methods, which may affect the way in which the formal curriculum is presented in the enacted curriculum. Of course, different students may respond to a curriculum differently. Thus, future research based on different case studies will definitely yield new findings, which, along with the findings of this dissertation, will contribute to our expanding understandings of the relationship of ideology and curriculum, within the field of Chinese language teaching.

In addition, future researchers may want to focus on how China is presented in different Chinese language textbooks; and of course, there is warrant for a close analysis of the politics and ideological implications behind them. For example, as stated in chapter 4 of this dissertation, *A New China* was compiled by faculty from

the Chinese language program at Princeton University, to replace their previous textbook: *A Trip to China*; a book which had taken a more critical and negative stance towards China. However, despite outdated content in *A Trip to China*, this textbook had been in use for the past two decades by the faculty of Princeton University, for their Chinese-heritage students' course. This project asks: do the different cultural tools or representations (here, under the umbrella term: curriculum) provided to Chinese-heritage students and non-heritage students (read as "white" students) at Princeton University enable and constrain the way in which they think about China? The Chinese language program at the University of Pennsylvania also use *A New China*, but their faculty designed extensive supplementary materials to supplement the outdated materials of ANC, which were regularly used in class every week. For further analysis, one may question how do these supplementary materials, which have different representations of China, affect different students' individual understandings of China?

The Textbook Authors' Intentions

Previous research has shown that the representations of the target nations in the foreign language textbooks are often problematic, being full of stereotypes, which reflect the textbook author's worldview. I presented my preliminary findings of this dissertation at the 24th International Conference on Chinese Language Instruction at Princeton University in 2016. The entire one-hour-long discussion at the end of this conference was focused topics and questions. Scholars from different institutions expressed their ideas about the ideological implications of teaching

about China as a country in the language class. More importantly, the lead author of ANC, Professor Chih-p'ing Chou, who was also the moderator of the discussion, expressed his opinions on this topic from various historical, political, ideological, and pedagogic perspectives supported different textbooks that he collected and compiled over the past 30 years. I sharply recall that his intentions are important in explaining my findings from a new angle, as much so or more than the intentions of the two instructors behind their teaching are important in explaining my findings. As the most influential scholar in the field of Chinese language teaching in the U.S., Processor Chou's opinions are not only representative of the field of Chinese Language teaching, but also have directive bearing. Transcription of this conference discussion session (translated it in English) is attached to this dissertation (Appendix D). This transcript is valuable to researchers who are interested in examination of the ideology and curriculum of Chinese language teaching in the U.S. It reminds us that future research can also focus on the textbook's author(s)' intentions, which can help to answer and explain "why does this textbook represent China in these ways, and not others?"

Textbook Censorship

Apple (1992, 1993, 2000, 2004) stated that the legitimization of the official knowledge and school curriculum is not always a peaceful process. "The Chinese language textbook" is also a constant battlefield of different ideologies. When investigating the representations of China, in a Chinese textbook, or a Chinese language course, outside of the author's' intentions Chinese government's influences

cannot be underestimated. As mentioned at the beginning of this dissertation, it is not rare that Chinese language textbooks that compiled by faculty in the U.S. experience self-censorship from Chinese publishers, or encounter pressures from school administrators (due to the Chinese government's strict control over the publishing industry and ideological sphere). In fact, even *A New China* encountered similar problems in China. I argued that ANC advocated that American students should take a positive attitude towards China's problems. However, ANC still drew many criticisms by even mentioning those problems in the text. In the field of Chinese language, textbook compiling, especially of that in China, there exists a sad truth which is that there are not many textbooks that would even dare to mention any problems, let alone to discuss allowed to examine the politically sensitive topics, such as China's possible human rights and censorships policies. Professor Chou said, in the aforementioned conference discussions, freedom of speech is quiet limited in many Chinese language classrooms, and the curriculum in many Chinese language textbooks:

There must be many colleagues, students, and teachers who come from Confucius Institutes here. When you go back you should seriously think about this and talk to your supervisors if you can't have the basic freedom of speech in your classroom, if you have to think about what topic is not allowed to be discussed. I believe that in Chinese language teaching, in modern Chinese language teaching, the contemporary China is invisible. All teachers who come from Mainland China are incapable of dealing with the issues about the contemporary China. Yes. I use "incapable," which means they don't have the ability to deal with these issues. Once they encounter the contemporary China, (their attitudes are like) "We cannot mention this; we cannot mention that; this is not allowed to be talked about; that is not convenient to discuss; this is Chinese characteristic." We can't have soft power with this kind of attitude. With this attitude we cannot ask foreigners

to identify with us. We should be thankful of foreigners who don't dislike us (Chou, 2016, personal communication).

Almost twenty years had passed since faculty from the Princeton University were forced to eliminate an extensive amount of one of their textbooks: *Newspaper Readings: The U.S.A. in the People's Daily*. However, conflicts over the ideological implications of the Chinese language still persist. Exploring the censorship, and the freedom of speech in China through investigating the Chinese language textbook will also be an interesting angle for the future research.

Subjectivities

This dissertation originated from my own work and experience regarding the ideological conflicts in my classes. As a professional Chinese language teacher, my familiarity of this field is beneficial to this dissertation. The findings of this study, not only answered my concerns about the politics of the school's knowledge, but also helped me to make introspective reflections on my teaching. When I "make the familiar strange" and reflect my own teaching from an outsider's perspective, I can identify a strong pro-China ideology in my classroom. In fact, I support the way in which ANC presented China positively and established a positive attitude towards China. Then, it must be stated that any subjectivity could have affected how I investigated this particular case, and therefore could affect the results of this study. Future researchers, especially those who also teach Chinese language, should be meaningfully attentive to their own subjectivity. Lastly, it may be useful to gain information from researchers who do not have experience in teaching Chinese

language because they would review the material from a less personally biased place.

Different Theoretical Frameworks

Strong academic research is predicated upon having a well-established theoretical framework from which to embark on a project. When studying the same phenomenon, different theories often yield different findings or explanations. In this dissertation, I mainly drew on Apple's theory of official knowledge and Werstch's theory of cultural toolkits and mediated action to explain my findings. It is worth noting that different theories also have the potentials to guide future research in this field. In fact, I have presented my preliminary findings of this dissertation, which were strong, and based on different theoretical frameworks, and entered many discussions at various academic conferences. For example, I had used Wertsch's (2002) theory of Schematic Narrative Template to discuss the narrative template I found in ANC, which I named as "strange-but-makes-sense-in-China." Also, I had utilized the Master Narrative theory (Aldridge, 2006) to analyze the positive attitudes found in ANC, which was described by its authors as "sympathetic understanding" in their preface. Hidden curriculum (Jackson, 1968; Marsh, 1992; Martin, 1994; Portelli, 1993) is another useful conceptual theory that I used to discuss the intended and unintended representations of China, Chinese culture, and Chinese society communicated through the formal and enacted curriculum. These three examples additionally showed that Chinese language teaching is definitely an underexplored field that can be further examined in the future with many well-

developed theoretical frameworks that have been long utilized by researchers motivated to interrogate the relationship between ideology and curriculum.

At the end of this dissertation, I want to highlight that this research applied theories and studies that originated in sociology, and education, to understand various issues in the field of teaching Chinese as a second language. This approach develops a new perspective by which to understand Chinese language education that goes beyond the prevailing research on pedagogy and linguistics; an area which deserves more attention and study.

APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDES FOR INSTRUCTORS

This is the basic outline of questions I developed for interviewing the two Chinese language instructors:

- Could you tell me why *A New China* was selected as the textbook?
- What do you think about this textbook? Do you know why it was named “*A New China*?”
- What do you think about the information of China in this textbook? Do you teach these descriptions?
- Do you think the textbook is trying to convey a specific understanding of China? What do you think about this approach? Do you purposely utilize this understanding, avoid it, or do not care about it?
- The authors motioned many problems of China, such as traffic jams, dirty public restrooms, and lack of washing machines. What do you think about this approach?
- Do you try to stick closely to the information in the textbook when teaching?
- I notice that in both lectures and drill sessions, you put lots of efforts to help students master the contents in the textbook. Is this observation accurate? Why don't you provide more updated information about China for students?
- You're teaching the Chinese language, but when you're doing that do you try to present any particular image or understanding of China when doing that? When you choose example sentences to illustrate grammar points do you pay

attention to the inclination of them, such as if those sentences describe China positively?

- Do you have certain images, knowledge of China, or Chinese values that you want to teach your students in this class? Why? Does the understanding of China you try to present include Chinese values? Any examples?
- Do you feel your students know more facts about China after taking your course besides the contents in the textbook? Any examples?
- Do you want your students to gain anything other than Chinese language proficiency in taking your course? Any example?
- Do you think your class changes your students' understandings of and attitudes toward China? If yes, how? If no, why?

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDES FOR STUDENTS

This is the basic outline of questions I developed for interviewing the eight Chinese language students:

- Could you please tell me what do you know about China? (Follow up question: how do they know these things, then if they don't mention the class I can ask the second question below.)
- Can you tell me, beside Chinese language, what facts about China you've learned here in the second year Chinese language class?
- Is the "China" you learned about in the second year Chinese language class different from the "China" or the same as the China you know from the information you get elsewhere? Can you provide me some examples?
- Let's say a student from the first year Chinese language class asks you what he/she will gain in the second year Chinese language course besides the language proficiency. How will you answer him/her?
- I know you have not been to China, right? Do you feel more excited about a trip to China? Why? Do you think what you've learned about China in this class might be helpful if you visit China?
- I know you have been to China before, right? Can you tell me something about trip? Does what you've learned about China in this class fit your experiences in China? Can you give me some examples?
- Do you feel that the second year Chinese course made you more aware of cultural differences or helped you develop a tolerance and respect for a

different culture? Can you give me some examples? Does China seem really different from the US after taking this class?

- Did this class change your understanding of China? Your attitude towards China?

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS WITH THE TWO CHINESE LANGUAGE

INSTRUCTORS

Interview with Professor Li

Tian: 第一个问题是为什么会选这书呢? 为什么会选《新的中国》作为教材? (Why did you choose this textbook?)

Professor Li: 我觉得这本书首先它还是说了很多当下中国的, 可能它有一些内容是有点过时了, 但是它不是说只是说日常生活中, 它也是日常生活中, 但不是像那个北语的那套教材, 新实用汉语课本(New Practical Chinese Reader), 我没有教过那个, 但是我翻过, 我觉得像很多那种教材它还是偏向一年级那种吃吃喝喝啊, 走路啊, 的那些 function, task, 那种教材。它不是有特别强的话题性, 就是它的话题它是说我要用语言做完这一个这个功用, 或者完成这个任务, 内容, 而不是说偏向于, 我觉得那个偏向于我怎么生活这件事情, 怎么 survive 而不偏向于我如果没有在中国, 但是我知道中国的事情跟社会, 跟文化有关的事情, 而这个文化又不只是说中国人用筷子, 所谓的古代文化代表, 京剧, 那种方面的文化是更偏向于社会中生活的这一套。所以我偏向于用这种教材。(I believe that this textbook talks a lot about the contemporary China. Maybe some contents are out of date. But it not only talks about the daily lives. Yes, A New China also talks about the daily life, but it is unlike the textbooks that were compiled by BLCU, the New Practical Chinese Reader. I haven't use that textbook before but I have read it. I think many of those kinds of textbooks are still focused on the language function, task, such as eating, drinking, asking direction. They don't really have topicality, which means their topics are more like completing a function, a task with the language, and how I can survive (in China). They are not focused on things like how I live a life. They are not focused on if I am not in China but I want to know things in China, which are related to the society and culture. This culture is not only about Chinese people using chopsticks, or about the so-called representation of ancient culture, like Beijing Opera. The culture in A New China is more about things related to social life. Therefore I use this textbook.)

这本教材是和普大的一系列, 你看到它都是偏话题性的, 就是即便说你是说有的教材也是新闻, 那怎么选这个新闻, 你要读什么新闻, 有些新闻没有什么太大的争议性, 而仅仅是一个更偏向于告诉你一个事实, 可是有一些新闻有一些比较强的争议性。而且这本教材因为它说的是一个美国孩子, 它的主人公是一个美国学生去中国, 它是一个美国人的视角, 我们的学生不见得能同意书的主人公的观察和想法, 但是它有一个中美比较在里面, 它不是说一个日本学生或者一个韩国学生去中国的一个经历, 而更偏向于一个美国人怎么想, 你同样是有争议, 或者提出想法的话题, 我想一个东亚学生的想法可能和一个西方学生的想法, 或者一个美国学生的想法不一样, 所以我觉得这个是比较适合的。(This textbook belongs to the series of textbooks that were compiled by Princeton University, which are focused on

topicality. You may say that other textbooks are also about news. But what kind of news should be selected? What kind of news should you read? Some news is not that controversial but only emphasized telling you a fact. But some news is more controversial. And this textbook is about an American kid. Its main character is an American student who goes to China. It's from an American's perspective. Our students do not necessarily agree with the main character's observations and thoughts. But it contains a U.S. vs. China comparison. It's not a Japanese student or a Korean student's experience in China. It more emphasizes how does an American think about it. I think an East Asian student's idea might be different from an American student's idea on the same controversial topics. Therefore, I believe this textbook is relatively proper for our students.)

Tian: 你是怎么理解它为什么叫《新的中国》? (Why do you think it is called A New China?)

Professor Li: 我觉得这个作者显然是想说现在的中国和以前的中国不一样。(I think obviously the author wants to say that the contemporary China is different from the China in the past.)

Tian: 主要是和...以前的中国就是...? (The China is the past, you mean?)

Professor Li: 我觉得(笑)你可以说是1949年以前,也可以说80年代以前,甚至说90年代以前,对吗?你教的是《新的中国》,这个说的一定是90年代之后的中国,肯定不能是毛时代的中国,肯定基本上不太是意识形态控制特别强时期的那个中国。(I think (laughs) you can say it is the China before 1949 or the China before 1980s, even the China before 1990s, right? You teach the New China. This must be the new China after 1990s. It is definitely not the China in the Mao era. It is definitely not the China when ideological control is very strong.)

Tian: 特别有意思,我问学生,你们知不知道这本书叫《新的中国》,大部分人都不知道,我就问你怎么看,大部分人就蒙了,新的中国,很多人不知道什么叫《新的中国》,我觉得这个很有意思。你怎么看这本书里对中国的描写。(It is very interesting that most students didn't know why it is called a new China when I interviewed them. When I asked them the same questions most of them had no clue at all. I find it is very interesting. What do you think about the descriptions of China in this textbook?)

Professor Li: 我觉得除了一些没有特别更新的东西,我觉得挺正常,而且挺宽容的。(laughs)我觉得《新的中国》我自己觉得还是有一些,你真正读这本书的时候,你会觉得所谓的新的中国也没那么新,还是有一些旧的东西,或者中国还在改的一些东西。你说新的中国,我觉得他在说新的中国,时候,即便是一个新的中国,对一个美国人来说,他去中国还是觉得有很多不方便的,比如厕所问题,比如交通问题,我们说新的中国,这意味着跟以前不一样了,但是你看到的所谓的新的中国还是有很多问题,所以它总是到后面会有一段话在总结、思考这个事情。(I think except for those out of date contents it is quite normal. And it is very tolerant (laughs). I think, although it is called a New China, when you read this book, you will find the so-called New China is not that new. There are still some old stuff

or things that China is still improving. I think when he said it is a new China, even though it is a new China, a lot of Americans will still feel inconvenience when they go to China, such as the problem of the restroom and the problem of the traffic. When we say a New China it means it is different from the past. But as you can see this new China still has many problems. Therefore, at the end of each text there is always a paragraph to summarize and to reflect on this.)

Tian: 那作者是怎么思考的? (Then what do you think about these reflections?)

Professor Li: 我觉得作者他以一个学生身份, 他不习惯, 但是他就试图去理解, 这个到底为什么会有这样, 而且试图去以一个包容性的态度去看待这些差异。(I think the author, using the perspective of a student, is not used to China but he tries to understand how exactly it came to be. And he tries to see these differences with a tolerant attitude.)

Tian: 就像前言说的, “同情之理解。”我觉得特别有意思, 我就问周老师, 后来吃饭的时候我也问周老师, 这两句话为什么在英国的序言被删掉了, 他始终跟我说他忘了。(Just like the “sympathetic understanding” in the preface. I find it is very interesting. I asked Professor Chou twice why it was deleted in the English preface. He insisted that he forgot it.)

Professor Li: 他有可能是真忘了。(He probably really forgot it.)

Tian: 他有可能是真忘了, 我再去问问别的老师。比如说这个, 同情之理解这个态度你上课的时候会去教吗。(Then will you teach the sympathetic understanding in the class?)

Professor Li: 我觉得不需要教, 你自己看到这个书上的课文的话就是那么些的, 你首先教学生说话, 然后那段话不是说没有任何语法或者生词, 就算我去教他说这个话, 他首先得会说这句话吧, 然后我们可以问他你是不是同意, 你在教的过程中, 我不知道你去看小班, 或者大班我也会偶尔带一下, 你觉得同不同意这个观点, 或者你觉得是不是这样。(I don't think it needs to be taught. It is in the sentences in the texts. First, you need to teach students how to speak Chinese. It is not like those paragraphs (which contain the sympathetic understanding) don't have grammar points and new vocabulary. Even if I want to teach students the sympathetic understanding they need to know how to say the sentences, right? Then, we can ask if they agree with the statement. When I teach the lectures, I don't know if it is the case in the drill sessions, occasionally I would mention things like “do you agree with this point of view” or “do you think it is the case?”)

Tian: 就比如说厕所他说得传染病, 然后交通他说乱中有序。(Such as “do you agree with this statement that using squatting toilet will not get disease?”)

Professor Li: 对, 比我们说得传染病, 或者你会不会担心什么的, 我不知道是不是学生真正的想法, 但是他就说他会担心, 他看那么脏的厕所他就会担心他得传染病。所以你这种情况下你不需要学生说你是不是同意作者说的就是特别的这一句话或者两句话, 我觉得这个对他来说确实是一个要担心的事情。(Yes. For example, we say things like “using the sitting toilet will get disease. Are you worried

about that?" I don't know if I can get students' real thought. Sometimes they say they are worried about that. Or students would say they are worried about getting infections in the dirty restrooms (in China). In this situation, I don't need students to say if they agree with the authors' specific statement as long as they can say what worries them.)

Tian: 所以上课的时候你并没有有意识地强调这本书是教同情之理解, 要理解包容中国。(So when having the class you did not purposely emphasize that this textbook is teaching the sympathetic understanding or we should understand and be tolerant toward China?)

Professor Li: 我没有, 我觉得不要去教这本书的意识形态到底是什么。(I didn't. I think I should not teach what's the ideology of this textbook.)

Tian: 为什么? (Why not?)

Professor Li: 我为什么非要教一个意识形态呢? 我觉得他说的是一个事实, 就是我同意他说的事实。比如我们有时候也会说说现在很多中国的厕所是比以前好很多, 这并不是作者想否认的东西, 这个作者想让我们看到正在进步中的中国, 他让我们看到的是中国的进步还有落后, 他并没有否认中国是要进步的, 对吗? 我觉得那我让学生看到的東西是告诉你, 这书上是怎么说的, 确实是这样的, 可能现在有一些不一样了, 跟以前不一样的东西, 这本书不够更新, 不够 update。我觉得怎么来判断是学生来判断的。(Why do I have to teach the ideology? I think the author tells the fact. I agree with the fact that he said. For example, sometimes we also would say that the restrooms in China are much better than in the past. This is not what the author is trying to deny. This author is trying to let us see a China, which is in the process of improving, right? What he let us see is China's progress and backwardness. He doesn't deny that China is going to improve, right? I think what I did is telling the students that "it is indeed the case as the textbook says. Maybe it is a little bit different now. This textbook is not that updated." I think students should make the judgment.)

Tian: 所以上课的时候基本上你是比较严格按照课文的内容来教。(Therefore, when teaching the class you are teaching student relatively strictly based on the textbook?)

Professor Li: 比如我们分大小班, 我上大班我首先要确定他知道这篇课文在说什么, 上小班的时候, 小班老师要带着去讨论, 不知道她有没有真正可能带到, 这是学生水平的问题。他能讨论多少, 这是学生水平的问题。但是首先我选择这本书就代表我要用这本书, 就代表我让学生要学会用这本书的词汇、语法, 还有知道这篇课文在说什么。我觉得一个重要的问题, 就说学语言这个层面, 你不能学完这篇课文都不知道这篇课文在说什么, 你不需要非同意这个人在说什么, 但是你得知道他要说什么, 然后下一个层面才是你来反思, 你同意或者否定或者你来批判他, 那是下一个层面, 首先你得知道这人在说什么。(For example, we divide our class as lecture and drill session. In my lecture, first I need to make sure students know what the text is about. In the drill session, the TA is supposed to lead the discussion. I don't know if it is possible for her to do that. It is related to students'

language proficiency. How much they can discuss is related to students' proficiency level. But, above all, I select this textbook. It means I am going to use this textbook. It means I want student learn how to use the vocabulary and grammar in this textbook and know what the text is about. I think an important issue is, from the perspective of language learning, after you learned a text you can't not know the content. You don't have to agree with what the author says but you have to know what he says. And then the next level is your reflection. First, you need to know what does the author say then the next level is if you agree with him, disagree with him or criticize him.) Tian: 那下一个层面在我们的课堂上面有没有反映? (So has the next level been done in your classroom?)

Professor Li: 我觉得我的课堂大部分时间我没有太多时间做这个事情, 这是课时的限制。然后还是我说的, 我是跟小班老师说, 你尽量带他们讨论这些东西, 但实际上他能多大层次地做到这件事情, 学生能反思不能反思, 有很多学生其实 **know nothing about China** 他知道的东西都是从这个课本上来的, 他没有什么能力反思。就是这个课文在这儿用和你在中国用还是很不一样的, 在中国用每天他都可以看到, 比如他可以看到过街天桥, 他可以看到那些乞讨的人, 或者他可以看到夜市之内的, 他看到公共厕所是什么样的, 我觉得他有更强的能力去反思。(I think for most of the time I don't have time to do this in my class. It is limited by the class hours. And, as I said, I told the TA that you should try your best to discuss these things. But (I doubt) to what degree she can do that in the practice. As for if students can make reflections, many students in fact know nothing about China. All they know is from the textbook. They don't have the ability to reflect. Using this textbook here is quite different from using the textbook in China. In China, students can see (China) everyday. For example, they can see the pedestrian skyway; they can see the beggars; they can see the night markets; they can see what does the public bathroom look like. I think in China students have stronger ability to reflect.)

Tian: 我觉得对不同的人有不同的效果, 比如对 Sam 可能就是, OK, 那这就是中国, 我没有去过。但比如说对 Jack, 那就是说去过中国七八次。(I think it has different effects on different students. For example, for Sam, it is like "I have never been to China. Okay, it is the China." But as for Jack, he has been to China seven or eight times.)

Professor Li: 对, 所以我觉得就是反思不反思这件事情是有一个非常 **ideally**, 理想上, 肯定是你希望能做到, 比如我们在中国用这本书的时候可能讨论就会比较多, 有他语言层面的, 因为在中国说的话就是比在这儿说得好。在这儿你这篇课文他都说得明白。我觉得这是一个特别实际层面的, 我设计一个什么目标, 能达到什么, 我觉得有的时候, 你不能奢求太多, 这个是一个非常实际的教学层面的问题。(Yes. So I think that on the issue of if students can reflect... ideally you certainly hope you can do it. For example, if we use this textbook in China maybe there will be more discussions. It is related to the language proficiency because students can speak Chinese better in China than here. Here, they can't even say the text clearly (laughs). I think the teacher should be practical about how to design the

goal and to what extent the teacher can achieve that goal. I think, sometimes, you can't ask for too much. This is a very practical, pedagogical issue.)

Tian: 另一个相关的问题就是我发现上课的时候我们比较少会提供课外的内容, 比如说讲坐火车的时候也不会讲高铁, 那些看起来话题相关, 但是更新的内容, 这样的考虑主要是因为? (I also found that you seldom provided supplementary materials for your students. For example, you didn't mention the High-Speed Train when you taught the lesson of taking the train. You didn't talk about those relevant and updated contents. What is your consideration?)

Professor Li: 我觉得这个是非常实际的, 是课堂不允许, 不是说 ideological 不允许, 是我没有时间做这件事情, 还是那句话, 我上大班我要做的事情是我要引进新语法, 基本把新词汇 cover, 然后具体的事情应该是小班去做, 然后碰见一般人, 比如说他没准备, 没学习, 你如果连这个课文最基本的内容都不能讲完的情况下, 我觉得对他说引进新的对象来说我可以让他看个什么东西, just for fun, 但是我觉得能说话吗? 说不出来, 你连这个课文的内容都说不出来, 最基本的词汇都说不出来的情况下, 我就觉得不是特别有最高效率, 就是你做任何事肯定是有它的意义在这儿, 但是最后比较而来哪个都有优势, 有劣势, 做任何一件事情, 但是我觉得对我来说, 我要比较这些东西中哪一个在我有限的课堂时间内我能让他取得更大的成果, 就是让他更有用地说一些话。(I think it is very a practical consideration. This course is not allowed to do that. Not ideologically not allowed but I have no time to do that. As I said, my responsibility in the lecture is introducing the new grammar, covering most of the new vocabulary. And the drill session should do the specific things. For example, what's the point to introduce the new content if I can't even finish teaching the basic contents in the textbook because students in the classroom don't do preparation and study? Yes, I can show them something just for fun. But can they speak Chinese? They can't speak Chinese. They can't even say the content in the text. They can't even say the basic vocabulary. In this situation, I don't think (introducing the new content) is very effective. There must be a reason to do anything. But eventually you have to compare which one has the advantage and which one has the disadvantage. But I think, to me, I want to compare which (pedagogy) can make bigger achievement in my limited class hours, which is to make my students speak more useful Chinese.)

Tian: 比如你在教中文, 教中国语言的时候, 有没有一个中国的形象或者对中国的理解你想教给学生的? (So when you teach Chinese language do you have a certain image of China or understanding of China you want to teach your students?)

Professor Li: 我觉得像这本书的中国形象就是比较 positive, 而且不是一个让人无法接受的宣传性的形象。(I think China's image in this textbook is relatively positive. Moreover, it is not an unacceptable propagandistic image.)

Tian: 所以你还是希望学生会对中国有一个 positive 的印象。(So you still hope students would have a positive impression of China?)

Professor Li: 当然, 我是爱中国的(强调) (laughs)。我觉得这本书本身就是一个比较 positive, 而且我们在 present 的时候我们也是以一种形式说, 中国

现在是越来越好的。我们也是有的时候还是给他看一些 **video**，其实是给他们一些 **link**，让他有一个比较实际的，就是我上课即便我不用什么，或者偶尔用，比如说我们讲饮食，我给他看，下去你自己去看舌尖上的中国。比如我们讲什么小公园，我让他们自己去看那个 **link**，对他来说是他知道，你看到这个你不理解，但是你一个中国人看到老大爷在这块，他在那儿遛鸟他很惬意，可能你不理解，但是你要知道这个对他来说不是让他觉得非常怪异的，就是所谓的 **alienation**，对他一个美国孩子可能他看到遛鸟是什么意思，对不对？他可能觉得，有人觉得好，是 **Exotic**，可能非常有异域风情，另外的学生可能觉得他不能理解地甚至有点抵触，他这个水平也没办法让他表达那些东西，但是我的目的是说你看到这个东西之后，你要看到你不能理解不代表人家那个地方不享受这件事情。(Of course. I LOVE China. (Emphasizes and laughs). I think this textbook itself is quite positive (about China.) And when we present the textbook the way we do it points out that China is getting better and better now. We also showed them some videos sometimes, in fact, just gave them the links of the videos, to give them something practical, even though I didn't use or only occasionally use these videos. For example, when we taught the food I asked them to watch A Bite of China. For example, when we talked about small parks I asked them to watch another video before the class. (My purpose) is to let students know that "maybe you don't understand why an old man would walk his birds in the park but we Chinese people don't think it is weird." "Maybe you don't understand but you should not feel weird or so-called alienation." An American kid might not be able to understand what is "walking the bird," right? Some students may think it is good or it is very exotic. Some other students maybe can't understand it or even resist it. Of course, their language proficiency wouldn't let them express those things. But my purpose is when you see these videos you should be able to see that although you don't understand it does not mean that the people in China don't enjoy it.)

Tian: 那你给学生这些材料，或者上课的时候给学生例句的时候，会不会觉得这个例句对中国不太好，不太正面，我换一个稍微正面一点的例句，会有这样的考量吗？(Then when you give students these materials or when you give students examples sentences in class, will you have this kind of consideration: "this video or example sentence is not good or not very positive to China. I need to change to a more positive one"?)

Professor Li: 我觉得我没有给什么不正面，我没有给什么违背现实的例句，我也没有给什么特别超出这个课文对中国批判地例句。比如说这个课文说厕所闻到一股臭味，还没走到那儿就已经闻到一股臭味，或者交通很乱车不让人。我给一个例句，比如车不让人，这个不是我 **extra** 给出来的，或者我特意挑一个不太普遍的负面的东西，我觉得我们不是这样给的，我们给的是中国人都会抱怨的事情，我作为一个美国常年住的人，我回到中国过马路都很发疯(**laughs**)，这是事实。我没有说我们，而且就像这本书，他也选的这个东西没有说充满恶意地去 **pick up** 一些，中国人听了以后说我们几乎没有这样的情况，你就专门选那种特别极少见，不具

有代表性的东西来展现说是中国，我觉得课文没有做这件事情，我给的例句也没有做这件事情。(I don't think I have ever given some negative example sentences or sentences against the reality. I didn't give some example sentences that criticize China beyond this textbook. For example, this textbook says you can smell a foul odor before you get to the restroom. Or the traffic is very chaotic and the cars don't yield to pedestrians. If I gave an example sentence, such as "the cars don't yield to pedestrians," this is not like I gave them an extra sentence or I purposely chose something negative which is not very common. I don't think that's what we did. All the example sentences are the negative things that Chinese people would complain about. As a Chinese who live in the U.S. all year around even I feel crazed when I return to China and cross the roads. It's the fact. I don't think we or this textbook viciously picked up something negative about China, which Chinese people would say "we rarely have such a thing. You only pick up those rare unrepresentative things to represent China." I don't think the textbook does that. I don't think my example sentences do that.)

Tian: 我真是越读这本书越觉得这本书其实挺好的，就像我觉得，孔子学院还不如目前用这本书呢。(The more I read this book the more I think it is good. As I said, Confucius Institutes should just use this textbook.)

Professor Li: 因为你什么都说中国这好那好，这个听起来就非常像宣传，而且 base 在一个基础上就是学这个的人不会让人独立思考，我觉得这个会有一种拿别人当傻子的感觉，学生会很反感，就像中国人看春晚也会很反感。你不尊重别人的智商这个是非常可怕的一个想法我觉得。(It sounds very like propaganda, um, if you always say "China is good in this aspect" or "China is good in that aspect." And (that kind of textbook) is based on the assumption that people who learn this cannot think independently. I think it feels like taking people as idiots, which would make students really feel antipathy (laughs). It's just like Chinese people would feel antipathy to the Spring Festival Gala (laughs). I think it is a very horrible idea if you don't respect other people's intelligence.)

Tian: 那比如说你选一个课外材料的时候，我知道你看过《舌间上的中国》，你还给他们发过一篇文章是讲出了车祸会开车撞死他们那个，为什么会选这篇文章？(When you chose the supplementary materials, I know you let them see A Bite of China, but you also chose an article that suggests that some drivers in China would "hit and kill" rather than "hit and run." Why did you choose this article?)

Professor Li: 因为这个也是中国人自己会批判的，我觉得这本书首先他还是给二年级比较低点，不会讨论特别细的，但是我觉得那个已经学到期末了，就是学到这个学期比较靠后的地方，我觉得他们不能只是 superficially 知道一些基本的常识，比如中国人喜欢坐火车，或者坐飞机比较贵这些东西。我觉得可以让他们看一些实际上的中国人的社会有争议性的东西。而且我也觉得，我作为一个中国人我觉得这种东西也是应该受到批判地，中国人也认为这个东西是受到批判地，为什么不能给外国人看呢？(Because Chinese people would also criticize this phenomenon. I think first of all this textbook is for second year students who have

relatively low language proficiency. Therefore, it can't discuss very specific stuff. But I think it was already at the end of the semester when we learned that chapter. I think students shouldn't only know some basic common knowledge superficially, such as "Chinese people like to take the train," or "taking airplane is more expensive." I think I can let them see some real controversial things in Chinese society. Moreover, I think Chinese people, including me, believe this phenomenon should be criticized. Why can't we show it to foreigners?)

Tian: 是一个英文的，但批判这种现象的一个文章。(So it is an English Article that criticizes this phenomenon?)

Professor Li: 就是他是一个新闻，在说中国现在有一个现象就是，英文里叫 hit and run 中国现在是 hit and kill。我们作为一个中国人也认为这个是一个非常非常荒谬的一个情况，我觉得我是爱国的，然后我觉得你爱国不是爱某一党或者某一政府，我觉得有时候也不仅仅说你爱一个什么 particular 人民这个东西，我很难定义爱国是什么，但是我是有感情的，然后你是希望它变好的，我觉得对我们学生来说了解实际中国人的情感是什么，而且他接触的中国人其实最主要的就是中文老师，我不是说我上课要给你宣传什么意识形态，但是我也觉得你给他用什么教材，用什么东西是有你的选择的，我不是有意识地要宣传，但是我觉得你用一个东西不可能没有意识形态在里头，孔子学院用他们那个什么教材也不可能没有意识形态，一个台湾来的老师可能选台湾人写的书，也是有意识形态的。我觉得我没有必要否认我的意识形态，没有必要否认我对一些事情的看法。但是我不认为那个是，就是我们还在学我们主要的课本，这个东西只是一个补充，你可以同意，你可以不同意，你可以有你的想法，这就是一个补充，就是我们下课之后可以讨论一下，或者有一些 discussion，或者个别谈话讨论的一些东西。对我来说是这样的补充，而不一定非是说我一定要选另外一本什么教材来补充说明什么。这些东西你可以，一个学生可以选择不喜欢这个东西，没关系，我没有占用你太多的时间，只是我们所谓的个别谈话的时候可以谈论这个事情。(It is a news report, which tells now in China that some drivers would "hit and kill" rather than "hit and run." We Chinese people also think this is a very very ridiculous phenomenon. I think I am patriotic and I believe that loving a country is not the same as loving a party or a government. I think sometimes loving a country not only means loving its people. It's hard for me to define what "loving country" means. But I have the feeling and I hope that China will become better. I think our students should know what Chinese people's real feelings are. And the Chinese teachers are the Chinese people that students can contact the most. It is not like I want to instill an ideology in class but I believe that the textbook, the teaching materials that the teacher use reflect that teacher's choice. It's not like you want to propagandize the ideology purposefully but the materials you use cannot be ideology free. For example, the textbooks used in Confucius Institutes contain a certain ideology. A teacher who comes from Taiwan may choose a textbook compiled by the Taiwanese, which also contains an ideology. There is no need to deny my ideology or my opinions on certain things. But I don't think it is ... or, put it this way, we are still mainly learning our textbook. This article

is just a supplement. Students can agree with it or disagree with it. Students can have their own thoughts. It's just a supplement, about which we can have a discussion after class or during the individual sessions. To me this article is this kind of supplement. It's not necessarily like I have to choose some teaching materials to make additional remarks. A student doesn't have to like this article. It's okay. I didn't take up much of your time. We can talk about it during the individual sessions.)

Tian: 我以前做过另外一个研究很有意思, 就是分析一个老师 20 分钟的课堂教学是在他去找工作的 teaching demo, 20 分钟 6 个例子, 6 个例子全部都是政治性的例子, 在谁的领导之下, 中国经济取得了高速发展; 小布什在爸爸的帮助下当了美国总统; 香港是中国的一部分, 是中国特别行政区, 什么西藏, 我以前都没有注意到。(I've done another study, which analyzed a teacher's teaching demo video. That teacher gave only six example sentences in 20 minutes. All of them are full of ideological implications and pro-china, such as "Tibet is a part of China.")

Professor Li: 他应该也是比较强的有意识形态的。(He should have a strong ideology.)

Tian: 他也不是有意识我要教这个东西, 但是他 6 个例子出来全是这样的, 我觉得像这样的课。(It's not like he purposely wanted to teach those things but his six example sentences were just full of ideological implications.)

Professor Li: 我觉得我会特别注意我不要给这样的例子。是我不希望引起太多的争议, 而且我自己的意识形态上我觉得有些话说出来是有争议性的, 所以我不完全认同一些话, 所以我大概也不会去跟学生练。但是不代表说如果有一篇课文是关于这个, 不代表我们不讨论这些东西, 我们是可以讨论的, 我觉得应该是, 他们学生的水平没到去说什么很深的, 但是我觉得作为我们选课文的教材或者我们 present 的东西, 语言也是人文学科, 觉得应该让他们看到更多的视角。就是像这本书就是有 different perspectives, 不是一个视角, 所以这个作者会说作为一个美国人看到它的是什么, 然后之后他又反思, 最起码给你两个视角。我觉得对于我来说我也是要给学生不同的视角, 就是你可以不同意, 但是我觉得你不可以无知。(I think I would particularly pay attention that I don't give example sentences like that. I don't want to cause too many controversies. Moreover, my own ideology tells me that something is very controversial to talk about. Therefore, I probably would not let my students practice something that I don't completely agree with. But it doesn't mean that we can't discuss these controversies if there is a chapter about them. We can discuss them. But maybe students' proficiency level is not good enough for us to talk about something in depth. Language courses also belong to the humanities. I think we should let students see more perspectives through the textbook we selected and the things we present to them. For example, this textbook has different perspectives. There is not only one perspective. The author would say what I saw as an American. Then, he would reflect. There are two perspectives at least. I think, to me, I also want to give students different perspectives, which means that students can disagree with me but they can't be ignorant.)

Tian: 所以可不可以这样说, 除了语言以外, 你还希望学生获得了解中国的不同视角。(Can I say this? Besides language proficiency, you also hope that students can gain different perspectives to understand China.)

Professor Li: 对, 我觉得这是特别重要的, 比如说你可以不喜欢一个人, 可以不同意一个人, 但是你不可以完全不了解另外一方面你就非常无知地去否定或批判一个人, 一个社会或者一个现象。我觉得那个作为人文学教育本身是非常失败的。(Correct. I think this is very important. For example, you can dislike a person or disagree with a person but you can't ignorantly deny or criticize a person before you completely understand that person or a society or a phenomenon. I think that would be the failure of the humanities education.)

Tian: 那比方说中文语言肯定是我们的主要, 中文语言刚才你说了一些不同的视角, 还有一个就是关于中国的一些事实, 我们学了很多, 但是除了这三个以外, 还有没有什么, 你希望学生上了这个中文课以后, 你希望我们学生还得到什么东西, 你有没有想过?(Besides the language proficiency, some knowledge about China, and the different perspectives that you just mentioned, is there anything else you hope your students can gain from your class?)

Professor Li: 我是希望引起他们对中国的基本的兴趣, 但是我觉得未必每次都成功。有的人学语言或者学什么, 他有非常功利的目的, 或者说我就想拿这个课。They may only want to fulfill the language requirement with this course. 或者我觉得这写在我 CV 上好看。就是他选这个课不一定代表他对这个课热爱, 我觉得这是一个实际的困难, 比如班上有的学生老师给他一个什么东西你觉得他会有兴趣吗, 但他拿这个当任务来对待, 他不认为这是一个机会让你了解更多, 我是希望能让他们更对中国有兴趣去了解。(I hope that I can arouse their basic interests about China. But I don't think I succeeded every time. Some people have a very utilitarian goal in learning language or whatever. They may only want to fulfill the language requirement with this course or they only think it looks good on their CV. That a student chooses this course doesn't mean that he loves this course. I think it is a practical difficulty. Some students in my class have no interest in the assignment I gave to them. They don't think it is an opportunity that they can understand China more. They consider it a task. I hoped that my course could make them more interested in knowing China.)

Tian: 去了解中国。(To know about China.)

Professor Li: 对, 就是你有兴趣了解, 最后了解结果是什么, 我没有办法改变你脑子里的想法, right?你也可以说我学了中国之后, 我就是中国通, 但我就是批判中国, OK, 还是那句话, 我希望你跟我课堂的话, 你会有不同的视角, 即便你批判中国也不是盲目的批判。而且我觉得不要很功利地来对待这门课或者对待一门语言, 只是说我 fulfill the language requirement, 或者 CV 上有用。(Yes, you have interests to know about China. As for the result of this "knowing," I have no way to change what's in your minds, right? You can say after "I've learnt Chinese and I am an old China hands. But I criticize China." That's Okay (laughs). As I have said, I

hope you will have different perspectives after you learned Chinese with me. Even though you criticize China, you should not criticize China blindly. I hope my students will not learn this course or any language course with a utilitarian purpose, or only want to fulfill the language requirement, or only think it looks good on their CV.

Tian: 另外一个课外材料就是最后一个星期内，《一个都不能少》，当时为什么要选这样一门课呢？(Another supplementary material is Not One Less. Why did you choose this movie?)

Professor Li: 有非常实际的原因就是看电影这个事本身要有教材，本身要有一个文本，大部分的文本是给中高年级的，这个文本其实已经是我们改过了的，就是已经把它缩减很多的，一个非常重要的原因就是我们没有别的文本，而且我觉得这个电影虽然是90年代时候的事情，但是农村教育问题还是一个问题，而不止是说给学生看一个好玩的，看完之后说不出什么所以然的东西，我不想让他们看这样的电影。首先看电影得有文本，就比如说我做一个电影，你给电影写文本的时候我也不想写一个看完之后没有什么话题性，没有什么引起他们思考的一个东西。(A very practical reason is we need a text if we want to show students a movie. But most texts (for movie class) are compiled for advanced learners. We revised this text and cut a lot. A very important reason is we don't have other texts. Moreover, although this movie is about a story in the Nineties, education in rural areas is still a problem now. I don't want to show them a funny movie but they can't say anything after watching it. First, I need a text for a movie class. Second, I don't want to show a movie with no topicality or with nothing that can make them think.)

Tian: 我觉得上这个课的时候，你问的这个问题特别好，比如你问的是我们已经学过很多跟中国的事情，你觉得课文里，新的中国怎么样，学生就会说新的中国，北京、大城市，很高的楼，然后你会问这个电影里的中国是怎么样的，所以你会有一个想法是我要告诉学生除了新的中国，挺好的中国以外，还有另外的部分。(I think when you taught this lesson you asked a really good question. You asked students what China looks like in our textbook. Students' answers are like Beijing, big cities, or skyscrapers. And then you asked students what China looks like in the movie. So, do you have an idea to tell students that besides the good, new China there is another aspect of China?)

Professor Li: 而且这个里面说的还是美国人常见的，比如你去的还是去的大城市，我觉得对我来说我很爱我的国家，我很担心这个国家的未来是什么，国家的人民有没有受到公平的对待，然后我觉得我是希望我的学生也可以看到什么东西不是一个表面上看见很光鲜的，或者你知道什么东西不是很光鲜，但是他们缺乏一个具体的认知，而不是说不好的说共产党就不好，或者什么什么就不好，而是你看作为一个人本身出发，我觉得还是那句话，这都是人文学科，不管是教语言还是什么，语言中也有文化和 content 在里头，我觉得让他们要从一个人出发看一个社会，看一个跟他不同的文化或者新的社会现象，而且你要是从一个人的角度来反思这件事情，而不仅仅是从一个意识形态或者有意识形态的东西。(I think from my perspective I LOVE my country very much. I am worried about the future of my country. I am worried if the people in my country are treated fairly. Then, I hope my

students can see China beyond the superficiality of prosperity. Or maybe they know China is not that prosperous but they lack specific understanding. I don't want my students who want to criticize China to only say "the communist party is bad." I want my students to be able to see China from the perspective of a human being. As I said, language course belongs to the humanities. Language contains culture. I hope I can let them see a different society, a different culture, or a different social phenomenon from the perspective of a human being. You need to reflect from the perspective of a human being not only from the perspective of ideology.)

Tian: 所以语言老师现在至少有两种，一种语言老师说这就是工作，我就是教语言，我不管什么意识形态文化。另外一种语言老师是说要弘扬中国文化，所以对你来说你是哪一种语言老师，在这种课上。(So, there are at least two kinds of (Chinese) language instructors. One kind of language instructor states that their jobs are just teaching language. I don't care about ideology or culture. The other kind of language instructor claims that they want to promote Chinese culture. What kind of instructor do you think you are in this class?)

Professor Li: 我觉得我不是弘扬中国文化的，因为我觉得弘扬中国文化就是一个很有修辞的说法，让我想到弘扬中国文化本身就是某种特别的中国文化，用一种特别的方式去弘扬。我是希望学生学语言，但是用什么材料来学语言，通过什么材料来学语言，这个是你可以选择的。我是希望让他们看到中国比较真实的一个中国，。但是我想我眼中真实中国的一个法轮功眼中人的中国是不一样的，首先我还那句话，我作为一个老师我是对这个国家，对这个文化是有非常强的依附感的，但是我想一个有依附感的人不会很盲目地去赞赏或弘扬一个什么东西。你还是会有担忧，因为这不是一个完美的世界，这不是一个乌托邦，你还是希望看到问题，希望看到问题的方式如果没有解决，那就希望更多人关注这个事情。(I don't think I belong to the category of promoting Chinese culture (laughs) because I think "promoting Chinese culture" is a wording that is full of figurative meaning. It makes me think that "Chinese culture" is a special culture that needs to be promoted in a special way. I hope students can learn language. But you can choose what kind of materials they use. I hope I could let them see a relatively real China. But I think that real China in my eyes is different from that of Falun Dafa followers. First of all, as I said before, I feel I have deeply attached myself to this nation and this culture, but I think a person with this attachment will not appreciate or promote something blindly. You still feel anxious because it is not a perfect world or a Utopia. You still want to see problems and solutions and hope more people pay attention to whether the problems have been solved yet.)

我是希望从一个人文主义的角度去看事，因为这些问题对于一个学语言的人来说，一个成年人来说，不是儿童，一个成年人来说更容易做一个思考，因为你有些非常非常中国化的一个东西的时候，他会说，这个东西对我来说太遥远，太异域，我不能理解或者只是接受这个东西，比如你跟人说道，你说这个道连翻译都没有，就是个道，这个东西对他来说就是，你就像学用英文学，学半天还是觉得对他来说隔着个什么东西，他不能理解，那我觉得对一个中文老师来说的话，我不要教他

一个他不太能理解的那种中国文化的东西，而是一个对他来说作为人本身和你的情感，和你的诉求，但你关注一个东西，有共通的，就是我觉得你学一个外语重要的一点是你要从这个外语中学到不同，但是你应该有一个更深层的东西，我不能说是 **universal value**，这个听起来是有点 **cliché**，但是你可以不认同，因为我不认为有什么 **universal value** 这些，但是有一些比如说你可能是追求真善美，你是有求知欲的，你是希望可以生存下去，而不是杀人的东西。(laughs) 这些东西如果他的选择教材和一些话题他是更接近于这些东西的时候，对于学生来说他比较容易有共鸣，比较容易有讨论的能力，就是他有说的。(I hope that my students can look at things from a perspective of humanism. Because my students who are learning the language are adults, rather than children it is much easier for them to reflect. If you give students something (course materials) too Chinese they will think “it is too far away, too exotic for me to understand or accept.” For example, if you teach Taoism, there is not even an English translation of the word Tao. Many students can’t understand Taoism even in an English taught content course (let alone a language course). They feel alienated. I think as a Chinese language teacher, I don’t want to teach them Chinese culture that they can’t understand. There is something that (Chinese people and American people) in common (because we are) human being, and as such has feelings. Learning about our differences is one of the important parts of learning a foreign language, but there should also be something deeper. I don’t want to use “universal values” because it sounds a little bit cliché. (Laughs). Students more easily resonate with textbooks or topics that are closer to “universal values.” (These teaching materials) are easier for students to participate in a discussion or have something to say.)

Tian: 你觉得二年级这个课会不会改变学生的对中国的一些理解，或者在多大程度上能改变他们对中国的一个态度。(Do you think that your course will change students’ understandings of China? To what extent can it change their attitudes toward China?)

Professor Li: 我不知道他们能多大程度上改变对中国的态度，因为我觉得还是那句话，就是他对中国的了解是真很少，我们的学生真的很可能就通过这个课文来了解中国，可能他对中国的了解就是从这个课文来了解。能不能改变态度我不知道，因为他可能本来就没态度，或者他有听过的一些。(I don’t know to what extent this course can change students’ attitudes. Again, as I said, students know little about China. It is possible that our students only know about China through this course and this textbook. I don’t know if their attitudes can be changed because they probably have no attitude at first.)

Tian: 或者影响，不一定改变，就影响。(Not necessarily change their attitudes. What about influence their attitudes?)

Professor Li: 我觉得现在很多人他们对中国的态度可能已经不同的，是因为中国的经济发展和交流的增加，即便他没有学过中文，就可能普通的老百姓，他可能，我不能说所有人，但是我觉得越来越多的人对中国的看法已经不是那种很片面、很单一化的，或者很负面的一种，说你就是一个共产主义的红色社会或者什么

的，很多越来越多的人不是那样的，而且我觉得我们的这种教育环境中，我们学生已经有很多人已经去过中国，他比较富裕的群体，他有比较多的资源去接触中国，当然，他跟更 elite 那些学生可能还是不太一样，因为我们的教育环境不是一个非常保守、落后的一个什么州，几乎从来没有见过中国人的，不是这样的环境。所以我觉得可能会对他们对中国的看法更细节、更具化了。比如他说中国现在经济发展了，但是他可能没学过什么中国厕所到底什么样，过马路很危险这件事情，对他来说可能是更偏向，像我们一开始就是说，这也是跟生活有关的，不止是说你完成一个 task，而是给他一个更具像的，中国是这样的，比如有人在遛鸟，小公园里有人在跳广场舞，是这种的，而不是纯正面或者纯负面的什么东西，而是更有细节性、丰满的一个东西。(I think that many people already have different attitudes toward China because of the development of China's economy and the increase of communication (between China and the U.S.). Many ordinary American people, I can't say all of them, even though they have not learned Chinese... I think more and more ordinary American people's attitudes toward China are not that one-sided, simple, or negative. For example, more and more people do not only think China as being a communist red society or whatever. Moreover, in our university, many of our students have already been to China before taking this course, or their families do business in China. They belong to a relatively rich group, which gives them more resources to "know" China. Of course, my students are not on the same level academically and socioeconomically as those more elite students. Because of our educational environment... We are not in a very conservative or a very backward state where people have never seen a Chinese person. We are not in that environment. Therefore, I think my course probably made my students' understandings (of China) more detailed and more specific. For example, students may know that China's economy is developed, but they probably have never learned what the bathrooms in China look like, or that it is dangerous to cross the street. As I said at the beginning of this interview, we (teachers) provide more information about Chinese life. We not only teach students to accomplish a language task, but we also provide students with a more specific image of China, such as people walking their birds and dancing in small parks. We don't provide students with information that is solely positive or solely negative. We provide students with a more detailed and well-rounded description of China.)

Tian: 就是二年级教学大班小班你觉得还有什么事情是比较重要，刚才没有问到? (Is there anything that you think I should know about this topic?)

Professor Li: 其实这样的，我觉得我教的时候，怎么表现中国这件事情可能有的时候是有意识，有的时候是无意识的，有意识是说有意识不去说一些非常有意识形态的话，这是有意识的。别的那些怎么来表现中国的时候，我觉得可能是偏无意识一点。或者有些东西已经是先天决定了，比如我在选课本的时候为什么用这个课本，不用那个课本，我让学生看电影我为什么让学生看这个电影，不看那个电影，有些实际原因，但是也有一些选择性的原因。我觉得这些东西可能是很难把它单独提出来说我做这件事情我一定在我要怎么 present China，我觉得这个可能更

倾向于教学的这个老师本身他是怎么理解，或者他对教育本身是怎么了解。
(Actually, I think when I teach this course, in terms of how to present China, sometimes it [the way I present China] might be intentional, and sometimes it might be un-intentional. When I say “intentional” I mean I would intentionally not to say things that are full of ideological implications. This is intentional. I am more unconscious when I do other things that can present China. Or maybe these things have been already congenitally determined. For example, why did I choose this textbook not that textbook? Why did I let students watch this movie not that movie? There are some practical reasons but it is also about selectivity. I think...these things... it will probably be very hard to single out everything and explain how I want to present China. I think it depends on how the teacher who teaches this course understands “present China” or how the teacher understands education.)

Tian: 我觉得你的回答可能和很多人不太一样，你会强调，比如这个人文学科，你觉得这个有很大的关系。(I think your answer probably is different from many other people. For example, you emphasized the humanities ...)

Professor Li: 因为对我来说，我觉得教语言不止是教语言，而且你怎么让他有话说，让他 *feel related*，而且对于我来说，我觉得语言是人文学科非常重要的一部分，你学语言是为了要了解一个跟你不同的人，你了解跟你不同的人中你会发现，人和人没有那么大的不同。人和人其实是很大本质上是相同的，你都是希望有人爱你的 (*laughs*)，你都是希望别人善意的对待你的，你都是希望有更好的东西的，对吗？而且我们教学的时候，我们可能会看到有些学生有些人就是非常 *evil*，就是怎么这么充满了恶意，有的人就是这样充满了恶意，我不可能在课堂上面教育你这些东西，但是我是希望你可以通过语言课让你从不同角度思考，不同角度学的时候，我是希望你在能从这不同的东西中慢慢慢慢的不要那么恶意的单一的视角来看待一个社会。(Because, to me, I think teaching a language should not stop at teaching the language. And how can you make students have something to say? How can you make students feel related? To me, I think language is a very important part of the humanities. You learn a language to understand people that are different from you. And in this process, you will find that people are and people are not that different. In fact, people and people essentially are almost the same. You all hope people love you, right? You all hope people treat you kindly, right? When we teach class, we probably will find some students, some people are just evil. Not “evil,” but just full of malice. Some people are just full of malice. I can’t educate them in class. But I do hope that by learning the language I can let you think and learn from different perspectives. I do hope, through these different things, you can gradually, gradually learn not to see a society from a malicious, single perspective.)

Interview with Ms. Wang

Tian: 我主要研究的就是中国文化、中国社会是怎么给中文课里边，就是我们中文课是怎么给学生构建这个中国形象，然后是有意的或者无意的给学生传达的

一个关于中国的一个什么信息，这是我重要研究的问题。你怎么看现在中国的这本教材呢？(My research is about the Chinese culture and society in Chinese language class. That is, how does our Chinese class depict the image of China to our students; are there any kinds of information that (the Chinese language class) intentionally or unintentionally conveys to the students, which is my main research question. What do you think about this textbook that we use now?)

Ms. Wang: 这本教材，你是从哪个方面来说这本教材的？(Regarding this textbook, from what perspective?)

Tian: 主要是你觉得为什么是新的中国？(Why do you think this textbook is called A New China?)

Ms. Wang: 为什么是新的中国？从编写者角度出发，我觉得他还是要传播一些积极的东西吧，以前旧中国当然也有积极的东西，但是角度不同，大家不一样，而且以前那些东西都关系到，有的跟历史有关或者什么的。(Why a new China? From the perspective of the author, I think he still wants to promote something positive. Of course the old China had positive things, but the perspectives are different and our views are different. Previous things are related, relating to history or other things.)

Tian: 以前是什么？你说的以前是？(What is “previous?” What do you mean by “previous?”)

Ms. Wang: 嗯，更多的我觉得改革开放以后的，对，是改革开放以后的新中国吧。Yes, but more about the China after the Reform and Opening up. Yes, it is the new China after the Reform and Opening up.

Tian: 然后你觉得他什么地方传达的一个新的中国呢？改革开放以后的新中国？(Then how do you know that he conveys the idea of a new China, the new China after the Reform and Opening up?)

Ms. Wang: 他就是说了一些，比如说受到西方的影响，现在中国人会有一些什么改变，比如说习惯方面，还有比如说社会的那些改变，比如说他的里边有那些，比如说厕所，公共厕所这都是举的比较大的例子，这是新的改变。比如说还有称呼，称呼改变，然后也有受外面的影响，也有自己时代特色的影响，因为改革开放以后这个同志这个词是有点过于太古老了。(He stated in his textbook something like, being affected by the West, nowadays Chinese people have some changes, such as like habits, social changes, and restrooms. Things like public restrooms are small examples of the new changes. The way of addressing people is also affected by foreign countries, and it also reflects the features of the new era. After the Reform and Opening up, the address of comrade is too old-fashioned.)

Tian: 古老了，除了有厕所，有那个同志的称呼，还有别的么你觉得印象比较深的？(Old-fashioned. In addition to restroom and the address of comrade, what else do you think is very noticeable?)

Ms. Wang: 还有口号，我想的那个，我们这个是没有教那个，那个我觉得不是特别新。(The slogan. I think that one ... we didn't teach that chapter this semester. I don't think that is very new.)

Tian: 哪个? (Which one?)

Ms. Wang: 口号那课的那些口号, 他后面他有一些对比, 就是以前比如说就是新中国刚成立的时候, 什么大跃进时期有一些口号, 以及到现在 90 年代以后比如么“文明”、“树新风”什么的这些, 这也是一个改变, 然后新的中国。然后还有比如说人们的生活方式, 比如说小公园, 以前, 我不知道以前, 我也没有研究他们是不是喜欢有这么多的娱乐休闲的方式, 我差不多就从这些方面来说。(The slogans in the chapter about the slogans in China. He later offered comparisons. He compared the slogans when the new China (the Communist China) was just established and in the Great Leap Forward Era with the slogans in the late 1990s, such as “Civilization,” “Establishing New Ethos,” and something like that. It is a change. In addition to this, for example, people’s life style. For instance, small parks. I don’t know how things worked in the past, and I didn’t investigate if they like so many entertainments. I think these are examples (that convey a new China.)

Tian: 你怎么看作者是编写的这样一本教材? 一本教材传达的很多关于新的中国的信息, 你怎么看待这样的教材? (What do you think about such a textbook? A textbook conveys much information about new China. What is your opinion about this textbook?)

Ms. Wang: 怎么说, 我觉得那个作者他有一定的意识要在传递中国文化这个东西我觉得在里边, 因为你看他从起名字上就跟别的不一样, 比如说别的什么, 别的就是初期, 初期汉语什么什么对不对, 中级汉语、高级汉语对不对, 然后他这个新的中国我觉得就是一个, 还是说让学习的人对中国有一个从文化上面的了解, 不单单是语言的问题。(I feel like the author must be thinking about conveying Chinese culture (in the textbook), because as you can see the title is different from others. Other textbooks are like, elementary, elementary Chinese, intermediate Chinese, and advanced Chinese. This is called A New China. I think it is like, making students understand China from the perspective of culture, not just from the language.)

Tian: 你喜不喜欢这本教材? (Do you like this textbook?)

Ms. Wang: 这本教材是不是一本好教材是么? 最后一课还讨论, 还好吧我。(Is it a good textbook? (Laughs.) There is a chapter in the textbook that discusses this topic. I think it is okay.)

Tian: 你觉得这本教材是不是一本好教材? 我们不说什么语言、语法点, 不说那个, 就单从内容上来说是。(Do you think it is a good textbook or not? We are not talking about language or grammar; we are talking about the content.)

Ms. Wang: 我对于他总体要传递的东西我是肯定的, 因为谁都希望传递一个比较积极的形象, 当然也不能说不谈存在的一些问题, 他既谈了存在的问题又展望了一下未来, 就比较好。(I agree with the general things that he conveyed, because almost everyone wants to convey a positive image. Of course we should not ignore some existing problems in China. He talked about the existing problems and looked forward to the future as well, which is good.)

Tian: 我觉得周老师可能主要是编这个课文要...(I think Professor Chou probably edit this textbook by...)

Ms. Wang: 有这个主题在里边。(There is a theme in it.)

Tian: 有这个主题,但你上课的时候教么?(There is the theme. But, did you teach this in your class?)

Ms. Wang: 教什么?(Teach what?)

Tian: 你会告诉学生说您看我们今天学的这个是中国,改革开放以后的中国,我们今天交通,以前的中国不是这样,现在的中国是这样的。(Will you tell students that today we are going to learn the new China, the China after the Reform and Opening up, and today's transportation; China was not like this in the past; today's China is like this?)

Ms. Wang: 你听了有一个学期的课你发现,我没有强调说你看看跟他们明说,但是在举例子的的时候都是会进行对比,比如说那以前道路车多不多,可是现在你看虽然都发展了,可是车也越来越多所以发展还是不够怎样怎样。(After you observed my class this semester you should have noticed that I did not explicitly do that. But I did comparison when illustrating examples. For example, in the past there were not many cars on the road. But as you can see it has developed, there are more and more cars. But the development of the roads is not enough.)

Tian: 你是有意识的要做这种对比呢?还是这个课文使得你这样对比比较方便、比较容易?(Did you intentionally make such comparison? Or does the textbook make these comparisons relatively convenient and easy?)

Ms. Wang: 我觉得我的意识那方面还是比较少,就是从学生来利操练语法点这个角度,因为无论你是说以前的情况还是以后的情况,你所用到的词都是差不多的,而且还能把不同的语法点都带进来,这个是我主要的目的。并不是一定要让他们知道现在中国的道路确实是发展的很快什么的。(I seldom did it on purpose. I usually did this in order to help students practice grammar. Because the words that you want use to talk about previous China and new China are similar. My main purpose is involving different grammar points not letting them know that China develops very fast now or whatever.)

Tian: 所以新旧对比来说内容并不主要,然后主要是语法,或者是这个主题并不主要,我并不管你什么新的中国不新的中国,我先把这些语法讲完。(So, the comparison between the new and the old China is not important; grammar is important. Or, the theme in the textbook is not important. You don't care about the new or the old China; you just want to finish teaching the grammatical elements.)

Ms. Wang: 对,把这些语法讲完,比如说我要操练语法的时候,我也不在乎到底是用什么点,比如说是不是这个点,这个主题我来创这些语法,更能够让学有一种比如说新的认识,就方便于创这些语法点来定。(Yes, finishing teaching the grammar points. For instance, when I drill the grammar, I do not care if certain grammar points or themes can make student have a new understanding of China.)

Tian: 我发现你看这样归纳你的上课的教学法可不可,一般就是先把几个语法操练熟了,操练语法的时候先用课文中的句子来问一下,然后给这个新句子,然

后最后你会把这几个语法点连起来弄成一个小篇章，让学生说出来，然后传达这个小篇章基本上就是课本的内容，这样归纳对吗？(Tell me if I can summarize your teaching method like this. Generally speaking, you drill several grammar points separately first. When drilling an individual grammar point, you use the sentences from the textbook to ask students questions, and then you give students new example sentences. After you finish drilling these individual grammar points, you will connect these grammar points and make a short passage and let the students say the passage, which is basically the content in the textbook. Am I right?)

Ms. Wang: 可以，对，但是我比如说那一节课比如说我有6个点要讲，我比如说讲到3个点的时候我有时候会把它做一个段落来讲，然后首先当然还是要以这一课学的内容为主，然后像别的，如果再进行一个扩展的话，我觉得还是以课文中出现的话题为主，这个主要是考虑到具体问题具体分析，就他们虽然二年级，但是别的东西学过他们还忘呢，所以我才会用学过的，就基本上就那几个问题来回回来去弄，但是以前我自己，去年我教二年级普北班的时候就会发散一些。(Yes, correct. But if, let's say, I have six grammar points to cover in one lesson, sometimes I will make the first three grammar points as one passage. Of course, we should focus on the content in the lesson that we are learning. As for talking about other topics, I think we should give priority to the topic in the textbook. It's depending on the situation. They are just second year Chinese language students. They can't remember the things that we taught them. Therefore, I have to use the topic that they learned. Basically, drill them again and again on those few topics. But in the past, when I taught the second year Chinese in PIB last year, I would include more topics.)

Tian: 对，我观察到的主要一个基本结论就是哎怎么大班也在讨论课本小班也在讨论课本，但是我同意你的观点，就是有可能大部分学生能把课本弄明白就不错了。(Yes. One of my questions based on my observation is why do both the lecture and drill section discuss the text. But I agree with you. We should be satisfied if most students can understand the content in the textbook.)

Ms. Wang: 我就这么说他们还弄不明白呢，我问什么问，他说我怎么知道，我说以前，你记得吗那个？我不知道那节课你在不在，你不在，下午的课，我说以前就是称呼为同志，我说那现在呢？就是那个 Selena，她说我怎么知道，你知道么当时就想把她打一顿，这就是最后这一两个星期的事情。(They still can't understand (the text) even though I do this (give priority to the text). I ask them questions (based on the text). They told me "how should I know?" I asked that "in the past we called each other comrade, what about now?" Selena, that (problem) student, she said how am I supposed to know that. You know what? I really wanted to kick her ass at that time. This just happened in the past one or two weeks.)

Tian: 我们这个还有几个问题。(We still have several questions.)

Ms. Wang: 好。(Okay.)

Tian: 这本书的前言说的是要“同情之了解”，你觉得这个方法怎么样？
(The preface of the textbook stated “sympathetic understanding.” What do you think about this method?)

Ms. Wang: 同情之了解？(Sympathetic understanding?)

Tian: 同情之了解，少一点批评，多一点同情之了解，你怎么看这样的方法？你觉得你能感觉到同情之理解在这里边吗？(Sympathetic understanding. It means less criticisms and more sympathetic understandings. What do you think about this method? Do you feel the sympathetic understanding in the textbook?)

Ms. Wang: 我能感受到，就最后转折部分么，课文的后面都会有一些转折。(I can feel that, especially the twist part at the end. At the end of the texts, there is always a twist.)

Tian: 总是有转折对吗？(Always a twist?)

Ms. Wang: 他就会说，他会指出存在的问题，我觉得这可能就是怎么说，他一方面又想传递文化的东西，一方面又不想去吹过，就完全是吹捧这个东西，所以他就既要批评一些，然后又要说一些好的方面吧。(He stated... He pointed out the existing problems. I think it probably is like on one hand, he wanted to convey something about culture. On the other hand, he did not want to over praise it; therefore, he needed to both criticize something and say something good.)

Tian: 他这种写课文的方法你喜欢么？(Do you like the way he wrote the textbook?)

Ms. Wang: 我觉得就是陈述事实。(I think it is stating the facts.)

Tian: 你觉得这是一个事实？(You think these are the facts?)

Ms. Wang: 他有一点，你觉得呢？稍微有一点个人想要，就是说表现好的一面，就这个意向在里面，而且我觉得这个不太，二年级，比如说这里，其实用这本教材我觉得他们来说难了就是，我倾向于稍微高一点的，至少从三年级开始吧，就是这种你可以给他陈述事实，以前是怎么样现在是怎么，他们自己有自己的看法，好吧，可能我没有那么爱国。(He is a little bit ... what you think? A little bit wants to show the good side. He has such an intention in it, and I think this is not that ... For example, the second year Chinese language class here, in fact, I find this material (textbook) is difficult for them. I would say we should use this textbook for the third year students. You can tell them the facts about what's the situation in the past and what's the situation now. And they themselves have their own views. Okay, maybe I'm not so patriotic.)

Tian: 为什么？(Why?)

Ms. Wang: 就是陈述事实，就是让他们，他们怎么想中国他们可以自己去想么。(Just stating the facts. Let them, whatever they think about China is fine.)

Tian: 所以你并不在乎他们上你的课对中国会有什么样的一个想法？(So you don't really care what kind of attitudes towards China they will have after they take your class?)

Ms. Wang: 但我觉得其实中文老师真的没有那么大的影响力，就是能够左右一个学生对于一个国家的看法，通过几篇文章是不会的，所以我也，其实我在课堂上我也不倾向于就是说你一定要按照我的这个，他就是这样，你就说他就不发展，那明明你看这这这这不都发展了么，有的老师可能因为一些爱国的情结可能去做一些争辩什么的，我不会，那你把这个句子说对了就行了，你说中国是世界上最不好的国家我也能接受，你把这个句子说对了就行了。(But I think, in fact, Chinese language teacher really does not have such a big influence to affect students' opinions on China, not through several texts. Therefore, in the classrooms, I am not inclined to ask students to follow my way. For example, if a student says that China is an underdeveloped country, I will not argue with him by saying "China's development is obvious ..." Some teachers might dispute that because of patriotic feeling, I won't do that. As long as you can say the sentence correctly...I can accept that you say China is the worst country in the world as long as you can say the sentence correctly.)

Tian: 所以你上课的时候并不会说，虽然这本书希望说学生能够对中国多一点同情和了解，但就你个人而言你并不在乎这个东西，你只是想把这个语法教完？(Therefore, although this textbook hopes that students can have more sympathetic understanding towards China, personally speaking, you don't really care about it and you only want to finish teaching the grammar points?)

Ms. Wang: 对。我觉得那个可能在这里的这种氛围也比较就是淡，是不是到了什么孔子学院，就是经过孔子学院的培训以后是不是会有这种爱国的情结在里面。

(Yes. I think it is probably because we don't have this kind of atmosphere. Maybe in the Confucius Institutes, or after training by the Confucius Institutes, they will have more patriotic feeling?)

Tian: 你是说老师还是说学生？(You mean teachers or students?)

Ms. Wang: 我是说老师，因为我没有经受过孔子学院的培训，而且他作为一个整体他从头都是。(I mean the teachers in the Confucius Institutes. Because I have never experienced the training of the Confucius Institutes and its main purpose is ...)

Tian: 我们周末去开会的时候然后孔子学院那边有个老师就说他那个面世了很多很多孔子学院的志愿者，他面试的所有的志愿者问你为什么要当志愿者，总会加一句我要弘扬中国文化。(Last weekend I attended a conference. A scholar said that he had interviewed many applicants who want to work for the Confucius Institutes as Chinese language teachers. When he asked why would you like to work for the Confucius Institutes as Chinese language teachers, he said that almost every interviewee said something like "I want to promote Chinese culture.")

Ms. Wang: 我以前也是那么说的。(I used to say that too in the past.)

Tian: 但你是那么想的么？(But did you really think like that?)

Ms. Wang: 我不是那么想的，我就是想谋个出路而已。(Laughs) (No, I didn't think like that. I just want to find a way to making a living.)

Tian: 就找个工作。(Laughs) (Just want to find a job?)

Ms. Wang: 对, 我就是想找个工作而已。(Laughs) (Correct, I just want to find a job. That's it.)

Tian: 所以并没有说什么我要去弘扬中国文化。(Therefore, for you, there is no such thing like "I want to promote the Chinese culture?")

Ms. Wang: 而且他们也不想, 你看那些学生他们就是说, 对于那些就是说能过积极向你靠拢的那些学生, 他有热情的学生, 我愿意就是去来给你分享一下, 比如说我的看法, 我也会就是说去给你传播一些就是稍微比较积极的, 但是我不避开那些不好的东西, 我就会说这个空气的污染就是越来越差, 工厂就是越来越多, 不会说但是你看现在我们的政府也在努力, 我说可能我们政府努力了吧, 但是我还没有看到结果。(And students don't want you to do that either. Look at these (problem) students. Okay, for those students who have enthusiasm, who work very hard, I am willing to share my viewpoints about China with them. For example, I may spread some information (about China), which is a little bit more positive, but I will not avoid those bad things. I may say it is true that the air pollution is getting worse and worse and it is true that we have more and more factories (that cause the air pollution). But I will not say (like the textbook) "look, our government is working on it." I will say "maybe the government is working on that but I don't see the result.")

Tian: 周老师开会的时候也说说自己编这几本教材有什么不一样, 他说自己的认识确实有一个转变的过程, 他说华夏行那个时候还是自己对中国, 比如说有很多问题充满了不理解, 很生气, 但是到了这本书他自己开玩笑, 他说到了这本书的时候就是我准备申请入党的时候了, 这本书态度非常正确。(Professor Chou also talked about the differences of these textbooks that were compiled by him. He said his understandings indeed changed. He said when he compiled A Trip to China there were many things that he didn't understand and he was very angry about China. But when he compiled this textbook, he made a joke, he said when I compiled this textbook I was ready to join the Party. The attitude in this textbook is very correct in terms of the Party.)

Ms. Wang: 可能不是他年纪大一点, 因为他不是台湾人么, 年纪大一点是不是对于这个我党宽容一些? (Maybe he is getting old (laughs). Because he is from Taiwan, right? Getting old makes him become more tolerant to our Party.)

Tian: 他自己说不是他变平和了, 是中国进步了。(He said it is not because he became more tempered, it is because China improved.)

Ms. Wang: 确实也是的。(That's also indeed the case.)

Tian: 他说以前的一些问题现在也没了, 你再写那些问题中国人会觉得, 学生学了会觉得不是真实的中国, 他说中国进步了。(He said that some previous problems have gone away. If you continue to write those problems Chinese people will think, students will think it is not a real China. Professor Chou said China has improved...)

Ms. Wang: 但是这是真的中国吗? (But is that a real China?)

Tian: 你怎么看呢? 你觉得这是不是真的中国呢? (What do you think? Do you think it is a real China?)

Ms. Wang: 那你看他写的, 比如说理发店这个东西, 就感觉不太与时俱进。(Then look at what he wrote in the textbook. For example, the chapter of haircutting. I don't feel it keeps up with the times.)

Tian: 为什么? (Why?)

Ms. Wang: 现在理发店还有按摩剪指甲么? 我不知道。(I don't think the barbershop provides massage and nail cutting now.)

Tian: 剪指甲我从来没有看过, 按摩过去帮你揉揉肩膀。(I have never seen nail cutting in a barbershop before. But I have seen massage.)

Ms. Wang: 我反正, 然后, 而且有的他特别他就是, 比如说中国人一定要睡午觉, 那现在大家工作都这么忙中国哪有时间睡午觉, 不睡午觉大家也喝个咖啡啊是不是, 大家累了就喝咖啡然后下午接着上班是不是, 对吧, 然后喝热水, 有的人也不喜欢喝热水。(Anyway. Then, moreover, especially he is like, for example, he wrote Chinese people must take a nap after lunch. Now everyone is so busy with work in China. How can we have time to take a nap after lunch? We don't take a nap after lunch. We drink coffee, right? We get tired and then we drink coffee and we continue to work in the afternoon, right? Then, drinking hot water. Some people (in China) don't like to drink hot water.)

Tian: 所以那你上课的时候会跟学生说吗? (So, will you tell students that when you teach them?)

Ms. Wang: 不会啊。(Of course not.)

Tian: 为什么不说? (Why not?)

Ms. Wang: 太麻烦了, 他们也听不懂, 而且我跟他们说那么说他们就会, 就是我愿意让他们保持就是说对于这本书的一惯性, 我不愿意去, 其实这书上说的不对, 就是不要去批评这本教材, 如果我们在教他的时候, 个人有个人的看法那是自己的事情。(It's too troublesome and they can't understand (because of their language proficiency). Moreover, if I tell them those things they will ... I would like them to think this textbook is correct. I am not willing to tell them "in fact, the textbook is wrong." In other words, (a language teacher) should not criticize the textbook. When we teach them, if we have our own points of view (which is different from the textbook) we should keep it to ourselves.)

Tian: 所以每次上课都会问中国人喜欢喝什么? (Therefore, you often ask over-generalized questions like "what do Chinese people like to drink?")

Ms. Wang: 对啊, 喝热水。(Correct, "drink hot water.")

Tian: 你还是会问这样的问题? (So you still ask questions like that?)

Ms. Wang: 对。而且我希望他们的答案就是喝热水, 如果说你真的是特别喜欢中国, 你了解中国文化, 你下课来问我我会跟你说的。(Correct, and I hope their answer is "drink hot water." If you really, especially like China, if you want to know more about Chinese culture, if you ask me after class, I will tell you more.)

Tian: 有人这样问过你么? (Has anyone ever asked you about that?)

Ms. Wang: 没有, Nancy 可能会, Nancy 会问一些, 但是不是说具体什么问题, 她会就是说想了解多一点, 因为她可能就是对中国比较感兴趣, 我反正是, 我们之前就是经过, 就是在普北班培训的时候我们自己讨论的时候就指出这不好那不好, 但是他说有一个原则, 教学生的时候在学生面前你不能说一句这本教材不好。(Nope (laughs). Only Nancy might have ... Nancy would ask a few but not specific questions. She just told me that she wanted to know more because she is relatively more interested in China. Anyway, I, when I was trained in PIB we were told that teachers can criticize the textbook's flaws when teachers are discussing the textbook. But, as a principle, teachers are not allowed to say a single bad word about the textbook in front of students.)

Tian: 对, 我们在哈佛的时候也是这样的, 估计这 30 多年一直都是这一个规矩, 一直说不能说, 他常用的词是叫互相补台不要互相拆台。(Yes, we have the same training and principle at Harvard. I guess that's always the rule in the past 30 years. You simply can't do that. We called it "help out and don't undercut.")

Ms. Wang: 对。(Yes.)

Tian: 那我的另外一个问题就是说, 所以你在给学生教的时候并没有说我要传达一个什么样的中国形象给学生? (I have another question. When teaching the students do you have a certain image of China you want to convey to students?)

Ms. Wang: 没有。(No.)

Tian: 那你和 Professor Li 有备课会么? (Another question, do you have class preparation meeting with Professor Li?)

Ms. Wang: 有啊。(Of course we have.)

Tian: 每个星期有备课会? 你会讨论语法还是会讨论什么? (What did you two discuss at the class preparation meeting every week?)

Ms. Wang: 只讨论语法, 就是怎么去讲这个。(We only talk about grammar, like how to teach a grammar element.)

Tian: 那像这种三个语法串一个课文, 主要是复述课文内容, 这个是你们开备课会的时候定的? (So your teaching method is decided during those class preparation meetings, which basically is to use a few grammar points to repeat the content of the text?)

Ms. Wang: 不会。(No.)

Tian: 所以这是你说你想怎么教就怎么教? (So you can teach however you like to teach?)

Ms. Wang: 就是, 因为去年刚来的时候他就说你在普北班怎么教你就怎么教, 在普北班就练就了大概是这么一个模式, 但是就是这个学期开始的时候, 然后他在, 就是开学以前我们备课会的时候他就说, 比如说这个学期在小班的时候你可能注意一点就是让他们多说, 所以这个学期比上个学期而言我会, 就是说比如问他问题的时候我再进一步再问, 那你觉得你同意不同意他们的看法, 就是说让他们都表达一下仅此而已, 这也是基于让他们就是说从语言的这个角度多表达的角度上来

进行的一些改进吧。(Yes, because she told me that I should teach them like how I teach at the PIB when I first arrived here last year. This is my teaching method at PIB. But at the beginning of this semester, she told me at the class preparation meeting that I should let students speak more this semester. Therefore, compared with last semester I will ask students more questions like “do you agree with this?” But I only want them to have more chance to express their own thoughts. And that’s it. It’s an improvement because I want them to express more from the perspective of language learning.)

Tian: 所以从来不会谈到什么弘扬中国文化建立中国形象, 没有? (So you two had never talked about something like promoting Chinese culture and establishing an image of China?)

Ms. Wang: 没有。(No.)

Tian: 不会讨论这个。(You didn’t discuss that?)

Ms. Wang: 我反正就觉得说明说什么其实没有太大的用处, 因为他们都是成年人, 他们都会有自己判断, 而且很多都去过。(I also think it, promoting Chinese culture, is not too useful because students are grownups. They have their own judgment and many of them have been to China before.)

Tian: 我觉得我的观察就是你们会对这个课文的, 就完全以课文为中心, 就比如谈坐火车, 课文里没有谈到高铁, 你们也完全不会谈(My observation is like your instruction is completely based on the text. For example, when you were teaching taking the train you didn’t mention the high-speed train at all since it is not in the textbook.)

Ms. Wang: 因为这增加他们的负担。(Because if we did, it will increase students’ workload.)

Tian: 也不会为学生补充这个高铁的这个内容? (Not even added it as the supplementary ...)

Ms. Wang: 不会, 我觉得就是分学生, 还是分的。(No. I think it depends on the students’ abilities).

Tian: OK, Bison College 这边能把课文弄清楚就不错了。(Ok. We should be thankful if students at Bison College can master the contents in the textbook.)

Ms. Wang: 对对对, 我们无论是上个学期还是这个学期, 我们的宗旨就是你让学生先把课文里的语法句子都, 哪怕你就是背原句, 你让他把这个能说出来这是最主要的。(Yes, yes, yes No matter if it is last semester or this semester our principle is you should make sure that students can understand the grammar and sentences in the textbook first. You have to be able to speak Chinese out first even if you are simply reciting the original sentence in the textbook. That’s the most important thing.)

Tian: 所以你在自己给一些例句的时候, 除了课文以外你自己给例句的时候也不会考虑说这个例句是让中国看的更好还是让中国看的更坏, 也不会这样? (So, besides the sentences in the textbook when you were giving your own example

sentences, you would not consider if your example sentences would make China look good or bad?)

Ms. Wang: 我会就是说, 让他们能够理解了就是比较贴近于我们学过的东西, 让他们知道的东西, 不然的话, 因为这是不能出生词么, 所以有的东西, 当然我没有那个想法, 即便我有那个想法那也是出生词, 增加他们的负担么。(I would, like, try to make example sentences that are close to the things we learned before, something that they knew. Otherwise it is meaningless. Plus, we are not allowed to add new vocabulary. Of course, I don't have such an idea (that if my sentence would make China look good or bad). Even if I have such an idea it will add new vocabulary and it will increase their workload, right?)

Tian: 所以说除了那个, 我们说提高学生的语言水平以外你还有没有希望就是你的学生上了你的课, 除了提高汉语水平以外你还有什么别的希望么? 希望他们上某个课既提高了语言水平又, 后面这个有么? (So besides improving their language proficiency, do you have any other expectations for your students?)

... Okay. Let's say "I hope after taking my class my students will improve their language proficiency and ..." What is the "and" for you?)

Ms. Wang: 又, 我想, 既提高又增进了对中国的认识么。(“And ...” I think, “And increase their understandings to China?”)

Tian: 这是你的希望么? (Is this your expectation?)

Ms. Wang: 没有, 说实话没有。(No. Honestly, it is not my expectation.)

Tian: 你觉得你有没有让你的学生对中国的了解更多了? (Do you think you make students know more about China?)

Ms. Wang: 是我让他们更多么还是? (Me? Make them know more or ...?)

Tian: 除了课本的内容以外, 有没有让学生对中国的了解更多了, 通过上你的课。(Besides the contents in the textbook, by taking your class, do you think students know more about China?)

Ms. Wang: 学生课堂上? (In the classroom?)

Tian: 课堂课外都可以。(Both inside and outside of the classroom.)

Ms. Wang: 那有的学生确实是多了。(Some students do know more about China by taking my class.)

Tian: 那你觉得学生对中国的态度, 上了中文课以后, 上了你的课以后学生对中国的了解肯定是多的一点, 了解了至少课本, 你们反复操练课文我觉得还是, 他们还是很了解的, 那学生对中国的态度你觉得会有什么变化? (After students take Chinese courses, your courses, they must know China more than before, at least know the Chinese textbook since you drill them a lot based on textbook. I think they would know more about China. What do you think about students' attitudes toward China?)

Ms. Wang: 我觉得他们对于中国还是比较有好感。(I think they would have positive attitudes toward China.)

Tian: 是上了你的课以后? (After taking your class?)

Ms. Wang: 那也不能说是上了我的课，因为上课以前我没有聊，也没有问过，因为前面能说的比较少，但是聊到后面，比如说你看像 **Selena** 这样的人，他就已经那么差了对不对，他还这个学期跟我，他说他可能下个学期要去中国学习什么的，可能厌恶中国或者中文还没到一定的程度，所以他至少还有这个意愿是要去的，然后包括像没有去过中国，就他和那个 **Sam**，对，然后我说你想去么？他说我一定要去中国，然后我要去中国旅行然后看一看什么之类的，然后我觉得就是说无论，不管哪些方面吧，你传递的是什么，我觉得他们还是保持一定的好奇度。
(Maybe not because of my class. I did not chat with them or ask them about this topic before they took my class. In addition, there was not a lot we could talk about at the beginning. For instance, Selena, she is already messing up with class, right? But she told me that she probably will study in China next semester or things like that. Maybe she does not hate China or Chinese language that much. So at least she has the willingness to go to China. Other students like Sam who has not been to China before, I asked him if he wants to go to China. He said he would definitely go to China, travel, and take a look at China. Therefore, whatever perspectives of the textbook or whatever I've conveyed to them, I think they still keep a certain curiosity about China.)

Tian: 对中国的好奇度。(Curiosity of China.)

Ms. Wang: 是有的，然后去过那些当然就是能说的比较多，然后我说你还会去，还会去，都会有这样的意愿。(Yes. Students who have been to China would talk more. I asked them if they would like to travel to China again, they always indicated their willingness.)

Tian: 所以其实比如说我教中文也教了这么多年了，我也很了解大家怎么教，对我来说我就会去，还是要跟你一样教语法，我就是把语法教完，我也用了这本书的前半部分，我用了这本书的后半部分，我只有反思一下我上课的时候我也没有时间去讲什么同情的了解啊，让你们更爱中国，我也没有时间去做这个事情。(I have been teaching Chinese for many years, so generally I know how other instructors teach Chinese. For me, I would teach grammar like you, that is, just teaching grammar. I also used the the second half of the textbook. Now I think when I taught that class, I did not really have time to talk about sympathy or understanding. Making students love China, I did not have time to do that.)

Ms. Wang: 是不是，我觉得是跟这个课程的设置有关吧。(Yes, I think it related to the agenda of the courses.)

Tian: 对。(Yes.)

Ms. Wang: 就是你就有这么点，你说你们班人少还好一点，人多了你即便小班你也说过来是不是。(It is very limited class time. Class with few students is fine. You don't have time to talk about that to too many students, even if that is a recitation class.)

Tian: 我觉得如果我是在普北，我一对一谈话的时候，我实在没得聊了，那我说那咱们比较一下新中国旧中国，你更喜欢哪什么什么的，现在我三年纪一周就三节课，还没有小班，我上课能把语法点讲完就不错了，哪有时间跟他们去讨论新

的中国怎么样。(I think if I were in PIB where I needed to have one-to-one conversations with students but not many topics, I would compare the new and the old China and ask students which one they prefer. Now I only have three classes every week with no recitation classes. It would be great if I could finish teaching the grammar. I did not have time to talk about new China with them.)

Ms. Wang: 我从来不觉得我是一个中国文化的传播者, 我就是教书的讨生活者, 教语言的讨生活者。(I never consider myself as a disseminator of Chinese culture. I teach Chinese to earn bread and milk, just make a living.)

**APPENDIX D: PROFESSOR CHOU'S SPEECH AT THE GENERAL DISCUSSION AT
THE 24TH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON CHINESE LANGUAGE
INSTRUCTION AT PRINCETON UNIVERSITY IN 2016.**

Professor Chou stated that Chinese language teaching is not a process of ideological remolding:

Both Professor Chu and Professor Tian's presentations involved the meaning of the so-called "culture." I think this is a new direction. I think in the early years (Chinese language teaching) considered (teaching) culture as a process of ideological remolding. It means we would want a foreigner who studies Chinese to behave and think like a Chinese person. At that time, I advocated that it's not a process of ideological remolding. Just think about us. How many years we have been living in the U.S.? Can you behave and think like foreigners? I think none of us can do that. I have spent most of my life in the U.S. I still behave and think like a Chinese person and absolutely not like foreigners. (今天下午储老师的报告和田野老师的报告，大概都多多少少牵涉到一个所谓的文化的意义，我想这个方向是新的。我想这个问题对这个文化议题早年的做法往往是一种思想改造，就是洋人来学中文，咱们要他举手投足，皆如汉人，洋人学了中文，在我当时说这不是做一个思想改造的过程。就像我来美国多少年，你能举手投足，皆如洋人吗？我想没有一个人做得到，我大半辈子在美国，我举手投足依旧是汉人，绝无半点洋人气象。)

Professor Chou stated that making foreign students identify with Chinese culture/China is not the aim of Chinese language teaching. Moreover, a dictatorship Party-State cannot make students identify with it. Avoiding talking about contemporary China cannot make students love China.

Some presentations are also a reflection on this issue. We should not seek to have foreigners identify with us. This is very important. Professor Hesheng Zhang stated that the foreigners cannot identify with culture from a society where the moral standard of the whole nation is low and every government official is corrupt. I think this introspection is very rare, especially when it comes from a compatriot. What is the so-called "soft power?" Can "soft power" come from a dictatorship? Can we name one example? I think we can't. (在这个里面，今天我们的讨论里面，在反思在回顾这个问题，在这

个过程里面，我想储诚志老师提出来就说，我们不是要被认同，这一点是很重要的，我们不是要被洋人认同，这个认同，在同一个话题里面，张和生老师又提到了一个全民族落地，全民族的道德水平，无官不贪的这样一个社会里面，你出来之后文化能够让人来认同，我觉得这个是很难得的，来自一个同胞。这个是一个很好的一个反思，就说所谓的软势力到底是怎么来的软势力，软势力是凭空来的吗？软势力我们如果想一下，我们现在有所谓的软势力，一个软势力可以来自一个独裁的政权吗？我们在世界上能举出一个例子来，有任何的一个软势力，是因为一个独裁的独裁的政权，可以碰出一个软势力来，我想是没有的。)

Professor Chou stated that contemporary China is invisible in most Chinese language textbooks. When they teach Chinese culture, they either use ancient Chinese culture to represent all Chinese culture or they overgeneralize Chinese culture. We should not highlight the differences between China and foreign countries.

There must be many colleagues, students, and teachers who come from Confucius Institutes here. When you go back you should seriously think about this and talk to your supervisors if you can't have the basic freedom of speech in your classroom, if you have to think about what topic is not allowed to be discussed. I believe that in Chinese language teaching, in modern Chinese language teaching, contemporary China is invisible. All teachers who come from Mainland China are incapable of dealing with issues about contemporary China. Yes. I use "incapable," which means they don't have the ability to deal with these issues. Once they encounter contemporary China, (their attitudes are like) "We cannot mention this; we cannot mention that; this is not allowed to be talked about; that is not convenient to discuss; this is a Chinese characteristic." We can't have soft power with this kind of attitude. With this attitude we cannot ask foreigners to identify with us. We should be thankful for foreigners who don't dislike us. (如果我想有很多的孔子学院的同事、同学老师在坐，回去我就应该认真的想一想，和你们的领导反映反映，如果连基本的言论自由都做不到，在你的课堂里面说任何一句话都要想到，这话不能说，这话我们是不讨论的。我觉得在我们汉语教学里面，现代汉语教学里面，当代中国是隐形的，所有的从中国大陆出来的老师，碰到当代中国的议题，是失能，我用失能这两个字，incapable。没有能力处理的问题，一碰到当代中国，这个不提，那个不提，这个不能说，这个不便讨论，这个是中国特色。所以都只能是一个这样的态度，在这样的态度底

下是不可能有权势的，在这样的态度底下是不可能让洋人对我们有任何认同的，洋人不对我们厌恶，就已经很不错了，你还想让洋人对我们认同，是做不到的，我觉得这一点是我们今天的这个讨论底下。)

What should we do to make our students, our friends, Americans have a feeling about China that comes from respect? We are compiling a newer version of *A New China*. One chapter's title is called "Dragon and Panda." I say Chinese people have two animals that can represent China. One is a dragon, which is an animal from legends. Nobody has ever seen a real dragon. But the dragon is a python with four legs, prominent eyes, and big, open mouth. It always makes threatening gestures and makes people frightened and terrified. But Chinese people use it as one of our symbols. I say rather than using dragon as the symbol of Chinese culture, can we consider using panda. Panda has Kung Fu, which can protect himself. It is also cute and this creates an affinity towards it. (所以我们要怎么样让我们的学生，让我们的朋友，让我们的美国人，这个情怀是来自于一种敬意。今年我们又在写一本更新的新的中国，其中有一课，我们三年级那个教本，课本，我的题目是叫做龙与熊猫。我说中国人有两个，一项来说代表中国的动物是龙，龙是一个传说中的动物，谁也没有看过真的龙，可是这个龙，眼睛突出，嘴巴张开是一条下面有四个脚的一条蟒蛇，看起来张牙舞爪，给人感觉是一种恐惧、可怕，可中国人拿这个来作为我们的一个象征。我说我们与其用龙来作为中国文化的象征，是不是我们考虑一下，我们能不能用熊猫来做。熊猫有他的熊猫功夫，他可以自卫，他有一种可爱，有一种与人可以亲和。)

I believe that when we talk about Chinese culture our official narrative always highlights the power of the dragon. And Confucius Institutes inevitably back it up. Or the Confucius Institutes avoid serious matters and take up trifles. They don't talk about contemporary China at all. When they teach Chinese culture, they either use ancient Chinese culture to represent all Chinese culture or they overgeneralize Chinese culture. Moreover, in these two processes, they focus on highlighting the differences between China and the foreign country. They neglect the fact that China and the foreign country share more similarities than trivial differences. Therefore, I believe we should not move in the direction of highlighting the differences among the similarities anymore. If you always highlight the trivial differences among the many similarities, you are highlighting China's backwardness and weirdness. Basically speaking, (you are highlighting) that we don't do anything that foreigners do. Or they use ancient Chinese culture to represent all Chinese culture. They teach paper-cutting, calligraphy, and tea ceremonies. None of these is performed by contemporary Chinese people. Foreigners can't see a real Chinese teahouse in Beijing or Shanghai. It's all Starbucks. It's much easier to drink Starbucks coffee than Chinese tea in Beijing and Shanghai. Can you find a so-called Chinese traditional teahouse to have a cup of tea in Beijing and Shanghai? I can't. Let alone foreigners. Therefore, I believe when

we talk about teaching culture we've already had some insights. (我觉得在今天讲到中国文化这个问题的时候，也许是一个从龙转向熊猫的一个过程，可是在我们现在官方的说法里面，还是始终在强调龙的张牙舞爪。然后孔子学院也就不免在中间吆喝打鼓，敲边鼓，这个是不是应该或者说，如果不是这么敲边鼓，就是比重就轻，对当代中国一概不提。所有的中国文化，所谓的中国文化。其实今天储诚志老师在谈的时候已经谈了一些，比较同意我多年的一个提法，就是我们讲中国文化实际上不是以古概今，就是以偏概全，就是这两个方向。而且在以古概今跟以偏概全的过程里面始终是同中求异。我们要尽可能的要找出洋人和我们不同，而完全忽略是在大同之中有些小异，没有什么不同。所以我的方向是说，我们不要再走同中求异的，你如果始终在大同之中强调他的小异，你是始终在强调中国的落后，在强调中国的怪异。你们洋人做的所有事情我不做，基本上就这样的。洋人一看种种就怎么回事，或者是以古概今。什么剪纸、书法、茶道，没有一样是当代中国人在做的。里面做的，动不动就来个什么茶文化，茶道文化。洋人到北京、上海一走，没有看到一家真正的中国茶店，全都是星巴克。你要在北京上海喝到星巴克的咖啡，比喝到中国的茶容易千万倍。你要在北京、上海，你要去一个带有所谓中国传统风味的一家茶艺馆去喝一杯茶，你喝得到吗？我喝不到，那更不要说洋人。所以我想这个是我们谈文化议题的时候，已经有了一些，开始有反思的能力。)

Professor Chou stated that everyone loves his or her country. But loving the motherland is not the same as loving the Party. It is quite an art determining how to express our patriotism in the classroom.

In order to teach Chinese well, you and I have to have a certain Chinese feeling. This Chinese feeling is not support of the "Party-State," especially not support of the Party. They are different. Once you support the Party, your Chinese feeling becomes inferior. Chinese feeling should be a remarkable emotional attachment to Chinese language, to the inherent Chinese culture. (就是我们要把中文教好，你我要有一种中国情怀，这个中国情怀不是对党国的支持，尤其不是对党的支持，这两回事。你一旦有了对党的支持，你的中国情怀常常就低了，中国情怀是说我们中国的语言，对中国固有的文化，有一种依恋，有一种不能割舍，尤其是语言这方面。)

Professor Mu from Yale University shared an article, "Why Steve stops learning Chinese," which he wrote ten years ago. The article tells a true story about a Yale student who stops learning Chinese after his Chinese teacher asked him to sing

A Great China, which is a song that rhapsodizes about how great Chinese culture is.

Professor Chou commented on Professor Mu's speech that,

We have to be able to distinguish what is propaganda, what is country, and what is the Party. When you introduce China to foreigners you have to be able to distinguish the country and the Party. I am Chinese. There is no doubt that we should be proud of that. As for the other one (being a member of the Communist Party), I am not sure about it. If the Party has done something ruthless, we have to talk about it. However, all teachers from China believe that we should cover these ruthless things up. Like covering them up is good for the country. It is not. Covering up all the crimes that the Communist Party has committed, such as the Cultural Revolution, hurts China the most. It makes people think that intellectuals from China are cowardly and incompetent. It is a problem that affects our teachers in all aspects. We have to be able to deal with this problem, at least overseas. We can do it overseas, but (why do you feel) you still cannot do it? I think it is more acceptable that I use the word "feeling." This term is quite neutral. I didn't say that we have to love the motherland. Of course, everyone loves his or her country. You can't not love your motherland, right? How to express our patriotism in classroom is quite an art. (就是我们要能够分辨什么是宣传, 我们要分辨什么是国家, 什么是党。我们要宣传这两个优势, 分开。你单跟洋人介绍中国的时候, 你必须能够分开党国是不同的故事, 我是中国人, 这个东西我们当然觉得自豪, 毫无疑问。另外一个不一定, 如果他曾经做过伤天害理的事, 得把伤天害理的事说出来, 可是所有从中国来的老师, 都觉得这个伤天害理是一定给掩着, 好像掩着就对得起国家, 你掩着是对不起国家了。文革把所有共产党的罪恶都掩藏起来, 那是对中国最有力的伤害。让人家觉得, 中国出来高级知识分子就懦弱无能到这种程度, 我觉得我们老师处处都显示出这一方面的问题来。在这一点上我们必须能够在海外, 至少在海外我们要能够做到, 海外已经有可以做到, 可你还做不到。那么我觉得我用情怀这两个字应该比较容易接受, 因为它是一个中性的一个字。我并没有说我们要热爱祖国, 这个热爱, 当我们都热爱祖国, 祖国你不可能不热爱, 是不是? 你不可能热爱, 可是你怎么样来表示你的热爱的时候, 而不让学生反感这一点, 这个是很有一些讲究的。)

If we, Chinese language teachers, show a special prudence, show a special fear and trembling on these issues when we are facing American students, this kind of attitude could only harm our Party-State. What kind of horrible regime can produce that kind of fear and trembling? My attitude is very helpful to the Communist Party. You can even talk about (sensitive topics) like this in Beijing. (Students will think) the Communist Party is not that terrible. (如果我们在面对美国学生的时候, 我们一个中国老师在面对美国

学生的时候，在这些议题上显现出来的一种特别的谨慎，特别的一种恐惧战栗，这样的态度对我们的党国是只有害处，那种恐惧战栗，这是怎么可怕的一个政权，我的这样一个态度，对共产党是有大帮助的。居然到了北京还可以这样说，共产党并没有这么严厉。)

I asked Professor Chou a question about the differences between the English preface and the Chinese preface of *A New China*.

I have a question I want to ask Professor Chou. Why does the English preface of *A New China* not contain the two sentences that exist in the Chinese preface? The Chinese preface said “compared with previous textbook this textbook contains more sympathetic understanding and has fewer criticisms.” (我刚才还有一个问题，就是李老师的说与不说，知道与不知道，谨慎的问题，其实我还有一个问题想问一下周老师，周老师《新的中国》的前言，有多少人看过他的叙言，他的中文叙言和英文叙言是完全一样的，但是英文叙言里面删掉了两句话。中文叙言里面说“跟以前的这本教材比，我的这本教材多了一些同情和理解，少了一些批评”，我当时只是自己做研究好奇，后来他在英文的叙言没有这两句话。所以，周老师?)

Professor Chou stated that these textbooks reflect the changes of his understanding of China and China's changes.

I really appreciate Ye Tian for this; I have known him for many years. At the end Ye Tian carefully read our textbook. Indeed, he points out the process of my personal perception and understandings of China. There are two versions of my book *A Trip to China*. Before that, there was one called *Intermediate Reader*. I named it *Intermediate Reader of Modern Chinese*, which was our first textbook. One of the lessons in the textbook is called *Arriving in Beijing*. At that time, Chinese passengers smoked on the plane. An American passenger did not smoke and criticized (people who smoked). He complained that the cigarettes made him cough; (However,) the Chinese passenger said: “I would feel uncomfortable if I didn't smoke.” After arriving in Beijing, the taxi driver took a long way round and overpriced the fare on purpose. The driver even asked for a gratuity before the American guy got out of the car. The driver said: “We have already become a capitalist (society).” When he wanted to check in at the hotel, the hotel had the wrong record of his name. At the end, there were very big cockroaches in the hotel room. He asked the hotel service staff to come. He said: “Look! Why are there such big cockroaches in your hotel?!” The hotel service staff said: “China does not have big cockroaches like these. You must have brought them here from

overseas.” Then the foreigner was so angry; he was almost faint. Of course, at the end, the foreigner said something, which is the one and only instance of swearing [or cursing] . . . in all Chinese language textbooks so far: “What fucking bad luck!” This is my earliest understanding of Beijing. Here is my own experience in Beijing. I asked the hotel to change the quilt covers and towels, because they had not been changed yet. (The hotel service staff talked back: “Do you change (the quilt cover and towel) everyday at home?” (这个我很感激田野，我跟田野也认识多年了。田野到最后仔细的看我们的这个教科书，是指出了一个我个人对中国认识理解的一个过程。我的《华夏行》还有两个不同的版本，在这个之前还有一本叫做《中级读本》，我在这里面就叫做 *Intermediate Reader of Modern Chinese*，是我们的第一本，我在里面有一课叫做到了北京。当时中国乘客在飞机上都抽烟，美国人都在飞机上批评不抽烟，他说你抽烟我咳嗽。中国乘客说，那我不抽烟我也很难过呀。然后接下来到了北京以后，对那个出租车司机就乱骗乱拐以后，下了车以后，司机还要跟他要小费，那个司机就说我们现在是已经进入到资本主义了，他到了旅馆去入住的时候，旅馆把他的名字也弄错了，最后是旅馆里头有很大的蟑螂，他就把服务员叫过来，你看怎么旅馆里有这么大的蟑螂，那个旅馆服务员说，中国哪有这么大的蟑螂，你一定从国外带来的吧，然后那个洋人气得，都气晕了。当然最后说了一句，到现在为止，是所有中国教科书里面唯一的一本，真他妈的倒霉，这是我最早对到了北京的了解，到了北京也是我自己亲历，那么旅馆叫他换，我们这个被套毛巾都没换过，你在家里天天换吗？)

You guys have never experienced these things, so (these things) are my own experience. You talked about *A Trip to China*; it was my intermediate stage. When it came to *A New China*, I was ready to join the Communist Party (joke). Yes, such change exists. It is a joke. However, I think, talking about the changes in China, later I feel it makes sense that if you always compare China with the West or with foreign countries, China is still very unbearable in many areas. Therefore, you must compare ancient China with today's China—compare and contrast China in the past thirty years, then China does a great job. One of our new textbooks, the new textbook mentions the high-speed railway (in China). I think things like the high-speed railway should be introduced. We have a lesson that exclusively describes the high-speed railway. Another lesson is, on one hand I introduce the high-speed railway; on the other hand, we have a lesson called *Flies vs. Tigers*—slap the flies and kill the tigers. I feel the issue is, if you eliminate corruption by only slapping flies and killing tigers, the more slaps, the more flies; the more killings, the stronger the tigers will be. (To solve this problem,) we should have (and rely on) the mass media resources. I think when introducing China, there are some things (we should introduce but we did not). That is why I have said contemporary China is invisible. We did not introduce what we should

introduce, such as China's household registration and the rural migrant workers in cities, which we should have introduced but we have not. (不过我觉得在中国谈中国改变的时候，这个有一点是开玩笑的，有一点在中国你要把一本教科书，后来我自己慢慢的，也觉得其中有他的道理，说你如果永远是做中西的比较，或中外的比较，那中国还是比较不堪，很多地方，所以你一定要做古今的比较，做三十年来的比较，那么中国是可圈可点。我们现在新的一个教科书，我们的新教科书说有高铁，我觉得像高铁应该介绍，我们专门有一课写高铁。我们还有一课是，可是一方面我介绍高铁，一方面我们也有一课叫做苍蝇与老虎，拍苍蝇跟打老虎。我觉得这个问题，如果你监督贪污只能靠拍苍蝇打老虎，苍蝇越拍越多，老虎越打越大，这个我们必须要有媒体的资源。我觉得在介绍中国的时候，有一些东西，就是我说的为什么对当代中国，为什么当代中国隐形了，我们该介绍不介绍，像中国的户籍制度，农民工的问题，该着重介绍的都不介绍。)

That is, instead of saying that I calmed down, I would rather say China has made progress. Many of my criticisms towards certain social phenomena in China gradually disappeared. (If your book stays the same) others who read your book would think it does not reflect a real China. I feel that such changes are because of the changes in China, so I also changed. This is the fact. (这个与其说是我平和了，不如说是中国进步了。就我对很多对中国社会现象的批评，慢慢就没有了，你这个书人家看了以后，就不反映一个真实的中国了，我觉得改变是因为中国改变了所以我才跟着改变了，这个是事实。)

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