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Stories of Self and Other: Four In-Service Social Studies Teachers Reflect on Their
International Professional Development

Timothy Patterson

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
under the Executive Committee
of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2013

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ABSTRACT

Stories of Self and Other: Four In-Service Social Studies Teachers Reflect on Their International Professional Development

Timothy Patterson

This study is an examination of the stories four social studies teachers told after participating in one international professional development program. Drawing on theories of postcolonialism, this narrative inquiry uses interviews, observations, and artifacts to investigate if and to what degree travel to and study in China influences the understandings of one group of in-service social studies teachers. Its focus is the extent to which meeting the Other influenced the participants' conceptualizations of global education and whether or not this experience allowed one group of American teachers to challenge their perceptual lenses with regards to their social studies curricula. An ethnographic understanding of the contexts in which these teachers learn about Chinese history and culture supports the analyses of their narratives.

The participants' narratives indicate that a variety of elements of the study tour reinforced the notion that they were innocent observers of China. With few exceptions, they failed to locate themselves within the phenomenon of globalization, particularly in their examinations of the impact of Westernization in China. Rather than influencing their interpretations of the content of their curricula, the study tour appeared to enhance the understandings about Chinese history and culture that each participant brought to the experience. The structure of the tour, which the participants referred to as "the bubble," may account for these limited effects.

The narratives created in this study suggest that traveling to China through this study tour was one life experience among many, though their immediate retellings implied an embellished conceptualization of what it meant to travel abroad. While all four participants spoke with great enthusiasm and passion about the far-reaching effects that their participation has had on them as both teachers and individuals, articulating those effects proved problematic. Rather, the perceptual lens that each participant brought with him or her to this experience was the most significant factor in determining the perceived results of the study tour. The participants also expressed increased enthusiasm for teaching about global topics, with all four participants claiming their participation in the study tour strengthened their desire to develop both the perceptual and substantive dimensions of their students' global perspectives.

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DEDICATION

For my grandparents: Dorothy, Ray, Barbara, and Bill

As the Scottish proverb says, “A good tale never tires in the telling”

I. INTRODUCTION

Social studies professional organizations have asserted the need for elements of global education in social studies classrooms. In 2001, the National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) argued that both global education and international education are “imperative to develop the skills, knowledge, and attitudes needed for responsible participation in a democratic society and in a global community in the twenty-first century.” Noting the different foci of international and global education, NCSS contended that social studies ought to be taught through world-centered curricula that reflect the complex global interactions of the world system, rather than a nationalistic view of the world. The organization also pushed for students to be engaged citizens in a global community, and that a “social studies curriculum should help develop the understanding, skills, and attitudes needed to respond effectively and responsibly to world events” (2001). More recently, the revised NCSS national curriculum standards for the social studies (2010) also reflect this push towards inclusion of global education in the social studies. Of the ten thematic strands, three directly address concerns of global education curricular theorists. Strand nine, Global Connections, acknowledges that the “realities of global interdependence require an understanding of the increasingly important and diverse global connections among world societies. This theme prepares students to study issues arising from globalization” (2010).

Topics within the social studies cater most directly to a global education. For example, national standards for geography education often emphasize the role geography plays in allowing students to examine the world as a system and the global interconnectedness of cultures (Natoli, 1994). Likewise, the Bradley Commission argued that global history is an essential component

of history education in American schools (Dunn, 1991), while Kniep (1989) has suggested that the study of global history within the social studies effectively supports a holistic approach to global education. There is some hope that the commitment of social studies professional organizations to global education has contributed to the growing popularity of global history at the expense of traditional Western Civilization courses (Zong, Wilson, & Quashigah, 2008). In addition, topics in economics, sociology, anthropology, the humanities, and religious studies all demonstrate the link between the social studies and global education.

Problem Statement

Despite the unwavering support for global education by NCSS, the challenge for teacher educators appears to be encouraging social studies teachers to fulfill this goal. Becker, in writing on the history of global education and the social studies, insists, “If adequacy is to be judged by where we stood a few decades ago and where we have come since then, we can point to considerable progress both in new programs and materials of instruction” (2002, p. 56). However, global education appears to have had only had a limited impact on enacted social studies curricula, and remains overshadowed by traditional history and the social sciences in the United States. The standards movement of the 1970s and 1980s brought about a revival of the “history and the disciplines” approach to the social studies (Evans, 2004), which emphasized content acquisition over social critique, marginalizing themes like global education in favor of national history. Hicks (2003) argues that conservative politicians have worked against the inclusion of global education in school curricula: “World studies, along with initiatives such as peace education and multicultural education, increasingly found themselves under attack by the political right which saw these concerns as forms of indoctrination” (p. 268).

Regardless of the inability of professional organizations and teacher educators to make significant in-roads in American schools with regards to global education, social studies teachers have a variety of professional development opportunities in this field available to them (van Hover, 2008). University-school partnerships offer the possibility of networking with other professionals in order to share resources, lesson ideas, activities, and professional support. Research has suggested that these programs increase enthusiasm for teaching global education (Kirkwood-Tucker, 2004; Schweisfurth, 2006; Urso, 1991), though without administrative support the impacts of these programs are likely to be isolated to the participants themselves, without influencing institutional changes to mandated curricula (Boston, 1997; Gaudelli, 2006). In addition, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) offer inexpensive training on and access to communication technologies that allow social studies teachers to connect their students to classrooms around the world. One-off webinars through online discussion boards hold the potential to expand social studies teachers' content knowledge regarding topics relevant to global education.

Researchers and teacher education organizations have also argued that international experiences, particularly through study abroad opportunities, hold the potential to act as a powerful form of professional development with regards to global education for social studies teachers (American Association of Colleges for Teacher Education, 2003; Avery, 2004; Gaudelli, 2006; Merryfield, 2001; Merryfield & Kasai, 2010; Wilson, 1982, 1993c). The American Association for Colleges of Teacher Education (2003) found that teacher educators frequently cited study abroad programs as the most effective internationalization activity. Likewise, Wilson (1993c) argues:

International experiences can make a particularly powerful contribution to an individual's knowledge and perceptions of the world...international experience impacts both

substantive knowledge and perceptual understanding aspects of a global perspective and both personal growth and development of meaningful interpersonal relationships. (p. 21)

Merryfield and Kasai (2010) make similar recommendations, suggesting, “cross-cultural experiences overseas can help teachers learn about the world and return to recognize pejorative language, ethnocentrism, stereotypes, and other misinformation in their texts and other curricular materials” (p. 169).

Though calls for more global travel on the part of American teachers has grown louder in recent years (Association of International Educators, 2011), international travel is not a particularly new phenomenon for American educators. For example, in 1856, a contributor to *The North American Review* remarked: “Americans have a special call to travel. It is the peculiar privilege of their birth in the New World, that the Old World is left them to visit” (p. 33). Indeed, since the founding of the United States, Americans have traveled for a variety of reasons: tourism, business, military service, religious duty, and not least of all, education (Dulles, 1966). With American influence growing throughout the world during the twentieth century, so too did the number of American educators traveling abroad (Zimmerman, 2006). Some traveled as instructors, such as those that went to the Philippines at the turn of the century, working with the indigenous population in U.S.-sponsored schools. Others traveled as both instructors and students: Peace Corps volunteers went into the world with the mission of “helping promote a better understanding of Americans on the part of the peoples served” while also “helping promote a better understanding of other peoples on the part of Americans” (Peace Corps, 2010).

The earliest study tour to bring Americans abroad for the purpose of learning traveled in the 1880s out of Indiana University (Hoffa, 2000). Since this first organized experience, universities, NGOs, and awards such as the Fulbright Fellowship have continued to provide educational experiences abroad. For social studies teachers, there are a variety of international

professional development opportunities: Fulbright-Hays Summer Seminar, Keizai Koho Fellowship Tour, Toyota International Teacher Program, and the Korea Society Summer Fellowship for American Educators are just a handful of offerings that send American social studies teachers overseas to further develop their content knowledge and teaching of global topics. Several researchers have concluded that these types of international experiences positively impact social studies teachers' approaches to global education (Germain, 1998; Kirkwood, 2002; Merryfield, 2000; Willard-Holt, 2001).

However, electronic communication technologies and globalization pose challenges to the power of international experiences (see Chapter II), challenges unacknowledged in these studies. Perhaps the most troubling implication for international professional development of social studies educators with regards to global education is the rarely explored potential for such experiences to reinforce divisions such as self and Other, First and Third World, and East and West (Willinsky, 1998). Regardless, NGOs continue to tout the beneficial outcomes for educators who engage in international professional development (Feinberg, 2002). Thus a discrepancy remains between the intended gains of international professional development for social studies teachers and the challenges to the educational aspects of studying abroad.

Research Questions

This narrative inquiry (Chase, 2011) is an attempt to consider the professional development of four in-service social studies teachers who participated in one international experience. It examines the stories these teachers told as they discussed their conceptualizations of global education and interpretations of social studies content in light of their travel to China for the purpose of learning about Chinese history and culture. While much has been written about the impact of international training on pre-service educators (see Kambutu & Nganga,

2008; Malewski and Phillion, 2009; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Sahin, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001), very little research exists on the impact of such experiences on practicing educators, save for the analysis of narratives about said experiences typically written well after-the-fact. In addition, what research does exist on this topic rarely attends to the role culture, power, and positionality (Said, 1993) play during the transnational experience. Informed by theories of postcolonialism, this inquiry aims to document and analyze the narratives of four social studies teachers, created in response to their travel to a nation traditionally marginalized in social studies curricula through the following question:

- What meanings do four social studies teachers create as a result of their participation in international professional development in China?

The subsidiary questions include:


- In what ways does participation in one study abroad tour create or not create spaces for four in-service social studies teachers to challenge their perceptual stances toward their curricula?
- In what ways does this program influence or not influence the conceptualizations of global education of in-service social studies teachers, and if so, in what ways?

Theoretical Framework: Travel as Construction of Self and Other

The lens employed by this investigation draws on theories of postcolonialism (Blaut, 1993; Said, 1993; wa Thiong'o, 1993; Willinsky, 1998) and *reflexive interplay*, a related theory of narrative inquiry (Chase, 2011; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Miller, 2005; Riessman, 2008). This framework attempts to reconceptualize both the act of learning in international contexts and the methods teachers use to talk about such experiences in light of postcolonial critiques of this phenomenon (see Table 1 for an overview of the theoretical framework employed by this study).

Previous studies of the impact of international experience and social studies education have tended to treat border-crossings as innocuous occurrences, ignoring or downplaying the part the legacy of imperialism plays in framing such interactions (Talbur, 2009). However, the lens employed by this study reveals the ways in which travelers and the places traveled to are not disconnected, but rather intertwined in a web of power and culture shaped by the imperial project (Kaplan, 1996).

Table 1. Theoretical Framework: Travel as Construction of Self and Other



<p>Theories of Postcolonialism (Blaut, 1993; Said, 1993; Willinsky, 1998)</p> <p>•Informs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Research questions •Interview protocol (Seidman, 2006) •Observations of learning abroad (Merryfield, 2001)
<p>Reflexive Interplay (Chase, 2011; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Riessman, 2008)</p> <p>•Informs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> •Data collection methods (observations and interviews) that emphasize the interrelated nature of context and narrative retellings (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009) •Thematic and structural narrative analyses (Riessman, 2008)

Theories of Postcolonialism

This study draws from the work of a number of theorists who are concerned with the lasting impact of imperialism on the world. Taken together, these writers are commonly described as postcolonial theorists (Dayal, 1996). I have avoided describing the lens of this study explicitly as “postcolonial theory,” as this implies an agreed upon pool of literature that neatly represents all thought concerned with postcolony. Rather, I have built a lens using literature that considers representations of the self and Other, particularly as those representations converge on

international travel and the social studies curriculum, in order to guide my conceptualization of the transnational experience in this study.

Broadly, the lens of this study takes as its starting point Willinsky's (1998) argument that, "We are schooled in differences great and small, in borderlines and boundaries, in historical struggles and exotic practices, all of which extend the meaning of difference" (p. 1). As a result, theories of postcolonialism aim to reveal the ways in which imperialism continues to divide the world between East and West, or exotic and familiar, and to make spaces for marginalized voices within the discourses of a variety of disciplines (Crossely & Tikly, 2004). In addition, a postcolonial lens challenges this strict binary of colonizer and colonized by exploring the imbalances of power that characterize relationships between groups within these broader categories (Fanon, 1963; Rizvi, Lingard, & Lavia, 2006). This challenge is rooted in the notion of hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), which acknowledges that imperialism has perpetuated monolithic categories like self and Other, while denying the complex connections that characterize the tangled web of globalization.

What is at stake is the issue of representation, and how imperialism provides the prevailing way of coming to see the world in U.S. education. Willinsky (1998) argues that imperial habits of mind continue to dominate education in North American schools because "imperialism was bent on taking a knowing possession of the world, on setting that world on public display for the edification of the West, and on developing the principal forms of schooling that might serve both colonial state and colonized native" (p. 19). wa Thiong'o (1993) notes that courses on African and Asian history and literature are often positioned outside the mainstream in American and European schools, while the Western canon remains the centerpiece of academic instruction and research. Reflecting this positioning, Blaut (1993) calls this belief that

the West is the hub of all knowledge production “Eurocentric diffusionism.” The work of postcolonial theorists is an attempt to de-center these representations of Africa, Asia, and the Middle East in Western academic circles.

This study makes use of postcolonial theories for three broad reasons. Chiefly, previous studies of international travel and social studies education have rarely acknowledged the power-laden nature of the transnational experiences being examined. However, Willinsky (1998) notes that learning through travel, particularly when colonizers travel to colonized and decolonized nations, represents “perhaps the busiest of intersections between education and imperialism” (p. 78). Willinsky argues that the assumption that the traveler can know oneself and the Other by crossing the border between East and West is another “assertion of domination” (p. 78). The traveler, acting as a disinterested observer of the space traveled to (and the people within that space), denies the actuality that both groups are implicated by the legacy of imperialism.

Rather, the lens taken up by this study makes plain the associated nature of the relationship between traveler and travelee. Pratt (2008) argues this notion:

A ‘contact’ perspective emphasizes how subjects get constituted in and by their relations to each other. It treats the relations among colonizers and colonized, or travelers and ‘travelees,’ not in terms of separateness, but in terms of co-presence, interaction, interlocking understandings and practices, and often within radically asymmetrical relations of power. (p. 8)

Thus, the assumption that travel is an innocent venture reinforces the colonial framework of knowing and relating to the world. A postcolonial lens challenges this assumption of unconnected observation on the part of travelers, and allows for an inquiry into the implication of traveler and travelee, and the knowledge travelers create as a result of this interaction.

The very format of study abroad experiences tends to reify the notion of unconcerned observation. Studying abroad is typically presented by both publications that serve students

traveling internationally and organizations that provide individuals with such experiences as a nation-centered enterprise; participants travel to and live within another nation, while leaving their home nation behind. For example, Peterson's 2008 *Study Abroad* guide is organized according to nation traveled to, as opposed to the college major or career goals that would be best served by those particular programs. Applying for passports and visas, transferring currency, and other actions associated with traveling abroad reinforce the importance of the nation-state as an organizing principle of the modern world.

This principle is also evident historically in the attitudes of teachers who have worked over seas during the twentieth century (Zimmerman, 2006, p.11). Though often taken for granted, nation-states have not always been the concept by which the world has been divided. Indeed, nation-states are "imagined communities," socially constructed and bound together through the perception of community by citizens of a nation (Anderson, 1991). The concept of a nation is connected to mythologies of space and territoriality, which are buttressed by holidays, national anthems, monuments, and cultural rituals (Hobsbawm, 1994). Too often, each nation a participant ventures to is assumed to be a distinct territory: studying in China is not like studying in India, Italy, Argentina, or any other nation. Implicit within this view of study abroad is the notion that every nation represents a homogeneous entity. This, however, is a reductionist and overly simplistic view of the diversity that every nation contains. Rather, the potential for a transformative international experience lies within every nation's contact zones, where travelers are able to explore the heterogeneity of a foreign country, instead of just the cultural centers that reinforce Orientalist understandings of other nations.

Secondly, postcolonial theories are particularly useful for examining American educators' understandings of the host nation China. Presumably, the host nation provides the

content of study abroad professional development programs. However, travelers bring with them preconceived notions about the culture and history of their destinations. Said (1978) argues that as a result of imperial conquest, and subsequent representations of “the East,” an image is constructed in the West of nations and people in the East as antithetical to the West. Thus East and West stand as binary opposites, in constant contrast. Said calls this discourse about the East in the West *Orientalism*, “[a] Western style for dominating, restructuring, and having authority over the Orient” (1978, p. 3). The lens of this study brings with it an awareness of the limits imposed by the Orientalist understandings of the world for the participants and the researcher, as well as a hope that such awareness can ultimately challenge the East/West divide that characterizes discourses on China.

Furthermore, the case of Chinese history represents one example of the ongoing legacy of imperialism in education (Blaut, 1993; Said, 1978; Willinsky, 1998). While China was not formally colonized by the Western powers, it was the site of imperial aggression through the looting of Chinese cultural sites (Balachandran, 2007; Merewether, 2003), subsequent division into spheres of influence by the industrial powers, and exploitation by the United States through its Open Door policy (Williams, 1972). Important for the lens employed by this study, China continues to be either a source of othering, an object of exotic fascination, or outright ignored in Western historiography and learning (Said, 1978). For example, Blaut (1993) argues that despite evidence of great contributions to European technology and exploration, China’s progressiveness in medieval history has been consistently ignored by Western academics because it challenges the Eurocentric model of the world (p. 115-119). These glaring omissions of China from segments of world history has been worked into social studies textbooks and curricula “for no

other apparent reason than to bolster the great divide” between East and West (Willinsky, 1998, p. 250).

Finally, postcolonial theories open the possibility for moving “the center of global education from institutionalized divisions of people and ideas to the complexity of the interaction and syncretism of the global human experience” (Merryfield, 2001, p. 181-182). The lens utilized by this study is situated at the still developing intersection of postcolonial theory and social studies education (Segall, 2004). Merryfield recommends a decolonization of social studies curricula through three pedagogical processes. For one, she recommends an investigation of how mainstream academic knowledge is shaped by the legacy of imperialism. Second, Merryfield argues for an understanding of the worldviews of people whose voices are traditionally marginalized in mainstream academic knowledge through contrapuntal readings of world history and literature. Said (1993) defines the act of contrapuntal reading as being simultaneously aware

Table 2. Moving the Center of the Social Studies Curriculum

Merryfield (2001)
Analysis of the legacy of imperialism <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Understanding of how the imperial project shaped Western constructions of knowledge about the world • Examination of the continuing impact of imperialism on content knowledge • Deconstruction of portrayals of “the Other” • Analysis of power-laden divisions such as First/Third Worlds, industrialized/developing nations, Occident/Orient, and West/East
Understanding the worldviews of people underrepresented in mainstream academic knowledge <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Developing a double consciousness • Synthesizing differences through contrapuntal literature and histories • Developing an awareness of how oppressors force their worldviews on oppressed people’s lives • Analyzing content knowledge traditionally ignored or marginalized in the mainstream academic learning
Reflective cross-cultural experiential learning <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Considerations of how power influences cross-cultural experiences • Experiencing some level of cultural shock as a result of cross-cultural interactions • Reflecting on lived-experiences • Writing about cross-cultural lived-experiences

“of the metropolitan history that is narrated and those other histories against which (and together with which) the dominating discourse acts” (p. 51). Third, Merryfield recommends an engagement in sustained and reflective cross-cultural experiences.

These theories of postcolonialism, and their relationship to international travel, the study and learning about China, and social studies education, inform the theoretical lens of this study. At a basic level, this lens informs the research questions, as well as my intellectual position towards social studies research and the nature of international travel.

Reflexive Interplay

This study also employs an understanding of narrative inquiry built off of the critiques of postcolonial theorists called reflexive interplay (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Miller (2005) argues that conventional narrative methods are concerned with the *what* of the narrative, leaving *how* the narrative is produced unexamined:

Many of us are grounded in a notion of ‘experience’ that fails to interrogate how our notions of meaningful experience too are socially and discursively produced, even as we also recognize that there are human experiences outside discursive narratives – sensory images and events, feelings, desires. A Western, humanist notion of experience does not conceive of individuals as subjects constituted through experience, nor does it consider how we know ourselves through discursive regimes, regimes that serve as (changing) cultural registers for what counts as experience and who counts as an experiencing subject.” (p. 52)

The literature on international experiences is informed primarily by a restricting notion of what a story is, and how it can be used to understand the human experience (see Chapter II). In the case of research on international experience, narratives are analyzed for the content of the participants’ stories, with the assumption that what is told in said stories is an accurate and authentic portrayal of past events, and more importantly that the meaning of those events is easily gleaned therein.

The approach to narrative inquiry utilized in this study recognizes that experience is already an interpretation. As historian Joan Scott notes: “Experience is at once always already an interpretation *and* something that needs to be interpreted. What counts as experience is neither self-evident nor straightforward; it is always contested, and always therefore political” (1991, p. 797). In examining the narratives of educators who have traveled internationally it is easy to overlook that these participants have made choices about what to recall and what to ignore, effectively also making decisions about what aspects of a trip are important and what are unimportant.

Presumably interacting with and living within another culture is an important reason why educators would take the time and spend the resources on traveling abroad. If the trip really were just about “seeing the sites” one must question the educational possibilities of such study abroad opportunities. However, the cross-cultural experience of international travel is often listed among the chief advantages of studying abroad (Cushner & Mahon, 2002; Quezada, 2005). Yet the culture being crossed with is often only on the peripheral of these narrative studies, othered by both participant and researcher. Perhaps this reflects a fundamental deficiency in study abroad programs, that they may only offer a one-way cultural exchange. This, however, may also reflect the framing of narrative inquiries into international experience.

As a result, this study intends to employ an understanding of narrative inquiry that attends to these deficiencies. More recently, narrative theorists have suggested that narrative identities are never fixed, but always in flux, difficult to access, and never totally knowable. In addition, these theorists have suggested that language is a similarly unstable system of codes that complicates the ability to truly know the meaning of texts. Methods proposed by these theorists

hold the potential to derive, as well as challenge discursive constructions of, meaning from the stories of well-traveled educators through various interpretative frames.

Significance

The significance of this study is tied to the growing popularity of international travel as an educational experience, and its “symbolic place in many universities’ and colleges’ new commitments to preparing students for life in an increasingly globalized world” (Dolby, 2004, p. 153). A recent Association of International Educators survey found that a majority of Americans believe that international education, and particularly study abroad programs, are essential components of a schooling that prepares future citizens for the realities of the 21st century (2011). Though couched in narrow terms of competition in the global marketplace, Americans appear to share a faith that international experiences provide positive and enduring lessons that could not be learned by remaining in the U.S.

This expectation is reflected in the growing number of Americans that are taking advantage of overseas learning experiences. Since 1961 nearly 200,000 Americans have taught and worked in 139 nations through the Peace Corps (Peace Corps, 2010). Additionally, a 2009 Open Doors survey conducted by the Institute of International Education found that the number of American students who studied abroad was 262,416, an increase of 8.5 percent from the 2007 to the 2008 academic years. The survey also revealed that American college students are seeking out nontraditional destinations, such as China, Japan, India, South Africa, and Argentina (Institute of International Education, 2009).

Most significantly, this study may reveal possible pathways towards decolonizing understandings of topics within the social studies curriculum through international professional development. It has been argued that international experiences hold the potential to de-center

American teachers' privileging of the United States in social studies curricula (Merryfield, 2000; Wilson, 1998). As a result, it cannot be understated the potential held by programs such as the National Consortium for the Teaching about Asia and Asia Society to significantly shape the understandings American teachers have of Chinese culture and history. China is often regarded as the chief economic and military competitor to the United States. As a result the Chinese nation and people are consistently portrayed as the Other in American political campaigns and pop culture (Masalski & Levy, 2010). The lens of this study may reveal the extent to which this professional development program does or does not attend to this issue of continued colonization of the Western imagination (Willinsky, 1998).

In addition, international experience may hold the potential to attend to concerns over the increased diversity of American classrooms (Banks & Nguyen, 2008), yet the continuing homogeneity of the American teaching population (Howard, 2010). Studies have found that 90 percent of teacher education candidates are white, European-Americans, while two-thirds are females. In addition, 70 percent of white teacher education candidates report spending free time with peers of similar racial and ethnic backgrounds. Fewer than 10 percent claim fluency in any second language. A majority of pre-service teacher candidates live within 100 miles of where they were born, and most hope to teach in areas similar to where they are from (Boyle-Baise, 2002; Cushner, 2004; Zimpher, 1989). This increasing disparity between the teacher and student populations is troublesome, and may represent a form of educational colonization (Asher, 2003; Pinar, 2006).

Intended Audience

While the promise of international experience as a challenge to these disparities appears significant, researchers have contributed little to a theory of how international experiences are

educative. Thus the primary intended audience for this study is the scholarly community, particularly researchers interested in the professional development of social studies teachers with regards to global education. As is noted in the literature in the following chapter, the current pool of studies of international experiences as tool for teacher development is limited: case studies of social studies educators who have had international experiences (Germain, 1998; Kirkwood, 2002; Merryfield, 2000; Wilson, 1993a) or self-studies of international student teaching programs by teacher educators (Kambutu & Nganga, 2008; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001) constitute the bulk of this literature. Researchers have only in limited ways inquired about the impact of international experiences on practicing teachers ethnographically, choosing to rely on narratives constructed after their experiences.

As a result, the methods utilized in this study were chosen to broaden the still developing research on professional development and global education (van Hover, 2008) by providing significant insights into teachers' understandings and conceptualizations of marginalized topics in the social studies curriculum, as they learn abroad. I expect that this narrative inquiry, supported by ethnographic observations, will provide researchers concerned with professional development of social studies teachers empirical observations into the process by which teachers learn (or do not learn) through international border-crossings. This study may validate the contentions of previous researchers who have argued that professional development programs concerned with effective global education would benefit from cross-cultural experiential learning (Merryfield, 1997; Wilson, 1997).

To a lesser extent, this study is also intended to benefit practitioners of international professional development programs by providing a rich understanding of how one group of American teachers interpret Chinese historical and cultural sites. Though the results of this study

are not directly transferable, the findings may allow organizations that aim to provide American students with more complete understandings of Chinese culture and history to better craft programs for American educators. Designers of both international pre-service and professional development programs will benefit from a thorough inquiry into the mechanisms that potentially make international travel educational by a program already in use. As a result, I hope that this study will contribute to the discussion among planners of international professional development programs on best practices within the field.

Chapter Summary

This chapter opened by describing the accepted wisdom of international experiences in meeting the challenges of preparing social studies teachers to teach for global education. This study aims to explore this phenomenon through an examination of the meanings four social studies teachers create as a result of their participation in international professional development in China, as well as my interpretations of those meanings. Implicit within this research question is an analysis of how the participants' perceptual understandings are influenced by their learning abroad (if at all), particularly as those understandings relate to global education. The theoretical framework that guides this study is a conceptualization of travel as a site of construction of self and Other by making use of theories of postcolonialism. Central to this framing is the notion of contact zone learning during the international experience, and an exploration of the neocolonial gaze (Todd, 1992) that the participants bring to this experience. As a result, this framework also reconsiders the notion of storytelling through narrative frames that acknowledges the significance of both the participants' complex perceptual lenses, in part constructed in and through dominant Western discourses, and the narrative contexts in the reconstruction of

experiences. Finally the significance of this study is related to the growing importance of international experiences as a form of education for both students and teachers.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review attempts to conceptualize what the current body of studies indicates about the impact of international experience on educators. Because the bulk of the studies on international experience use an intervention model, the literature review begins by presenting what researchers identify as the perceived outcomes of international travel. It then positions these studies within a larger research tradition by summarizing conceptions of a global perspective and the current literature regarding global education and professional development for in-service social studies educators. This is followed by a critique of global education in light of theories of postcolonialism, as well as a summary of the challenges to the anticipated outcomes of international experiences. The findings of this literature review show that scant attention is paid to issues raised by postcolonial theorists in the study of international experiences. Those studies that do attend to postcolonial critiques demonstrate the need for further in-depth investigations that integrate the ways the remnants of imperialism shape such experiences. In addition, an examination of the narrow conceptualizations of narrative inquiry employed in this literature reveals the need for future studies that attend to the contexts in which participants' stories are told as well as interrogated.

Outcomes Related to International Experiences

While this study is broadly situated within the global education, the social studies, and professional development, it most directly overlaps with the small but growing (Zong et al., 2008) literature on the impact of international experiences on both pre-service and in-service teachers. As such, this literature begins by focusing on the specific outcomes most commonly identified by researchers as associated with such experiences.

Cross-Cultural Awareness and Multicultural Education

The most frequently cited outcome of international experiences for educators is increased cross-cultural awareness and skills associated with teaching multicultural education. At least 10 studies reviewed noted that border-crossings accompanied some sense of otherness, allowing participants to achieve a greater sense of empathy than had they not left their home country (Germain, 1998; Kambutu & Nganga, 2008; Merryfield, 2000; Myers, 2001; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Quezada, 2004; Schlein, 2009; Willard-Holt, 2001; Wilson, 1982; Wilson, 1993c). For example, one study found that returned Peace Corps volunteers often use their cross-cultural experiences to help foreign students easily transition into U.S. classrooms. For Wilson's (1993b) participants, service in the Peace Corps most directly affected their relationships with their immigrant students. Wilson conducted an observation of one class and a one-hour interview with several returned Peace Corps volunteers. Wilson had the former Peace Corps volunteers focus on the most important moments of their service and how they relate their international teaching to their professional lives as educators. She concludes that the Peace Corps experience made these teachers acutely aware of difficulties their immigrant students might be having transitioning into American classrooms.

A key component of developing skilled multicultural educators through international experiences appears to be culture shock. Germain (1998) analyzed the ways in which international experience affects teachers' "cultural learning." Germain conducted interviews over the course of two years with six veteran teachers who described their life experiences before, during and after their international experiences. Germain argues through the personal narratives of these educators that their literal border-crossings constituted powerful learning experiences and contributed to their presentation of multicultural education. However, she asserts that this is

not a guaranteed outcome. Rather teachers must be prepared to “cross borders” Giroux (1992). This is done through self-reflection, a reflection Germain argues was inspired by the “culture shock” the teachers in this case study experienced when teaching overseas. Essentially she sees international experience as a form of “cultural therapy” that allows teachers to be more aware of their own biases. Germain argues that if an educators’ international experience is educative in the Deweyan (1938/1997) sense, “teachers will want to be as unbiased as is possible; they will question their own assumptions; they will pursue books and articles to put their first-hand knowledge into a broader context” (Germain, 1998, p. 3). She suggests that teachers who have reflected on their international experiences are better equipped to present global issues and address students across cultural and class lines.

Coming to similar conclusions at the university-level, Merryfield (2000) found in her study of 80 teacher educators recognized by their peers for their exceptional presentation of cross-cultural education that “the experience of living as an expatriate is frequently *the* lived experience that middle-class white teacher educators cite as turning points towards multicultural and global education” (p. 439). These lived experiences made these teacher educators aware of the multiple realities that exist in both their communities and the world. Merryfield utilizes van Manen’s (1990) conception of *retrospective meaning making*, whereby teacher educators reflected on experiences that they now see as meaningful, though they may not have had the same sense while they experienced these events. Merryfield found that most of the experiences involved culture shock and the feeling of “otherness” that accompanied interactions with people of substantially different identities.

Researchers have also concluded that even a brief trip during pre-service education can have lasting effects on teachers’ cross-cultural awareness. For example, Willard-Holt (2001)

found that the impact of a short-term international experience on preservice elementary teachers was significant. Willard-Holt performed an ethnographic study of 22 preservice educators from Pennsylvania who spent one week teaching at a bilingual school in Pachuca, Hidalgo, Mexico. She found, using analytic induction and the constant comparative method, that prior to their trip “preservice teachers’ comments reveal ethnocentric perceptions that methods, pedagogical training, and conditions are superior in the US” (Willard-Holt, 2001, p. 509). However, she concludes that a significant number of the preservice teachers integrated experiences from their short trip into their classroom pedagogy. Some of the long-term influences of a short-term international experience identified by Willard-Holt are: a propensity toward global education, a broadened perspective on the interrelatedness of the world, a sense of empathy towards minority students (all the participants were non-Hispanic whites), and a change in their outlook on life. Willard-Holt (2001) also concludes that international experiences would be more meaningful if they included “more in-depth debriefing following the trip to reinforce positive changes which occurred, to explore how the experience might affect their teaching, and to allay any negative impacts” (p. 515), echoing the findings of earlier studies (Germain, 1998; Wilson, 1982, 1993c).

Building off of Willard-Holt’s findings, Kambutu and Nganga (2008) argue that international experiences must be planned acts of cultural immersion, because “building cultural appreciation is an intentional act that preceded by the development of self-awareness” (p. 940). Kambutu and Nganga utilized the narrative inquiry methodology articulated by Connelly and Clandinin (1990) to analyze 12 pre-service educators’ personal journals kept throughout their planned cross-cultural experience in Kenya, as well as a set of open-ended questions that were answered before and after the trip. They found, “immersing people in international cultures...engages participants in learning that is impossible to replicate in traditional classroom-

based learning” (p.947). They conclude that the sense of empathy that participants reported experiencing following planned cultural emersion could not be replicated in a local classroom.

Global Knowledge and Perspectives

Not surprisingly, researchers also argue that both international education and independent travel develop global perspectives as well as a level of comfort teaching content related to non-U.S. nations and international relations (Kirkwood, 2002; Merryfield, 2001; Sahin, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001; Wilson, 1993c; Wilson, 1998). Wilson (1993c) argues:

International experiences can make a particularly powerful contribution to an individual’s knowledge and perceptions of the world...international experience impacts both substantive knowledge and perceptual understanding aspects of a global perspective and both personal growth and development of meaningful interpersonal relationships. (p. 21)

In one study, practicing American teachers who participated in professional development in Japan reported being motivated to teach about pressing global issues and U.S. foreign policy decisions (Kirkwood, 2002). Kirkwood examined how 33 teachers from 21 schools taught about Japan in the U.S. after a one-year commitment in the *Japan Today* program, chose a specific pedagogy, and shared their experiences with their peers. Kirkwood used an interpretive research design: in order to better understand the participants’ points-of-view she employed methods of cultural anthropology and used the emic perspective, allowing her participants to determine the categories of analysis. Kirkwood assumed the role of participant-observer by going through the training, traveling to Japan, and interacting with the participants in the program. She interviewed the participants after returning to the U.S., examined their lesson plans and unit outlines, and looked at the formal Japanese Studies Program employed by the school district in which these teachers taught. Kirkwood concludes that the cross-cultural impact of the *Japan Today* program was significant, and that those educators who participated found meaningful ways to incorporate Japanese history and culture into their curricula.

Pre-service educators from Turkey exhibited similar impacts after teaching in American classrooms. Sahin (2008) studied 26 preservice teachers from a private university in Turkey as they participated in a two-month internship in the U.S. Sahin collected data by having both the participants and their mentor teachers in the U.S. complete surveys before and after the internship. Sahin then interviewed three of the student teachers to investigate the student teachers' perspectives on their contributions to U.S. classrooms. Sahin (2008) concludes that this international experience helped "preservice teachers broaden their perspectives, learn more about both national and international realities, and become better educators," while mentor teachers claimed the Turkish student teachers made "valuable contributions to the US context professionally, personally, and culturally" (pp. 1785-1786).

Wilson (1998) has argued that learning more information without critically engaging in multiple perspectives while studying abroad constitutes a missed opportunity. Rather, she suggests that in order for teachers to be critically conscious they must be aware of the power structures that guide not only international relations between the U.S. and the so-called Third World in the post-colonial global community, but also how those power structures inform their own conceptualizations of culture and race. As a result of her contrapuntal readings of Ghanaian perspectives during her international experience, Wilson concludes, "students need to read more outside the whole perspectives in order to gain perspective consciousness and practice perspective-taking and in order to become critically conscious" (1998, p. 427).

Professional Skills and Practices

Other studies indicate that the experiences associated with international travel, such as negotiating unfamiliar cultures and languages and observing pedagogical practices unheard of in their home nations cultivate innovative and desirable professional skills and practices (Garii,

2009; Ileleji, 2009; Quezada, 2004; Wilson, 1993a). For example, Wilson (1993a) emphasizes the interrelated significance of cross-cultural experience on the teachers' knowledge, classroom activities, goals, and relationships with their students. Her study of two sixth grade social studies teachers in the same school, who have spent significant time traveling or living overseas, reveals the ways in which their experiences influence their pedagogy. Wilson's study emphasizes the interrelated significance of cross-cultural experience on the teachers' knowledge, classroom activities, goals, and relationships with their students. Wilson found that the teachers themselves become a resource, able to provide material culture and stories that bring global issues to life for the students.

Myers (2001) argues that individuals with international experience are changed as *people*, rather than as *teachers*: "the most significant change took place in the personal attributes of the teachers themselves, which ultimately changed their presentation and teaching style" (p. 197). Myers based her qualitative study on a naturalistic inquiry, analyzing interviews with 10 former Peace Corps volunteers. Despite being a study of the influence of international experience on classroom instruction, Myers's dataset consists of interviews with her subjects, rather than ethnographic research in their classrooms. As such, Myers relies exclusively on the perceptions and memories of her subjects in order to analyze how their instruction was changed by their experiences. Her subjects identified "relationships" and "cross-cultural awareness" as the two experiences from the Peace Corps that most significantly impacted their pedagogy. However, through these interviews, Myers asserts that the Peace Corps experience did not affect their curriculum or pedagogy, but rather their personal attributes, which influenced their teaching style and classroom demeanor. Thus Myers is suggesting that international experience neither directly impacts what teachers choose to teach nor their pedagogy, but rather how they interact with their

students. Her inquiry would have benefited from classroom observations, which could have confirmed (or denied) these teachers' claims about their relationships with their students.

Pence and Macgillivray (2008) supervised and observed 15 teacher education students from Virginia as they completed a four-week practicum at an American school in Rome, Italy. They also relied on the participants' reflective journals written during the practicum and final reflective papers written upon returning to the U.S. One year after the trip the participants completed a questionnaire to assess the long-term impact of the trip. Pence and Macgillivray conclude that the benefits of international student teaching are "both professional and personal changes such as increased confidence, a better appreciation and respect for differences of others and other cultures, and an awareness of the importance that feedback and reflection play in professional and personal growth" (p. 23).

Likewise, Garii (2009) argues that the stress of interacting with unfamiliar cultures builds self-confidence and prepares educators to work flexibly with ambiguity and uncertainty. Garii culled data from questionnaires and interviews with nine participants who taught in foreign locales early in their teaching careers. She argues that "all participating teachers characterized their international teaching experiences across three themes: professional growth, wider understanding of 'the teaching community,' and learning from unexpected challenges" (p. 92). The themes identified by Garii's participants cultivated their ability to be flexible, giving them the space to try new and different teaching practices throughout their careers, and self-confidence, built through their experiences in unfamiliar environments. Finally, Ileleji's (2009) narrative analysis of Japanese exchange students to the U.S. found that issues of travel-related stress provided pre-service educators with practical experience with decision-making skills.

Reflection on National Identity

In more recent studies, researchers have begun to take note of the ways that traveling and working abroad allows educators to confront their national identities and reassess their nation's place in the world (Dolby, 2004; Doppen, 2010; Jewett, 2010). Dolby (2004) argues that traveling to Australia made American participants' national identity active, forcing them to consider how citizens of other nations constructed their own understandings of what it means to be American. Thus, the most significant aspect of studying abroad was not the cross-cultural experience, but the ways in which the participants in Dolby's study confronted and reevaluated their American selves. She argues that, "despite the rhetoric that focuses attention on students' encounter with 'the other' and the subsequent increase in cultural competency and understanding, in actuality students' primary encounter during the study abroad experience is with themselves as national and global actors" (p. 154). Dolby's findings have implications for citizenship education, as she found that two essential reevaluations took place, one in which participants embraced a strong, simplistic patriotic vision of the United States, and another where participants incorporated multiple perspectives into an inclusive vision of the United States' role in world.

Doppen (2010) and Jewett (2010) also concluded that studying abroad caused participants in his study to re-examine their national identities, with mixed results. Participants in Doppen's study taught in American schools in other non-Western nations, but lived in the homes of local families. As part of their placements, participants wrote reflective essays; the prompt of the final essay was "What is an American?" Through an analysis of these essays, Doppen argues that due to their intercultural experiences, his participants were unable to articulate a clear vision for what it meant to be an American, relying on negative stereotypes they encountered while

abroad. While Doppen notes that while much of their writing about the host culture was observational rather than analytical, “the overseas student teaching experience helped these pre-service teachers expand their personal horizons on issues of national identity and increase their awareness of a global world beyond that of their own country” (p. 14).

Jewett (2010) found that participants’ ethnic and national identities were challenged by their overseas experiences. She argues that these experiences troubled “the ways in which dichotomies of *self and other* (and *home and host cultures*) are implicitly and explicitly generated and utilized in study abroad discourses regardless of destination” (2010, p. 651). The process of meaning making abroad, however, begins at home. Relying on focus groups with participants in a pre-service teaching placement in Ireland, as well as journals and photographs from their trip, Jewett argues that study abroad programs ought to provide opportunities for participants to interrogate the situated nature of their identities before, during, and after the international experience.

Global Perspectives and Global Education

Through much of the aforementioned literature, researchers argue that traveling cultivates what is often referred to as a global perspective. Likewise, social studies theorists and NCSS are in common agreement that teachers must help American students develop a global perspective (Alger, 1974; Becker, 1979; Hanvey, 1976; Kirkwood, 2001; Kniep, 1989; Merryfield, 1998; Myers, 2006; NCSS, 2001; Tye & Tye 1992; Wilson, 1994; Zong et al., 2008). Since this is a concept that will be returned to in my own analysis of the four narratives in this study, it is worth examining this concept in some detail, and its relationship to global education more generally.

Defining a “Global Perspective”

Much like the field of global education (Cross & Molnar, 1994; Lamy, 1990; Pike, 2000; Tye, 1999), the elements of a global perspective are in a constant state of flux. However, some historical perspective is helpful in illuminating the meanings that underpin this concept. As early as 1948, the National Education Association and NCSS called for schools to produce “world-minded Americans,” citizens who actively worked to promote cosmopolitan values such as peace, liberty, and justice worldwide. Since then, especially following the 1960s, theorists have in increasing numbers begun to think about how schools ought to react to globalization (Hicks, 2003). By the 1970s, the writings of global education theorists (see Alger, 1974; Becker, 1979; Hanvey, 1976) were producing a literature that would in many ways come to define the thrust of global education for both scholars and practitioners (Case, 1993; Kirkwood, 2001; Kniep, 1989).

Hanvey (1976) provided one of the earliest conceptualizations of a global perspective that might allow young people to meet the challenges of a globalized society, and how it might be taught. He suggested that schools form a corrective function against those experiences that work against forming a global perspective by directing students’ attentions towards long-term situations or trends and filling in blind spots otherwise unacknowledged by other institutions. He argued that a global perspective be learned and improved upon through an education that has five dimensions: perspective consciousness, state-of-the-planet awareness, cross-cultural awareness, knowledge of global dynamics, and awareness of human choices.

Since Hanvey’s seminal work, theorists have attempted to broaden the elements of his global perspective. Kniep (1986, 1989) has emphasized knowledge of world history as an essential element of a global perspective, noting the importance of current events in Hanvey’s definition at the expense of a historical perspective. Case (1993) united Hanvey’s attainable

global perspective with Kniep's inclusion of global history to identify the features of curriculum that nurtures both the substantive and perceptual dimensions of a global perspective. Alger and Harf (1986) and Lamy (1987) have suggested that students must understand the impact of NGOs on global dynamics, as knowledge is not limited by national borders. Since Hanvey did not account for decolonization in his definition, Lamy (1987) and Wilson (1998) have also noted the need for representation of indigenous voices in global curricula, while Merryfield and Subedi (2001) argued that a global education must recognize that power dynamics ultimately influence one's perspective consciousness.

Kirkwood (2001) attempted to bring some definitional clarity to the field of global education by addressing the conceptual harmony between terms such as international education, global education, and world-centered education. Using Hanvey's global perspective as a baseline to compare other theorists' definitions, Kirkwood found that three general patterns emerged in analyzing the various definitions of global education: congruent or similar elements among definitions, author-specific emphases but generally similar definitions, and new elements not addressed by Hanvey's original definition. She identifies four underlying themes in all definitions of global education: multiple perspectives, comprehension and appreciation of cultures, knowledge of global systems, and the world as an interrelated system. Kirkwood concludes that different conceptualizations of global education have more commonalities than disparities.

Global Education in the Classroom

By building off of Hanvey's seminal work, theorists have brought increasing lucidity and sophistication to the purposes and character of global education. However, not all agree that global education has clearly defined objectives and connotations. Cross and Molnar (1994) argue

that Americans have three competing (and coexisting) perspectives on how to respond to globalization: nationalist, international commerce, and humanistic orientations. They note that each perspective holds implications for global education, resulting in significant variance among global education curricula. Cross and Molnar propose that a synthesis of the three orientations would resolve some of the definitional vagueness that characterizes global education, and aid educators in curriculum development. Without such a synthesis, they contend, global education would constitute either an unrealistic representation of the world, or a nationalized version of the status quo, neither of which outcomes allow students to understand the world in which they live.

Lamy (1990) also argues that conflicting philosophies of global education relate to how groups believe the world is, and how it ought to be. He notes that for conservative theorists, a global perspective is objectionable because global education ought to be used to promote hegemony of American ideals and traditions worldwide. Furthermore, Rizvi (2004) argues that the September 11th terrorist attacks have strengthened the nation-state and revived the notion of a clash of civilizations between the East and West, presenting proponents of global education with new challenges, particularly in instilling global and cosmopolitan values.

Research has also indicated that global education has various meanings and purposes in different nations. Pike (2000) analyzed the perspectives of global education practitioners from Canada, Britain, and the U.S. He observed that American educators tend to emphasize the future role of their nation in the global system as need for global education, whereas British and Canadian practitioners rarely mention their respective nations. Similarly, Tye (1999) notes in a survey of global educators in over 50 nations that there is not a great amount of uniformity in the practice of global education. Perhaps because of these ambiguities and questions, some research has indicated that educators are rarely prepared to teach for global education (Smith, 2002).

The space global education resides within the school curricula is also marked with ambiguity. Ukpokodu (1999) notes that in-service teachers, pre-service teachers, and university faculty often do not recognize a difference between multicultural and global education. These professionals report that studying cultures outside of the United States will lead to a greater cultural awareness within the United States. This conflation, Ukpokodu argues, is rooted in many social studies teachers' discomfort in discussing diversity issues within the United States. Though global education certainly shares common elements as multicultural education, the two are also different in significant ways: the domain of multiculturalism involves the incorporation of multiple perspectives into the study of historical and contemporary events, reflecting the diversity of American society, while the domain of globalism involves developing global perspectives that will prepare young people to engage with international social and political issues by developing their knowledge of other nations and cultures.

However, there is not a distinct binary between multiculturalism and globalism (Banks, 2004; NCSS, 2001; Ukpokodu, 1999). There are significant overlaps between the cosmopolitan ideals inherent in a global perspective and the values that define multicultural education (Banks, 2008). Ukpokodu argues that both multiculturalism and globalism aim to instill an appreciation of diversity both domestically and globally through an understanding of "human commonalities" that exist within all peoples (1999, p. 300). Banks (2008) recommends that, in light of the increasing diversity within nation states, and the rapid development of globalization over the last 60 years, citizenship education be reconceptualized to incorporate elements of both multiculturalism and globalism. Banks argues that paramount to such a citizenship is preparing students to understand the diversity in their own societies, as well as confronting issues that cross their nation-state borders.

While both multiculturalism and global education are prominent elements of social studies standards, it must be noted that global education is not a feature of social studies education, but rather an education that encompasses aspects of many school subjects. A global education is concerned with the shifting notions of citizenship in a globalized world (Myers, 2006), equipping students with literacies that allow them to engage with local, national, and global communities (Kinloch, 2010), and the global consequences of personal and policy-related ecological decision-making. For example, Mayer (1997) offers a definition of scientific literacy called the Earth Systems Education (ESE). ESE conceptualizes the earth as a system, and emphasizes the continuous interaction of local, national, and global environments. Though a science curriculum, ESE helps “students achieve a global understanding and perspective about their own and other cultures” (p. 26). International issues such as climate change and sustainability have led curriculum theorists to call for a “biocentric global education” that employs a holistic notion of global education that bleeds into all school curricula (Shelby, 2000). Thus language arts, science, and foreign language courses all hold the potential to contribute to a global perspective.

Professional Development in Global Education

Because this study situates itself within the literature on global education and professional development, it is advantageous to examine what the current pool of studies indicates about professional development opportunities for in-service social studies teachers, focusing particularly on research on global education and professional development. Literature reviews on the professional development of social studies teachers reveals a fragmented and incomplete picture of the state of the field (Adler, 1991; van Hover, 2008), reflecting the variety of formats that professional development opportunities often take. This may also be owed to the

fragmented vision for the definitions and purposes of the social studies in schools (Armento, 1996).

As noted earlier, scholars of global education have struggled with their own definitional ambiguities. However, though limited by fewer studies, the literature on professional development in global education suggests some key characteristics for best practices. Boston (1997) recommends schools partner with colleges and universities to provide teachers with support and training in global education. Boston argues that ultimately, if global education professional development programs are to be successful in impacting student learning, they must “work with teachers and schools toward clear goals over an extended period of time” (1997, p. 175). She argues that a long-term commitment to a program that attends to a school and community’s deficiencies will work against the “food and festivals” approach to global content common in many social studies curricula.

Several empirical studies demonstrate the successes and drawbacks of these long-term, university-based programs, and suggest that opportunities do exist for teachers to engage in prolonged professional development in global education. In an early study of professional development in global education, Urso (1991) examined the results of teacher participation in the Center for Human Interdependence (CHI), which provided teachers seeking assistance in developing global perspectives in their students by providing resources and classroom visits by CHI faculty. Urso claims that, among other benefits of the program, CHI was most impactful on participants’ morale and enthusiasm about their teaching: “What pleased us most, however, was the evidence that exposure to global awareness education was making a significant contribution to the vitality with which teachers approached their work” (107).

Kirkwood-Tucker (2004) conducted a self-study of her implementation of three semesters of a simulation of the United Nations General Assembly for practicing elementary teachers and pre-service secondary teachers in a graduate-level university seminar. She reported positive gains developing in-service teachers' global perspectives. However, these gains did not necessarily translate to her participants' thinking about global content in their classrooms, noting that the simulation was insufficient in inspiring in-service elementary teachers to bring up controversial global issues such as the HIV/AIDS crisis within their lesson plans.

Gaudelli (2006) investigated the professional development of six educators who participated in the World Teaching Institute (WTI), a weeklong professional development program with the goal of providing "participants with a way to reframe their existing knowledge around core global values, such as interconnections, perspective, alternatives, and empathy/caring" (p. 33). Gaudelli reports WTI appeared effective in preparing participants to implement global pedagogy and reinvigorated the enthusiasm of several participants. Participant responses to the WTI training reveal three elements of best practices for future professional development in global education. The first element is the power of open dialogical conversations among participants across various media. The second element is the need for a diversity of offerings, responding to the various levels of training and experience participants are likely to bring to such programs. The third element is an interdisciplinary effort between teacher educators and content specialists at the university-level. Gaudelli also identifies three limitations of the WTI program: a lack of experiential global learning through study abroad opportunities, a recognition of institutional environments of implementation and the restrictions placed on teachers as a result, and need for administrative support in reforming the curricula across disciplines.

In examining the ways in which teachers in Ontario prioritize global citizenship in light of strengthening standardization school curricula, Schweisfurth (2006) studied participants in the Community and Global Connections (CGC) professional development program at the University of Toronto.. Schools, principals, and their peers did generally not prioritize the development and promotion of global citizenship. However, participants found many ways to bring their commitment to global citizenship into their work, both within the curriculum and through extra-curricular activities. They were able to use the expectations of the curriculum creatively to justify their approaches, and did not see their priorities as being at odds with the recent emphasis on academic standards in education. The main source of support to sustain their efforts and enthusiasm came from beyond their own schools, though CGC. Schweisfurth (2006) argues that CGC is a network that “allows teachers to stay in touch with each other, and to share resources and ideas. It is a powerful force; not only does it provide encouragement and inspiration in what might otherwise be a rather isolating environment, but teachers acknowledged that they feel accountable to the network and its coordinator” (p. 48).

There are also plentiful, inexpensive opportunities for social studies teachers to expand their pedagogical practices and content knowledge with regards to global education through NGOs. A cursory review of the websites of NGOs offering professional development to educators reveals that the most common feature among them is an attempt to use cutting edge communication technologies to connect educators, professionals, and students in various locales. Some NGOs work towards developing teachers’ content knowledge in particular aspects of global education. For example, Asia Society provides both publications and online and in-person seminars on topics within Asian history and culture. Other NGOs, such as the International Education and Resource Network (iLearn), aim to provide teachers with training and resources to

collaborate in real-time over the Internet with educators and classrooms in different nations. Perhaps the most common form of professional development for global education exists in the form of online webinars. For example, the Global Education Collaborative is a social networking listserv that provides teachers with online workshops, an annual conference, and links to other collaborative opportunities in global education. These programs, which are similar to the professional development experienced by the participants in this study, have received much less attention from scholarly researchers.

Critiques and Challenges

This section considers the critiques of global education more broadly and the challenges to the educational purposes of international experiences in particular. As noted by Cross and Molnar (1994), Americans representing the political right have long criticized global education as wrongly deemphasizing the nation-state, patriotism, and American exceptionalism. These voices have grown louder since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001 (see Burack, 2003; Ellington & Eaton, 2003). However, in this review I fashion a critique of global education through the lens of this study. Then, I attempt to contextualize the findings of previous studies by presenting the challenges to the educational objectives of international experiences.

Global Education in a Postcolonial World

The impact of Western colonization of South America, Africa, and Asia on American education is far-reaching and continuous. The end of formalized colonialism did not mean an end to imperial practices on the part of Western nations, nor did it signify a decolonization of how Western schools educate young people about the world. It would be difficult to overstate the impact of Western Europe's control of 80% of the world's population on schools, though this legacy looms so large it often times appears invisible in the post-colonial world. This is due

largely to the reality that European imperialism “gave rise to peculiar and powerful ideas of race, culture, and nation that were, in effect, conceptual instruments that the West used both to divide up and to educate the world” (Willinsky, 1998, pp. 2-3). Though the Age of Empires would seem to be over (Hobsbawm, 1989), the remnants of colonial conquest and imperial exploration, subjugation, and cataloging still define (and divide) Western understandings of the world. Consciously or not, educators continue to reinforce divisions created by the imperial project: West and East, First World and Third World, Occident and Orient, civilized and primitive, us and others.

As noted earlier, within the debates over the meanings and purposes of global education is a growing chorus of scholars who have suggested that the goals of global education that grew out of the work of theorists in the 1970s, promising though they may be, are limited by their failure to investigate the role Western imperialism has played in shaping social studies curricula (see Asher, 2005; Merryfield, 2001; Merryfield & Subedi, 2001; Quashigah & Wilson, 2001; Subedi, 2007; Wilson, 1998). Broadly, theorists who attempt to integrate the legacy of imperialism into their conceptualizations of global education argue for the potential of helping teachers decolonize their curricula through both cross-cultural experiences and critical readings of sources written by marginalized voices (Asher, 2005; Crocco, 2005; Merryfield, 2001; Merryfield, & Subedi, 2001; Subedi, 2008; Wilson, 1998).

For example, Quashigah and Wilson (2001) problematize the notion of a global perspective put forward by the early generation of global education theorists, arguing that they rarely considered the connection between culture and imperialism, and that in global education “power and who has it was usually only implied” (p. 55). Exploring this limit, Wilson (1998) confronts her imperial self while reflecting on a trip to Ghana by listening to and reading

Ghanaian voices as they critique the West. As a result, she suggests that teacher educators must attend to multiple voices in the social studies curricula by rereading historical texts contrapuntally (p. 421), giving voice to those perspectives that are commonly silenced or sidelined in Western curricula.

Critiques of the International Experience

While the studies examined in this literature review suggest that there are many beneficial outcomes for educators who engage in international travel, other researchers have argued that the phenomena is neither as straightforward as often portrayed, nor a guarantee of beneficial results. Malewski and Phillion (2009) point out that in the study of international student teaching programs, pre-service educators are often constructed as a homogeneous population who share similar perspectives. However, their findings paint a remarkably different picture of pre-service educators' perceptions of themselves and their relationships with host communities. They suggest that international student teaching programs that provide "opportunities to explore the significance of different types of perspectives might add to the depth and complexity of cross-cultural experiences and better prepare pre-service teachers to be globally engaged educators" (2009, p. 58).

However, opportunities suggested by Malewski and Phillion appear largely absent from pre-service and in-service study abroad programs. A reading of the mission statements of colleges of education and professional development programs that provide students with such opportunities indicates that international experiences are inherently innovative (Engle & Engle, 2002). The very act of crossing national borders is an education, and it cannot be replicated by any other encounter. However, electronic communications and the hegemony of American culture call for the rethinking of international education. The innate distance that has seemingly

made international travel educative has been challenged by communication technologies that allow students across the world to interact in real time (Engle & Engle, 2002; Grunzweig & Rinehart, 2002).

For example, Merryfield (2003) argues that online courses allow for true cross-cultural learning, concluding that pre-service educators from across the country or globe are able insert their perspectives and interpretations into a variety of assignments. Merryfield argues that time and distance are the key components that technologies bring to this interaction that have allowed for deeper meaning and reflection on the parts of the participants that would not be available in ordinary face-to-face interaction. This interaction took place over the course of several days, which allowed the participants to thoroughly read the autobiographies as they interacted, which would not be possible in a face-to-face scenario. Additionally, responding to text provided a social veil, where the participants felt protected and free to ask personal or controversial questions that they might be willing to ask someone with whom they were having a face-to-face conversation.

Similarly, Zong (2009) concludes that pre-service teachers develop a more robust notion of global education and an appreciation for communication and dialogue across cultures when participating in online communication technologies. Over the course of three semesters, students in Zong's social studies methods course communicated with students and teachers from South America, Asia, Europe, and Africa through iEARN about controversial international topics. Zong and her students kept reflective journals and her students wrote essays on their experiences, which she coded and analyzed. Like Merryfield's study of technology and cross-cultural experience, Zong (2009) found that computer-mediated communication (CMC) produced deeper global understandings among the participants in her study: "Preservice teachers identified the

role of CMC technology in facilitating global understanding as providing worldwide access to different ideas and perspectives, authentic learning experiences, interactive learning environment, meaningful dialogue, and supporting public voices” (p. 623). Neither of these experiences in either Merryfield’s or Zong’s studies required the participants to leave their campuses (or homes, for that matter) to have the cross-cultural experience often promised by international programs for pre-service and in-service educators.

While international computer-mediated communication has allowed Americans to have international experiences while physically staying local, these same technologies have also challenged travelers’ ability to have truly “foreign” experiences. In the past, travelers were all but cut off from their friends and family at home. Phone calls were expensive and often infrequent due to time zone differences. Written letters were even more infrequent, as one would need to wait days or weeks before hearing from a loved one. This meant that travelers were truly “on their own” in foreign countries, forced to interact with the host population, crossing language barriers, and adapting to unfamiliar ways of life.

Communication technologies like electronic mail and Skype, which provide inexpensive and instantaneous communications and, in the case of Skype, face-to-face contact in real time, allow travelers to stay connected with friends and family at home and avoid cultural emersion (Grunzweig & Rinehart, 2002, p. 14-15). For homesick travelers, such technologies encourage detachment from the host cultures, preventing a robust cross-cultural experience. This is particularly problematic, since international pre-service education and professional development programs tend to focus explicitly on academic goals for participants, while the development of cross-cultural skills is seen as a natural byproduct of the international experience.

In addition, American hegemony and globalization have also blunted the impact of international experiences. Cultural differences clearly still exist, but due to the fast travel of information and economic and social homogenization, differences appear less visible to students who are unprepared to negotiate them while learning abroad (Engle & Engle, 2002). In addition, market forces push teacher educators and professional development administrators to either establish programs in familiar environments where students are likely to encounter Western reference points, or develop programs in non-Western nations that seek to create an American cocoon that protects students from discomfort (Feinberg, 2002).

Despite the limits to study abroad programs imposed by continued globalization and increasingly advanced electronic communications, the general structure of study abroad programs have changed very little over the last 30 years (Engle & Engle, 2002). Collegiate study abroad programs are even further limited by their reliance on Eurocentric understandings of the world (Blaut, 1993; Grunzweig & Rinehart, 2002; wa Thiong'o, 1993; Willinsky, 1998). In addition, market factors play a role in restricting the abilities of many study abroad programs to impact significant cross-cultural understanding. Universities and organizations that send Americans abroad are under pressure to gain interest from as many potential participants as possible. As a result, they often craft programs that are touted as both comfortable and fun. These programs, however, are not expected to fundamentally challenge participants' worldviews.

Findings in the Literature

This review of relevant research on the impact of international experience reveals several significant findings about the educational nature of living and traveling abroad. Teachers who have had international experiences say it is beneficial to their practice, particularly with regards to global education, and researchers generally agree. These studies conclude that teachers who

have traveled extensively act as resources for their students, bringing to their classrooms skills, knowledge, and values that would otherwise be missing. American-born teachers who have lived and traveled abroad are able to bring to life lessons on world cultures and international relations by sharing stories and material culture from their time overseas (Wilson, 1993a), have developed professional skills and practices (Garii, 2009; Ileleji, 2009; Myers, 2001; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008), and reflected on their national identities (Dolby, 2004; Doppen, 2010; Jewett, 2010).

American teachers with international experience also seem to be particularly motivated to teach for cross-cultural understanding and global education. The research in this sample indicates that educators who have had cross-cultural experiences are better prepared and motivated to teach cross-cultural understanding (Germain, 1998; Kambutu & Nganga, 2008; Merryfield, 2000; Sahin, 2008; Wilson, 1993b) and global education (Kirkwood, 2002; Willard-Holt, 2001). Researchers have argued that the cultural immersion that comes with traveling abroad makes a powerful impression on teachers. Experiencing globalization and intercultural contact firsthand has inspired these educators to instill in their students a global perspective. Teachers with international experience are likely to craft lessons that are meant to increase cultural awareness and knowledge of world events. However, a number of researchers (Germain, 1998; Jewett, 2010; Kambutu & Nganga, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001; Wilson, 1982, 1993c) have argued that international experience is only impactful when prepared for and reflected upon. Thus it cannot be assumed that just traveling alone will instill these skills and values; rather these attributes must be developed throughout and after the experience.

While previous research has made significant contributions to the literature on international education, there are also noticeable limits to these studies. The bulk of this research has been conducted through either narrative inquiries of social studies educators who have had

international experiences, or case studies of international student teaching programs by administrators of these programs. Researchers have only in limited ways inquired about the impact of international experiences on practicing teachers as they have those experiences, choosing to rely on narratives constructed after their experiences. In other words, when studying the impact of international experiences for in-service teachers, researchers rarely support narrative analyses with ethnographic methods. Due to the reliance of after-the-fact narratives, an in-depth study of interactions in the host nations, essentially the curriculum of an international education, rarely accompanies these studies. The one study reviewed here that does make use of ethnographic observations while in-service teachers are having those experiences only hints at issues of power and representation that are implicit within the transnational experience.

In addition, the particular uses of narrative inquiry in these studies are problematic. Researchers examining international experiences that have commonly utilized both van Manen's (1990) and Clandinin and Connelly's (2000) approaches to narrative inquiry (see Ileleji, 2009; Kamutu & Nganga, 2008; Merryfield, 2000; Zong, 2005). van Manen (1990) suggests a form of narrative inquiry called *retrospective meaning making*, whereby participants reflect on experiences that they now see as meaningful, though they may not have had the same sense while they experienced these events. This method emphasizes the temporal nature of experience as well as its discursive construction: "meaning" is ascribed to an event only after the fact. Similarly, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) argue that narratives occur within a sequence of events, which happen in relation to other people, and transpire in a concrete and physical place.

Both methods of narrative inquiry assume that all humans understand their experiences through narrative stories, and that narrative retellings allow researchers to better understand the lived experiences of participants. van Manen suggests that the narrative "teaches us what we

know, and in what way we know what we know” (1990, p. 127). Similarly, Clandinin and Connelly argue:

Experience is what we study, and we study it narratively because narrative thinking is a key form of experience and a key way of thinking and writing about it... Thus, we say, narrative is both the phenomenon and the method of the social sciences. (2000, p. 18)

While both methods offer fine opportunities for educators to reflect on their experiences, and researchers to examine how educators have attempted to work through those experiences, they are also embedded with unproblematic Orientalist notions of temporal meaning making. In other words, researchers who have used van Manen and Clandinin and Connelly’s methods to study international experiences have not acknowledged that the narratives their participants have created are created out of fundamentally Western assumptions and discourses about human experiences and understanding of the past.

When employed in this manner narratives are used under the supposition that those who have already had such experiences, the returned Peace Corps volunteer, the teacher who taught English in China, and so on, are globally competent. In other words, the bulk of this research assumes that crossing international borders is a sufficient enough experience to develop the global perspectives of participants. This is not to suggest that there is not potential in these experiences; rather this privileging of the international experience implies that a truly global education cannot be manifested in everyday life. I am also not arguing that narrative is an inappropriate methodology for understanding the international experience. Rather, the narrow use of narrative in these studies necessitates a rethinking about the operationalization of teachers’ stories about their international experiences in future inquiries.

Thus there appears to be a gap between the arguments made by critics who suggest that the educative nature of international experiences has been diminished by globalization and

Westernization (Engle & Engle, 2002), and the conclusions of researchers who largely claim that these experiences are life changing for pre-service and in-service educators. In addition, it is clear that studying internationally alone is not a guarantee that educational goals consistent with cosmopolitan values will be realized in the participants. For example, studying abroad did not deter Mohammad Atta from joining the terrorist organization al Qaeda and participating in the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center (Grunzweig & Rinehart, 2002). The inconsistency between criticisms of study abroad programs and the research on this topic suggests that perhaps the current pool of studies have not quite tapped into the qualitative element of international experiences that potentially makes them educative. As Engle and Engle (2002) note, proponents of study abroad programs “consider the essence of our students’ overseas cultural and linguistic experience the mysterious result of a kind of alchemy somehow activated by the sheer fact of being abroad” (p. 26). Indeed, much of the current literature moves quickly past the experience itself, occasionally discussing teachers’ attitudes and practices both before and after an experience, though more often just their attitudes and practices after, and rarely delving into the event itself.

Finally, the implicated nature of “us” and “other” looms large in this pool of literature, though few scholars have sought to directly confront the ways in which this relationship is manifested in international experiences. However, the small number of researchers who have applied postcolonial theories to the study of transnational experiences have provided the literature with rich investigations that tug at this rarely explored tension. This is significant, because as Kaplan (1996) reflects on her own international experiences:

I was brought up to believe that distance gives needed perspective, that difference leads to insight, and that travel is quite figuratively “broadening.” Yet it has also been my experience that travel can be confusing, distance can be illusory, and difference depends very much on one’s point of view. (p. x)

Drawing on this observation, Talburt (2009) explores these notions of implication and travel in her analysis of the learning of undergraduates in Spain, utilizing Pratt's (2008) postcolonial contact zones as a lens for understanding this experience. Likewise, Jewett (2010) argues that self (home culture) and other (host culture) constitute and reconstitute each other through international experiences. She emphasizes that these encounters take place before and after the international experience, not just while participants are abroad. These studies highlight both the aptness of postcolonial theories in investigating international experiences as professional development, as well as the need for an understanding of the participants' emic perspectives before, throughout, and after the international experience when educators from the United States meet the Other.

Chapter Summary

This chapter began with a presentation of the findings of previous studies that have attempted to establish the outcomes related to international experiences. Four themes were identified: increased cross-cultural awareness, a desire to teach for global education, development of professional skills, and reflection on national identity. Because the notion of a global perspective plays a significant role in the analysis of these four narratives, various conceptualizations of this term are explored. Similarly, the broader context in which this study is situated, global education, also shows evidence of both definitional confusion and mixed results in practice. However, the literature on professional development is more sharply focused, and provides evidence of potential upsides for social studies educators. An examination of critiques of global education and challenges to the international experience suggest that studies of such experiences tend to emphasize their positive outcomes without acknowledging potential drawbacks. In addition, Orientalist assumptions about narrative stories are rarely explored in

studies of international experiences. Having identified these gaps in the literature, this study aims to present a more nuanced vision of what learning abroad meant for four in-service social studies teachers through narratives analyses that interpret both the context in which these stories are told, as well as the ways the participants tell them. While introduced in the theoretical framework, the reflexive interplay approach to narrative inquiries is further explored in the following chapter.

III. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The primary purpose of this study is to explain my interpretations of the meanings that four in-service social studies teachers create as a result of their participation in international professional development in China. As such, this study is primarily a narrative inquiry (Chase, 2011). This study employs the suggestions of narrative theorists who have argued that the act of creating narratives *is* a lived experience, and that the telling is as important as the content of the stories. They argue that the telling of stories is mediated by cultural discourses and the interaction between narrator and listener. As noted in the previous chapter, the researchers investigating international experience through narrative methods have tended to eschew theoretical abstraction in their analyses. Rather, the lens of this study requires quite the opposite: narratives represent opportunities for participants to explore how their own narrative identities mediate their understandings of past experiences, what they have discursively constructed, and what dominant discourses have constructed for them as narrators (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). Thus, when narratives are viewed as reinscribed lived experiences, researchers have the chance to engage participants in the ways that their multiple identities (i.e. their gender, ethnicity, nationality, etc.) provide lenses for understanding their experiences abroad.

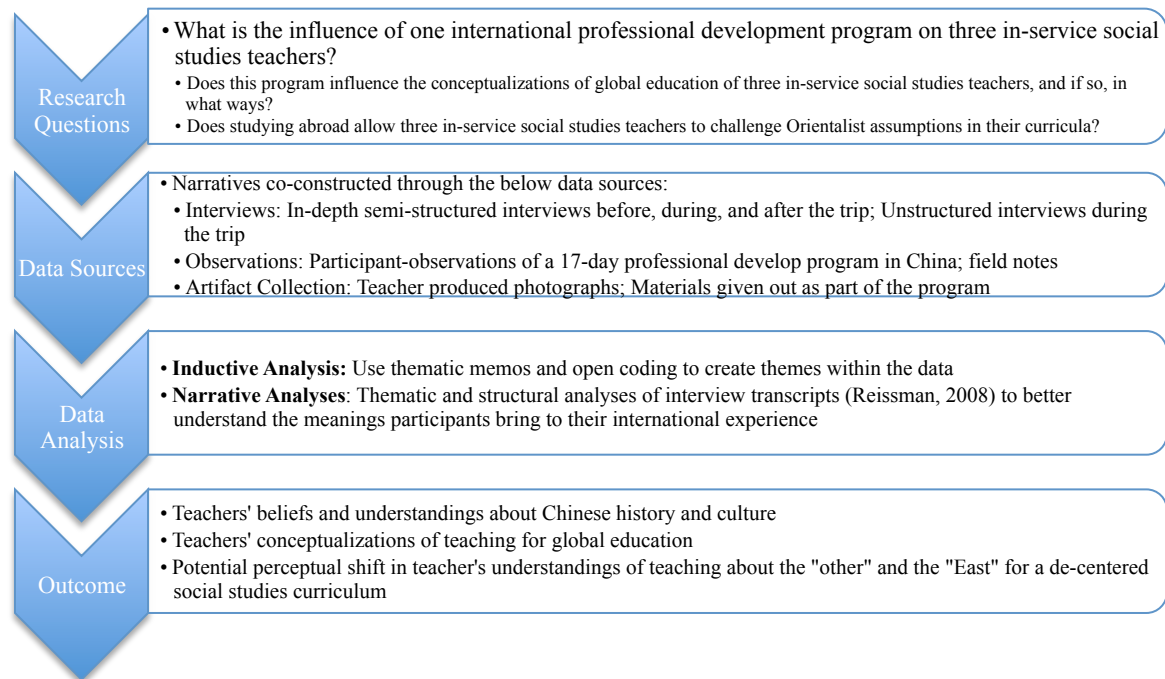
Specifically, reflexive interplay (Gubrium & Holstein; 2009) emphasizes the relationship between narrators' stories and their narrative environments, and exploring what does and does not get said. In using reflexive interplay, researchers couple in-depth interviews and narrative analyses with ethnographic methods in order to better understand narrative environments. These narrative environments condition, but do not determine, the stories participants tell. Since moving between environments is a key element of the international experience, reflexive

interplay holds the potential to support my analysis of stories told by the participants in this study as interpreted by me (Chase, 2011, p.423).

Reflexive interplay recognizes that analyzing the environmental and cultural context of an event through the window of the narrative itself is a limiting act. Rather, a deep ethnographic understanding of narrators' settings will support interpretations of the narrative itself (Chase, 2011; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Riessman, 2008). Riessman argues that an ethnographic approach to the narrator's environment expands the analysis beyond the narrator's speech, attending the social and cultural contexts of the narrative, as well as a deeper interpretation of changes in the narrator over time. The importance of understanding the narrative environments invoked by these theorists frames the approach to both the methods of data collection and narrative analyses utilized in this study.

To better understand the narratives constructed by participants in one international professional development program, this study focused on individual teachers before, during, and after their completion of a professional development program. By working closely with these teachers during this process, I gained a deep understanding of the narrative contexts of this common experience. The data collection methods explained below allowed me to observe and analyze the discursively relayed experiences of these four teachers, contributing to my understanding of their experiences within this professional development program (see Table 3 for an overview of the inquiry design employed by this study).

Table 3. Overview of Inquiry Design



Research Design

Guided by postcolonial theories and reflexive interplay, the research design of this study draws from methods of narrative inquiry. A narrative frame is linked to this study's investigation of the meaning making by the participants. Narrative inquiry is distinct from other methods of qualitative research in that it is concerned with "meaning making through the shaping or ordering of experience, a way of understanding one's own or others' actions, or organizing events and objects into a meaningful whole" (Chase, 2011, p. 421). As noted in the theoretical framework, narrative inquiry remains a field in the making, with significant complexities and disagreements over what both narrative and inquiry are in educational research (Chase, 2005; Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007; Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Riessman, 2008). However, one commonality remains across definitions: narrative inquiry is concerned with individual interpretations of social phenomena even as they are inflected with/by dominant social, cultural, and historical discourses. In the case of this study, in-depth interviews (Seidman, 2006) were used to narrate

the personal experiences of participants. As a result, I employed structural and thematic narrative analyses of the interviews.

But narrative reality is “not limited to the mechanics of communication” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 15). In order to support the analysis of narratives, the lens of reflexive interplay calls for the implementation of ethnographic methods in an attempt to understand the emic perspectives (Cresswell, 1998, p. 60) of narrators. In articulating reflexive interplay, Gubrium and Holstein (2009) argue that narrative practices and environments are interrelated. This approach aims to provide researchers with a better understanding of the context in which participants create their narratives through thick descriptions (Geertz, 1973) of settings and interactions (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 1995). However, it is important to note that the ethnographic methods of this study are being employed within the narrative frame. As a result, observations were fine-tuned to the communicative activities of the context: “The field-worker interested in narrative reality aims to capture as much of the unfolding verbatim detail of interaction as possible” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 35).

These design choices were partially informed by a six-month pilot study, conducted in the summer of 2011. This study was also a narrative inquiry, focusing on the reflections of two in-service social studies teachers’ experiences conducting professional development in Asia. Four crucial elements of the implementation of this pilot study have guided design choices in this study. First, interviews for the pilot study were conducted a full year after the participants had their respective experiences. This left the events of the experience itself completely unexamined, and forced me to rely on the participants’ honesties and memories. Secondly and related, assumptions about the narratives themselves went completely unexplored (Chase, 2011). In other words, the pilot study did not consider the ways in which the act of (re)telling these stories was

mediated by my interpretations of the narrators' social identities, or the environments in which these narratives were created. The absence of these two elements has led to the incorporation of reflexive interplay as both an understanding of narrative research and methodological design choice.

Thirdly, the pilot study considered the cross-cultural competence (Fantini, 2000) of the participants resulting from their learning abroad. I have decided this was an inappropriate choice for several reasons. As a form of measurement of learning, cross-cultural competence would have been much better suited in a study that utilized pre- and post-instruments, be they surveys or interviews. In addition, the particular organization that designed this study abroad tour aimed to influence the participants' interpretations of content knowledge, not cross-cultural understanding. As a result of these limitations, I chose a research context that was better suited to the outcomes expected by the lens employed in this study, and designed interviews that occurred both before and after the experience. Fourthly, the two participants in the pilot study participated in different tours, traveling to different nations in Asia. This was a particularly small sample size, and one that yielded only a shallow dataset. Comparisons of their experiences were also difficult, since there was little in common between the types of learning they participated in. Consequently, I have chosen four participants who have all engaged in the same study tour, thus allowing for a robust dataset with different reactions to comparable experiences.

Sources: Setting Selection

I used several criteria for determining a context for this study. At its most basic level, this context needed to offer professional development to in-service social studies teachers that would involve some form of international travel. Second, because of the nature of my secondary questions and the lens employed by this study, this context needed to bring social studies

teachers to a nation or region whose people were considered “the Other” in American academic teaching (wa Thiong’o, 1993). Though there are a growing number of study abroad opportunities in Asia and South America, meeting this criteria was somewhat challenging since market forces, coupled with participants’ desires for comfortable and familiar environments, have pushed study abroad programs towards Western Europe (Feinberg, 2002). Lastly, I needed to be able to secure access to a context that would allow me to engage with their participants before and after the trip, as well as accompany them on the tour (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

I was first made aware of the study abroad component of the National Consortium for the Teaching about Asia (NCTA) by a colleague who has worked with this organization both in the U.S. and China. She directed me to their website, as well as their open-access online webinars and simulcasts. A reading of their mission statement, topics of their online learning activities, and speakers at their events indicated that NCTA would be a promising site for this study. In particular, webinars focused on topics such as “*Family* by Ba Jin: A Window into the Literature of Modern China” and “The Mongols in World History,” suggesting both contrapuntal readings of Asian history and literature, and an acknowledgement of voices traditionally marginalized in mainstream academic knowledge. In addition, NCTA immediately appeared as a fitting site for this study because its primary purpose is to “develop a community of inquiry among educators interested in East Asian studies that serves as a forum for collegial discussion of issues relevant to the teaching of East Asia” (2011). By aiming to cultivate a community of learners, NCTA provides professional development consistent with acknowledged best practices in the field (Louis & Marks, 1998; van Hover, 2008).

I emailed the director of the New York coordinating site for NCTA to set up a meeting regarding this study because informal face-to-face contacts are generally more effective when

attempting to gain access (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 111). She then directed me to the associate director, who is also the coordinator for all study abroad programs at NCTA. We agreed to meet and discuss this project. At this initial meeting I opted for full and complete disclosure (Patton, 2002, p. 273) of my research goals for this project. We discussed the purposes of the study abroad tour within the larger framework of NCTA programs. The associate director described the limits of traditional professional development programs, and said that the study tour aimed to provide participants with “cultural learning” that would be unattainable by staying in the U.S. She hoped that by traveling to China in this study tour, the participants would return to their classrooms with a shift in their perceptual understandings of China. The associate director also provided me with a promotional video documenting a past trip to China. This video suggested that the primary goal of NCTA study tours is for participants to “bring back to their classrooms and communities a better understanding of Asia.” As a result, I decided this study tour would serve as a suitable site for this study.

Sources: Participant Selection

Four teachers on this tour are the primary participants in this study. Though the content of this study tour is designed for social studies teachers, not all participants who traveled to China were social studies teachers; a small number were world literature or Chinese language teachers. Due to the nature of the research questions employed by this study, I used purposeful sampling (Marshall & Rossman, 2011), asking only in-service social studies teachers on the tour to participate in this study. I had hoped that all social studies teachers on this tour would agree to sit for interviews. In order to generate a robust dataset, I believed that the narratives of no fewer than three participants would be the minimum necessary for this study. To avoid a thin dataset, I erred on the side of more rather than less (Seidman, 2006, p. 51) in collecting narratives. In all,

six teachers responded favorably to my request to participate in this study. Following phone conversations with all six teachers, I asked four to participate more fully in this study.

I eliminated two of the teachers because they had previously participated in study abroad tours in China, while the other four had neither participated in any study abroad tours, nor had they been to China at any point in their lives. The four chosen to participate bring to this study a variety of previous international experiences, and are currently at different points in their teaching careers. Michael Cavanaugh is an eight-year veteran of a suburban middle school who has traveled to every continent, except for Antarctica, prior to participating in this study tour. Like Michael, Rebecca Hixon has also spent her five-year teaching career in a suburban middle school. Her primary international experiences have occurred in Western Europe, with a brief stint in Turkey. Caroline Pesce has taught in the same school as Rebecca for the last 13 years, and has spent considerable time in Italy and France, also making a trip to Turkey. Finally, Anthony Roselli has taught for three years in a suburban high school, only leaving the U.S. to travel to resorts in Mexico and the Caribbean.

Research Context

This study centers around one NCTA study abroad tour, which traveled to China in the summer of 2012. The cohort on this tour consisted of 18 educators from Connecticut, Georgia, Kansas, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas. All participants completed at least one full year of content-based professional development through NCTA in their respective locales. This group traveled to China from July 1 to July 17, 2012. The content of this trip, which dictated the cities and sites visited, dealt primarily with the Silk Road. Two American historians recruited by NCTA traveled with this cohort, acting as both travel guides, translating Mandarin-to-English and directing the participants' travel throughout China,

and as historical guides providing content instruction. In addition, one Chinese guide accompanied the participants throughout the entire trip, as did local guides in each city visited, providing similar services.

Participants in the study tour first met at a hotel in Chicago. There they participated in a two-hour orientation session with the two American guides. A representative of the travel agency that booked the flights and hotel rooms and secured the group visa into China addressed practical concerns, such as how to avoid food poisoning and exchanging currency. This representative also provided the group with a brief Mandarin language lesson, and tips for making the most of their time in China. He advised the participants, most of all, to step “out of the bubble” of the tour group and try to explore a bit of China on their own. The content specialists suggested the participants get into “Asian mode” and begin acting with a group mentality. They also warned against talking about politics or religion with the Chinese guides, who would be handling logistics for the tour in China.

The next morning the participants flew to Beijing. In the hotel lobby in Chicago, the airport terminal, and on the flight the participants discussed their previous travel experiences. Some expressed anxiety over adjusting to both the time difference and food in China. There was also discussion of cross-cultural differences between the group and the host population, particularly anxiety around women's dress in predominantly Muslim areas of the country. The itinerary of the tour was as follows: three days in Beijing, two days in Xi'an, two days in Dunhuang, two days in Turpan, one day in Urumqi, two days in Hotan, one day in Shache, three days in Kashgar, and two days in Shanghai (see Map 1 for an overview of the sites visited). The hotels the group stayed in were all four or five-star lodgings, often located in cosmopolitan neighborhoods of the respective cities. For example, the hotel that the group stayed at in Beijing

was the Beijing International Hotel in the Dongcheng District, where many consulates are also located.

Map 1. NCTA Silk Road Study Tour



As this itinerary suggests, quite a lot of time was spent in transit, either between cities or riding on buses to visit historical and cultural sites. That left little time for reflection, lesson planning, or collaboration on the part of the participants. For example, Michael talked about the applicability (or lack thereof) of actually seeing the Terracotta Army to his classroom, since it was not supported by any educational activity. Still, while in transit the participants were able to make space to engage in teacher talk. Michael, Rebecca, Caroline, and Anthony developed a community of inquiry (Louis & Marks, 1998), habitually sitting together on the buses between the sites and the hotels. Together, they and several other tour members discussed the respective scope and sequences of their districts, China's place in their curricula, their colleagues' treatment of global history, issues with implementing what they called "truly global" history, and the value of tenure in protecting academic integrity. However, not all of the participants on the study tour took part in these types of conversations.

While the two American historians provided lectures about Chinese history and culture throughout the tour, the national Chinese guide, who traveled with the group to every city, as well as local guides, also provided brief lectures about various topics. Participants on the tour joked about the propensity of the Chinese guides to emphasize the greatness or bigness of China in these lectures. The Chinese guides also brought the participants to at least one “shopping opportunity” in each city that the tour visited. These activities involved going to a shop, hearing a lecture by a shopkeeper about a particular craft, and then being given about an hour to shop in the store. For example, outside of Beijing the tour visited a jade factory, while in Turpan the tour visited a silk factory. At both “shopping opportunities” the tour was exposed to the production techniques of carving jade and weaving silk, as well as the cultural significances of these products. However, the primary purposes of these visits were not educational but commercial. When asked about these activities, one of the historians told me that “shopping opportunities” are particular to study tours in China, and that the Chinese guides are “required” to bring tours to the shops. She did not specify further about this process.

The study tour visited primarily historical and cultural sites. Some of the major sites the tour stopped at were Temple of Heaven, Tiananmen Square, Forbidden City, Beijing Opera, Great Wall, Terracotta Army, Big Wild Goose Pagoda, Mogao Grottos, Bezeklik Thousand Buddhe Caves, Id Kah Mosque, Yu Garden, and Shanghai Museum. The tour itself could be divided roughly in half, between cities in eastern China (Beijing, Xi'an, and Shanghai) and cities in western China (Dunhuang, Turpan, Urumqi, Hotan, and Kashgar). The participants noted the qualitative differences between their experiences in these two regions. The cities in eastern China, dominated by the Han ethnic group, tended to confirm the participants' ideas about what they would expect to see in China. However, once the group traveled west, particularly in the

Xinjiang Autonomous Region, their notions of what China was “supposed to look like” was challenged. One participant remarked to me, "I definitely don't feel like I am in China anymore," a sentiment expressed by many members of the tour. This is likely because Xinjiang is much more akin to central Asia than east Asia: Mandarin is the second language of signage (local languages such as Uyghur are usually first, while English is often fourth or does not appear at all), donkeys are a more common form of transportation than bicycles, and the style of clothing looks like what one might find in Pakistan, rather than China. As result, the opportunities for culture shock were much more common in the west than the east.

Protocol for Data Collection

In collecting data for this study I used a variety of interactive methods associated with narrative studies (Chase, 2011). In particular, the lens of reflexive interplay guided data collection. As such, I conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews, participant observations, and artifact collection. The choices I have made in the methods of data collection are consistent with best practices in qualitative research methodology, in that I used a variety of methods that are interactive and focus on the context of the experience being studied (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Marshall & Rossman, 2011). The purpose of collecting this data is to identify, analyze, and understand the potential impacts of one international professional development program on four in-service social studies teachers, as well as myself. I began collecting data in April of 2012 and concluded data collection in November of 2012.

Interviews

Narrative retellings (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009; Riessman, 2008) of participant experiences in this international professional development program were addressed primarily through in-depth interviews. The lens of this study, as well as participant observation field notes,

guided the content of these interviews (See Appendix A: Initial Interview Protocol). I employed Seidman's (2006) in-depth, semi-structured interview format. Seidman recommends three, 90-minute interviews of open-ended questions (2006, p. 15-16). The first interview occurs prior to the experience, and aims to put the participants' experience in the larger context of their life history. The second interview occurs during or immediately after the experience being studied, and concentrates on the concrete details of the lived experience itself. The final interview occurs some time after the experience being studied, and aims to address the "intellectual and emotional connection between the participants' work and life," having had time to reflect on the experience (Seidman, 2006, p. 18).

I adapted the in-depth semi-structured interview format in the following ways. I interviewed the in-service social studies teachers participating in this tour three times. The first interview occurred roughly one month before the trip. This interview focused on the participants' life histories, including their teaching and travel experiences, as well as their interpretations of Chinese history and culture, and how they conceptualize their teaching of these topics. The second interview occurred within the month after the conclusion of the trip, and centered on their immediate impressions of the trip itself. The final interview occurred roughly two or three months into the school year, depending on the participants' availability. This interview concentrated on the broader meanings of the trip for participants, and how they had begun to incorporate these experiences in their practice.

Using the in-depth semi-structured interview format requires the researcher to be flexible and reactive to the various contexts in which the participants find themselves (Seidman, 2006). This format coalesces well with Gubrium and Holstein's (2009) recommendation that interviews function more as collaborative conversations, where both researcher and participant act as

contributing stakeholders. In addition, the data collected during the participant observations in large part came to inform the topics and questions asked during the second and third interviews. For example, the second and third interview protocols were revised from one core list of questions I hoped to cover with all four participants to include specific and individualized questions relating to either specific moments recorded in my field notes during the participant observations and themes that emerged from the first interviews (see Appendices B-I). As a result, I treated the interview protocol as a guide, letting the narrators to dictate the flow of the conversation. This allowed for the creation of rich narratives out of the data culled from the interviews (Riessman, 2008, p. 23-24).

It must be made clear that in constructing these narratives through interview data, I am the primary author of these narratives. In speaking for the narrators, I have in essence colonized their experiences and presented them in this context through my own understandings and interpretations. I have attempted to account for this deficiency by asking the participants to comment on the narratives I have constructed. In addition, I believe that my role as a participant observer built a solid rapport with the participants during the interview process, leading to a “We” relationship, as opposed to an “I-Thou” relationship (Seidman, 2006, p. 95-96). Interacting closely throughout the trip, eating meals together, sitting on planes and buses, and in the case of the male participants sharing hotel rooms, created a level of intimacy that I believe made the participants more comfortable throughout the interview process. However there is no way to escape the dominant position I hold in representing the thoughts, emotions, and memories of the participants in this study.

Observations

Moving beyond an analysis of the narratives I created through the above interviews, reflexive interplay demands a “close scrutiny of circumstances, their actors, and actions in the process of formulating and communicated accounts,” calling for “direct observation, with decided attention to story formation” (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 22). In order to better understand the narratives created by the participants, I employed ethnographic observations throughout the NCTA study abroad tour in China. Participant observation is a “method relying on watching, listening, asking questions, and collecting things” (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 196). Participant observation involves going out and living within a culture, and experiencing the lives of the participants as much as possible (Barnard, 2006). As a result, participant observations involve a significant amount of fieldwork with the goal of as much immersion into the culture being studied as is feasible. By watching what participants do, listening to what they say, and interacting with them, participant observations allow the researcher to experience reality as the participants do to a limited extent and document that experience (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

While on the tour I acted as a participant observer. As a participant observer, I immersed myself as much as I could into the culture of the study tour cohort, interacting with the participants in a naturalistic way as they learned about China at cultural and historical sites. While observing, I kept two types of field notes: inscription and formatted descriptive notes. Inscription is the notation emerging from interaction and participation (Clifford, 1990). Much robust data emerged from unstructured conversations throughout the trip, for example over dinner, on bus rides, and in hotel lobbies. Inscription in the form of jottings allowed me to have a record of these moments. These notes emphasized the communicative nature of the experience,

and aimed to be as detailed as possible in capturing as much conversation verbatim as possible (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009). They were useful in providing context to the thematic and structural analyses of the narratives constructed through interviews.

In moments when participants were receiving formal training by historians and teacher educators, I utilized formatted descriptive notes. I have adapted a format developed by O'Hearn-Curran (as cited in Marshall & Rossman, 2011). This format (See Appendix J: Observation Protocol) allowed me to create descriptive notes in the column on the left, and reflection and analysis on the right. Unfortunately, the formatted descriptive notes were used infrequently while compiling data on the tour. The formal instruction that this format of field notes was designed to capture was in large part absent from much of the trip, a dearth that surprised both the participants and me. Both formats of field notes served to record the formal learning participants experienced, as well as inform later interactions with the participants, such as semi-structured and unstructured interviews.

Artifact Collection

Finally, to aid in reconstructing the narrative contexts in which participants create their stories, I collected artifacts throughout this study. Artifacts “constitute data indicating people’s sensations, experiences, and knowledge and which connote opinions, values, and feelings” (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 216). Artifacts include a variety of sources, including documents, photographs, lesson plans, and curriculum revisions. The collection of artifacts aided in the analysis of study abroad tour and more significantly the construction of the narratives. This is an invaluable source of data because artifacts are “potentially quite rich in portraying the values and beliefs of participants in the setting (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 160).

I collected artifacts in two specific contexts. One source of artifacts was the study tour itself. As a participant observer, I collected any handouts and materials that accompanied the professional development seminars activities while in China. Such material included pamphlets that participants received at museums, reading material that supplemented their viewing of historical sites, and a guide to Chinese language, etiquette, and customs provided by NCTA. I also photographed as much of the historical and cultural sites as possible, focusing on the participants' interactions with these sites. These artifacts were useful in the reconstruction of the experience itself, as well as in the analysis of the learning that characterized this study tour. I also collected participant-made artifacts. These included photographs they took while abroad and lesson plans, activities, curricular revisions, and any other pedagogical tools they have created as a result of their experiences. The purpose of analyzing these artifacts is not to draw conclusions about their pedagogical practices, but rather to analyze the extent to which they have attempted to de-centered their thinking about their curricula (wa Thiong'o, 1993).

Data Analysis

Data analysis provided several means to interpreting the data collected through observations, interviews, and artifacts. I used inductive coding, as well as thematic and structural narrative analyses to interpret the data collected in this study (see table 4 for data analysis plan). The goal of data analysis is to create a vivid reconstruction of the culture being studied (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 235). The use of multiple methods of data analysis led to triangulation (Riessman, 2008), providing a robust interpretation of the learning experienced by four in-service social studies teachers on one international professional development program.

Upon completing the data collection, I reviewed the research proposal and organized the results of my fieldwork (Creswell, 1998). This activity allowed me to reacquaint myself with the

original research question and procedures of analysis, and organize the field notes, transcripts, and artifacts in preparation for data analysis. I then reread the data collected, checking it for completeness and jotted initial reactions, thoughts, and questions that informed the formal data analysis. In this way I immersed myself in the data (Marshall & Rossman, 2011).

Having organized the data, I then inductively analyzed the observations, interviews, and artifacts. The aim of inductive analysis is to create themes or categories in the data that the researcher may have not anticipated. I began by writing thematic memos (Marshall & Rossman, 2011) relating to my initial thoughts on the themes that I generated from the data. I then open coded the data and searched for clusters. These clusters revealed the ways in which the initial

Table 4. Data Analysis Plan

Research Question: What meanings do four social studies teachers create as a result of their participation in international professional development in China?				
Type of analysis	Data analyzed	Coding scheme	Interpretation of...	Context analysis
Inductive analysis	Observations and artifacts	Thematic memos and open coding	characteristics of the event, unexpected impact of the event, and the context in which the event took place	Significant
Thematic analysis	Interviews	Thematic memos and open coding	common, unexpected impacts of the same event on different participants (the <i>what</i> of the narrative)	Limited
Structural analysis	Interviews	Identification of structural elements	variations in meaning for individual participants experiencing the same event (the <i>how</i> of the narrative)	Limited

themes may have been related. Through this same analytic process, I also conducted a thematic analysis of the narratives participants constructed through the interviews, paying particular attention to the “point” or the “moral” of the narrators’ stories (Riessman, 2008, p. 62).

Analyzing the substance of the narrative is one analytic process recommended through the lens of reflexive interplay (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009).

The second analytic process recommended through the lens of reflexive interplay is an analysis of the internal structure of the narratives. As noted in the theoretical framework, previous narrative analyses of international experiences have been limited by the researchers' attention to only the content of the narrative, ignoring how the narrative has been produced. However, structural analysis of narratives can add "insights beyond what can be learned from referential meanings alone" (Riessman, 2008, p. 77). I used structural analysis of the interviews to establish the ways in which I believe the participants made meaning out of their international experiences. In other words, while the thematic analyses of the narratives may reveal common themes across the experience, structural analysis aimed to reveal the differences in ways participants grappled with and reflected upon these same themes. More importantly, structural analyses of the narratives also suggested ways that the participants' interpretive stances were challenged or strengthened by the study tour.

Coding the structure of the narratives involved identifying the function of particular clauses within the overall narrative. The functions of clauses in the narrative were coded according to a similar structure used by Riessman (1989): carrying the action forward (CA), commenting on the meaning of the event for the narrator (EV), providing background information on the setting or other characters (OR), resolve of the narrative (RE), and the summary or "point" of the story (AB) (see table 5 for structural analysis coding scheme). I read through the interview transcripts, coding the clauses according to their function within the narrative. Though this process echoed a Western notion of narrative in which stories contain clear beginnings, climaxes, and conclusions (Miller, 2005), it also aided me in making deeper

connections between the action and the meaning narrators make as a result of their involvement in those actions (Riessman, 2008, p. 89).

Table 5. Structural Analysis Coding Scheme

Riessman (1989)	
Code	Function in the narrative
AB	Abstract
OR	Orientation
CA	Complicating action
EV	Evaluation
RE	Resolution

Human Subjects in Research and Teachers College Institutional Review Board

This study adheres to the guidelines established by the Institutional Review Board (IRB) of Teachers College, Columbia University for the protection of human subjects. IRB approval involves demonstrating that a research study will protect the rights and wellbeing of participants through protocols such as informed consent, protection of the confidentiality of participants' identities, and assessing the risks and rewards associated with participation. In seeking IRB approval, data collection and analysis procedures have been "grounded in the moral principles of respect for persons, beneficence, and justice" (Marhsall & Rossman, 2011, p. 47). Simultaneous to my submission of this proposal, I also submitted an application for IRB approval at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Following IRB approval, I informed all participants of the purposes of this study, that their participation was voluntary, the minimal risks associated with their participation, and that their identities will remain protected (see Appendix K). This was done chiefly through informed consent forms, which were distributed to all participants. I also recognize that consent is an ongoing process, rather than a form to be signed, and continually reflected on ethical issues outside the realm of IRB approval, such as representations of participants in the final write-up of this study.

Researcher Positionality

It is important to recognize that the researcher is the primary instrument of data collection, whose subjectivities influence the construction of data collection protocol, what is seen in the observations, and ultimately the analysis and interpretation of the study. Piantanida and Garman (1999) argue that, “the researcher is as much a part of the inquiry as the intent of the study and the inquiry process” (p.24). For that reason, it is important to acknowledge my positionality within this study: “Every researcher speaks from within a distinct interpretive community that configures, in its special way, the multicultural, gendred components of the research act” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2001, p. 21). By acknowledging my positionality, I am making explicit my personal histories and biases, as well as the ontological and epistemological underpinnings that define my relationship to this qualitative inquiry.

This is no easy task, as I have found that identifying the assumptions I bring to my research has been difficult. This is likely a result of my status as a straight, white male American from lower middle-class Protestant parents. Working and interacting with students and teachers in inner-city schools in the Northeast has made me acutely aware of both my own privilege and the structural nature of racism in the U.S. Witnessing actual poverty, rather than relative poverty, has made me conscious of my own favored place within the national community. I also realize my own distance from that marginalization, and that at the end of the day I am still a straight white male in a society where I represent the status quo.

However, I feel I truly recognized my privilege as a white American when I began traveling abroad, allowing me to better understand my status as an American in a global sense. Travel to so-called Third World nations in North Africa and South America made international power relationships I had read about in my studies tangible. For example, in South America I

met many Quechua people who were frustrated with U.S. policies that put pressure on Peruvian and Bolivian authorities to contain the growth and manufacture of cocaine, while the American government seemingly did little to curb its own citizens' desire for the drug. I could literally see how these policies limited what Peruvian and Bolivian farmers could produce, thereby limiting their income, while American companies like Coca-Cola were free to produce as much coca as they needed. The dynamics of these interconnections between seemingly distant peoples were guided by power; witnessing them has forced me to consider how an Orientalist (1978) framework, born out of the Western imperialist tradition, has ultimately guided my understandings of what constitutes knowledge.

Further, on a personal level, traveling internationally has been a truly othering experience, in part because I have sought out and reflected on those experiences that would challenge my worldview. I first went abroad with my grandparents to visit family in Scotland, but this experience was more transformative in the sense that I gained a more significant understanding where my family had come from. However, in college, when I began traveling independently, I made a point to stay off of the beaten path, avoiding large towns and tourist attractions. Traveling alone or with one other person, I was a linguistic, cultural, and in North Africa and South America, an ethnic outsider.

While in the United States I was the status quo; in these "Other" places I was truly confronted with my American self (Dolby, 2004). I was forced to reevaluate what it meant to be American on someone else's terms and gained a small sense of empathy for people who are linguistic, cultural, and ethnic outsiders in the United States. Because of these experiences, I believe I have become more sensitive to representations of the Other, whether they be participants in studies I am conducting, or the other of the American social studies curriculum.

But it is impossible for me to deny that at my core I was raised in an education system built on imperial understandings of the world (Willinsky, 1998).

Thus, as best I can tell, my identity has been largely formed out of a series of moments where I have realized my privileged position in American society and the world. In particular, the process of being othered while traveling abroad has made me sensitive to issues of representation, though I realize the limiting nature of my own assumptions. Because traveling across national borders has been such a transformative experience for me, as a researcher I am drawn to the educational nature of these types of experiences, and feel as though they must be carefully planned for and reflected upon.

Moving beyond my own assumptions, I also believe my use of narrative inquiry demands that I acknowledge my role in construction and reconstruction of the narratives in this study. It must be noted that the participants likely retell their experiences differently in different contexts (with friends, family, colleagues, etc.). Much of what they deemed important or worthy of sharing in our conversations was influenced by what they thought I, as a researcher, would want to record. Likewise, the interview protocols I created, and directions our conversations took away from those protocol, were molded by what I identified as significant moments on the trip, and my personal interpretations of the learning I experienced as a participant observer.

Limitations

There are several limitations to this study. These limitations are reflective of the limitations inherent in qualitative and case study research in general (Marshall & Rossman, 2011; Stake, 1995). This inquiry is a narrative inquiry concerned with learning taking place as a result of one study abroad professional development program. As such, this study inquires into the workings of a “bounded system” (Smith, 1979); it emphasizes a detailed contextual analysis

of a limited number of events. As such, the findings in this study will be site specific and not generalizable or transferable to other cases. However, this limitation is common among studies of international experience and pre-service and in-service education (see Dolby, 2004; Doppen, 2010; Garii, 2009; Ileleji, 2009; Jewett, 2010; Kambutu & Nganga, 2008; Kirkwood, 2002; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Quezada, 2004; Sahin, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001; Wilson, 1993a, 1993b, 1998) and qualitative studies more generally (Patton, 2002).

In addition, this study focuses primarily on my interpretations of participants' understandings of social studies content, and how their understandings are impacted by one international training program. It aims to analyze these impacts through interpretations of observations, interviews, and artifacts. As such, this study is limited by a lack of analysis of classroom instruction and teacher pedagogy. Previous studies have noted the impact of international experiences on relationships with students, increased confidence, and other classroom-specific behaviors (Garii, 2009; Ileleji, 2009; Quezada, 2004; Wilson, 1993a). These potential impacts will not be examined in this study, save for self-reported data in the third interview. However, these impacts are outside of the purview of this inquiry, and remain fodder for future studies with participants in this study.

Chapter Summary

This chapter represents the methodological choices of this study. As a narrative inquiry, I have utilized reflexive interplay in order to generate narrativizations and interpretations of the participants' experiences. In so doing, I have conducted three in-depth interviews with each participant. Constructing these interviews, as well as their analysis, was supported by participant observations and artifact collection. Inductive and thematic analyses were used to create themes common across all four narratives, while structural analyses were used to examine the shifting

perspectives of participants before and after the study abroad tour. Drawing from the theoretical framework of this study, I chose the NCTA study tour as the site of this study. Participants were chosen based on their previous international experiences. My positionality as researcher was briefly explained, but will be more thoroughly fleshed out in the following chapter.

IV. FINDINGS

This chapter represents the findings of this study. In particular, it contains the narratives I have created through my interviews with the four participants in this study, and observations of the narrative environments that constituted this study tour. It is my hope that the narratives in this study will reflect the challenging process of representing the participants' stories in narrative form. While previous studies of international experiences have tended to treat the participants' narratives as bounded entities that were neatly extracted from the life histories of the participants, I acknowledge that the observed phenomena in this inquiry are interwoven into the totality of the narrator's identities. That is to say, isolating the meanings made by each participant as a result of their participation in this study tour is not entirely possible, or even desirable, within the conceptualization of narrative inquiry utilized here. These narratives are a piece of a larger mosaic, and deeply tied to the narrators' lives in ways that I (and they) am likely unaware of.

The participant narratives are constructed through three semi-structured in-depth interviews (Seidman, 2006). I have attempted to allow the narratives to unfold in the manner in which they did in our conversations. In addition, I have jointly constructed the narratives with the participants through the interviews by treating them as an open-ended discourse, in which the participants are partners with me in this process (Riessman, 2008). Rather than create the illusion that these narratives were neatly drawn out of the participants' personal recollections, my voice remains active within these narratives signifying the role I played in creating them. In the interest of collaborative conversation, I have also asked the participants to review my narrative recreations of their stories, and offer corrections and further elaboration (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 93-94).

Due to the subjective nature of qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), and the personal nature of participant observation (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993), it is important that I lay bare my own experiences and reactions as a first-time traveler to China. Because “investigators are implicated at every step along the way in constituting the narratives we then analyze” (Riessman, 2008, p. 28), it must be noted that I constructed the interview protocol and transcribed the interviews. The moments I found truly educational on the study tour provided starting points for our discussions. As a result, these narratives are characterized by my interpretation throughout, and each narrative is told through my perspective. It is also vital that I track and interrogate the assumptions and biases that I bring to all interpretations represented in this study. As such, the reader will note instances where I have inserted my own experiences as a participant on this study tour into the narratives themselves, and my analysis thereof.

Each narrative is organized into three sections, mirroring the themes I have developed through my reading of the data. These themes will be more fully explored in Chapter V. The first section of each narrative is concerned with how the participants grappled with various issues associated with the legacy of imperialism, having traveled to China on this study tour. The second section of each narrative presents the participants’ reflections on the experience of learning abroad on this particular study tour. The final section of each narrative considers the participants’ approach to the content of their curricula following the study tour. It must be made clear that these attempts to organize the narratives are my literary choices. Likewise, separating these accounts into distinct narratives provides false delineations, since their stories, as told to and interpreted by me, reflected the intertwined experiences the five of us shared. Rather, as I attempt to articulate in the concluding chapter, the meanings the participants made regarding their experiences blended together throughout all three of our conversations, and sprawled across

all four narratives. Finally, utilizing field notes collected while traveling with the participants, I attempt to conceptualize the narrative environments that constitute the participants' engagement with the study tour. These field notes have been organized using Merryfield's (2001) pedagogical processes for de-centering social studies curricula.

Narrative 1: Michael Cavanaugh

And it's not that then I don't think the stuff we saw with the Silk Road and trade and how the world works and economics and interactions between China, obviously I want to teach about those. But I guess some of the things, as I said, like the terra cotta soldiers, I think that has some value, do not get me wrong, but it's not, is that what I, when I look at my time, 180 days with the kids, do I want a freaking day to be on the terra cotta soldiers, or could I have a day on breaking down stereotypes that people hold or opening kids' eyes to different perspectives? I always am going to take the latter.

—Michael Cavanaugh, Third Interview

Michael, who identifies as a white, straight, male, grew up outside of a small city in the Northeast of the United States. Michael struggled to identify with any particular ethnic group, first noting that his grandfather was an Italian immigrant. However, as he articulated his identity, he remarked that he is “about as Italian as Hellman's mayonnaise.” When asked if he identified as a third-generation Italian-American, he responded with a laugh that he simply identified as an American. He described his early life as one of self-aware privilege: both of his parents are doctors, who imparted on him an appreciation for the advantages he enjoyed as a result of their financial security. He also noted his respect for diversity: “I think that I always had an appreciation for different places, different people, interacting, getting different perspectives, and developing empathy, I think was a huge one that both my parents cultivated.” Upon graduating from high school, Michael attended an Ivy League university where he majored in history, focusing his studies on African American history.

For the last eight years Michael has taught seventh and eighth grade social studies at John D. Rockefeller Middle School, located in a suburban town in the Northeast of the United States.

Michael describes his school community and student population as such:

Affluent community. Almost all freaking white. Politics, generally, they are very conservative. There is a small Latin American, and it's growing actually, very few black students. A decent number of people with a background, of maybe Indian, Bengali, I always have a few students were Asian, but very, very few, still.

Michael feels that his students, particularly his minority students, benefit from his heavy concentration on race throughout the school year.

Throughout his career Michael has alternated between teaching 7th grade World History and 8th grade early U.S. History. In teaching both curricula, Michael has tried to emphasize the globalized nature of the world, criticizing the way his peers have presented these curricula: “I can't stand the American way of, American history 90% of the time, and then there's this world.” His inspiration for this emphasis came from the work of historian Daniel Rodgers, particularly his narrative history of the Atlantic world in the first half of the twentieth century, *Atlantic Crossings* (1998). He reports accomplishing this through either literal examinations of the interconnections between people and events (such as trade throughout history) or comparative presentations of topics across international locales (such as readings of different constitutions and contrasting them to the U.S. Constitution). Michael has found that his attempts to integrate global topics into the U.S. curricula have been met with frustration and resistance from his colleagues.

A particular focus of our early conversations was on Michael's previous international experiences, and their impact on his teaching. Michael proudly describes himself as a traveler, having visited every continent except for Antarctica. Though he had never been to China, he had traveled to Asia the March before the study tour, when he and his wife visited Nepal and

Indonesia. In describing why travel has been so influential on his teaching, Michael talked about his experiences meeting other travelers and foreign nationals, whose conversations provided him with their perspectives on his home nation. In addition, Michael reports using photographs from his trips in various social studies lessons. For example, following a trip to central Africa, “I brought in different photos of people carrying things to the market and I actually used that when talking about the American market revolution, and for transportation I showed pictures of people walking to market.”

The Other and the Study Tour: Facing a Mixed Legacy

A significant portion of our conversations following the study tour regarded the legacy of imperialism as encountered by Michael on the study tour, and whether or not he implicated himself in that legacy. I asked Michael to talk about whether or not experiences on the study tour caused him to reflect on the legacy of imperialism. He was unsure of the connection I was asking him to make between the study tour and this legacy, so I recounted some of the moments that the guides discussed the influence of Western aggression on Chinese history and sites that the group visited, such as the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang, that were physically altered by colonial expansion. Michael responded:

I struggle with, I mean the question is raised for me of, well clearly imperialism sucks when it's motivated by whatever, but then there are benefits to it. And then I hate saying that because it immediately, I feel like then I'm sounding like Donald Rumsfeld or something who I despise with every ounce of my, you know whatever but, I don't know. I'm torn. The stuff where, yes, the Buddhist Caves there is no freaking benefit to that where they tear it up, you know, rip stuff up really.

I challenged the notion of this legacy being beneficial to China. Michael responded that he saw evidence in the form of technological advances, in particular medicine. However, as he expanded on this idea, it grew complicated by Michael's observations about the impact of globalization in China, particularly through the presence of Western corporate entities. In this

space he began to implicate (Talburt, 2009) himself in this phenomenon as a global traveler. He concluded by arguing that imperialism is a human issue, and not specific to the West. He also noted that the legacy of imperialism, whether it is representations of the East by the West or physical control of the Uyghur minority by the Han majority in China, is complicated by both upsides and downsides for all parties.

In our final conversation, completed four months into the school year following the study tour, Michael remained conflicted on how traveling to China has impacted his teaching of the legacy of imperialism. He mentioned wanting his students to explore this legacy, but was unsure of how that goal might be accomplished. His presentation would be complicated by his understanding of this legacy:

I am always torn where the United States to me has behaved, I mean, done a lot, obviously, for our own interests, our expansion of power, the money we spend on the military, the amount of bases, it's a lot of stuff that disgusts me and then, I do sometimes have the thought, you know, okay, there is a dark side to this but, you know, we are not, name some other nations that have the kind of military power, lone superpower like us, that didn't just go around fucking everyone. Not just a few, but really being bastards, and you could argue we are bastards but I think there is a difference between our behavior, at least people are concerned with the ideas of freedom, human rights and, I don't know. I'm still very conflicted.

Michael reaffirmed that he wants his students to understand that the legacy of imperialism has created a world system in which certain peoples benefit while others suffer. However, he did not emphasize an analysis of representations of the East that also characterizes the historical legacy of imperialism, particularly in education (Willinsky, 1998).

The struggle Michael articulated following the study tour largely mimicked our conversation before leaving for China. For example, when we met about a month before the tour, Michael reported that imperialism was a major topic in both his World History and U.S. history classes, with the topic being presented as a debate between expansionism and imperialism. His

hope was that his students, by looking at the arguments in favor of and against colonial expansion, would come to the conclusion imperialism was on the whole negative for the colonized peoples. When I asked him whether he discusses the ongoing legacy of imperialism with his students, however, Michael wrestled with defining the legacy's place within his curricula:

The life expectancy [of formerly colonized peoples] has increased. There have been different technologies introduced and forms of government and, because I think my personal stance is that while those things are true, it, you know, the exploitation for resources or, that can be [long pause] At the same time once again though, why I guess I don't know if I really do, because then you can look at you know India, China, and Japan and cite very positive influences.

Michael pushed back against the notion of the East/West divide imposed by the legacy of imperialism. While acknowledging that “the East” is a relative term, and that “who’s writing the history and talking about it” certainly will impact his students’ understanding of the world they live in, he did not report exploring these issues of historiography (Stahl & Shanahan, 2004) with his students.

Despite what appeared to me as a lack of shift in understandings about the legacy of imperialism, Michael’s ideas about the division between the East and West seem to have been complicated by his participation in this study tour. For example, when asked to describe “the East,” his most immediate response was to identify essentialized images common in an Orientalist description of China (Gage, 1991): dragons, the color red, Mao, and massive crowds of people. As he responded, he stopped himself and laughed. He said, “I think this is actually really comical because it is, I guess, the images I think of in this order are natural corrections of like, it is still me actually playing out what I just said. Where I’m like, no dude, what about all the people?” He went on to describe his personal interactions with Chinese people on the study tour as his revised image of the East, because those interactions began to challenge the simplistic

and distant image of the East he developed through his years of learning about Asia from primarily Western sources.

Much like my interpretation of Michael's discussion of the legacy of imperialism, visiting China appears to have reinforced Michael's previously held interpretive stances towards this nation. Both before and after the study tour Michael expressed fears about the future relationship between China and America. On the study tour Michael reported being exposed to a nationalist sentiment in China. Also, the massive construction projects, especially in Xi'an, increased his concerns over the amount of resources China has. He was careful to note that his concerns are not rooted in racism or nationalism, but rather with China's authoritarian government. Michael said that it is "very scary to see how in a fascist state you can be so prosperous, people then are acting and getting by doing their daily routine and the government though is tyrannical and can execute you." He continued:

That's very scary to me [...] I want to differentiate an ignorant, xenophobic concern. I want to say it's more of, with just power in general and a statement that applies to America as well. So I do, I did have those concerns already. I was still blown away by the amount of construction and growth.

He concluded by emphasizing that his apprehensions were solely with China's government, and not with the Chinese people. He noted that he only had one negative interaction with Chinese nationals, which gave him hope that the two nations would be able to avoid conflict in the future.

Learning Abroad: Finding the Unofficial Study Tour

Michael had much to say about his professional growth through participation in this study tour. During our conversation immediately following the study tour, Michael recounted some of the most memorable moments in China. Michael was let down by the lack of comparative government conversations like those he experienced on previous international trips. He was also frustrated by what he described as a similar desire for materialist gain between the Chinese and

Americans: “specifically the younger generation has a lot less faith or religion and more just, it's all about the dollar and I think I saw some of that growth, copying almost Americans’ values in a way that obviously there's still the Chinese take on it.” Michael chafed at the larger cities like Beijing and Shanghai: tussling within the throngs of people presented a conflict for Michael, with him concluding that he “felt people just not recognizing other people’s humanity” in China. Michael was also displeased that the tour traveled to such remote cities such as Hotan, when there appeared to be little of educational value in those places. He was also frustrated by what he perceived of as a lack of preparation by certain members of the study tour for travel in a region with a predominantly Muslim population: “I think some people, stereotypes, I was shocked that [other members of the study tour] weren’t ready for, you know, maybe some Islamic, you know, almost chauvinistic, or cultural differences.”

At the same time, Michael felt that other experiences in the Xinjinag province were among the most positive on the tour. When prompted to describe why the city of Kashgar made such a lasting impression on him, Michael said, “I loved that there was so much hope, optimism. People in general, how much laughter I saw, kindness, seeing members of Uyghur minority after seeing how angry and distant they were with Han Chinese, interacting, dancing, laughing.” Michael then spoke about a number of interactions with members of the Uyghur population that he felt were especially uplifting. For example, while in the Kashgar bazaar he spent over an hour buying curtains from a Uyghur family. He described bridging the vast cultural and linguistic differences between himself and the seamstress, who was dressed in full jilbāb, as among the most powerful moments he has experienced while traveling.

I noticed in recounting the most powerful experiences he did not mention any of the historical sites the study tour visited. Rather, the most impactful moments seemed to involve

mundane interactions in unfamiliar environments, what I will call the unwritten curriculum of the story tour. Michael clarified that there were places that were a part of the official curriculum that left a significant effect on him. For example, he found the Mogao Grottoes in Dunhuang, and their palpable connection with the Silk Road to be “amazing.” Similarly, walking along the ancient city wall in Xi’an ancient structure, allowed for him to meet residents of Xi’an, while also appreciating a juxtaposition of historic and modern China.

In our final conversation, Michael reflected once more on the most powerful moments of the study tour. Not surprisingly, his reflections were much less detailed than in our second conversation, though generally similar. However, rather than segregate the tour between the positive and negative experiences, Michael focused specifically on cheerful moments. He tended to concentrate on interactions that occurred as part of the unofficial curriculum of the study tour, such as making connections with the host population. For example, he recounted his attempt to buy peanuts and beer for members of the study tour while at the night market in Dunhuang, and how he and the bartender clumsily negotiated the seemingly insurmountable language barrier between them. Similarly, Michael also talked about buying curtains from the Uyghur family at the bazaar in Kashgar.

While on the tour many of the teachers talked about the treatment of women in China as compared to in the U.S., particularly while traveling through the Uyghur territories. For Michael, issues relating to gender inequality were not more pronounced in China than in the U.S. He suggested that he witnessed women “constantly in positions of being treated like garbage,” but this was predominantly anecdotal. Michael argued that, even in the largely Uyghur cities, the gender gap was more surface-level, manifested in expectations for dress and daily interactions, but not fundamentally different than those in the U.S.

Michael also reported that in the U.S. he spent a significant amount of time in inner-cities so he was not surprised by the poverty he witnessed. Only in certain cities, Hotan and Shache, was he was struck by “the amount of poverty and the difference where I can juxtapose with other places we had been and that was, to me, wow.” However, he felt other members of the tour made too much of the poverty in China: “I mean stuff just frustrated me, and I had to deal with this before but I hate their freaking squat toilets. How disgusting their freaking bathrooms were at rest stops. That pissed me off. But that’s more like angering me.”

When asked to discuss any significant cross-cultural experiences, Michael tended to focus on political conversations that were rooted in China’s authoritarian government. In particular, he was disappointed to not meet foreign nationals, be they other travelers or local people, who commented on the political differences between their nations and the U.S. I attempted to move the conversation towards moments of culture shock or difficulties he may have faced, especially being a Caucasian in a majority non-Caucasian nation. He noted that he felt as though he had to work harder to make connections with local people than he had on previous trips. Michael remarked:

I think you had to do more to get people to smile. I think it did take effort to get people to break down, and language barrier be damned because I’ve dealt with the language barrier in every other country I’ve been in, and I usually, I’m a pretty goofy son of a gun and pretty outgoing and I was able to do it, but it did take effort. It took a lot of effort I felt and I wasn’t able to crack a lot of people more than I’ve ever experienced.

Michael concluded that part of the difficulty he faced in making these connections was owed to the structure of the tour itself. While on the tour I noted Michael’s desire to meet and converse with local people while at historical and cultural sites. When I asked him how much contact with the host population he had while on the tour, he reported being very frustrated because there was hardly any, though he sought it out: “I love going right up to a person and, you

know, messing with them. And when I say messing with them, not in a condescending, but just like laughing and trying to figure things out and being goofy.” He noted that while in Xi’an he and Caroline left the tour for the afternoon in an attempt to have her camera fixed. Though for a seemingly mundane purpose, the adventure of trying to navigate the Mandarin/English language barrier provided Michael with one of the most powerful and memorable experiences of the trip. While looking back on it, he became annoyed that the guides on the tour actually worked to prevent them from having the experience.

Michael was also disappointed that the tour did not allow time for he and the other travelers to interact “as teachers.” The fast pace of the trip left little time for discussion. Michael felt the guides tried to allow the group to see too much without giving time for the processing of information or reflection on their experiences. He felt the structure of the tour has impacted the way he talks about the trip with colleagues, family and friends: “That’s why I think I do reject, not reject, I just don’t generally talk about [the historical sites] with family and friends. I talk more about the little funny interactions I had with people and so that was frustrating.” For Michael, the trip lacked balance between seeing the sites and finding time to talk about the sites. He felt this led to the biggest lost opportunity of the study tour: expanding the participants’ knowledge of modern China through interpersonal interactions with ordinary Chinese people.

These disappointments are not surprising, given Michael’s expectations for the study tour, as communicated to me in our first conversation. Michael hoped that the study tour would allow him to develop professionally in two ways. For one, he expected that this trip would allow the participants time to discuss the ways in which they intended to integrate content knowledge learned on this tour into their teaching. Secondly, he anticipated his increased content knowledge of Chinese history and Chinese culture today would allow him to begin to reform his school’s

social studies curriculum by placing a greater emphasis on interconnectedness between peoples and ideas through the Silk Road in the world history curricula and trade between the U.S. and China in the American history course.

Given what I perceived as a limited shift in perceptual understanding, Michael's preparation for, and reflection on, his experiences in China were of particular interest to me. To prepare for the tour, Michael skimmed two of the recommended books, though he wished had done more to prepare for the experience. While in China Michael maintained a journal that, as of our second meeting, he was still in the process of writing. He attempted to capture a few thoughts on what emotions he was feeling while visiting certain sites. He planned to flesh out those thoughts further and publish them in the form of a blog for former students.

Coming Home: (Still) Teaching Global Citizens

Following the study tour, Michael's informal conversations with colleagues, family, and friends have tended to center on dispelling myths about China: "I already have mentioned, you know, just different observations I had while in China, and blowing up stupid stereotypes that came up while talking about culture." While on the study tour Michael referred to a fellow teacher who had warned him that all the beef in China was actually dog meat. Though he has not spoken to that individual, he has dismissed the misconceptions of several other teachers about Chinese cuisine. This particular misconception has also come up in his classroom, and he has used his experiences on the study tour to broaden his students' understandings of everyday life in China.

Michael also reports talking about the fear that the Chinese will overtake the U.S. economically:

The thing I really plan on driving home is moving away in talking about some of the conversations and blowing up the ideas that exist of, like, "The Chinese want to take our

jobs and our freedom! Blah blah blah.” [menacingly] I mean, so that’s what I’m really going to get into that one, and I already have mentioned it, but I’m really going to, in lessons, use the, use, you know, primary sources, not then just me talking about what I did to just blow up the whole idea. Look, whose really profiting from this? It’s not a conspiracy of China to destroy America. These are American business freaking leaders sending, you know, with outsourcing and manufacturing over there.

Though Michael said that his desire to complicate the dichotomy of the view that the U.S. is in strict competition with China was inspired by his participation in the study tour, it should be noted that he expressed a similar expectation in our initial interview.

Michael is using or plans to use experiences from the study tour in his teaching in a number of ways. For example, autobiographical stories about mundane interpersonal interactions serve as fodder for his lessons. When asked why these moments could be pedagogical, Michael explained, “I think just more things like that, of those kinds of interactions, of showing the human side to people and the similarities people have and, I think that's incredibly important.” Michael’s comfort level teaching topics in Chinese history has increased significantly as a result of participating in this tour. Though he says he still not at the point where he is in teaching topics in U.S. history, he claims the difference between his teaching before the trip and after is “phenomenal.” He said, “I have so much more confidence, it's insane. It really is. I would need to sit down and put time then into planning it and do some reading, but before it was like, I was overwhelmed.” By strengthening his knowledge of Chinese history, the tour has given him more connections to make with topics he was already covering in his classes. He claims that this has allowed him to further de-center (Merryfield, 2001) his curriculum: “I am talking about bigger ideas, bigger topics, bigger connections. So, right now, with the U.S. curriculum, it’s about making it bigger. It's not just about U.S., it's interconnectedness, you know, transatlantic, transpacific, anything.”

While he has de-centered his own teaching of the curricula, the study tour has also pushed him to revise his school's current World History and U.S. History curricula. It is worth noting that in our first conversation, that Michael also discussed these revisions as a career-long goal. Over the summer he and three other social studies teachers were provided professional development hours to begin the work of revising these curricula. While one fellow teacher was equally inspired to make changes that would broaden their curricula, they met resistance from the two other social studies teachers. Like participants in previous studies who have attempted to revise their curricula after completing professional development in global education (Gaudelli, 2006), Michael has grown frustrated by a lack of administrative support for these revisions. Thus enacting institutional change in the way Chinese history has been taught in his school has been limited by the enthusiasm his administrators and fellow teachers show for making these changes.

Michael exhibited elements of a global perspective (Case, 1993) when discussing Chinese history and culture. He provided a more developed reasoning for the significance of his students understanding Chinese history and culture, connecting this knowledge to their roles as "global democratic citizens." First, he identified "global democratic citizens" as individuals who are informed about the world that they live in. Accurate knowledge of China, free from "hyper-nationalist narrative demonizing," is particularly important because "our relationship with China is incredibly freaking important economically, military-wise it is going to be as well...People need to have understanding there." He hopes that at the end of his class his students will realize that "places other than Europe and America do valuable good things and make contributions." Michael suggested that this could only be done by moving beyond the additive approach that commonly defines the inclusion of minorities and global topics in the social studies curricula (Banks, 2008).

Secondly, Michael believes students need to be “culturally aware.” He defines cultural awareness as “realizing that just because people do things differently doesn't mean it's wrong.” Knowledge of Chinese history and cultural are particularly important in making students culturally aware, because much of what students will encounter in the media pushes them to fear the Chinese, rather than attempt to understand the Chinese. He said, “Breaking down those stupid things which are being encouraged in movies, being encouraged in video games, like *Homefront* or whatever, that's one right there, with its the absurd xenophobic garbage.” Michael hopes that by helping his students examine the bias against China in popular culture, they will come to understand their own worldviews better, and ultimately effectively interact with people from other cultures.

The study tour also appears to have impacted several characteristics of Michael's teaching style. Connected to the increased confidence he feels with regards to teaching Chinese history, he feels this trip has positively influenced his relationship with certain segments of his student population. Michael said, “You bring up examples from holidays in their culture or different things like that, and they are like, ‘Oh yeah!’ And just those kinds of conversations just build a rapport with your students. That leads to stronger classroom learning.” While he refused to box all of his Asian-American students into a singular category, or suggest that now that he has been to China he somehow knows them better, but he did report feeling as though making connections with individual students was easier as a result of the study tour. When asked if the study tour has impacted him not as teacher but as an individual, Michael reported that the study tour has strongly affected his worldview. However, he only spoke in generalities about the Chinese government and people. I prodded him to elaborate further. He responded that he has grown further concerned about China's growing power in relation to the U.S., but that at the

same time see the “human side” of this potential conflict by meeting Chinese people eased some of those concerns.

Narrative 2: Rebecca Hixon

So it's impacted me in that way too, in making sure that [my students] understand, like, no matter where you are or who you are there is something that you have in common with someone and that you need to recognize that to be a better human being. Going to China and experiencing a little uncomfortableness, sort of even though you are experiencing a little uncomfortableness because of the new culture, understanding and recognizing like, okay, if they were to come to visit you they would experience the same uncomfortableness and recognizing that, you know, you are all sort of in this together, in a way. So those stories of running into people and trying to talk to people about issues or finding directions, all that comes out in my like discussions with the kids.

-Rebecca Hixon, Third Interview

Rebecca grew up in suburban town in the Northeast. She described it as small and quaint with a diverse population, contrasting it with neighboring towns. Rebecca appreciated her high school education, as the school was ethnically diverse but still very small, with roughly 200 people in her graduating class. Rebecca described having German and Polish blood in her family history, but that she primary identified with her Greek heritage. This was due to her close connections with relatives that still live in Greece. Rebecca contrasted visiting Greece with her other international travels, in that going to Greece was not so much about seeing historical sites, but about “hanging out in the little village where like my family came from.” However, she did not assert that she was Greek-American, but rather simply identified as a white, American female.

Rebecca has taught social studies for five years at Horace Mann Middle School, a suburban middle school not far from a large city serving 7th and 8th grade students in the Northeast, U.S. When asked to describe the school she teaches at and the surrounding community, she described the community as “affluent” and the school as “a good school.” When pressed to expand on both of those descriptions, she talked about the wealth in the community

and the lack of behavioral issues in the classroom. When asked to describe the student population specifically, she contrasted the relative homogenous student population with the high school she attended:

The student population is, well there's a very large Jewish community in Livingston. There's a very high Asian population as well here and then there's a few, you know, other ethnic groups thrown in there but it's not, it doesn't remind me of my high school in the like complete kind of mix of it.

She explained that many of her Asian students are recent immigrants, mostly from China. For the entirety of her career at Horace Mann Middle School, Rebecca has taught eighth grade World History, which covers topics from early man through the Renaissance and the Age of Exploration.

Rebecca has had several international experiences previous to the NCTA study tour, though none of them in China or East Asia. As an undergraduate, Rebecca participated in a semester abroad in England. She has also traveled independently to Turkey and, as mentioned earlier, Greece. I asked Rebecca to consider how those experiences have influenced her teaching. She reported that she often uses photographs and video from her trips to demonstrate concepts from her curriculum. For example, from her trip to Turkey she showed her students a video she captured of Turkish pottery techniques. Rebecca said that her students become very excited when she brings she own photographs and video in the classroom. Rebecca believes her passion about these experiences makes her students move inquisitive about world history, as well as their own familial histories.

The Other and the Study Tour: An Interwoven History

Of the four participants in this study, Rebecca appeared to have the most to say about the legacy of imperialism on the study tour. For example, Rebecca spoke at length about the looting of Chinese relics, which became a recurring theme once the tour reached the western provinces

of China. This topic had already worked itself into her teaching through a presentation on the Elgin Marbles and discussion of the merits of looting culturally relevant artifacts from indigenous sites. Rebecca said that she has always taken issue with the removal of cultural relics, even noting to herself when the NCTA seminar in the U.S. visited a local museum, which housed several Chinese relics. Seeing the results of this imperial practice (Merewether, 2003) made Rebecca forlorn, and caused her to consider how this legacy might reflect on her presence in China:

Kind of being American and sort of looking the way I did, it was kind of strange a little bit because I was like, I don't know, how is everyone going to feel about me exactly with some of the stuff that they were talking about.

Still, she found value in seeing the sites stripped of murals and statues, as opposed to seeing the removed artifacts in a Western museum: "I feel like you lose something when you are just looking in a museum and also it does remind me of, you know, Western imperialism. It reminds me of, how did it get here?"

Based on our conversation before leaving for China, it was not a surprise to me that Rebecca chose to focus on this theme from the study tour. In our first conversation, when Rebecca talked about how she envisioned "the East," especially as someone who has never been there, Rebecca immediately brought up a work of history she read as an undergraduate titled *Cold War Orientalism* (Klein, 2003). Klein's research considers the ways American popular culture educated the American people on cultural differences between the East and West during the early Cold War. While she admitted to immediately thinking of "exotic images," her contrapuntal reading of how the West perceived and portrayed the East has significantly influenced her presentation of topics in Asian history in her classroom.

In our first conversation Rebecca also said that she worried that her students conjure these types of exotic images (Said, 1978), especially since they encounter them in their textbooks and other classroom resources. She reported bringing in primary sources created by Chinese artists and writers in an attempt to complicate these simplistic and exoticized understandings of China. Like many other social studies teachers (Barton, 2008), Rebecca worries that this exoticism is reinforced by the distance between her students' present selves (Wineburg, 2001) and the content being studied:

Everything is kind of exotic to them when we talk about it because its early history too. Like constantly kind of trying to make them understand that there is a, while there are unique, obviously there's unique differences between every culture but there's also, you can feel a connection too, and you can understand where people are coming from wherever they are.

She and Caroline Pesce, who also teaches 8th grade at Horace Mann Middle School, have jointly created activities and simulations with the goal of helping their students empathize with peoples from the past, and that is inclusive of topics that are often left out of the Western civilization-approach (Rabb, 1991) to social studies classes.

Similar themes were present in our final conversation:

I want my students to understand how interwoven it is with our own history. In general, that's my biggest point when it comes to teaching history. I want them to see the connections that people have had with each other for eons.

When asked to talk about why her students needed to understand the connected history of the East and West, she said the study tour reinforced this notion, but that it was ultimately rooted in her contrapuntal analysis (Said, 1993) of representations of "the East" in American popular culture as an undergraduate student. This analysis taught her about how the legacy of imperialism influenced the process of "making them into the 'they' and different, not recognizable." This reading represented a starting point for "showing to my students then, how it

is that we are all very similar.” She reported accomplishing this by exposing her students to bias in both primary and secondary sources, something she was already doing before traveling to China.

Rebecca said she felt like the study tour has both challenged and confirmed her views about China. The eastern cities, in particular Beijing and Shanghai, were essentially as she expected them to be. She did not see Chinese cities as remarkably different from cities she had visited anywhere else. However, especially as the study tour moved further west, she found that in several ways her ideas about China were also challenged. Based on stories from colleagues she believed the military presence would be more conspicuous. Also, despite having her students read an article about the Uyghur ethnic group, she felt as though she knew relatively little about them. Her time in Xinjiang amounted to a contact zone (Pratt, 2008) experience: as a result of meeting and interacting with Uyghur people, Rebecca reported having a more nuanced understanding of China.

Learning Abroad: Pursuing Discomfort

Rebecca and I met about five weeks after returning to the U.S. Rebecca’s preparation for the study tour came primarily through the research she did in constructing a Silk Road simulation project with Caroline. She also skimmed several of the sources recommended by the guides on a Wikispaces page for the study tour. This reading was done with the purpose of learning about specific sites; she did not consider the historical books on the list. Jointly, Rebecca and Caroline maintained a blog for their students and anyone else who was interested in their travels. Rebecca also maintained a personal journal to help her “relive the experience” one or two years later. She tried to update it nightly, but as the pace of the tour wore on, she found this difficult since “we really didn’t have a lot of time for introspection or reflection.”

The moments of the tour that made the most impact on Rebecca had a propensity to involve personal interactions and other aspects of the unwritten curriculum of the study tour. These interactions tended to happen with more frequency in the western region of China, and as a result Rebecca focused on moments from that part of the trip:

The various types of people that we met especially when we moved further west, like the Uyghur population. I wasn't well-versed in like the, who the Uyghurs were. [laughs] I was like, "Oh, this is very interesting." I loved eating at that Uyghur home... Talking to a few people here and there, that was fun. That was really interesting even when they didn't know what we were saying or what was happening.

She also felt as though the stop at Hotan was very significant, since she felt "like we really saw a different side of China than most people get to see when we were in Hotan."

As far as historical and cultural sites are concerned, the Great Wall stuck out, as well as the massive size of "everything we saw." However, she would have liked more free time to explore Chinese cities and historical sites. The pace of the tour left an impression on her, and she would have preferred to stay at some cities a little bit longer. Still, Rebecca felt like the tour was a very meaningful and exciting experience for her.

When we met again just after her school's Thanksgiving holiday, Rebecca referenced a growing frustration with her teaching career. Despite this frustration, Rebecca found her memories of the trip have reinvigorated her enthusiasm for teaching. The memories that resonate the most with her five months after the study tour involve experiencing new things and making connections with Chinese people. Looking back, the most powerful moments of the trip were drawn primarily out of the unofficial curriculum of the study tour: "everyday things that made me feel like, okay, I'm really here, I'm really experiencing something different from my everyday." These moments were contrasted with historical sites that constituted the official curriculum of the tour. Of course, many of the historical sites also left an impression on Rebecca.

For example, she talked about the “aura” of seeing the Mogao Grottos and the Thousand Buddha Caves in-person. In particular, she felt “so dwarfed and just like in the presence of an amazing amount of energy and history.”

Rebecca reported that if she had more time to interact with the local population she would likely have more to say about issues of poverty in China. She was surprised at the lack of poverty in the eastern cities, particularly given what she had read about economic inequality in China prior to the study tour. However, as the tour moved westward the destitution became more noticeable. She used almost the exact same words to describe Hotan as she did when we first drove through the city:

It looked like a war-torn country. I mean it, it really did. It was, like all those buildings that looked like they had been blown out, the rubble that was everywhere, I don't know, people just, [pause] the kids, will kids can have fun anywhere, but the kids playing in the street with rocks and, I mean it looked very different from like what I'm used to here.

As difficult as Hotan was for Rebecca, she felt like it was an important part of the study tour for her. While much of the tour could be characterized by heritage tourism (Hall & Zeppel, 1990) such as the Great Wall, the Terracotta Army, and the Shanghai Museum, in Hotan Rebecca felt like “we were really, like, seeing the people. And I feel like, you know, we could stand to do that a bit more here in the U.S. too.” She had a hard time explaining why this was so valuable to her, but concluded this thought by saying that these moments allowed her to see more of everyday life in China.

Despite only encountering poverty at pointed moments on the tour, Rebecca spoke at length about what it meant for her to be a woman traveling in China. She suggested that roles for men and women were more distinct in western China than in the U.S., and became frustrated when she was impacted personally by the expectations for women in Uyghur society:

I felt kind of awkward though, and dress too was something, really bothered me. The men, right, in Beijing and Xi'an or whatever, oh it's hot out so they would just like lift their shirts or whatever. But [the guides] were like "Be careful what you wear because if you show too much shoulder, or you show too much whatever, they'll stare at you and they'll think you are free game or whatever." Okay, well, that bothers me. Why do I have to worry so much? I try not to think about it too much because it is their culture and it is their way of life.

As result of this tension, Rebecca felt like she was "on high alert," particularly with one of the Uyghur guides and his treatment of women on the tour. She noted that he appeared easily frustrated when questioned or challenged by American women.

Rebecca identified several significant cross-cultural experiences, some positive and some negative, but all occurring outside of the official curriculum of the tour. For example, visiting the bazaar in Hotan left an impression on her, particularly as a woman:

When we were walking through the market, that was kind of creepy. And when we ended up having to go through that huge clump of men, I felt really weird. Like, as a female I felt weird. Like they were, I don't know, they just didn't seem very happy to see this huge group of females coming through their area.

She had a similar experience in Shache, as the Muslim men began their afternoon prayers. She also described that experience as "creepy," because she felt her presence had interrupted a sacred ritual for the men praying.

Before leaving for China, Rebecca told me she was excited about the prospect of "roughing it" a bit, and having her own understanding of the world challenged by the discomfort that comes with culture shock (Cushner, 2004). To a limited extent, I surmised that she found what she was looking for, noting that certain cross-cultural experiences were also difficult for her, but still gratifying. For example, on the first day in China, Rebecca and Caroline were separated from the tour group. In attempting to meet up with the group, they ended up stranded on a sidewalk for 30 minutes, with almost every passerby staring at them. Eventually they were able to get in contact with the guides, but Rebecca described the process as both scary and fun.

Similarly, in the Kashgar bazaar their presence drew the attention of several Uyghur women, who attempted to engage them in conversation. By the end of their conversation a crowd had gathered. Through their conversation they connected on a personal level, learning that one of the Uyghur women was also a teacher. Rebecca said these cross-cultural experiences were meaningful because,

You get to see like, even if you are different that there are so many similarities that you have with people, it is fun, it is exciting to meet someone new and to talk to them about whatever...And that was really interesting because you could tell they were very interested to just kind of talk to us and we were interested to talk to them as other females, and discussing our lives.

I asked Rebecca to talk about the learning she felt she experienced resulting from the aforementioned experiences. She felt as though the tour definitely increased her content knowledge of Chinese history and culture, but that it could have benefited from more structure. For example, she felt that if the suggested readings had been required, and tied more directly to the sites the tour visited and lectures by the historians, she would have gained more content knowledge and likely appreciated what she was exposed to more. She also felt that more time set aside for reflection and discussion on the sites would have tapped into the potential for further professional development. Like participants in other study abroad programs (Engle & Engle, 2002), Rebecca felt the format of the study tour prevented her from being truly exposed to unfamiliar cultural practices.

Rebecca reported that lectures given by the guides were effective to varying degrees. Many of the lectures took place on the bus before viewing a site, which Rebecca felt was a less than ideal situation. She often times had trouble concentrating, and could not keep up with much of the information that was being given out. This was compounded by jet lag and the intense pace of the trip, which meant time on the buses was sometimes used for catching up on rest.

However, the lectures that occurred at the historical sites greatly supported those experiences. The historical guides also made recommendations for further reading, which Rebecca has taken advantage of. This has also increased her content knowledge with regards to Chinese history and culture.

Coming Home: Infectious Enthusiasm

Reflecting the most impactful moments she identified from the study tour, Rebecca reported frequently talking with her peers and students about routine experiences that contrasted with her daily life. She has been able to talk about the study tour with her colleagues at department meetings, though she has not put together a formal presentation. She said that the tour also comes up very informally with her students. Rebecca described her inability to put into words the intangible experiences of interacting with historical sites:

So I don't know how to talk about, like, this feeling of awe when I walked into that one Thousand Buddha Cave, you know the cave with the giant Buddha. I felt so tiny, part of me wants to keep that to myself a little bit...How do you bring that up, because it becomes then so abstract and like emotional and, I don't know. So, I don't, it's more about the daily experiences.

As a result, she tends to emphasize the different cultural practices between China and the U.S., rather than the historical content of the trip.

If she and Caroline were to implement their Silk Road project again, Rebecca would want to use photographs and videos that she captured on the trip in designing the various “stops” on the Silk Road that her students would visit while completing the simulation. She would also provide her students with excerpts from books she purchased while in China to support the activities of the simulation. These sources would also help fill in the gaps of knowledge that she still feels she has, due to the unavailability in the U.S. of quality scholarship on particular topics within the Silk Road.

More broadly, experiences from the study tour have given Rebecca more confidence when it comes to teaching topics in Chinese history. Though in our first interview she remarked that her undergraduate studies gave her a broad knowledge of Asian history, she feels as though the tour has further developed her knowledge of specific topics in Chinese history. Like teachers in previous studies (Kirkwood, 2002; Merryfield, 2001; Sahin, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001; Wilson, 1993c; Wilson, 1998), Rebecca talked about feeling inspired to make space for topics relating to Chinese history in her already crowded curriculum. For example, she felt as though she had given Chinese art a limited treatment in the past. Now, seeing the works of art in person, and having experts discuss their significance specifically with regards to cultural diffusion along the Silk Road, Rebecca intends to revisit this subject in her teaching.

The study tour did not appear to impact the way Rebecca talks about Chinese history or its relevance to her students' lives. As noted earlier, she did report wanting to include more Chinese history in her class at the expense of Western topics traditionally emphasized in world history curricula (Merryfield, 2001). Rebecca said:

It's affected where I want to emphasize a bit more. Like I said, the art when it comes to China, and we talk a lot about the art of ancient Greece and I feel like I haven't been doing enough when it comes to art and China. So I want to explore that further.

This additive approach did not equate to a shift in her interpretation of scholarship on Chinese history or culture. Rather, now that she has visited sites that she has studied and teaches about, the study tour has given her “something to grasp or hold onto” when revisiting these topics.

Rebecca framed the importance of her students learning about Chinese history and culture much like she did in our first conversation, though she did expand on that answer. Couched in economic terms, she talked about the need for American students to understand the globalized world that they will inherit. Implicit within that understanding is China's considerable

economic power throughout history. This perspective seems to have been strengthened by Rebecca's time in China. Indeed, she agrees that in several ways the study tour has allowed her to call upon personal experiences that confirmed already held ideas about China.

Rebecca discussed her ongoing desire to provide her students with cross-cultural understanding (Case, 1993, Hanvey, 1975). She said that as a teacher of eighth grade students it is important to work against the stereotyping and jokes that her students often use to signify a distance between them and people considered different: "Making sure that they understand, like, no matter where you are or who you are there is something that you have in common with someone and that you need to recognize that to be a better human being." Though teaching against essentialized notions of minority groups has always been a goal of hers, she claimed that going to China and experiencing "a little uncomfortableness" has made this goal all the more important. These experiences have also strengthened her teaching of these issues. Rebecca said, "So like those stories of like running into people and trying to talk to people about issues or finding directions, all that can come out in my like discussions with the kids."

In speaking on the influence of the study tour on characteristics of her as a teacher, Rebecca echoed her earlier remarks about her enthusiasm for teaching about world history. She said,

I guess in one way, visiting it, if we are going to say how reading it was altered or changed, when I read about it now, having those personal connections to some of those places makes it more interesting in a way because now, you know, I have something to grasp onto and hold onto and those experiences I think is what impacted me as a teacher to continue with that, even as the days get tough, to talk to the kids about those experiences and discussing, you know, how exciting it is to visit a new culture and experience a new culture and understanding what it is that we have in common with that culture.

She reported that her students also notice this passion, and respond to it positively. She noted that her students of Chinese ancestry "kind of light up" when she mentions that she has been there.

She continued, “It does give me a connection, you know, to the students who feel their personal history, their family’s history, can be connected to one of the places that I’ve visited.

Personally, the study tour has given Rebecca a great sense of appreciation for the standard of living she enjoys. She said, “I feel I’m more grateful for my life and what I have available to me... I have my own, you know, own space. I’m not living in like a shantytown or, so it has impacted me.” Traveling to Hotan in particular put her life in perspective, but also caused her to reflect upon poverty in the U.S. as well, saying, “In the United States I feel that that’s kept quiet, hushed up to a degree. So I just think gaining a better worldwide view of poverty and how that’s played out on a large scale.” Rebecca claimed that seeing the poverty in Hotan, recognizing the connections she has to people in China, and other factors unconnected to the trip, have inspired her to begin volunteering more of her time at a soup kitchen and with disaster relief efforts.

Narrative 3: Caroline Pesce

And so that was powerful for me, and I just, I don't know, overall I felt my experience in China reaffirmed for me that people are people no matter where you go around the world. And that, I guess, is really my big piece for me for teaching world history. Travel helps confirm for me my belief in what I want to teach the kids without being dogmatic that, you know, humanity is universal and a lot of this diversity is more fabricated than reality. The more they realize that, I know it sounds so corny but, it would just be so much more of a connection than a disconnect, you know what I mean?

-Caroline Pesce, Third Interview

Caroline grew up in a small town not far from a major city in the Northeast. She still lives nearby, and laughingly described the changing demographics of this town from her rural childhood to its suburban present: the community itself is “not a diverse community. I mean, really very few people of color.” She said that she attended good schools with high academic standards and caring teachers. Caroline went on to attend a well-ranked university out of her

home state, and began working towards a doctoral degree before entering the classroom as a secondary teacher.

When asked to talk about her identity, Caroline proudly described herself as an Italian-American. For Caroline being Italian-American includes a set of values connected to certain traditions about family. However, she felt as though she was encouraged to be a “strong female,” as opposed to the “traditional and historical Italian-American families.” While Caroline has not carried all of the Italian-American traditions she was raised with into her adult life, she still sees much of her teaching practice as rooted in this upbringing.

As noted in Rebecca’s narrative, Caroline also teaches at Horace Mann Middle School. She used many of the same terms as Rebecca to describe the school’s community: “It’s a very affluent community. The demographic has been changing over the past 10 years...It was predominantly Jewish at one point. I don’t know if it is now. We get a very large Asian population: Japan, China.” She has taught eighth grade World History for 13 years after teaching for four years at the university-level. Her research and teaching has always been in world history, and she designed and piloted the curriculum she and Rebecca currently teach.

Caroline spoke at length about her previous international experiences and the impact of traveling on her teaching. Caroline has traveled to France, Italy, Greece, and Turkey. She emphasized spending a lot of time in Italy, renting a car and driving first through southern Italy and on a second trip up to the Alps in northern Italy. While she has never participated in a study abroad tour, Caroline has designed her travel experiences so they would be educational for her as a history teacher: “So always learning, I’m always there to see all these great things that I’ve been teaching about so I can, purposely, intentionally, get more resources, more pictures, more images so I can put that directly in my classroom.”

For Caroline, teaching and traveling go hand-in-hand. In a broad sense, Caroline reported using photographs and artifacts from her trips to Italy and Greece in lessons on the Roman Empire and the Hellenistic period. Images from her trips hang from the walls of her classroom, and her students often ask her about the places she's been to. Specifically, she discussed a lesson on archeology and early humans where her students conduct an investigation into the death of Otzi the Iceman, the natural mummy found in the Austrian Alps in 1991:

The kids were so excited knowing that I actually was there, I saw him, I touched the materials, I talked to the archaeologists. It just, I can't even explain how much, when they know that you've gone there and experienced it, it just changes the whole climate exponentially.

Caroline suggested that because her enthusiasm is genuine, it peaks the students' curiosities, and they feel encouraged to engage with the material.

The Other and the Study Tour: Making a Connection

Caroline firmly claimed that her understandings of China were challenged by her experiences on the study tour. She was disappointed to learn that China was much more modernized than she realized, and expressed what I identified as an unwitting Orientalist desire to see the China of an earlier epoch (McLeod, 2000). However, she was pleasantly surprised by how qualitatively different cities in Xinjiang were from the eastern cities, and through contact zone (Pratt, 2008) interactions developed a deeper understanding of the Uyghur people. The authoritarianism she expected to see was not nearly as ubiquitous and she expected (though certainly present at moments of the trip), and stereotypes about Chinese food proved untrue. One aspect of the study tour was not unexpected for Caroline: "It confirmed the universals of humanity for me, that usually does whenever I go away. People are curious about other people, and people want to make a connection, be it positive or negative."

However, Caroline reported that her time in China did not fundamentally alter her interpretation of Chinese history. In terms of her content knowledge, Caroline identified learning about the Uyghur population as the most noteworthy area of expansion. Considering how well-read she was in Chinese history, that was especially important to her. As a result Caroline felt better prepared to teach her students a more holistic understanding of Chinese history and culture. When discussing the relevance of Chinese history and culture to American students, Caroline spoke primarily about topics that have characterized curricular portrayals of China in the West (Willinsky, 1998):

I mean, they're the precursors to the printing press, they're critical in the movement and spread of ideas, gun powder, porcelain. I mean, so much of what the world, how it's been shaped, really China is really kind of right there in the thick of it and it plays such a critical piece in that way that you can't really understand world history if you don't.

As in our first conversation, Caroline also visited the topic of cultural diffusion, and how the Silk Road serves as an example of this for her students.

As Caroline talked about cultural diffusion, she connected the teaching of this concept to helping her students unpack the perspective that the East and West are separate and distant entities. This was a concept she reported developing before the study tour, but became particularly pronounced after visiting China, a non-Western nation. I asked her to explain the importance of China being a non-Western nation to disrupting the East/West divide. She responded:

I guess some of those experiences that I've been telling you about in terms of, like when we were in the mosque at that one point and the woman came up to me and just randomly started talking to me. It had nothing to do with her background being Muslim and my background being Christian, I was an American she was, you know, from China, I was still able to relate to her woman to woman, you know? She talked to me, I talked to her, she was asking me about what I teach, she teaches too, talking about being a student, so we were able to relate in that way that had little to do with the fact that she was from China or I was from America because she was a woman and I am a woman and she is a student and at one point I was a student and we could still relate on that level.

Caroline said that studying Chinese history as a graduate student allowed her to unpack “this whole concept of the Other,” supporting her travel in China.

The study tour also appeared to substantiate the work she had already done to de-center her world history curriculum (Merryfield, 2001). In our first conversation, Caroline said that Chinese history and culture is a “huge” part of her curriculum. She estimated that at least six or seven weeks of her class were spent teaching topics related to China. Caroline connected her treatment of Chinese history to her career-long goal of teaching a de-centered world history class (Merryfield, 2001). She said that in writing the curriculum for this class 13 years prior, she aimed “to really make it a world history program, and not a Western Civ [class] with some token areas thrown in.” This approach is due in part to Caroline’s personal interest in East Asian history, a topic she studied as a graduate student.

For Caroline, China has always been one example among many that emphasized the interconnectedness of the world system (Hanvey, 1975) and global history (Kniep, 1989):

First of all, this applies not just for China but for everything, because I always say to the kids no man and no country is an island. You cannot, we don't live in a vacuum. Everything that's done affects something else in, and the flip side. You can't understand our economy, the world has always been global, if you go all the way back as early as River Valley civilizations, cultural diffusion and trade and impact was already occurring.

As a result of this conceptualization, even before the study tour a significant piece of her curriculum was a study of the Silk Road.

Like Michael, upon returning to her classroom after the tour Caroline reported facing push back from administration on the structure and emphasis of her class. Her principal urged her to spend more time on ancient Greece and Rome, because this administrator considered these topics “foundational.” Caroline stood her ground, arguing that she is not teaching a Western Civilization class, which is how her administrator appeared to understand world history. She

reported telling her students “the whole concept of Western Civ is just set up as a category to help organize history. It's not real. These boundaries are fluid.” This framing of her world history course was designed with the goal of making the exotic familiar, and the distant close:

This is what I'm constantly doing with the kids, you can't say to them, well don't look at it as the Other, I don't want to do that. I want them to come to that conclusion, so by taking it and giving the examples and saying, “Okay, take this quote, who touched it? So who does it really belong to, then?” Everybody. It's not one culture that really came up with that.

This conceptualization of world history was not borne out of Caroline’s participation in the study tour; these themes were present in our first conversation. However, she did speak at much greater length, and with more zeal, in our conversations after returning from China.

The legacy of imperialism as a theme on the study tour did not particularly resonate with Caroline. This interested me, since before the study tour Caroline discussed unpacking this legacy with her students, even though the topic was not mandated by her curriculum. She reported finding that her students attempted to distance themselves from China, disregarding the influences of Western industrialization on the history of China. She hoped that her students would begin to empathize with these otherwise remote cultures by “trying to help them look at it from a more internal perspective instead of as the Other. You know, trying to get rid of that is one of my other big things with teaching world history.” She described this goal as a personal passion that she has been able to work into the official curriculum of Horace Mann Middle School’s eighth grade social studies class.

During our second conversation, when I reminded her of our visits to sites looted by Western archeologists during the study tour, she acknowledged the lectures on those topics. Caroline reported that touring the Mogao Grottos reminded her of previous trips to Greece, and the resulting lessons she wrote about the Elgin Marbles. However, throughout our conversation

Caroline made statements that suggested the legacy of imperialism did influence the qualitative nature of her experience in China. For example, Caroline was frustrated by the amount of Western influence in cities such as Beijing, Xi'an, and Shanghai. Later, when I asked Caroline if any of the difficult or stressful moments of the study tour had potentially positive impacts on her, she responded, "Just being aware of what it feels like to be in a situation when you are the Other, and being aware of how you are looking [at] or engaging people."

Learning Abroad: Pushing Against "the Bubble"

In conceptualizing the learning she participated in on this study tour, Caroline contrasted her time in China with her previous international experiences. She looked to her photographs to demonstrate the qualitative nature of what she considered a significant limitation of this educational experience: the bubble created by traveling within the tour group. Due to the omnipresence of the tour guides and the choice of activities, Caroline felt that the members of the study tour were almost prevented from having any type of what she called "authentic interaction" with the host population. She described this type of travel as the "Best Western" experience, and was especially disappointed by it. Though not intentional, she felt as though the design of the study tour prevented her from meeting and interacting with, in her words, "the Other." Caroline suggested that the tour would have benefited from more built-in independent time to seek out alternative historical or cultural activities. This would have allowed for the participants to break out of the "little America" of the study tour:

If you're not floating in that group, you are forced to talk to locals and figure out where you are going and what you are doing...Where if you are with people that, you are not going to ask anybody [in China] because you have all these people who will help you figure it out.

Caroline also felt the tour would have benefited from more time set aside for reflection and discussion among the participants. The fast pace with which the group visited sites and

moved on to other destinations brought to her mind a checklist rather than an itinerary.

Concentrated time at certain sites would have allowed her “to journal, had a little picnic lunch and just, you know, talked to some people that are going by and just to get kind of a feel for that place.” In addition, despite the new knowledge she gained from the guides’ lectures, this direct instruction could have been effectively supported by organized discussions at the sites.

For Caroline, the most impactful moments in China came out of the unwritten curriculum of the study tour, interacting with “the people.” She went on to talk about the size and magnitude of many of the historical sites the tour visited, mentioning The Great Wall, Tiananmen Square, and the Terra Cotta Warriors. Caroline was the only participant to discuss the official curriculum of the study tour as significantly powerful without my prompting. She then pivoted to talking about her experiences in Xinjiang, because the culture in western China was not what she anticipated. While at the Shanghai Museum, viewing historical artifacts from Chinese history was especially powerful because Caroline was able to connect her classroom activities to tangible historical objects. This connection appeared to validate her work as a social studies educator, as well as reinvigorate her enthusiasm for that work.

Five months removed from the experience, the most impactful moments of the study tour all tended to involve the interpersonal interactions she identified in our second interview. She mentioned her and Michael trying to have her camera fixed, meeting the Uyghur women at the Kashgar bazaar and the Id Kah Mosque, and enjoyable exchanges with other members of the study tour. I noted that all of the experiences she mentioned were generally positive. Because she spoke at length about “the bubble” of the study tour, I wondered how that element played into her memories. Interestingly she said, “But that didn’t stay with me though, because I kind of, not forgot about it, but I really kind of forgot about that whole bubble that we talked about until you

brought it up now.” Thus as time passed, Caroline’s perspective on the study tour was sharpened to focus primarily on those experiences that made travel enjoyable for her before participating in the study tour. She also suggested that she was able to make spaces within the structure of the tour for those types of experiences because contact with the host population was a priority of hers.

Caroline spoke a great deal about what it meant to be a woman traveling through China, though she struggled to put that feeling into words. The experiences she discussed came primarily out of the group’s time in Xinjiang. She reported that both the Uyghur and the American guides suggested she change her clothing. As a result, “I felt at points, real or perceived, that my woman-ness was offensive because my head wasn’t covered, I wasn’t covered enough, and I felt that from men and women.” This perception was deeply tied to her identity as an American woman: “That weird sense of like, oh here’s this Western woman and look at the way she’s dressed. It was weird. And there definitely was a lot of eye contact that was, like, from men and women... That was definitely uncomfortable.” Caroline struggled with her reaction to this experience, because she wanted to be respectful as a visitor to another nation but feared that accepting these cultural norms would constitute “giving into the oppression of women.” Caroline also expressed that most of her positive experiences coming in contact with the host population were with women.

Caroline said that the poverty she observed in China provoked a series of mixed and powerful emotions. For her the poverty in China as “very painful,” making her feel “very coddled and spoiled.” As much as she felt empathy for those experiencing the poverty she witnessed, she was also embarrassed by her own daily concerns, and how they paled in comparison to what she witnessed. She also reported that in Urumqi she felt incredible

discomfort and retreated to the hotel rather than explore the city. However, Caroline was struck by the happiness amidst the poverty, and felt compelled to make clear to her students the advantages they are afforded, living in their affluent community.

As mentioned earlier, Caroline said that the most positive interactions were between her and women of the host population. Not surprisingly, when asked to talk about significant cross-cultural experiences, Caroline first mentioned those moments. During those moments she was made “conscious of, I’m in another culture.” She went on to say that “the bubble” of the study tour almost seemed to work against having those types of experiences: “We are looking at them and they are looking at us, but there is no point of contact. And I felt like it was for the first time there, that it broke that.” This was especially powerful, because it reinforced for Caroline cosmopolitan principles (Appiah, 2006) that she developed through previous international experiences:

That, no, that we are the same. Like there were so many things that I saw, and so many communications that I had that just, you know, window dressing, little manifestations of culture, but ultimately that same sense of people. And that was the first time that I felt like we were able to break out of it. So even though, you know, like a lot of people felt like Hotan was kind of a rough place, that was the beginning of my favorite experiences because it felt more real because we had more time to get engaged.

Like Michael, she also pointed to their attempt at having her camera fixed as an opportunity to engage with local people, and found the experience immediately rewarding.

In other moments of the study tour, the experience was less inspiring at the time, but still educative upon reflection. For example, Caroline said that while walking through the Hotan bazaar, she was anxious and felt unsafe because of the attention the group was receiving. She said,

It wasn’t comfortable and that to me, that was okay. Making me feel like I’m very different from everybody here and they’re curious and they’re looking at me. Like, wow. That’s what it feels like when you are the Other and everybody is looking at you. You

know, it just like, because when we were going through the market, I mean, you're getting bumped into, and people aren't expecting you, and I just thought it was, I thought it was a really great experience, you know? It was, I felt like it was good for me to be uncomfortable. To get a sense of what that's like.

I asked Caroline if her reaction to these cross-cultural experiences was owed to the fact that she was an American in China, and a Caucasian in a non-Caucasian community. She replied that she looked at these experiences more through the lens of gender, rather than ethnicity, because she felt "offensive being a woman."

On the study tour I observed that Caroline was a frequent journal writer. As such, I asked her to talk about her reflective practices while on the study tour. During much of her down time, Caroline would work on her journal, as well as at times I witnessed her working on it in hotel lobbies and in transit. As with her previous travels, Caroline found that reflecting in her journal became a critical exercise in unpacking her experiences:

The very, very personal stuff was in my journal and it went deeper into some of the experiences and the feelings about these places that I've studied my whole life and I'm finally seeing. It went deeper into the experiences about, you know, the woman I met in Kashgar and that kind of stuff. Obviously I was able to express more of my emotions and my feeling and I really have to say, I really was able to vent about things on the tour that I found upsetting.

For the most part this journal was a meditative application, but in other instances Caroline used it to note historical information that she believed would be relevant to her teaching. Her journal also formed the basis for her contribution to the blog she and Rebecca shared.

Coming Home: Teaching the Universals

When we spoke several months into the school year after the study tour, Caroline reported that she has updated her classroom décor with images from the study tour. She said that her students are often curious about these images, and she is happy to pause from her planned lessons to talk about her experiences. In addition, she has also incorporated her images into

lessons on Chinese history. If she and Rebecca decide to revisit their Silk Road simulation, it would be “more accurate,” because,

There is still only so much that you can know from reading a text and seeing it online and seeing the pictures. But to actually physically experience the Gobi Desert, to know what it's like, the heat and the sand that's all around you and how it literally gets into everything, I'd be able to have the kids more accurately simulate that experience and understand what it's like to go into a city and, like, the crush of people, you know? And in a busy bazaar, not that I didn't know that experience before, but, specific to China I'd be able to help them experience more.

As the class has shifted focus to Asian history, Caroline said that she plans to bring resources in that she collected during the study tour to enhance already existing lessons. Material culture such as textiles from Uyghur areas and painted scrolls are already in her classroom, causing impromptu conversations about the importance she places on international travel.

I asked Caroline why she thought it was important for her students to know that she's had these types of experiences. She responded that, due to the affluent status of the community in which her students live, they often have a narrow understanding of the world. However, she hopes that they will some day choose to engage in their own border-crossings, because such experiences are “so fulfilling and so eye-opening.” Moreover, her own experiences provide practical examples that support her in attempting to break down broad generalizations that many of her students make about other cultures.

Caroline has found that when she talks about the tour, she tends to speak primarily about the unwritten curriculum of the study tour:

What's interesting to me is that, you know, I don't as much, not that I didn't get as much, I did, but I don't talk about it as much, just the history. It's just that experience. It's meeting people, you know? You go and you want to see these historical things but ultimately it's just about that overall, I don't know, that feeling that you get from that contact.

Caroline reported that with her students and colleagues the trip is “constantly coming up in conversation.” For her students, as she does every year, Caroline began the school year by discussing her conceptualization of world history, and coupled it with descriptions of her various travel experiences, including this most recent trip, saying they are integral to that conceptualization.

Caroline had difficulty pinpointing ways in which the study tour impacted aspects of her teaching, such as classroom pedagogy or relationships with her students. She did say that this trip was refreshing for her as an educator, and reinforced her motivation to teach world history: “It reaffirms my desire to teach my students, and other people in my life, about the universals of the human experience. I mean, that’s really, it reaffirms our connections to each other more than how different we are.” Caroline also felt as though this trip fortified her belief that travel is an essential component in making “the teaching of history authentic.” That authenticity translates to classroom practice in the sense that her students are motivated by her enthusiasm, and are more likely to engage in learning as a result.

Narrative 4: Anthony Roselli

I left the trip having a travel bug, just personal enthusiasm that I still have when I talk about it and, you know, enthusiasm is always contagious, whether it’s sports or football, so, and then show a picture of something that you were in and the kids are just like, “Wow, I want to go there too.” And you have a little conversation about the significance of that image and it really, it’s something they won’t forget and I bet a few of them will travel later on when they have the opportunity to.

-Anthony Roselli, Third Interview

Anthony is from a suburban town with “a high socioeconomic class in comparison to most towns” in the Northeast, and comes from “a good family” that afforded him some luxuries growing up. In terms of his personal identity, Anthony said with a laugh, “I consider myself American.” As I got to know him, it would seem that his Italian ancestry plays some part in how

he sees himself. Upon leaving high school, Anthony went to a well-ranked private university and studied history, as well as played NCAA Division I football for four years. He regretted not being able to study abroad, as many of his peers took advantage of this opportunity; his obligations as a football player prevented him from having these types of experiences.

Anthony was finishing his third year teaching social studies at Central Shore High School, a four-year suburban public high school in the Northeast. The student body of Central Shore High School is “mostly white, working class;” Anthony “wouldn’t say it’s that diverse.” For the last three years he taught freshman Modern World History, U.S. history, and more recently Sociology and Financial Literacy. Anthony was drawn to social studies education because as a student he enjoyed learning about history, and the subject always came easy to him. In college his studies focused primarily on European history, and he found courses in geography beneficial because they “taught me more about other places in the world besides Europe.” However, Anthony expressed frustration with courses that dealt with topics on non-Western history, singling out Latin American studies and the history of British Mughal India as especially difficult.

Growing up, Anthony traveled within the U.S. He has also been on vacations to resorts in the Caribbean and Mexico. As far as he is concerned, despite having left the U.S. when going to these places, he had not yet truly journeyed abroad. He said these experiences were more “touristy” than educational, since he was surrounded by other foreigners while in these resorts. In addition, these resorts were purposely isolated from the host population, limiting contact, immersion, and culture shock (Cushner, 2004).

The Other and the Study Tour: An Invisible Legacy

In our early conversations, Anthony's conceptualizations of world and Chinese history contrasted sharply with the perspectives of Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline. For example, in our first conversation Anthony discussed the relevance of American students learning Chinese history as such:

Well because, you know, we are not the only people in this world. It's not just us, although we've done some amazing things and we've set the bar for a lot of countries that came after us with independence but, you know, we're a young nation in comparison to other cultures, so we have to know who came before us.

As I understood his framing of world history, power and influence played a large role in what was ultimately covered in his classroom. For example, China was described as a topic of consequence in his Modern World History class because of "how old it is and how rich it is and how when there was nothing in America but Native Americans there was an advanced civilization in China." Thus Anthony conceived of topics in world history as relevant inasmuch as they related to the present prominence of the U.S. in world affairs. He also expressed a desire for his students to learn about modern China, especially given the economic and military strength that China commands: "Not just the differences and put them as our enemy, that's not what I mean. Just understanding what they're all about. You know, it's not just us."

Prior to the study tour, when asked if he used sources created by Chinese authors in his Modern World History class, Anthony responded:

My curriculum begins with the Age of Imperialism. Confucius is long gone, but I still will give, maybe, a Confucius quote that just represents the culture of China. The philosophy that, you know, still exists in Chinese culture but I also do a lot of visuals.

In listing the topics covered in his Modern World History class, Anthony described what I interpreted as a Western Heritage Model of world history (Dunn, 2000), which emphasized "a shared heritage of values, institutions, and great ideas derived mainly from peoples of Europe"

(p. 124). When I suggested that this curriculum presented world history through the European tunnel of time (Blaut, 1993, p. 5-6), Anthony countered that:

Europe is at the center of world history from the 19th century to modern times. There's no doubt about that. Obviously if you go further back you can say China was at the center of the world but, Europe was at the center. Ever since the Industrial Revolution they've had a technological advantage over the rest of the world. European values are, you know, Europeans tend to value ingenuity and money, whereas other parts of the world are more, perhaps, family-oriented maybe or maybe a little more religious.

I also asked Anthony if, because of this conceptualization of modern world history, he emphasized differences between the East and the West. He said that he did, particularly when teaching about imperialism and the Cold War. However, for the most part China was covered in a peripheral sense, almost as a precursor to modern world history rather than as an integral part:

I guess during imperialism I definitely give the kids a crash course in Chinese history. You know, show them all the technologies that China produced. That they were the leading inventors of all kinds of things, like gun powder and porcelain, but then that shifted during the 1700s when the steam engine was invented and, you know, I talk a little bit about Confucius, I show some, a lot of visuals so that even if we're talking about imperialism, I can also talk about Chinese culture.

Thus it would seem that before traveling to China an Orientalist frame (Said, 1978) dominated Anthony's presentation of imperialism, with topics in global history being given coverage as they relate to major events in European history.

Following the study tour, Anthony said that in teaching Modern World History in the future he would "have more to say" about imperialism, and that his "definition [of imperialism] would be more broad and have more examples." I asked Anthony if his presentation of modern world history, which situated Europe at the center and non-Western topics on the periphery, would change due to his participation in the study tour. He said, "I always feel like I've given balance, when I did teach Modern World, I gave a balance to, a lot of information on Asia and Europe." Thus traveling to China does not appear to have inspired Anthony to spend more time

on non-Western topics. In addition, his conceptualization of a balanced approach between East and West seemed to suggest an epistemological vision of separate histories between Occident and Orient (Said, 1978), rather than an entwined past.

Given his responses to my line of questioning, it was no revelation that Anthony said he did not particularly notice the theme of Western aggression in China. When I mentioned our exposure to the evidence of this in the Buddhist caves in Dunhuang, he said that because the Chinese guides spent so much of the trip talking about China “being the best, greatest place in the world, the last thing on my mind is, you know, the Opium Wars and how they were cheated during the Treaty of Nanjing.” Anthony did acknowledge that it would be important for his students to learn about the looting of Chinese cultural artifacts, though he framed the legacy of imperialism as an event squarely in the past, without ongoing consequences:

Because the fact that the West has the power to go into other countries and, you know, take things that belong to them and put them in their museums. I mean, it shows a dominant relationship where the West is sort of, was in power. *Was* in power, where they could do whatever they want.

Anthony also noted the legacy of imperialism while in Shanghai, but like Michael reflected on the positive results of China’s encounter with the Western powers: “Being a Westerner, obviously I came into Shanghai and I was like, I could live here. I couldn’t live in any other city [in China], but I could live here because it was so Western.”

Learning Abroad: Seeing Through “the Bubble”

As a first time international traveler, I was especially interested in how Anthony both prepared for and reflected upon this international experience. Like, Caroline, Anthony reported reading some of *The Silk Road: Xi’an to Kashgar* (Bonavia & Baumer, 2007) before and during the trip, taking care to study specific sites and cities the tour was visiting. When asked if he would have done anything differently to prepare for this trip, Anthony responded:

No, I feel like I got the most out of my experience. There was so much more than I even anticipated, the trip was just, you know, unbelievable. We did so much. I never traveled, really, outside of the country before so it was difficult for me to anticipate and prepare for it. I just went in there with an open mind and clear head.

Anthony maintained a notebook with jottings of information from the guides' lectures, but did not say he kept a reflective journal. He did report getting "carried away" with taking photographs, and he considers them his "visual journal."

Anthony described his first experience traveling internationally as such:

Leaving home, going so far away, I couldn't, the only further place I could go to would be the moon, and there is nothing there. I mean, going to a foreign country, where the food is new, the people are different, the language is different, the customs are different, the norms, everything, it was just, that's what made it so amazing. You have different norms and everything was just completely new.

When he got into specific highlights about the tour itself, Anthony first mentioned the stop in Shache, a moment of particular stress for both other members of the tour and myself. For him, "that was one of the most memorable moments of the trip because I've never felt so out of place but, you know, at the same time it was just very exciting to me." Seeing Tiananmen Square, the Gobi Desert in Dunhuang, and "just all the people" were also significant moments of the tour for Anthony. Like Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline, Anthony also noted that his time in Kashgar was a highpoint of the trip. Besides feeling very welcomed in Kashgar, he felt like he learned a lot about the Uyghur population because of the interactions he had with the people of this city.

When prompted to reflect on the memories from the study tour that have stuck with him five months removed from his experiences in China, Anthony simply responded: "Kashgar." He continued,

Kashgar really still has an effect just because it was so different culturally, people were so different. Obviously we have a better standard of living than they do but they all seem so much happier than people here in a way, I think. There's been a lot of stories about what makes people happy. I don't know, you can do a cultural comparison between the two. I don't know, Kashgar just stands out in my mind.

This statement echoed comments he made in our second conversation, though his memories were now sharpened to focus exclusively on the unwritten curriculum of the study tour, which he was able to access most frequently in Kashgar.

Anthony noticed issues of gender and power in China, but only when the tour group traveled in Xinjiang. Anthony suggested that gender roles were more distinct than he was accustomed to in the U.S., though he was not particularly bothered by the gender inequality he witnessed, and suggested it was isolated to those moments in Uyghur-dominated cities. He did express sympathy with the female members of the study tour, who, for example, were not able to use the public restroom in Shache. However, for Anthony these instances were few, and he “felt a lot of equality in the urban places” that the tour visited.

Anthony tangentially brought up the poverty he expected to witness in China, but was not present on this tour. Like Michael, he was taken aback by the amount of open prostitution in Shanghai. He also mentioned seeing children beg in cities like Hotan and Turpan, but that in general it was not any different than what he witnessed when he visited resorts in Mexico. Overall, Anthony felt that the poverty he witnessed in China was worse than that in the U.S., but admitted that he had limited experience with poverty in the U.S.: “But I really haven't been to the ghetto. We kind of stay out of those places, you know, in America. We don't, why would I ever, you don't want to go into south-central Los Angeles.”

Anthony described the whole experience of the study tour as a form of culture shock. When I asked him to explore that further, he had some trouble putting what he meant into words. He said, “You know, it was just different, so different from the norm that I’m used to experiencing in everyday life, so everything was culture shock.” In trying to conceptualize what he meant by “culture shock,” Anthony focused on mundane differences between the way he lives

his life in the U.S. and what he encountered in China: things like food, expectations for etiquette, and hygienic practices. Though culture shock is typically accompanied by feelings of hostility, discomfort, and vulnerability (Cushner, 2004), Anthony expressed being overwhelmed by the sites and smells, but not necessarily in a challenging way. Rather, he used words such as “exciting” and “fun” to describe these cross-cultural experiences. I pushed Anthony to consider whether there were moments on the tour where he felt frustrated or anxious; he responded that since he “was on vacation” he did not have moments that were tantamount to culture shock.

I then asked him to talk about whether or not being a white male impacted the way he related to these experiences. While Caroline and Rebecca spoke of experiences that challenged them as individuals, Anthony noted the positive attention he received due to his status as a white male in China. Indeed, perhaps because he is very tall man and especially stood out, Anthony did receive quite a lot of attention from members of the host population. I wrote in my field notes at least three instances where he was asked by strangers to pose with them in photographs. He felt that the curious attention he received, as well as his experiences trying to navigate Chinese society without knowing any other language than English, made him “feel more sensitized, more open-minded and have a greater appreciation towards, because the people over there are people just like us. That's what you pretty much leave with.”

As far as learning was concerned, Anthony felt that he gained a great deal of knowledge, particularly about Buddhism, from the perspectives and insights of the historians on the tour. However, he felt as though some of the site visits and lectures were redundant, and that if he were teaching ancient history, rather than modern history, he would have benefited more from the direct instruction that the group experienced. Like Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline, Anthony found the bubble of the tour group a limiting element: “We created our own bubble because we

just followed each other going from point A to point B, never stop and take a breath and do what we want to do.” He also noted that the tour group curbed interaction with the host culture.

However, Anthony suggested that he would not have been able to experience any aspect of China without the study tour, since he did not know the dominant language, thus negating his ability to move from site to site.

Anthony considered whether the study tour challenged or confirmed his previously held ideas about China. He said:

It exceeded my expectations as far as the depth of the culture. I mean, I could never imagine just how, I don’t know, just all of the history, the customs, the food, everything is so vivid, almost overwhelming when you go there. And not overwhelming, in a good way, it's just totally, there is no way you could ever anticipate that having never traveled before. And I definitely feel like it has sensitized me to Asian culture in a way that, I just look at it with an appreciation, more appreciation than I ever did.

In part, Anthony’s ideas about China appeared to be challenged through his engagement in what I interpreted as contact zone learning. For example, stops in Xinjiang also appeared to complicate Anthony’s view of Chinese people: “There is a whole idea that China is a very homogeneous culture but...Uyghurs were the dominant ethnic group [in Xinjiang] and I found that very interesting.” Thus Anthony emerged from the tour with a more nuanced understanding of the Chinese people, a common response among the participants to visiting cities in Xinjiang.

Coming Home: Gaining Credibility, Adding Dimensions

In our final conversation, I asked Anthony to consider how he has attempted to relate his experiences in China to family, friends, and peers. He reported talking about it “in a very positive, life-changing way.” He said it comes up in conversation with friends and family quite often. Likewise, he brings up his experiences while teaching as they relate to the topics of his curricula: “Every day in class something, some topic will come up and I’ll mention China...I mean, we talk about it all the time, but it's mostly in class.” Though his fellow teachers were

interested to hear about where he had traveled immediately after he returned to the U.S., Anthony said he generally does not talk about the trip with them.

Building off this question, Anthony began talking about how he brings the trip into his teaching. Like the other participants, Anthony has also decorated his classroom with photographs from the tour. As a result, the tour comes up in informal ways: “Whenever I have some downtime, [I] show them pictures with 10 minutes left in class, show some pictures. The kids are really into it. They got a kick out of me just being in some pictures.” Anthony feels it is important that his students know about these types of experiences because for some it has “definitely sparked their interest in traveling and the importance of just thinking about life outside of their town.” He also said that stories of his life experiences “captivate student interests” and have allowed him to build a solid classroom rapport.

In our final conversation, Anthony placed a much greater emphasis on untangling distortions his students had about China than he did in previous conversations. He said that much of the fear Americans seem to have about China is misplaced, and he expressed confidence that his knowledge of modern China was now suitable to correct those distortions:

When it comes to America’s perception, distorted perception of China, the fear that we have of the Chinese, people feel a lot of negative things about China. I think my confidence is pretty good, like, when it comes to those categories. Still, when it comes to, if I have a conversation about the Tang dynasty specifically, I mean, like, no. I don't think I'd be that confident in talking about that because that's not really anything that, I never really was so into that anyway, you know? Plus I never taught an ancient history class. If it was ancient history, not so much.

However, Anthony said he would enthusiastically teach even the college-level world history courses offered at his school. He also feels compelled to bring in comparative analyses between the U.S. and China into his sociology course.

Anthony returned to his more complicated understanding of China as a result of the study tour, saying that this is a major point of emphasis in his teaching. He expressed that students need to know that China has a diverse population, including many Muslims: “I think that’s something I’ve always stressed since going on that trip that’s really challenged people’s prior knowledge of China.” Still, Anthony positioned China as distant from the U.S. in conceptualizing why American students should learn about China. For Anthony, China represents a point of comparison to the U.S. when discussing topics like technology, innovation, and national identity. Much like in our first conversation, Anthony again talked about China’s “role as a world power before we even became a nation.”

During our first conversation Anthony said that he was drawn to this study tour for the chance to learn through experience: “Immersing yourself in a culture when you travel, you can only read so much about a culture.” As a young teacher, Anthony felt as though he did not have many personal stories to tell his students. He believed personal stories from international experiences would further engage his students in topics that often appear distant or irrelevant to their lives. Anthony also expressed a hope that international travel would allow him to reflect on his own place in the world, forcing him to examine his own culture: “So even if I don’t come away with any knowledge of Chinese culture, I think at least I’ll have a different perspective on my own culture, or American culture.” I asked him to elaborate further on what that meant.

Anthony said,

I think it will make me reevaluate life in general. I mean, I know that, I think that when you go to someplace, it just, you step back from what you do on a regular basis. It will give me a lot of time to just reflect on what I’ve been doing in general. I’d like to, you know, observe and maybe participate, interact somehow, so, I think that’s going to give me a lot more strength as an educator... To be an expert on something you need to have some experience, and I’m looking for that. And also, spending time with teachers on a study tour, I definitely think I’ll learn something from the people I’m with. They’ll probably learn something from me.

It would appear that Anthony found what he was looking for on this study tour. He described the trip as a “big step professionally.” In part, he credited this transformation with interacting with other teachers from across the U.S., as well as historians of Chinese history. Anthony also talked about how the stories he is able to tell his students have given him more credibility in the classroom, especially as a young teacher now in the fourth year of his career: “It’s allowed me to reveal more about myself, my own experiences. Prior to it I would talk more about my experiences of being a student, playing football, but I think it’s added a different dimension of who I am.” This statement suggested Anthony felt the trip had an impact on him personally as well. As a result, I asked him what he meant when earlier he said the trip was “life-changing.” He had some trouble articulating what about his life had changed:

You know, just, it’s something I’ll never forget, and I guess just traveling in general for me to a place like that, not going to like an island in the Caribbean, going to a foreign place, and just how different, I felt very free and not tied down, just, it was very, just the experience was unlike anything I’ve ever felt from a feeling standpoint, and I never quite felt like that before.

Anthony said that he always maintained an “open-minded” worldview, and that this trip has reinforced this perspective. I noted that in our first conversation he said that he was hoping to re-examine his own culture by visiting China. When pressed to talk about whether he was able to accomplish this, Anthony reported that he has grown to appreciate the standard of living he enjoys in the U.S., and that he admired the lack of materialism evident in the cities in western China. Finally, Anthony said that he was “bit with the travel bug,” and plans to seek out more international experiences that will allow him to grow as an educator and a person.

Narrative Environments

The above narratives represent the stories the participants told in response to their participation in one study abroad tour, as interpreted by me. The use of reflexive interplay

demands that I support these stories with an exploration of the ways in which the narrative environments, that is the study tour, as well as my biases, mediated the stories Michael, Rebecca, Caroline, and Anthony told (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 123). The following observations are not a separate data point from the narratives; rather, they offer insights into the communicative experience of learning on this specific study tour. These observations also contain my own reflexive comments, particularly with regards to my own perceived learning resulting from the study tour. My learning rests on the foundation of my identity and assumptions articulated before the study tour, and is deeply connected to the interview protocol I developed for each participant, construction of their narratives, and my subsequent analysis of those narratives.

The lens that guides this study, which conceptualizes travel as a construction of self and other, was used to organize these findings. As such, I have adapted Merryfield's (2001) three suggestions for moving the center of the social studies curriculum in order to organize this data: understanding the worldviews of people underrepresented in mainstream academic knowledge, reflective cross-cultural experiential learning, and analysis of the legacy of imperialism. Her taxonomy draws on the work of postcolonial theorists who have also informed the lens of this study. For example, Merryfield (2001) recommends contrapuntal readings of world history and literature, as articulated by Said (1993, p. 66-67). In addition, her concern for the legacy of imperialism mirrors Willinsky's (1998) critiques of the marginalization and outright elimination of China as a topic in modern world history texts (p. 251).

Contrapuntal Readings and Analysis

Every participant on this study tour had completed at least one full year of professional development through NCTA seminars in their respective states. As a result, they have all engaged in contrapuntal readings (Said, 1993) of East Asian history and analyzed content

knowledge traditionally ignored or marginalized in mainstream academic learning. However, the seminars themselves are all stand alone professional development courses. They are not designed under the assumption that participants will continue on to the study abroad component of NCTA's professional development. To remedy this, participants joined online discussions about the study tour through a Wikispaces page hosted by the guides running the tour. On this page the guides offered practical advice (such as what to pack, how to dress when visiting religious sites, etc.) and answered participants' questions about the tour.

The guides also recommended academic readings, curricular frameworks, and travel guides to the participants that they believed would best prepare them to view the historical and cultural sites they would be visiting in China. The reading list suggests the guides believed the participants, many of whom had not been to China before this trip, would benefit from intellectual preparation for the tour. Among the readings included such books as *The Little Red Guard*, by Wenguang Huang (2012), *Demystifying the Chinese Economy*, by Justin Lin (2011), and *China in Ten Words*, by Yu Hua (2011). However, these readings were in no way mandatory for participation in the tour, though the guides encouraged the participants to at least look them over before traveling to China. Thus contrapuntal readings were not an essential part of this study tour, though certainly a prerequisite to participation and a suggested method of preparation for the activities of the tour.

Throughout the study tour, I made note of my frustration over what I perceived to be a lack of organized educational experiences that supported the viewing of historical and cultural sites. In other words, I had trouble locating the "study" part of the study tour. It seemed as though the assumption of the guides was that there was intrinsic value in visiting the sites. However, there was not time set aside for contrapuntal readings, or for the teachers to make

connections between what they were learning to their classroom practice through either lesson plans or curricular revisions, an essential component of learning through international experiences (Germain, 1998; Jewett, 2010; Kambutu & Nganga, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001; Wilson, 1982, 1993c). As a result, I feel I only experienced a piecemeal expansion of my knowledge of Chinese history and culture.

Reflective Cross-Cultural Experiential Learning

Merryfield (2001) argues that cross-cultural experiential learning can be particularly impactful in de-centering the social studies curriculum, especially when accompanied by culture shock and reflection (typically in writing). This study tour offered opportunities for planned and unplanned cross-cultural experiences. Planned cross-cultural experiences typically involved a visit by the group to the home of a Chinese family. These visits were prefaced by a lecture by a Chinese guide. For example, in Beijing the study tour visited a still active hutong. It was explained to the tour that a hutong is a housing facility built for multiple generations to live together in several apartments with a common space. By visiting an active hutong, as opposed to preserved hutongs which serve as tourist destinations, the participants were meant to understand what "real life" in Beijing is currently like according to the Chinese guide. The tour met with the family who currently lived there. They were eager to talk about living in a Hutong, their children, and life in Beijing more generally. Participants then had the opportunity to ask questions and interact one-on-one with the family.

Similarly, in Turpan, the participants ate what was described as a traditional Uyghur dinner at a "typical" Uyghur household. Kneeling with their shoes off, the participants ate lamb, noodles, and vegetables cooked according to traditional Uyghur recipes. The patriarch of the home greeted the participants as they entered, family members served the food, and young

children ran around the table as they ate. Many of the participants were disappointed to not have the opportunity to tour the house, or directly interact with the family who prepared their meal. In Kashgar the participants also visited a “typical” Uyghur home in Old Town. Like their experience in Turpan, they did not interact with the family who lived in this home. Rather, the guide explained the features of the apartment. Participants remarked on the differences between this home and their own, noting the mixture of old (no beds, lack of furnishings) and new (air conditioner, television set) in this apartment. Later, in the Kashgar Bazaar, famous for its food and textiles, the participants spent an hour haggling with merchants. Afterwards several of the participants talked about how exciting and scary these types of interactions were, given the language barrier between themselves and the shopkeepers.

Unplanned cross-cultural experiences were also a natural byproduct of the study tour. Rare though they were, participants did have several evenings to themselves, where they were free to explore China without the protective shield of the study tour. The types of experiences participants had during free time varied greatly, though by the time the tour reached Xi'an many of the participants said that interacting with the local population was one of the most interesting aspects of the trip. For example, while the group attended a shadow puppet show at Gaojia Da Yuan in Xi'an, Caroline and Michael attempted to have Caroline's camera fixed at a local electronics shop. When they met back up with the group they were excited to share their cross-cultural experience. Both noted the cultural differences between Chinese and American service employees. Though they were unable to fix the camera, Caroline and Michael reported being impressed by the care and attention they were given, and did not expect the same treatment of linguistic minorities in the U.S.

The most frequent unplanned cross-cultural experiences occurred in the western region of China. The study tour had more free time there, as the local guides, who were all Muslim men, left the group to pray every afternoon and evening. As a result many participants reported that some of the most fascinating moments of the trip occurred while in the Xinjiang Autonomous Region. In Dunhuang's night market the participants drank beer, ate peanuts, and made broken conversation with Uyghur people also attending the market. In Kashgar the local people seemed noticeably less shy about interacting with the participants than in other cities in Xinjiang, and regularly engaged in conversation through very broken English. Michael remarked that moments such as these, with genuine interpersonal interaction, were much more significant for him than seeing the Terracotta Army. At the time, he said:

Of course seeing the [Terracotta] soldiers was cool, especially as a history teacher, but what do I do with that? Taking a picture, or better yet a video, of us interacting with Muslim teenagers, and showing it to my students and saying, "This is what a Muslim girl your age looks like or acts like" is so much more significant.

Caroline echoed a similar sentiment while riding the bus through Hotan. She marveled at the juxtaposition of the old and new around Hotan, and the strange and familiar, especially in the bazaar. Though she has trouble putting all of this into words, she said that she was "looking for the unique" in Hotan. She found the simultaneous chaos and order of Hotan fascinating. Despite what she characterized as dangerous driving, no one seemed to be yelling at each other, and everyone was outdoors. Caroline appreciated the sense of togetherness that she did not see in the U.S.

I had similar experiences. For example, while exploring Kashgar one evening I witnessed several trucks filled with Uyghur men drive up and down a main stretch of roadway between the Old Town and the Sunday market. The men were clearly celebrating; some were singing while the back of one truck was filled with musicians playing instruments. I asked a woman walking

past me what was happening. We struggled to understand it each other, but she conveyed that this was part of a Uyghur wedding. For me, this was a powerful cross-cultural and educational moment for several reasons. For one, I learned a bit about Uyghur culture that was modern, active, and not othered in a museum display (Trofanenko, 2006). On a personal level I felt as though I had made contact with someone from another culture. It was contact unencumbered by a buyer-seller relationship (which had dominated the types of interactions I had had on this tour), and was guided by genuine interest in each other. I was eager to learn, and as difficult as it was due to the vast language difference between us, she was eager to teach.

The presence of the guides, however, tended to mediate the impact of culture shock during planned cross-cultural experiences. However, during some unplanned cross-cultural experiences participants faced difficult situations resulting in what some described as culture shock. Some of this was manifested in simple annoyance over cultural differences between China and the U.S., such as personal space between strangers, spitting in public, and the volume of voice. Other frustrations appeared more severe. Most of the participants complained about Chinese bathroom practices. Others grew tense trying to navigate the airport, and the consistent jostling that accompanied moving through security checkpoints. They remarked that this was a cultural difference they could not accept, and that being rude in this manner was universally wrong.

The poverty in cities like Urumqi and Hotan was also shocking for some of the participants. While riding the bus through Urumqi, many of the participants noted the poverty and polluted, run-down look of the city. Their concerns about the quality of life in the city were confirmed by the local guide, who suggested they not wander far from the hotel when seeking dinner or shopping opportunities. Several participants decided to head out for dinner, and

became frustrated by the lack of facilities that they were comfortable eating at. They felt so unsafe walking around Urumqi they quickly returned to the hotel. Arriving in Hotan produced similar reactions. Meat in the form of whole skinned animals was sold on the sidewalks, donkeys pulled carts of people and goods through the streets, and water was incredibly sparse. Rebecca, remarked in astonishment that Hotan "looks like it has been bombed, like a war torn country."

The most pronounced moments of culture shock appeared to come out of the participants' identities as non-Muslim Westerners in predominantly Muslim locales. Those participants present remarked that the visit to the Hotan bazaar, which was quite busy just before afternoon prayers, was perhaps the most significant moment of culture shock. As the group walked through the bazaar we were stared at, which some participants, myself included, interpreted as a sign of hostility. Some worried that this hostility was rooted in the fact that most of the participants were women (only three are men) and Muslim men populated the market. At one point the group decided to not walk through one particular alley because there were "too many single men" in that space. Several participants expressed fear and anxiety, one stating, "After that I don't know if I want to go to the bazaar at Kashgar."

These types of incidents continued throughout the group's travels in Xinjiang. While stopping the city of Shache for lunch, the group received similarly intimidating looks and comments from the men who were beginning their afternoon prayers. For me, the most potent moment of culture shock came out of this particular vista. Based on the stares from the men in the square, I felt as though I had intruded upon some sacred place. All the men were barefoot, preparing to pray. Careful to avoid stepping on any of the prayer mats, I ducked into a public restroom, if only to prevent offending anyone by my presence. There I found over 30 men washing their feet preparing to pray. As I tried to find a stall to retreat to, the hostility towards

my presence grew palpable. I was jostled several times by men who pointed towards the exit. I dashed out of the restroom, rushed across the square to the tour bus, and waited there until the rest of the study tour members also returned to the bus.

Likewise, as the participants walked around the Id Kah Mosque in Kashgar, they were followed by a group of Uyghur men. Caroline wondered to me if the participants should be worried about the growing crowd. I suggested that the crowd might be curious, not hostile. She responded that, "It is different for women than men in a Muslim house of worship." However, prior to leaving the mosque Caroline engaged in what she later described as a very tender and friendly conversation with a Uyghur woman.

Reflecting on these types of cross-cultural experiences is a significant component of what makes them educative (Merryfield, 2001). While I made note that many of the participants were occasionally writing in a notebook riding on the bus, journaling was not a required feature of this trip. Indeed, the pace of the trip led several of the participants to complain to me that they did not have sufficient time to truly mull over what they were experiencing. As a result, throughout the trip I tried to note moments when the participants engaged in conversation that might result in some reflective practice. During one conversation we talked about the feeling of being an ethnic or racial minority in a population different from their home population. This conversation was sparked by a comment by the national Chinese guide, who said that she was not comfortable at all in Xinjiang, being a Han in Uyghur territory. Several other participants shared their own experiences being "othered," either in China or on previous trips.

Caroline, who was one of the most committed journal writers on the tour, shared with me an entry she was in the process of writing for a blog she and Rebecca maintained for their

students. In it Caroline described how despite the bedlam that typified transportation in Hotan, she began to notice patterns that were not immediately apparent to her:

There was a rhythm to the perceived chaos, there was this beautiful ebb and flow of humanity like a well done waltz; spinning and moving coming ever so close but never quite touching or colliding because they were attentive to their partners steps and knew its continuous and seamless swirl depended on it. There was no yelling or cursing if you accidentally walked in front of some one or cut them off, they simply moved aside so that the waltz could continue uninterrupted. It made me smile. It made me want this sense of community.

While many participants were horrified driving through this city, Caroline later developed a different insight about this place. That evening we talked about how in Hotan she felt like she was experiencing a "broken barrier" between the participants and the local population. Though not an easy process for her to describe, Caroline expressed finding a great deal of value in the culture shock she experienced while in Xinjiang.

Analysis of the Legacy of Imperialism

The final component of an education that de-centers the social studies curriculum is an analysis of the legacy of imperialism. Though this was not a theme made explicit to the participants through the Wikispaces page or at the orientation session before leaving for China, it was a theme returned to multiple times by both the Chinese and American guides. In addition, many of the sites the participants visited were physical embodiments of this legacy.

The collecting of artifacts is not a neutral process. The looting, cataloging, and displaying of objects from the East in Western museums was an essential process in how the West came to know (and control) the East (Willinsky, 1998). Western explorers such as Langdon Warner and Aurel Stein looted sites such as the Mogao Grottos in Dunhuang, while the Summer Palace in Beijing was first looted and then burned by English and French military forces. In the case of

Buddhist relics in the Bezeklik Thousand Buddha Caves, Art historian Balachandran (2007)

argues:

The removal of these artifacts from China was meant as an *object lesson* to the Chinese themselves, demonstrating the West's superior capability to care for China's heritage and at the same time setting an example of the kind of ethical and intellectual development to which the Chinese should aspire. (p. 3)

Balachandran goes on to argue that the removal of the artifacts at Dunhuang did physical violence to the objects taken as well as the original sites. The pillaging of these sites is “synonymous with the history of European intervention and empire building in Asia” (Merewether, 2003, p. 87). Thus the participants in this study tour were brought face-to-face with the legacy of imperialism in China when visiting several of the sites on this tour.

The Chinese guides often mentioned this legacy before and during tours of these sites. Before their visit to the Summer Palace, the national Chinese guide explained in detail how the structure was burned down by “the Anglo-French and later destroyed by the Allied powers,” in order to force the Chinese to open more ports through the Treaty of Tientsin. The local guides also noted examples of Western violence at historical and cultural sites. For example, a docent guided the participants through the Mogao Grottos. They toured about 10 caves, viewing the art created by the Buddhist monks who lived here. In one cave, the docent mentioned that several relics were taken and preserved by Harvard archeologists. At the Bezeklik Thousand Buddha Caves, the Uyghur guide reminded the group that most of the murals were reproductions, and that the originals were shipped to European museums.

The American guides supported the participants' viewing of such sites by also lecturing about the negative impacts of Western imperialism on Chinese cultural heritage. On the bus, following the tour of the Mogao Grottos, one of the historians explained how the imperial powers, through archeologists and adventurers like Langdon Warner and Aurel Stein, emptied

the libraries of the Mogao Grottos. She argued that those actions did preserve many of the artifacts, but also constituted pillaging since they "no longer belong to China." When the tour arrived at the Tombs at Astana, she went on describe Stein, who collected many objects that ended up in the British Museum, as "the embodiment of Western imperialism." She explained the extravagance of his travels and suggested that his work exemplifies the good (preserving art and relics that might otherwise be destroyed) and the bad (depriving the Chinese of their cultural heritage) of European imperialism. When a participant suggested that the Muslim population would have destroyed these artifacts had European archeologists not removed them, the other historian on the tour chimed in that many of the murals removed from Astana and Bezeklik ended up in German museums. These artifacts were later destroyed in the Allied bombing of Germany during World War II, "so don't just blame the Muslims," she contended.

Gauging the participants' reactions to their confrontation with Western imperialism proved difficult. At the Mogao Grottos several participants made note of the docent's comments regarding the removal and destroying of objects. However, they did not appear to take this part of her lecture seriously, and assumed it was a product of anti-Americanism rather than valuable historical information. Michael turned to me and said with a laugh, "She just had to throw that in there for us Americans." The final stop on the study tour, Shanghai, seemed to have also challenged the position of the guides on Western imperial aggression in China. Shanghai is a reminder of European imperialism, due in particular to the names of several neighborhoods, French and British Concessions, which were formerly occupied by those powers. However, several participants remarked that Shanghai is the most comfortable city they had visited in China, due largely to the abundance of Western reference points and the cosmopolitan character of the city itself. While walking through the city at night Michael, Anthony, and I talked about

the benefits of the imperial conquests for the Chinese. When I questioned this perception using examples from archeological sites that have been ravaged by European archeologists, they both pushed back citing the wealth and architectural achievements in Shanghai.

Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have presented the findings of this study. I began by presenting the narratives of the participants, constructed through my interpretation of three collaborative conversations (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009) with each participant and supported by my participant observations and artifact collection. Organized in three parts, these narratives are the stories the participants told as a result of their participation in one professional development program in China. Finally, I outlined the narrative environment I observed on the tour, categorizing the site visits and activities according to Merryfield's (2001) recommendations for de-centering the social studies curriculum. The narratives in this study evidenced common themes that are furthered explored in the following chapter. Such themes included the use of photographs and autobiographical stories from China in the classroom, more nuanced understandings of China developed through contact zone (Pratt, 2008) experiences in Xinjiang, an emphasis on the unwritten curriculum of the study tour, and more broadly unchanging interpretive stances. Most significantly, the Other was observed by the participants, though the participants did not appear to acknowledge that the Other saw them. In other words, evidence of a recognition of their implication in the transnational phenomenon was not present in these narratives.

V. DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

*I'll bring you precious contraband
And ancient tales from distant lands
Of conquerors and concubines and
Conjurers from darker times*

-Steve Earle, "Feel Alright"

In this chapter, I discuss the four narratives I created, as well as my own experiences on the study tour, in relation to the research questions that guide this study. In particular, I am attempting to interpret the meanings four social studies teachers created as a result of their participation in professional development in a non-Western nation. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section considers the ways in which the participants confronted and were confronted by the legacy of imperialism while in China, and if their responses constitute the perceptual shift promised by this study abroad tour. The second section considers the mechanics of studying abroad, as discussed by the participants in this study and supported by my observations. The third section considers the participants' return to their classrooms, and the perceived impact of their study tour experiences on their approach to their teaching practice.

Finally, this chapter concludes with an explanation of the implications of this study for the professional development of social studies educators, future research on study abroad programs, and international professional development. In essence, the value of this international professional development, exposure to "outsider status and linguistic marginalization" (Merryfield & Kasai, 2010, p. 171) leading towards empathy, cross-cultural skills, and interpretive shifts in understandings of content knowledge, appears circumscribed by elements of the tour itself. This is not to suggest that this experience was without value for the participants. However, the implications of this study points towards several potential areas of development for future international development programs.

The Other and Study Tour Learning

Travel and Implication

As noted in the theoretical framework, studying abroad is often conceptualized in quixotic ways by both researchers and facilitators, where participants are expected to move from one bounded space to another, gaining skills, knowledge, and values of use to their home lives. What is missing from this expectation is the notion of implication; an acknowledgement that traveler and place traveled to are already in relation to one another before borders are even crossed, and that self and other are constituted and reconstituted by each other throughout the international experience (Talburt, 2009). The assumption that travel is an innocent venture reinforces the idea that culture is discrete and static, and that imaginary boundaries such as national borders (Anderson, 1991) are strict divisions of humanity.

In order to explore how the participants grappled with the implications of their personal histories in relation to the sites they visited, I asked each participant to consider how their identities may have influenced their recreations of these experiences in conversation with peers, while teaching, and in their personal reflections. The narratives created by me from data I gathered from the participants suggest that the narrators largely saw themselves as disinterested observers (Talburt, 2009) of the sites visited and resisted discussing the implication of their personal lens on the knowledge they created as a result of this trip. In other words, the participants did not recognize how the neocolonial gaze (Todd, 1992) that characterizes such experiences influenced their narrative recreations of their experiences. For example, when asked to talk about how being a white male from America may have shaped his perception of the experiences he had in China, Anthony turned the question on its head and talked only about how members of the host population viewed *him*, rather than the other way around. Both Rebecca and

Caroline related this question to their identities as women, and their perceived shared oppression with Chinese women who were required to cover themselves while in public, and chose not to discuss other aspects of their respective lenses.

Michael's struggle to articulate how being a white American in China influenced the ways he reflected upon his experiences represents a revealing case, as he expressed what I interpreted as a desire to *step around* his identity while traveling. This stance may in part be informed by his previous independent international experiences, which included a great deal of interaction with the host population:

I guess I struggle with what does that mean because I guess I would say, of course it impacts. That's a very vague statement. Of course it does because I don't speak the freaking language, it is pretty obvious I'm different. You know I tried to fit in, I tried to rub my belly and pull my shirt but, and you know, make noises and hock loogies but it didn't quite work.

He went on to acknowledge that it's "ignorant" to think one can fully shed their identity while traveling abroad, but that he could have had a "closer experience and better and more, I don't know, enriched, just by having more conversation and more interaction I think." It would seem for Michael, in discussing the impact of his personal lens on the way he conceptualized this international experience, it was more about his inability to find ways to fit in and interact with the host population on neutral ground.

The participants' recognition of their implication was complicated by what Rosaldo calls "imperialist nostalgia," when individuals "mourn the passing of what they themselves have transformed" (as cited in Talburt, 2009, p. 113). Imperialist nostalgia is inherent in the language used to sell international experiences: facilitators of these programs often frame national and cultural boundaries as constant and stable over time (Feinberg, 2002). This framing of international experiences exemplifies what Said (1978) argued was the Occident's "proclivity to

divide, subdivide, and redivide its subject matter without ever changing its mind about the Orient as being always the same, unchanging, uniform, and radically peculiar object” (p.98). For example, Said argues that travel writers during the nineteenth century such as Gerard Nerval and Gustave Flaubert learned little about the people who lived in the East because their assumptions guided their observations of “the Orient” (1978, p. 166-169).

So too did Orientalist habits of mind seemingly structure the expectations the participants brought to this experience as American travelers in “the East.” There appeared to be a desire on the part of the participants to observe cultures bounded tightly and affecting each other in simplistic, categorical ways. Said contended that “Orientalism assumes an unchanging Orient” (p. 96) fixed in antiquity. From this perspective, “a Westerner travelling to Oriental lands was not just moving in *space* from one location to another; potentially they were also travelling back in *time* to an earlier world” (McLeod, 2000, p. 44). This longing to witness a China of the past, untouched by globalization and modernity, was indeed present in several of the participant’s narratives. For example, Caroline said:

I think what struck me most about China, I've heard so many stories from people, people who have been and people who haven't been, about it being not so quote advanced or quote backwards. But the sense of modernity there is more than I thought it was going to be and I have to say that I was kind of disappointed by that, which gets to the, you know, Kashgar thinking about the handicrafts. It's much more modern than I had anticipated, particularly out in the western areas. And it made me sad because I'm wondering how much of those cultures are ultimately going to be lost and if that obviously is the intent, to kind of clean it up, you know?

Here Caroline laments the discrepancy between the China she expected to encounter, one characterized by “handicrafts” and an earlier epoch of history, and the China she did encounter, which was modern and in many ways similar to “what I’m experiencing in the U.S.” Her disappointment suggests a positioning of other cultures as distinct, unconnected to her life, and existing for her consumption, as an innocent observer of “the past” in present-day China.

Caroline and Michael were also equally disappointed by the materialism they witnessed in China, a phenomena both identified as an outgrowth of Western influence. The “shopping opportunities” were constant reminders of the commercialization of travel in China, and the frequency of these stops frustrated them. Caroline commented that the artificiality of being sold mass-produced objects prevented her from experiencing “the real” China, though she did not consider her own implication in this exchange as an active consumer of these mass-produced objects. However, it was in this limited space that Michael began to confront the relationship of self and other through the study tour. Reflecting on the Western influence he witnessed in China, Michael exclaimed, “Well, crap, we gave them materialism!...I’m associating a lot of the change in China currently in connection with the West and imperialism not being just using the military but the, obviously our corporate, Western corporate influence.” The language he used is significant: Michael is locating himself within this larger global phenomenon, and interrogating the ways he is implicated in it, if only at a surface-level. While Anthony, Rebecca, and Caroline also identified Western influences in China, their reflections did not suggest that they considered how their presence as travelers implicated themselves in this larger phenomenon.

Seeing Historical and Cultural Sites

In several ways, the official curriculum of the tour worked against allowing the participants to investigate their implication in the transnational experience. The primary focus of this study tour was visiting Chinese historical and cultural sites, such as the Forbidden City in Beijing, the Terra Cotta Warriors in Xi’an, and the Id Kah Mosque in Kashgar. These sites were “preferred landscapes, historic sites, buildings or monuments,” visited with the goal of “an encounter with nature or feeling part of the history of a place” (Hall & Zeppel, 1990, p. 87). While “myth and fantasy” play some role in any tourist destination, this is perhaps even more

prominent in the historical sites the participants visited, since these sites were farther removed from the ordinary locale, but would inevitably play a significant role in participants' the reconstruction of China following the tour (Rojek, 1997, p. 53).

As such, the historical sites visited by the study tour, such as the Great Wall or the Temple of Heaven, may have had a normative effect on the unconscious Orientalist understandings of China held by the participants. As noted earlier, an Orientalist frame conceptualizes peoples of "the East" as unchanging, locked in time, and always stable (Said, 1978). As with the Egyptian government's attempt to legitimize its modern national identity through the presentation of ancient historical sites to non-Egyptian tourists (Mitchell, 2002), while at historical sites the Chinese guides on this study tour often connected China's ancient history to its current position in the world. This appeared to reinforce the notion that China's significance to American students in its past. For example, following the tour Rebecca related her personal frustrations not learning Chinese history as a high school student:

How do you not know like this huge powerhouse, economic powerhouse that China has been throughout history, how do you not know that? How do you not understand the cultural impact that they've had on our life when it comes to gunpowder, the magnetic compass, paper, you know, bureaucratic system, civil service? How do you not know where it all originated?

Anthony and Caroline made similar remarks, suggesting visits to historical sites emphasized a vision of China that has dominated social studies education in North America, where its history is effectively suspended at the sixteenth century (Willinsky, 1998, p. 149-150).

This certainly was not a goal of the planners of this tour. However, the format of the study tour treated these sites as innocuous learning spaces. By moving quickly between these heritage tourist sites, the study tour appeared to operate under the assumption that the participants were traveling with the goal of taking a knowing possession (Willinsky, 1998, p. 19)

of the Other, collecting content through these vistas. To not treat these sites as interpretive spaces where, for example, the participants could have considered a monument such as the Forbidden City for its place within China today, represents something of a missed opportunity. Rather, the implicated nature of international travel could have been explored through discussions among the participants over the meanings of these sites for their teaching practice, and the place these sites would ultimately come to occupy in the participants' social reconstructions of their experiences in China.

There were also occasional planned cross-cultural experiences, which were meant to allow the participants to observe ordinary life in China, such as a dinner at a "typical" Uyghur household. These stops represented "an educational and experiential component as well as a romanticized idea of culture and cultural intercommunication" (Craik, 1997, p.121). Sites of cultural tourism aim to turn culture into objects put on display and consumed by travelers. This has the effect of distancing the traveler from the travelee by positioning their relationship in purely commercial terms. This relationship made recognizing and examining implication difficult, as the planned cross-cultural experiences of this study tour tended to reinforce the perceived distance between the participants and the host culture. While visiting such sites, participants were encouraged to notice the differences between Chinese lifestyles and their own. It is not surprising then, as a result, that Anthony described traveling to China as like "going to the moon."

In addition, as much as they aim to be, cultural sites are never just a "slice of life," but rather staged events for the benefit of tourists (Craik, 1997). The participants in the study tour were acutely aware of issues of show, authenticity, and presentation while visiting these sites. For example, speaking of the group's dinner at the Uyghur home, Caroline said, "I thought we

would be sitting with the family and we would have more contact with them. I felt awkward because I felt like they were serving us. I don't know, we weren't breaking bread with them." At times, the participants identified cracks in the chimera. Several participants noted the presence of unidentified residents in the Hutong the tour visited in Beijing. They suggested that the family the tour met no longer lived in this Hutong, but rented it to the unidentified couple. The family the tour met then makes a little extra money giving tours and selling their paintings, but no longer actually live in the Hutong. Rebecca contrasted these types of experiences with her time in Hotan where her cross-cultural experiences were exclusively unplanned, saying, "I thought we saw all a lot of *the life* anyway, this style of life, there." While traveling abroad for three weeks cannot lead to significant cultural immersion (Fantini, 2000), Rebecca's comments suggest that she was aware of the ways culture was being presented to the study tour for their consumption. She is also rejecting this relationship, in favor of one she perceives of as more authentic and equitable.

Effects on Interpretive Stances

Structural analyses of the interviews suggest that participation in the study tour served to strengthen, rather than challenge, the participants' preexisting understandings. That is to say, the outlook each participant held when approaching the tour was reinforced by his or her experiences in China. This finding echoes Craik's (1997) assessment of the challenges to travel's transformative purposes: "The cultural experiences offered by tourism are consumed in terms of prior knowledge, expectations, fantasies and mythologies generated in the tourist's origin culture rather than by the cultural offerings of the destination" (p. 118). While all of the participants referred in various ways to significant changes in their perspectives, my reading of their three interviews suggests that most of the participants' interpretations of Chinese history and culture

stayed static throughout our conversations, though they tended to speak with greater clarity and emphasis following the trip.

The participants' divergent engagements with the legacy of imperialism at historical sites demonstrates the ways in which the study tour seemed to act as a megaphone that amplified already present ideas about China. For example, both Caroline and Rebecca spoke with greater clarity and purpose about deconstructing dominant regimes in their respective classrooms in our interviews following the study tour, though these themes were indeed present in our first interviews. When asked to identify the inception of this inspiration, Caroline talked about the study tour in vague terms and her study of China as a graduate student, while Rebecca mentioned the violence done to cultural sites visited in China (Balachandran, 2007), but focused primarily on her reading of *Cold War Orientalism* (Klein, 2003). In both instances, this seemingly renewed purpose was fortified by their travel to China, but more deeply rooted in their contrapuntal research and analysis (Said, 1993) of Chinese history, done long before their participation in the study tour.

On the other hand, Michael and Anthony spoke in ambiguous terms about the legacy of imperialism before, during, and after the trip. While neither participant appeared to reflect on the negative impacts of imperialism on Chinese cultural sites, they did actively describe the benefits of colonial interactions while in Shanghai. It is difficult to deny the advances in healthcare and technology brought about in the aftermath of colonialism; Spivak describes these postcolonial features as the "child of rape" (1994, p. 276). However, when pressed to talk about the violence that preceded such improvements in the quality of life, the consequences of which they personally witnessed in central China, both participants resisted said discussions. Michael struggled to find a middle ground in acknowledging both legacies of imperial conflict, while

Anthony positioned the destructive aspects of imperialism as firmly in the past, without ongoing consequences.

Michael's concerns about China's place in the world are particularly telling in this regard. Before leaving for China Michael expressed fears about China's growing military and economic strength. He saw his apprehensions manifested throughout the trip, and upon returning to the U.S. he said he was "more concerned" about China's role in a potential geopolitical conflict. This position was somewhat challenged by interpersonal contact on the study tour, but Michael's essential understandings about China remain unchanged. He explained this process as such: "So my understanding was maybe more first-hand experience, I think maybe some of the things I already thought but it's more complicated now. But that doesn't surprise me though, because the world is complicated."

Learning Abroad

Contact Zone Learning

In the previous section I argued that this international experience did more to reinforce already held views of China and the legacy of imperialism in their curricular interpretations than it did to transform them. However, through a visit to the Xinjiang Autonomous Region, the study tour did offer the possibility of challenging the participants' understandings of China as a bounded, homogenous, and static entity. Adapted from Pratt's (2008) postcolonial study of travel literature, the participants' reflections on their experience in Xinjiang suggest it acted as a "contact zone" in the ways they began to reconstruct their understanding of China upon returning to the U.S. Contact zones refer to "social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination" (Pratt, 2008, p. 7). Pratt uses the term to denote "the space of imperial encounters, the space in

which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict” (p. 8).

The narratives I have created in this study, as well as my own experiences on the study tour, indicate that this contact zone had the potential to de-center the international experience, if only in limited ways. Reflecting on their experiences in Xinjiang, all of the participants said they emerged with a more complex understanding of China, and to varying degrees became aware of their privileged positions as travelers. While at sites in Xinjiang, the participants were exposed to ethnic and religious diversity, witnessed the ways in which political groups were literally challenging the borders of China, and noted that inequalities with regards to poverty and gender were more evident than in their visits to cities in eastern China, traditional destinations for study tours to China. In Xinjiang the participants also had significantly more unguided interaction with the host population than in the other cities on the study tour. All four narrators identified their time in Xinjiang as the most memorable, primarily because, as Anthony put it, “I felt like I was in a different country outside of China.”

All four participants have also reported making their nuanced understanding of China a point of emphasis in their teaching as well as their conversations with friends and family, in order to challenge the homogenous and flattened image many people hold about China. Caroline wondered why, after studying Chinese history in graduate school and in preparation for her teaching, she did not come across the Uyghur population. Similarly, Rebecca and Anthony both talked about their frustration over not knowing about the Uyghur people previous to the study tour, with Anthony commenting “Nobody knows about the Uyghurs!” In fact, learning about the

Uyghur ethnic group and tensions between the Uyghur minority and the Han majority was the most commonly cited expansion of content knowledge among the four participants' narratives.

As noted earlier, this contact zone learning occurred in only limited ways. That is, the participants acknowledged that they previously held an overly simplistic notion of China, and saw an expansion of that conceptualization as a result of their interactions with Uyghur people. However, with the exception of Caroline, the participants did not consider why they held essentialized ideas about China, and what the inception of those ideas was. Thus the impact appears to be the first movement towards shifting the participants' ideas about China, with added information and an impetus to challenge their students' basic views of China. Learning experiences could have been built in to the study tour that challenged the participants' presuppositions and encouraged them to create new understandings of China through their travels. Unfortunately, deeper analyses of China's relationship to the U.S. and the underlying reasons why they held naive outlooks in the first place went unexamined.

“The Bubble”

The format of this study tour largely imitated the format of many pre-service and in-service study abroad programs (Engle & Engle, 2002), and possibly detracted from reflecting on the implication of their travel in China. As a highly planned experience, the participants moved quickly from site-to-site, and spent very little time in one locale. Though planned this way with the safety of the group and time constraints in mind, this format did not appear to support critical reflection on contact zones or any other aspect of the study tour. Thus the observed interactions and learning activities of this study tour were similar to those documented in other studies: rather than immersing themselves in the foreign culture, the participants were more likely to interact with other members of the tour, creating a parallel world to their lives at home (Citron, 2002;

Engle & Engle, 2002). The foreign became a new background to act out familiar behaviors, rather than a site of cultural transformation. As a result, the study tour became a mini-America or American ghetto, rather than a site for shifting perceptual understandings and examination of implication.

The participants' narratives reflected a frustration with this phenomenon, which they called "the bubble" of the study tour. For Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline, the bubble of this study tour contrasted sharply with their previous independent travel experiences, a powerful theme across all of their narratives unprompted by my line of questioning. For example, when asked to talk about the most powerful moments of the tour, Caroline remarked in frustration, "I felt like we were moving in this bubble, this American tour bubble, and we were just looking out and they were just looking in." Perhaps because this was his first international experience, Anthony only mentioned the bubble after I brought this theme up in our second interview. However, as a non-Mandarin speaker, Anthony felt that the bubble was a necessary, if limiting feature of his travel in China.

Conversations about the bubble were significant. For one, they revealed the participants' conflicting expectations for the study tour. Returning briefly to Rebecca's comment about seeing "the life" in Hotan, her statements reflect a desire to see "the real" China, or to have the ultimate experience, as opposed to prepackaged representations of culture. Caroline echoed a similar concern, commenting that some sites visited in Kashgar were "more staged for tourists and not actually what was real." The planners were aware of these criticisms; one of them remarked to me that visiting Hotan held value for the participants, because they were exposed the "the real" China. This quest for authenticity while abroad is buttressed by "the illusion or fantasy of otherness, of difference and counterpoint to the everyday" (Craik, 1997, p. 114) while in foreign

locales. The participants' complaints about not being able to see "the real" China, and the planners' hope of exposure to exactly that, reflect Spivak's criticisms of Western knowledge production, particularly as it regards the "desire for the most 'authentic' and 'pure' Third World subject" (Andreotti, 2007, p. 72). Thus, when the participants observed a China touched by globalization and Western culture, not only were they not implicated in this phenomenon, they also were not experiencing "the real" China. Interestingly, when Michael and I spoke about this, he rejected that there was a "real" China to be seen by the tour group, and found the impulse to seek it out both pointless and counterproductive.

Secondly, our conversations suggested that this American cocoon shielded participants from exposure to the host culture and the important accompanying culture shock. Experiencing culture shock is a central step in what Cushner (2004) describes as "cultural learning" (p. 105-106). Culture shock opens participants to the possibility of evaluating their own cultural assumptions, and even experiencing a shift in their perceptual understanding of the world. Previous studies of international experiences have supported the powerful learning opportunity that culture shock represents for educators (Germain, 1998; Merryfield, 2000; Willard-Holt, 2001). With this important feature of international learning in mind, and because I rarely experienced culture shock while on this tour, I asked the participants to talk about moments they may have experienced culture shock. For example, I prodded Anthony to talk about any moments where he experienced frustration, vulnerability, or anger as Caucasian male American in China. He simply said, "I was on vacation so I was never frustrated." On the other hand, Rebecca talked about her disappointment with the absence of culture shock on the tour:

You feel comfortable. So I think everybody has a little bit of that when they are surrounded by something they're not familiar with. But honestly, in China, I didn't feel it that much because we were most of the time with the tour group. So we were always surrounded by people who, you know, did know where we were coming from.

Thus it would seem that the safety net of the tour group, which guided the participants through every challenging situation and over every language barrier with ease, acted against moments that might have challenged the participants' previously held assumptions. In other words, the planners of the tour chose to shelter the participants rather than expose them to anxiety. Consequently, this choice may have helped to reinforce previously held ideas about China by reifying their role as passive viewers of "China," rather than active participants implicated in the lives of the host population. Over night home visits with Chinese families in several of the cities the tour stopped in, instead of traditional vacation lodgings like four and five star hotels, may have brought the group out of the bubble in some small measure, and possibly led to deep personal connections lasting well after the participants returned to the U.S.

Unwritten Curriculum of the Study Tour

Despite these discouraging discussions of the bubble, the participants consistently identified outside-the-bubble moments as the most powerful of the tour, indicating that they were able to find spaces during their travels for interaction with the host population. When asked to identify the most powerful moments of the study tour, all four participants spoke primarily about their interactions with the host population, interactions that occurred while on their own, rather than with the tour group. Only Caroline spoke about the historical sites without my prompting, and in our final interview she refined her response to include only interpersonal interactions. This is not to suggest the participants did not appreciate or learn from their visits to historical sites; they all spoke excitedly about places they had only seen in photographs or read about in their textbooks. However, these memories were not points of emphasis in their narratives. Michael described this tension between the planned and unplanned activities of the study tour and identified the unwritten curriculum of this study tour, modern China:

I understand the main thing, you know, yes, we're looking at how to teach the Silk Road, and its ancient, that's, but in the end, still, people that are alive now in the 21st century and making connections, seeing how culture is, I want to say similarities and differences, I think that was, this trip was really devoid of encouraging that kind of interaction.

Additionally, the narratives indicate that this unwritten curriculum was perhaps more powerful for the participants than the official learning activities. For example, some of the most pedagogically rich conversations happened on buses, in hotel lobbies, and over meals, rather than at the sites visited or through formal instruction. Absent discussions moderated by the guides, the participants engaged in teacher talk over topics that they found compelling. The most frequent topics of conversation was not the historical sites, but the “fun” and “exciting,” yet if they were to happen in the U.S. completely mundane, interpersonal interactions the participants had: interactions such as Michael negotiating with a Uyghur woman for drapes, Anthony going off on his own in Beijing to buy water, or Caroline and Rebecca trying to meet up with the study tour their first day in China. For the participants, these moments were not just interesting memories, but moments that enter their classrooms in a variety of ways.

Coming Home: Building Global Classrooms

Autobiography as Pedagogy

Given the deeply personal responses each of the narrators had to their shared international experience, it is not surprising that all four reported bringing anecdotal tales from the study tour into their classrooms, though each doing so in different ways. Caroline has always tied her overall presentation of world history to her life experiences. As such, she begins every school year by presenting “who I am,” describing her travel experiences. This school year was no exception; Caroline reported incorporating stories from the study tour into her pre-existing slideshow. Anthony expressed a similar practice, noting that his biographical stories are used as motivating tools in his lessons:

I mean, the power of just telling stories and life experiences I think, you know, are wonderful when it comes to captivating student interests, building relationships between yourself and the students. Students are always interested in you and they love to hear stories. When those stories are educational I think that sets a great example for them, puts you in a position to be a role model in a lot of ways.

Before the study tour, Anthony said that he had only limited life experiences that would be of value to his students; in traveling to China he suggested he now has personal examples that are more relevant to his students' lives.

While Anthony and Caroline largely conceptualized their autobiographical stories as compatible with their curricula, Rebecca and Michael positioned their stories as outside their official curricula. Rebecca noted that her stories do come up when she covers the Han Empire, but she more often finds herself sharing personal stories that demonstrate current cultural practices in China. Michael went one step further when referencing a potential learning opportunity represented by a shared moment he had with a Muslim girl about the age of his students in Kashgar:

Like the terra-cotta soldiers, I think that has some value, do not get me wrong, but it's not, is that what I, when I look at my time, 180 days with the kids, do I want a freaking day to be on the terra-cotta soldiers, or could I have a day on breaking down stereotypes that people hold or opening kids' eyes to different perspectives? I always am going to take the latter.

For Michael, autobiographical stories conflicted with his mandated curriculum. But for him, they hold value in his classroom because they act as tangible counterpoints to stereotypes held by his American students.

Photographing the Other

Photographs of the study tour went hand-in-hand with their autobiographical stories, serving as proof that the narrators were “there” and providing validity to their stories (Sontag, 1977). All four of the participants reported that photographs from the tour were hung in their

classrooms, and spark student interests in Chinese history and culture. Indeed, all four of the participants were energetic photographers, taking prodigious amounts of photographs throughout the tour. They also reported that photographs are used in their lessons on China. When asked why a photograph she took from the study tour represented a pedagogical opportunity, Rebecca said that photographs “just improve [her students’] excitement exponentially, because it’s like, ‘Oh you’ve actually been here!’” Caroline echoed a similar sentiment, saying her photographs give her students “a real sense of what [China] looks like.”

When asked to narrate the study tour through choice photographs of the experience, the participants selected photographs that mirrored the diversity of their personalities. Besides images of historical sites, the participants took photographs that strove to capture the “real” China: people on the street going about their business, sometimes posing with the participants and other times captured from a distance. For Caroline, many of her photographs represent ordinary Chinese people engaged in activities not unlike those Americans would undertake: “Kids on their cell phones, texting. Here they would be in a car!” On the other hand, Rebecca’s photographs appeared to highlight the differences between Chinese and American customs and lifestyles, commenting that her photographs were an attempt to capture things she found “fascinating,” such as a man sweeping the sidewalk outside the Forbidden City. Tellingly, a lot of their photographs actually were depictions of other members of the study tour experiencing historical and cultural sites. Caroline astutely remarked that her photographs highlighted the limiting effect of the bubble on her international experience.

Photographing these subjects did provoke some ethical confusion (Scarles, 2009) among the participants, though this dilemma did not necessarily translate into classroom practice. While in Hotan, Caroline expressed her concerns about photographing people in the bazaar, worried

that her actions might constitute a form of photographic violence (Barthes, 1981). Another participant on the tour chimed in that Caroline had nothing to worry about, since she could take as many photographs as she wanted from the safety of the bus. Caroline's reservations remained; her concerns were not with her physical safety but rather with respecting the subjects of her photographs. This exchange hints at an acknowledgement of the objectification of the Other through photographs (Sontag, 1977). However, the ethics of using her photographs as representations in the classroom did not enter our dialogues following the tour. Rather, all four of the participants discussed using their photographs as a window into the world of the Other, a way of allowing their students to connect with a distant place and people.

Teaching for Global Perspectives

While telling personal stories and bringing in photographs constituted pedagogical practices inspired by the study tour, the issue remained of what the participants learned while in China, and how that learning has impacted their approach to the content of their curricula. The narratives in this study suggest that this international experience has either inspired these educators to teach for both the substantive and perceptual dimensions of a global perspective (Case, 1993), or reinforced their preexisting desires to do so. With regards to the substantive dimension, Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline all expressed a desire to revise their mandated world and U.S. history curricula to include more Chinese and global history (Kniep 1989). While they have all met resistance from their fellow teachers in making these revisions at an institutional level, acting as curricular-instructional gatekeepers (Thornton, 1991) they, along with Anthony, reported bringing in more content relating to Chinese history and culture to their lessons than they had previous to the study tour.

All four participants emphatically said that their content knowledge about China increased as a result of their participation in the study tour. Based on my reflections on my own learning in China, I was somewhat skeptical of these increased gains in content knowledge. For example, my knowledge of religion in China was very limited before this study tour. Many of the sites that the tour group visited focused on this topic, in particular Buddhist and Muslim houses of worship. We listened to many robust and detailed lectures about the physical constructions of each temple, the rituals practiced at these sites, and religious stories depicted in the artwork prior to our visits. Some of these lectures were characterized by the inclusion of pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987), punctuated with examples of what they believed students could learn from these sites. However, following visits to these sites, the members of the study tour were not encouraged or given time to apply the information they learned from either the lectures or the sites themselves in any reflective manner, be it through journal writing or lesson planning. Thus, while I feel I am more knowledgeable about religious minorities in China, especially the Uyghur population, that knowledge is not particularly deep, and I am left concerned about what as a teacher I could do with this information.

When asked to consider whether their interpretation of Chinese history was influenced by traveling there, all four reported that their interpretations or perspectives on Chinese history remained largely unchanged. Most tellingly, Anthony also said that his interpretation of modern world history, which could best be described as within the European tunnel of time (Blaut, 1993, p.5-6), was not significantly influenced by the learning he experienced while in China.

Our discussions surrounding how their learning goals for their students were influenced by the study tour indicate that the study tour was perhaps more influential in motivating the participants to teach for the perceptual dimension of a global perspective. In the third interview,

Michael talked explicitly about the significance of instilling values relating to what he called “global citizenship” over expanding his students’ content knowledge. He, Rebecca, and Caroline also talked about nurturing a sense of cross-cultural understanding (Case, 1993, Hanvey, 1975) in their students. Caroline spoke passionately about how she uses her own exposure to cultural differences in China to challenge generalizations her students make about cultural differences more broadly. Similarly, all four participants claimed to undo stereotypes (Germain, 1998) relating to the Chinese people. While this was a theme present in my discussions with Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline before the study tour, Anthony’s motivation to assuage his students’ fears about China’s role in the world appears directly influenced by his experiences on the study tour. Finally, all four participants stressed teaching their students about the importance of humanity’s shared principles and morality (Appiah, 2006).

Implications

This final section focuses on the potential implications of this study on the research and planning of international professional development programs. Specifically, I consider how international study tours may influence participants’ interpretations of social studies curricular content, the planning and implementation of study abroad programs, and the research into international professional development. It must be reiterated that the findings of this narrative inquiry are case-specific and not transferable (Marshall & Rossman, 2011). However, insights from the findings of this study hold potential value for the facilitators of similar professional development experiences, as well as for researchers concerned with global education and the professional development of social studies teachers.

Social Studies Curriculum

A primary concern of this study is whether or not participating in this program influenced the participants' interpretations of the content of their curricula. Regarding the intersection of social studies curriculum and international travel, the findings of this study produced mixed results. Participants did express increased enthusiasm for teaching about global topics within the social studies curriculum (Kirkwood-Tucker, 2004), and in the case of Rebecca a revitalization of her teaching practice more generally (Urso, 1991). All four participants also claimed their participation in the study tour strengthened their desire to develop both the perceptual and substantive dimensions of their students' global perspectives (Case, 1993). To that end, they all reported increased content knowledge relating to Chinese history and culture. It should be noted that besides more knowledge of the Uyghur population, Michael, Rebecca, Caroline, and Anthony were vague on what specifically they learned. As such, it appears to me that the study tour produced more confidence relating to knowledge they already possessed, suggesting that the participants believe traveling to China gave them greater authority to speak on topics relating to Chinese history and culture.

On the other hand, my interpretations of their stories paint a considerably more pessimistic picture than previous studies of this phenomenon (Zong et al., 2008). As emphasized in the literature review of this study, previous researchers have worked under the assumption that these types of experiences will yield the transformative goals promised by international professional development programs. As a result, their findings have stressed positive outcomes for teachers who have engaged in international travel, particularly with regards to social studies curriculum (see Germain, 1998; Kirkwood, 2002; Wilson, 1993a). The narratives created during

this study suggest that these outcomes are possible, but not guaranteed, through one international experience.

On the whole, the study tour appears to have enhanced already held interpretations of Chinese history and culture, rather than challenging or altering them. Thus Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline all spoke of teaching a de-centered social studies curriculum (Merryfield, 2001) in all three of our interviews, though with a seemingly renewed purpose after returning to the U.S. For Anthony, his first time abroad did not alter the Western Heritage Model of world history (Dunn, 2000) he described in our first interview. The structure of the tour itself may account for the limited impact on the participants' interpretations of social studies content, since the three pedagogical processes Merryfield (2001) recommends for de-centering the social studies curriculum were carried out in limited ways on the study tour. While an analysis of content knowledge traditionally ignored or marginalized in the mainstream academic learning was an aspect of the participants' training in the U.S. before the study tour, the participants were not expected to conduct any readings in preparation for their experiences in China. In addition, the bubble of the tour and the short duration of the trip largely prevented the participants from experiencing sustained culture shock (Cushner, 2004; Fantini, 2000). Thus the positive gains mentioned in the outset of this section may be more closely attributable to the participants' life experiences before the tour, rather than the tour itself.

Teacher Education

With regards to teacher education, this study holds implications for programs that provide international experiences both pre-service and in-service social studies educators. In order to enhance study abroad experiences for social studies teachers, I would make the following recommendations based on the existing literature and insights gleaned from my interpretations of

these narratives. Based on the divergent narratives I created in response to this common experience, it seems as though what happened before and after the study tour was just as important to the participants' professional development as the activities in China. I would echo the findings of previous researchers that have emphasized the importance of preparation for and reflection on international experiences (Germain, 1998; Jewett, 2010; Kambutu & Nganga, 2008; Pence & Macgillivray, 2008; Willard-Holt, 2001; Wilson, 1982, 1993c). While the stresses of the teaching profession make ensuring that the participants are intellectually prepared for the study tour and reflect on it throughout and afterwards challenging (Moulthrop, Calegari, & Eggers, 2005), the facilitators of this study tour might see benefits if they made online discussions through the Wikispaces page mandatory before the tour, and planned time during the tour for discussion and reflection on their experiences. Perhaps most crucial to influencing the perceptual stances of participants would be discussions of how their baggage, their personal histories, worldviews, dispositions, and perceptual lenses prior to traveling, will likely condition, but not determine, their interpretations of experiences abroad (Andreotti, 2013).

Follow through after the tour also appears to be paramount to maintaining the potential impacts of the international experience. Facilitators of study abroad programs should consider seeking out administrative support (Boston, 1997) and on-site collaboration after the participants return to their American classrooms. The participants were "lone wolves" (Gaudelli, 2006, p. 47) in their school contexts, and in the cases of Michael, Rebecca, and Caroline, were unable to implement revisions to their mandated curricula due to push back from their fellow social studies teachers. In addition, the potential exists for future collaboration in the planning and implementing global curricula (Schweisfurth, 2006) between like-minded colleagues who have shared a unique experience. Resources would be well spent reuniting study abroad cohorts either

in person or online with the purpose of collaborative planning and the sharing of activities and curricular revisions created as a result of their experiences overseas.

Activities during the international experience could also effectively support the professional growth of social studies teachers. Discussions on how the host population would likely view the participants may have worked against the consumptive mentality the participants expressed in discussing their expectations of the study tour. From a practical stance, the participants made note throughout the trip and in their narratives that the tour felt overloaded with site visits, and as a result lacked time to process what they were seeing. Indeed, the goal of the tour appeared to be to expose the participants to as many sites as possible while in China. This makes sense, given that most of the participants reported that this would be their only trip to China and trips like this are very costly. However, I believe resources would have been well spent if the facilitators of this study tour built in time, as Michael put it, for the participants “to work as teachers.” In addition, I would also note that the participants put greater emphasis on the unguided outside-the-bubble activities when discussing the important moments of the tour. That is not to dismiss the significance of visiting historical sites. Rather, I would suggest adding more free time into the itinerary of the study tours, allowing the participants to seek out cross-cultural experiences not mediated through the lens of the tour group.

Future Research

This study also holds implications for researchers interested in the impact of international professional development on social studies teachers. While other researchers have employed after-the-fact narratives to understand the international experience (Germain, 1998; Merryfield, 2000; Myers, 2001; Wilson 1993a, 1993b), structural analyses of these narratives has indicated that these types of experiences tend to be idealized by participants over time. For example,

during one telling exchange, Caroline became aware of the gaps in her recreation of the study tour. She was among the most vocal critics of “the bubble,” but when asked to talk about it in our final interview, she said, “I really kind of forgot about that whole bubble that we talked about until you brought it up now, and I don't know if it's maybe because I'm romanticizing it.” That is not to say that the findings of these previous studies are unfounded. Rather, this finding suggests that future researchers ought to discuss the social construction of the narratives (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009) in their studies, and consider the space between the narratives and the events being narrativized. In addition, observations of the participants' learning overseas were particularly instrumental in the creation of these narratives. I would recommend future narrative inquiries into international experiences utilize a similar methodology.

Future studies would also benefit from classroom observations of how their participants have translated their experiential learning into classroom practice. Michael, Rebecca, Caroline, and Anthony all spoke at length about implementing their personal stories into lessons and interactions with their students. For me, those stories represented unexplored narratives within the larger narrative. Future studies ought to investigate how those stories get told in different contexts, and to what pedagogical end. Likewise, researchers ought to pay greater attention to visual representations created by participants in qualitative studies (Pink, 2004). The participants in this study, and tourists more generally (Scarles, 2009), use their photographs to make their traveling experiences “come alive.” Greater examination of the “photographic eye” in travel (Crawshaw & Urry, 1997) is needed, in order to better understand how teachers reconstruct their border-crossings for student audiences.

Conclusion

A lingering question remains regarding why the anticipated perceptual shift did not appear to occur within the participants. In part, some blame must lie with the program itself. As noted earlier, there was very little time for reflection throughout the study tour, contact with the host population was limited, the guides mediated moments of culture shock, and there was no attempt at a follow-through debriefing session after the tour. However, the larger discourse surrounding the educational purposes of travel may have conditioned, though likely not determined, the stories the participants told about their experiences in China. For example, when asked to describe their reasons for participating in this study tour, three of the participants employed a “ready-made language for understanding their studies abroad in ways that may undermine the plans of the programs' designers” (Feinberg, 2002). That is to say, their descriptions showed evidence that they believed what ought to be gained from such experiences was self-growth and self-discovery, rather than the anticipated for perceptual shift. Michael spoke about gaining content knowledge, whereas Caroline hoped to test the authenticity of her already existing knowledge of China, and Anthony expected to learn more about his own culture. Only Rebecca discussed having her own lens on the world challenged through this trip.

It is not surprising then, that while the participants spoke with great enthusiasm and passion about the far-reaching effects that their participation has had on them as both teachers and individuals, articulating those effects proved problematic. Upon returning to the U.S., the participants once again took up the language of self-discovery used by universities and NGOs to market study abroad experiences (Dolby, 2004; Feinberg, 2002). When Anthony characterized the study tour as “life changing,” I asked him to articulate what about his life had changed as a result of this three-week tour. He struggled to convey what he meant by that, responding, “I have

very fond memories of China, but no, it hasn't affected the way I go about my life.” In addition, a structural analysis (Riessman, 2008) of the narratives suggests that the further removed the participants were from the actual experience, the more idealized their retellings became. The narratives created in this study suggest that the professional development the participants experienced in China was one life experience among many, though their immediate retellings implied an embellished conceptualization of what it meant to travel abroad.

Viewed through the findings of these narratives, it would seem the high premium put on international experiences (Association of International Educators, 2011) appears somewhat overstated. Rather, it must be acknowledged that the perceptual lens that each participant brought with them to this experience was the most significant factor in determining the outcomes of the study tour (Craik, 1997). The participant’s existing knowledge, expectations for the study tour, and previous life experiences were more enduring than the “life changing” moments of the study tour. That is to say, whatever the participants wanted to gain from their participation, they ultimately found. Some members of the tour traveled to China with the desire to develop their knowledge of Chinese culture and history, and ultimately better their practice as global educators. Others treated the study tour as a vacation, eating exotic foods, “roughing it” for three weeks, and buying cheap souvenirs.

Michael, Rebecca, Caroline, and Anthony were firmly in the prior category, traveling with eager eyes towards developing their professional practice. The meanings they made from the study tour, as expressed through their narrative retellings, indicate that studying abroad “both creates and undoes boundaries, however real or imagined” (Talbert, 2009, p. 116). Like the narrator in Steve Earle’s “Feel Alright,” they returned to the U.S. with stories that emphasized the distance over time and space between their home lives and what they observed in China.

They also emphasized the value of the experiences and artifacts brought from China to their students' learning. The notion of a distinct East and West was challenged, interconnections were identified, but the social construction of self and Other (Wilson, 1998) was rarely confronted throughout these narratives. Rather, the participants largely saw themselves as innocent observers, passing through various locales and returning home with new knowledge of the world. The push-and-pull of globalization was ever present in our discussions, but their place as travelers within this on-going process was only tangentially explored.

Throughout my own participation in this study tour I was reminded of what Appiah wrote with regards to the desire of humans to migrate around the globe: "A few were looking for food for thought; most were looking for food" (2006, p. xviii). The line between international professional development and tourism appears blurry at best. The exhaustion from jet lag, near constant activity, movement from city-to-city, and the stress of cultural differences and being very far from the security and familiarity of home all threaten the educational opportunities available to those willing to cross national borders. Contradictorily, it is through an exploration of these difficult factors that makes learning abroad possible. The key, it would seem, is navigating a path that encourages participants to reflect on these challenging experiences, while also confronting the implications of their presence as travelers in foreign locales.

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Appendix A: Initial Interview Protocol

Interview One

Participant name: _____

Where are you from?

How would you identify yourself (gender, ethnicity, sexual orientation, etc.)

How long have you taught? What subjects?

Describe the school in which you teach. Have you always taught there? If not, where else have you taught?

Talk about your teaching of topics in Chinese history. Is it an integral part of your curriculum?

How comfortable are you in teaching topics in Chinese history and culture?

How important is teaching Chinese history to you? Why do you believe Chinese history should be taught to American students?

What do you want your students to learn about Chinese history?

When I say “The East,” what images come to mind?

Describe your presentation of the topic “imperialism.”

How often do your students read sources created by Chinese writers and historians?

Have you been to China before? If yes, under what circumstances?

Describe any other international experiences you have had.

Have you ever participated in an international study abroad program? If so, please speak about those experiences.

Why did you decide to enroll in NCTA’s study abroad program?

What do you expect to learn on this study abroad trip?

Appendix B: Cavanaugh Interview 2 Protocol

What did you do read/do to prepare for this trip? How well do you think these preparatory procedures worked? What would you have done differently?

Ask the participants if they kept some kind of a record of the trip (journal, photo album, etc.)...something specific to their reactions to the experiences on the trip (not the group journal)

Please describe your experiences in China. What types of sites did you visit? How did you travel from place to place? Where did you stay? How much contact would you say you had with the host population?

Compare your experiences in Beijing to your experiences in Kashgar. In Beijing the participants were guided at (almost literally) every step, whereas in Kashgar, because of the regular free time, the participants had a mixture of guided and unguided experiences.

Ask all the participants what they did with their unguided time, and what impressions they got from those moments...how did they differ from the organized tour?

Do the participants consider the implications of Western imperialism in their viewing of sites where artifacts have been taken to the U.S. and Europe? In other words, we can afford to visit and see Chinese relics in both China and the U.S., but most Chinese do not have the option to come to the U.S. and see their own relics. Does this matter? Is this something your students should understand?

Talk with Michael about the benefits of imperialism, as evidenced by Shanghai...Spivak's interpretation of North/South divisions caused by imperialism, rather than East/West divisions traditionally emphasized...

How do the roles for men and women in China compare with what you have seen in the U.S.?

What has been your reaction to the poverty you have seen in China?

How does it feel to be in a country where the majority of the people are not white but Chinese?

Did you have any powerful cross-cultural experiences (good or bad)?

With Michael, bring up the "Muslim girls" story in Kashgar; how that was a teachable moment?

In previous studies, many teachers shared how being a man or woman - or white person or person of color - shaped their experiences while in non-Western nations. How do you think your experiences were shaped by your gender and race?

Were they confirmed or challenged by your experiences with the NCTA?

Given all the experiences you had while in China, what images have stayed with you (Discuss 10-20 photos)?

Appendix C: Cavanaugh Interview 3 Protocol

Tell me about your classes this school year. What are you teaching? What are your students like?

How did you talk about the trip with their colleagues, family, and friends? Michael: what about your racist colleagues (I'm thinking of the warning he got about eating dog meat instead of beef)

Implicated nature of their actions and ours...also a question asking them to recount the trip AGAIN, what has really stuck with you?

The growing threat of China – how does this come out in his teaching?

Do you directly use your experience with the NCTA in your teaching? (For example, teaching your students something about China.) If yes, please give specific examples.

With Michael, bring up the "Muslim girls" story in Kashgar; how that was a teachable moment? He said: "Of course seeing the (Terra Cotta) Soldiers was cool, especially as a history teacher, but what do I do with that? Taking a picture, or better yet a video, of us interacting with Muslim teenagers, and showing it to my students and saying, 'This is what a Muslim girl your age looks like or acts like' is so much more significant."

In our second interview, you had this to say: "Last time we were in Kashgar though, think of the economic prosperity we saw and people benefitting, the way they were benefitting from." Discuss this.

Talk about the readings you did before the trip, and picked back up after the trip. How had the experience of reading about Chinese history changed since you've been there?

Did you make any presentations, etc., about your trip? Describe.

Are you different in any way as a teacher because of the trip? Can you describe how if at all the trip has affected your teaching?

Has it affected what you teach?

Has it affected how you teach?

Has it affected your interactions with students? Specifically touch on minority students, considering they were minorities in China.

Has it affected your characteristics as a teacher?

How comfortable are you in teaching topics in Chinese history and culture?

How important is teaching Chinese history to you? Why do you believe Chinese history should be taught to American students?

What do you want your students to learn about Chinese history?

When I say “The East,” what images come to mind?

Describe your presentation of the topic “imperialism.”

How often do your students read sources created by Chinese writers and historians?

What are your thoughts on poverty issues after you returned to the U.S.? Have they changed as a result of the study abroad experience?

Ask the participants if they collected an artifact for their classroom, and how they might use them

Have you used your experiences abroad to enhance the educational experiences of your peers you interact with in your school?

Has there been any lasting impact from the trip to China? Has it affected you personally? Has it impacted your worldview?

What have you learned about yourself as a result of your study abroad trip to China?

In what ways, if at all, have your thoughts on what it means to be a teacher changed since your time in China?

What experience would you say you learned more from: the courses in the U.S. or traveling in China?

Do you include global education at all in your teaching? Do you have any plans for further international study?

Looking back, describe the “professional development” you received on this trip...

Appendix D: Hixon Interview 2 Protocol

What did you do read/do to prepare for this trip? How well do you think these preparatory procedures worked? What would you have done differently?

Ask the participants if they kept some kind of a record of the trip (journal, photo album, etc.)...something specific to their reactions to the experiences on the trip (not the group journal)

Please describe your experiences in China. What types of sites did you visit? How did you travel from place to place? Where did you stay? How much contact would you say you had with the host population?

Ask Rebecca what she got out of seeing the Silk Road coins in terms of her understanding of history; her work as an educator.

What (if any) was the importance of the guides' lectures during the bus rides to your viewing of historical or cultural sites?

Compare your experiences in Beijing to your experiences in Kashgar. In Beijing the participants were guided at (almost literally) every step, whereas in Kashgar, because of the regular free time, the participants had a mixture of guided and unguided experiences.

Ask all the participants what they did with their unguided time, and what impressions they got from those moments...how did they differ from the organized tour?

Do the participants consider the implications of Western imperialism in their viewing of sites where artifacts have been taken to the U.S. and Europe? In other words, we can afford to visit and see Chinese relics in both China and the U.S., but most Chinese do not have the option to come to the U.S. and see their own relics. Does this matter? Is this something your students should understand?

How do the roles for men and women in China compare with what you have seen in the U.S.?

For Rebecca, bring up Mohammed's treatment of the American guides - did it have anything to do with gender roles in Uighur culture? Does it matter?

What has been your reaction to the poverty you have seen in China? Ask Rebecca about the conditions in Hotan; (she compared it to a war torn country).

How does it feel to be in a country where the majority of the people are not white but Chinese?

Did you have any powerful cross-cultural experiences (good or bad)?

Talk to Rebecca about her experience in the Hotan market/blog entry over driving in Hotan/juxtaposition of old and new in the market - this is where she feels she met "the Other." Caroline remarked on the "broken barrier" between the participants and the local population - bring this up as well.

In previous studies, many teachers shared how being a man or woman - or white person or person of color - shaped their experiences while in non-Western nations. How do you think your experiences were shaped by your gender and race?

Were they confirmed or challenged by your experiences with the NCTA?

Given all the experiences you had while in China, what images have stayed with you (Discuss 10-20 photos)?

Appendix E: Hixon Interview 3 Protocol

Implicated nature of their actions and ours...also a question asking them to recount the trip AGAIN, what has really stuck with you?

Getting at a more complicated understanding of both China and imperialism, which is a concept imbedded with philosophical implications (as well as the act of conquering)

Tell me about your classes this school year. What are you teaching? What are your students like?

How did you talk about the trip with their colleagues, family, and friends?

Do you directly use your experience with the NCTA in your teaching? (For example, teaching your students something about China.) If yes, please give specific examples.

How had the experience of reading about Chinese history changed since you've been there?

Did you make any presentations, etc., about your trip? Describe.

Are you different in any way as a teacher because of the trip? Can you describe how if at all the trip has affected your teaching?

Impact on your Silk Road project?

Has it affected what you teach?

Has it affected how you teach?

Has it affected your interactions with students? Specifically touch on minority students, considering they were minorities in China.

Has it affected your characteristics as a teacher?

How comfortable are you in teaching topics in Chinese history and culture?

How important is teaching Chinese history to you? Why do you believe Chinese history should be taught to American students?

What do you want your students to learn about Chinese history?

When I say "The East," what images come to mind?

Describe your presentation of the topic "imperialism."

How often do your students read sources created by Chinese writers and historians?

What are your thoughts on poverty issues after you returned to the U.S.? Have they changed as a

result of the study abroad experience?

Ask the participants if they collected any artifacts for their classroom, and how they might use them

Have you used your experiences abroad to enhance the educational experiences of your peers you interact with in your school?

Has there been any lasting impact from the trip to China? Has it affected you personally? Has it impacted your worldview?

What have you learned about yourself as a result of your study abroad trip to China?

In what ways, if at all, have your thoughts on what it means to be a teacher changed since your time in China?

What experience would you say you learned more from: the courses in the U.S. or traveling in China?

Do you include global education at all in your teaching? Do you have any plans for further international study?

Looking back, describe the “professional development” you received on this trip...

Appendix F: Pesce Interview 2 Protocol

What did you do read/do to prepare for this trip? How well do you think these preparatory procedures worked? What would you have done differently?

Ask the participants if they kept some kind of a record of the trip (journal, photo album, etc.)...something specific to their reactions to the experiences on the trip (not the group journal)

Ask Caroline specifically about the notes she took during the Grotto visit (which appeared quite detailed). How might they be used in her classroom?

Please describe your experiences in China. What types of sites did you visit? How did you travel from place to place? Where did you stay? How much contact would you say you had with the host population?

Ask Caroline what she got out of seeing the Silk Road coins in terms of her understanding of history; her work as an educator.

What (if any) was the importance of the guides' lectures during the bus rides to your viewing of historical or cultural sites?

Compare your experiences in Beijing to your experiences in Kashgar. In Beijing the participants were guided at (almost literally) every step, whereas in Kashgar, because of the regular free time, the participants had a mixture of guided and unguided experiences.

Ask all the participants what they did with their unguided time, and what impressions they got from those moments...how did they differ from the organized tour?

Do the participants consider the implications of Western imperialism in their viewing of sites where artifacts have been taken to the U.S. and Europe? In other words, we can afford to visit and see Chinese relics in both China and the U.S., but most Chinese do not have the option to come to the U.S. and see their own relics. Does this matter? Is this something your students should understand?

How do the roles for men and women in China compare with what you have seen in the U.S.?

With Caroline and Rebecca, bring up Mohammed's (Josef) treatment of the guides - did it have anything to do with gender roles in Uighur culture? Does it matter?

Caroline's experiences at the mosque in Kashgar – she mentioned hostility towards women there...

What has been your reaction to the poverty you have seen in China? Caroline, you mentioned the poverty outside of Gaochang...

How does it feel to be in a country where the majority of the people are not white but Chinese?

Did you have any powerful cross-cultural experiences (good or bad)? Ask Caroline about the "mad Uyghur" story from the hotel lobby in Turpan.

Talk to Caroline about her experience in the Hotan market/blog entry over driving in Hotan/juxtaposition of old and new in the market - this is where she feels she met "the Other." Caroline remarked on the "broken barrier" between the participants and the local population - bring this up as well.

In previous studies, many teachers shared how being a man or woman - or white person or person of color - shaped their experiences while in non-Western nations. How do you think your experiences were shaped by your gender and race?

Were they confirmed or challenged by your experiences with the NCTA?

Given all the experiences you had while in China, what images have stayed with you (Discuss 10-20 photos)?

Appendix G: Pesce Interview 3 Protocol

Tell me about your classes this school year. What are you teaching? What are your students like?

How did you talk about the trip with their colleagues, family, and friends?

In our first interview you said: It's just, it's not a Western culture. So I've studied non-Western cultures but I'm curious to see, do I have as much of an understanding as I think I do. And then, interesting to know, can you have, can you really have a real clear understanding of another culture just through books and reading and meeting people here without actually going there. And to see how that plays out will be very interesting. Well?

Implicated nature of their actions and ours...also a question asking them to recount the trip AGAIN, what has really stuck with you?

Do you directly use your experience with the NCTA in your teaching? (For example, teaching your students something about China.) If yes, please give specific examples.

How had the experience of reading about Chinese history changed since you've been there?

Did you make any presentations, etc., about your trip? Describe.

Are you different in any way as a teacher because of the trip? Can you describe how if at all the trip has affected your teaching?

Impact on your Silk Road project?

Has it affected what you teach?

Has it affected how you teach?

Has it affected your interactions with students? Specifically touch on minority students, considering they were minorities in China.

Has it affected your characteristics as a teacher?

How comfortable are you in teaching topics in Chinese history and culture?

How important is teaching Chinese history to you? Why do you believe Chinese history should be taught to American students?

What do you want your students to learn about Chinese history?

When I say "The East," what images come to mind?

Describe your presentation of the topic "imperialism."

How often do your students read sources created by Chinese writers and historians?

What are your thoughts on poverty issues after you returned to the U.S.? Have they changed as a result of the study abroad experience?

Ask the participants if they collected any artifacts for their classroom, and how they might use them

Have you used your experiences abroad to enhance the educational experiences of your peers you interact with in your school?

Has there been any lasting impact from the trip to China? Has it affected you personally? Has it impacted your worldview?

What have you learned about yourself as a result of your study abroad trip to China?

In what ways, if at all, have your thoughts on what it means to be a teacher changed since your time in China?

What experience would you say you learned more from: the courses in the U.S. or traveling in China?

Do you include global education at all in your teaching? Do you have any plans for further international study?

Looking back, describe the “professional development” you received on this trip...

Appendix H: Roselli Interview 2 Protocol

What did you do read/do to prepare for this trip? How well do you think these preparatory procedures worked? What would you have done differently?

Ask the participants if they kept some kind of a record of the trip (journal, photo album, etc.)...something specific to their reactions to the experiences on the trip (not the group journal)

Please describe your experiences in China. What types of sites did you visit? How did you travel from place to place? Where did you stay? How much contact would you say you had with the host population?

Early in the trip Anthony mentioned it was "weird walking around" when he was on his own...talk about that.

At the North Gate Anthony mentions that the Forbidden City was "cool," it is just "one palace after another"...talk about that.

What (if any) was the importance of the guides' lectures during the bus rides to your viewing of historical or cultural sites?

Compare your experiences in Beijing to your experiences in Kashgar. In Beijing the participants were guided at (almost literally) every step, whereas in Kashgar, because of the regular free time, the participants had a mixture of guided and unguided experiences.

Ask all the participants what they did with their unguided time, and what impressions they got from those moments...how did they differ from the organized tour?

Do the participants consider the implications of Western imperialism in their viewing of sites where artifacts have been taken to the U.S. and Europe? In other words, we can afford to visit and see Chinese relics in both China and the U.S., but most Chinese do not have the option to come to the U.S. and see their own relics. Does this matter? Is this something your students should understand?

How do the roles for men and women in China compare with what you have seen in the U.S.?

What has been your reaction to the poverty you have seen in China? Discuss the living conditions, particularly in western China and outside Beijing while going to the Great Wall.

How does it feel to be in a country where the majority of the people are not white but Chinese?

In previous studies, many teachers shared how being a man or woman - or white person or person of color - shaped their experiences while in non-Western nations. How do you think your experiences were shaped by your gender and race?

Were they confirmed or challenged by your experiences with the NCTA?

Do the participants consider the implications of Western imperialism in their viewing of sites where artifacts have been taken to the U.S. and Europe? In other words, we can afford to visit and see Chinese relics in both China and the U.S., but most Chinese do not have the option to come to the U.S. and see their own relics. Does this matter? Is this something your students should understand?

Given all the experiences you had while in China, what images have stayed with you (Discuss 10-20 photos)?

Appendix I: Roselli Interview 3 Protocol

Tell me about your classes this school year. What are you teaching? What are your students like?

How did you talk about the trip with their colleagues, family, and friends?

In our first interview, you said you hoped traveling to China would cause you to reexamine your own culture and gain a different perspective on it. Did that happen? If so, describe that new perspective.

Implicated nature of their actions and ours...also a question asking them to recount the trip AGAIN, what has really stuck with you?

Do you directly use your experience with the NCTA in your teaching? (For example, teaching your students something about China.) If yes, please give specific examples.

How had the experience of reading about Chinese history changed since you've been there?

In our first interview you described the Modern European history curriculum in very Euro-centric terms because "Europe was at the center of the world." Do you think you'd adjust your Modern European history course as a result of your experiences in China?

You also described teaching the differences between East and West in this class – did going to China complicate that dichotomy at all?

Did you make any presentations, etc., about your trip? Describe.

Are you different in any way as a teacher because of the trip? Can you describe how if at all the trip has affected your teaching?

Has it affected what you teach?

Has it affected how you teach?

Has it affected your interactions with students? Specifically touch on minority students, considering they were minorities in China.

Has it affected your characteristics as a teacher?

How comfortable are you in teaching topics in Chinese history and culture?

How important is teaching Chinese history to you? Why do you believe Chinese history should be taught to American students?

What do you want your students to learn about Chinese history?

When I say “The East,” what images come to mind?

Describe your presentation of the topic “imperialism.”

How often do your students read sources created by Chinese writers and historians?

What are your thoughts on poverty issues after you returned to the U.S.? Have they changed as a result of the study abroad experience?

Ask the participants if they collected any artifacts for their classroom, and how they might use them

Have you used your experiences abroad to enhance the educational experiences of your peers you interact with in your school?

Has there been any lasting impact from the trip to China? Has it affected you personally? Has it impacted your worldview?

What have you learned about yourself as a result of your study abroad trip to China?

In what ways, if at all, have your thoughts on what it means to be a teacher changed since your time in China?

What experience would you say you learned more from: the courses in the U.S. or traveling in China?

Do you include global education at all in your teaching? Do you have any plans for further international study?

Looking back, describe the “professional development” you received on this trip...

Appendix J: Observation Protocol

Date:
Site/Museum:
Instructor/Historian:

Topic/Title of Lesson:

Pedagogical Process	Code
Legacy of imperialism	LI
Contrapuntal perspectives	CP
Cross-cultural learning	CC
Other	O (specify)

Descriptive Notes

Code References and Reflective Notes

Appendix K: Informed Consent Agreement

June 1, 2012

Dear Teacher:

You are invited to participate in a research study about how teachers think about East Asia. The purpose of this study is to understand better how a professional development program—the National Consortium for the Teaching about Asia study abroad tour—can help develop your understanding of Chinese culture and history. Timothy Patterson, a doctoral candidate of social studies and education at Teachers College, Columbia University, is leading the study.

The research project involves three, one hour-long interviews, collections of your work resulting from the program, and observations of your training while in China. Your involvement is not expected to last longer than three hours total, beyond the 17-day study tour in China. The researcher wants to document and write about your experience learning internationally, and this professional development program specifically. The results of this study may provide teachers and administrators with insights about how to effectively support the teaching of Chinese history in social studies classrooms.

Participation in this study is completely voluntary and you may withdraw from this study at anytime. Interviews will be digitally audiotaped for transcription purposes only. No one but the researchers will see/hear your recorded comments. Tapes will be stored in the hard drive of the researchers password protected computer and will be destroyed following completion of the study. You are also asked to allow collection of work resulting from your participation in the program. This work will be stripped of identifying information (name, etc) and used to further investigate the ways you think about and describe Chinese culture and history as they relate to your teaching. Digital work samples will be kept in a password-protected folder, and physical samples will be kept in a locked cabinet. All work will be stripped of identifying information. Observations of your interactions with other participants will involve researcher notes about discussions that are relevant to the teaching about China in the classroom. These notes will be kept in a locked cabinet and will also be destroyed following completion of the study.

There are no direct benefits to your participation, but you may also feel good about assisting with research in this area. In addition, your participation will involve deep reflection on your experiences, potentially enhancing the positive effects of traveling to China. The risks associated with this study are minimal. You may feel uncomfortable talking about your teaching or difficult experiences of culture shock while abroad.

Your name and the name of your school will be kept confidential and a pseudonym will be used in any subsequent oral or written report, analysis, or publication. All identifying information for the school and the course will be replaced with alternate names or codes. You will have the right to refuse to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable and you may stop participating in this research at any time. You will be reminded of this immediately prior to interviews and observations.

You may contact me at (732) 299-4155 or email at tjp2123@tc.columbia.edu with any questions you have regarding this research.

Sincerely,
Timothy Patterson

PARTICIPANT'S RIGHTS

Principal Investigator: Timothy Patterson

Research Title: Stories of Self and Other: Four In-Service Social Studies Teachers Reflect on Their International Professional Development

- I have read and discussed the Research Description with the researcher. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the purposes and procedures regarding this study.
- My participation in research is voluntary. I may refuse to participate or withdraw from participation at any time without jeopardy to future medical care, employment, student status or other entitlements.
- The researcher may withdraw me from the research at his/her professional discretion.
- If, during the course of the study, significant new information that has been developed becomes available which may relate to my willingness to continue to participate, the investigator will provide this information to me.
- Any information derived from the research project that personally identifies me will not be voluntarily released or disclosed without my separate consent, except as specifically required by law.
- If at any time I have any questions regarding the research or my participation, I can contact the investigator, who will answer my questions. The investigator's phone number is (732) 299-4155.
- If at any time I have comments, or concerns regarding the conduct of the research or questions about my rights as a research subject, I should contact the Teachers College, Columbia University Institutional Review Board /IRB. The phone number for the IRB is (212) 678-4105. Or, I can write to the IRB at Teachers College, Columbia University, 525 W. 120th Street, New York, NY, 10027, Box 151.
- I should receive a copy of the Research Description and this Participant's Rights document.
- If video and/or audio taping is part of this research,
 - I () consent to be audio taped
 - I () do NOT consent to being audio taped.
 - I () consent to analysis of my work.
 - I () do NOT consent to analysis of my work.

The written, or audio taped materials will be viewed only by the principal investigator and members of the research team.

My signature means that I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature: _____ Date: ____/____/____

Name: _____