Cultural Representations in/as the Global Studies Curriculum:

Seeing and Knowing China in the United States

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ABSTRACT

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This study is an examination of how two popular magazines, *National Geographic* and *Life* magazine, and one educational journal, *Social Education*, perform the work of representation in general, and representing China more specifically. Drawing on postcolonial theorists (Blaut, 1993; Said, 1978; Tchen, 1999; wa Thiong'o, 1986; Willinsky, 1998), the perspectives employed throughout this study explore how representations can work to fix meaning and extend difference through imperialist structures and an orientalist lens. In addition, theories of photographic representation work alongside postcolonial perspectives to draw out the constructed nature of representation, and how representation – through language and/or image – can work to capture and secure the meaning of difference and perpetuate division.

National Geographic, Life, and *Social Education* are pedagogical in different ways, yet all three used language and image to bring China into view for the Western reader. Conceptualized as sources of cultural pedagogy, these journals employed specific pedagogical practices, which reinforced imperialist structures of Western dominance over the non-Western world. Notably, *National Geographic*'s travelogue*, Life*'s photo-essay, and *Social Education*'s educational resources, worked to teach/instruct their readers, primarily middle class Americans, about China.

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DEDICATION

To my grandmothers ~

Always teaching, always learning

Chapter 1 – INTRODUCTION

The ordinary American has never met the Ordinary Chinese.
But he dislikes him to his bones.
-Misunderstanding China (Drasdin, 1972)

In January 2010, *Social Education* dedicated its entire issue to teaching about China. The purpose of the issue – the first since 1984 focused entirely on China (p. 7)[1] – called for teachers to move past "outdated assumptions; encourage further study about this important, changing, and varied nation; and provide an improved education for students." I was drawn to and excited by the editors' call for challenging outdated assumptions and cold war stereotypes. However, while I appreciated their commitment, it bypassed more foundational issues that I believe have hindered teaching and learning about China. Namely, how did these assumptions and stereotypes come to be, how have they maintained their presence in teaching and learning about China, and, more significantly, why is it so important now to challenge these assumptions?

While cold war stereotypes may seem prevalent today (Masalski & Levy, 2010), stereotypes of China, and the Chinese did not originate during the Cold War. From anti-Chinese legislation in the 19th century to contemporary representations of fear, articulated through stories of China's economy and education system, the United States has been circumspect in its relationship with China. This wariness has been (and is) present in representations of China that have circulated in advertising, magazines, films, and even educational materials for more than a century.

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[1] *Social Education* published an issue dedicated entirely to China in 1984. The February 1986

In the mid to late 19th century the "Chinese Question"[2] played out through a "selection of cultural representations" (Tchen, 1999, p. 265). Chinese people became associated with eating rats, cats, and dogs, associations that had circulated in children's books decades earlier[3]. Tchen (1999) argued that the association of Chinese eating rats was an "undeniably powerful image in the Victorian imagination" (p. 266). These images (productions) served to perpetuate a particularly primitivist notion of the Chinese – a primitivism which, though recast in different ways throughout the 20th century, still persists to the present day. Thus, at least since the 19th century, China has been produced (Figure 1), and *re*produced (Figure 2) through various representations in the United States.

Productions of China, such as in Figure 1, were directly linked to the assimilability of the Chinese in the United States. The image of the "Chinaman" consuming rats became "translated into a symbolic devouring of the United States" to anti-Chinese legislators and agitators (Tchen, 1999, pp. 273-274). Even though presentations like the rat-eating Chinaman, with his clubbed feet and queue, are absent from more contemporary representations of China, the idea of rat/dog/cat-consuming Chinese still persists. Figure 2 is a transcript of an interview with Megan Locthe[4] after her trip to China in 2008. This *reproduction* reveals elements that were produced during the 19th century, illuminating what I attempt to argue throughout this paper, that representations of China have been, and continue to be, situated against racialized and imperialized discourse, effectively normalizing, or at the very least entrenching, orientalist narratives.

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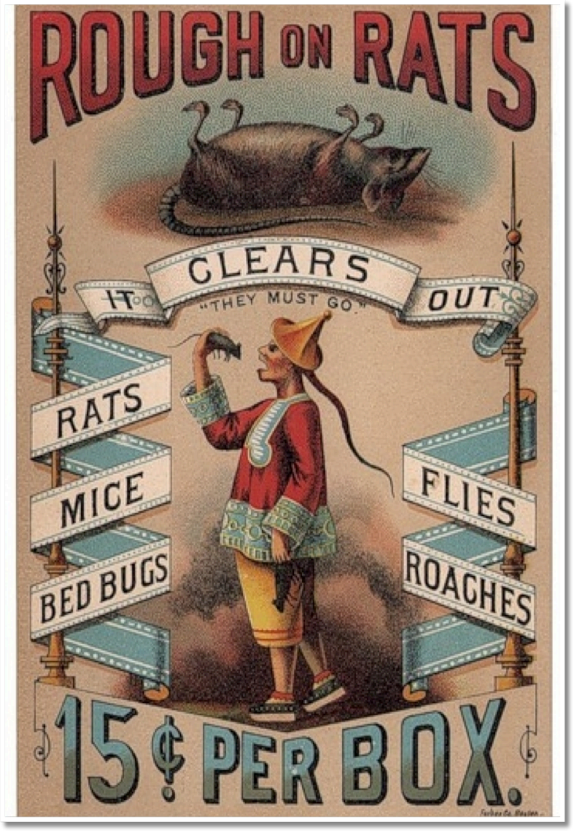
[2] This "question" sought to debate the assimilability of the Chinese during a period of increased Chinese immigration to the United States.

[3] Tchen (1999) provides a quote from Samuel Griswold Goodrich's (1840) *The child's second book of history:* "Many parts of China is so thickly settled, that nothing which will support life is thrown away. Puppies, rats and mice are constantly hawked about the streets for sale" (p. 265).

[4] Megan Lochte is the sister of Olympic gold-medalist swimmer, Ryan Lochte. Megan was in China in 2008 to see her brother compete, and upon her return gave an interview about her experiences. She later apologized for her comments, arguing that she was "acting out a character" in a bit/act she was performing to raise awareness about cultural ignorance. Taken from http://larrybrownsports.com/everything-else/megan-lochte-apologizes-racist-video-skit/151773. For Lochte's formal apology, see http://www.usmagazine.com/celebrity-



19th Century Skipping Rhyme

Chinkie, Chinkie, Chinaman,
Sitting on the fence;
Trying to make a dollar
Out of fifty cents
Chink, Chink, Chinaman
Eats dead rats;
Eats them up
Like gingersnaps.
(in Bonner, 1997, p. 16)

Figure 1 – Production of China

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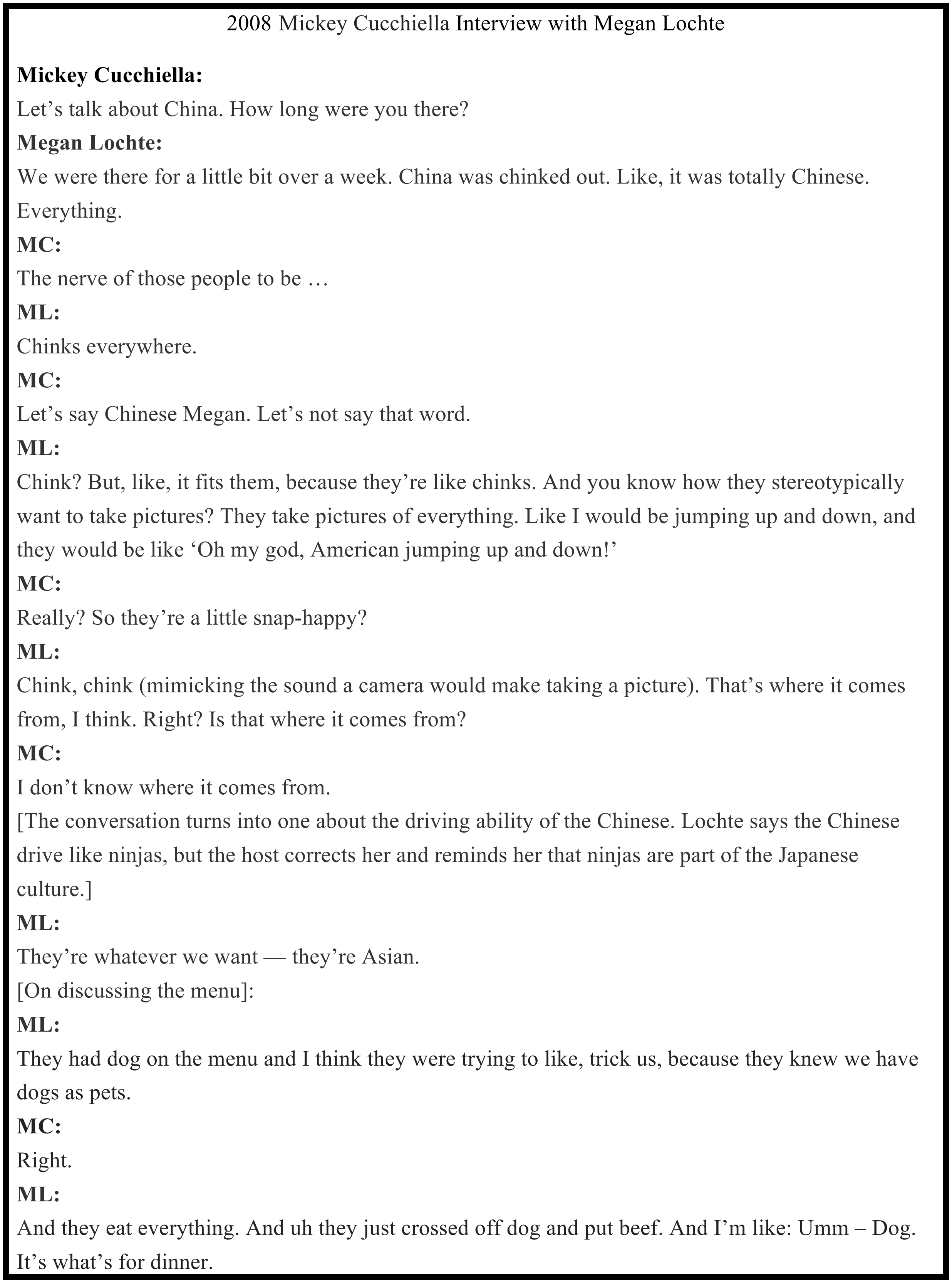
news/news/megan-lochte-apologizes-for-controversial-post-beijing-interview-201229. For the original interview, see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=CthBIYMENos.



2008 Mickey Cucchiella Interview with Megan Lochte

Mickey Cucchiella:
Let's talk about China. How long were you there?
Megan Lochte:
We were there for a little bit over a week. China was chinked out. Like, it was totally Chinese. Everything.
MC:
The nerve of those people to be …
ML:
Chinks everywhere.
MC:
Let's say Chinese Megan. Let's not say that word.
ML:
Chink? But, like, it fits them, because they're like chinks. And you know how they stereotypically want to take pictures? They take pictures of everything. Like I would be jumping up and down, and they would be like 'Oh my god, American jumping up and down!'
MC:
Really? So they're a little snap-happy?
ML:
Chink, chink (mimicking the sound a camera would make taking a picture). That's where it comes from, I think. Right? Is that where it comes from?
MC:
I don't know where it comes from.
[The conversation turns into one about the driving ability of the Chinese. Lochte says the Chinese drive like ninjas, but the host corrects her and reminds her that ninjas are part of the Japanese culture.]
ML:
They're whatever we want — they're Asian.
[On discussing the menu]:
ML:
They had dog on the menu and I think they were trying to like, trick us, because they knew we have dogs as pets.
MC:
Right.
ML:
And they eat everything. And uh they just crossed off dog and put beef. And I'm like: Umm – Dog. It's what's for dinner.

Figure 2 – *Re*production of China

The entrenched and embedded character of representations of China and the Chinese is what has pushed me to study not just the work of representation in general, but representations of China more specifically. For this study, I explore how two popular magazines, *National Geographic* and *Life*, and one educational journal, *Social Education*, have performed the work of representing China since the early 1960s. In my revisit of history through the encounters with the representations in these three publications, I attempt to explain and articulate how representations work pedagogically to fix meaning and extend difference about the other in general, China in particular, including the more contemporary narrative of fear used to explain China in popular media and educational texts today.

Problem Statement

The scope of social studies to promote civic competence through an "integrated study of the social sciences and humanities" (retrieved from www.socialstudies.org/about) is not exclusively limited to participation at the local and national level. Recognizing the realities of our borderless future, social studies has expanded its reach in promoting civic participation at the global level as well. However, despite the integration of global education in the social studies curriculum in 1982 (Merryfield, 2001, p. 180), there are still significant issues facing global educators.

A major concern for global education research(ers) is the lack of criticality of and confrontation with dominant discourses (Merryfield, 2001; Subedi, 2010) that lay at the base of the field. For example, the legacy of imperialism, defined by Willinsky (1998) as the persistence of a knowledge of the West "cultivated during the era of empire" (p. 2), continues to divide "mainstream academic knowledge" (Merryfield, 2001, p. 183) into binaries – us/them, East/West, etc. In order to move away from the western-centric approach to global/social studies education, students need to learn (and teachers need to teach) from the "knowledge and experience of people who, because of their race, gender, class, culture, national origin, religion, or political beliefs have been ignored, stereotyped, or marginalized" in the curriculum (Merryfield, 2002, p. 150). Historically, however, where are the divisions of mainstream academic knowledge located?

The end of World War II, and the beginning of the Cold War marked a period of decolonization.[5] As independence movements developed throughout former colonies, there was an increased interest in "other parts" of the world as areas for academic study in the United States. Prompted by a need "to understand the functioning of those that already had communist regimes and to help prevent other areas from "falling in the hands of the communist"" (Wallerstein, 1997, pp. 200-201), area studies departments began to emerge at colleges and universities in the United States, funded by organizations like the Ford Foundation, Rockefeller Organization, and the Carnegie Corporation (Cumings, 1997).

It is by no means intended to suggest that the "imperial project" was a phenomenon of the cold war period. In fact, the significance of looking at a concept like the legacy of imperialism must consider how imperialism (has) continued, even if unconsciously, in educational contexts. China-studies scholar Daniel Vukovich (2012) argues that colonial discourse carried over into post-War/cold war discourse as a way of furthering Western/American imperialism "at the level of discourse, rhetoric, and knowledge" (p. 8).

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[5] This refers to the independence movements and dissolution of colonial territories, specifically held by Great Britain, France, and Japan. It is important to acknowledge post-World War I as a watershed for challenges to Western colonial practices. See Adas. M. (2004). Contested hegemony: The Great War and the Afro-Asian assault on the civilizing mission ideology. *Journal of World History, 15*(1), 31-63.

Vukovich in addition positions the China-studies field as a location where "knowledge about China [is] produced outside of China" (p. 12). While this is an example (and critique) of the area studies-China field, it is necessary to point out that non-Western histories in general were, as well, positioned "outside of [European/Western] history" (Blaut, 1993, p. 5).

Positioning non-Western histories on the periphery (of Western history) has filtered down to history curricula in K-12 schooling as well. According to a study by Marino & Bolgatz (2010), history standards, generally aimed at teaching history through a global lens, are more Eurocentric for pre-1945 content, and decontextualized after 1945. Other studies focusing on textbooks (Gluck, 1997; Fu, 2008; Marino, 2006) suggest similar findings of the ahistorical nature of non-Western histories. Taking histories out of their historical contexts only serves to strengthen the divisions of "mainstream academic knowledge," and is illustrative of the continued educational legacy of imperialism.

Compounding the problem of textbook representations of the Other, and the primary focus of this proposed study, are the locations of learning outside of the classroom context. Ellsworth (1989) reminds us that the intersection of "popular cultural forms and curriculum becomes even more complex when we recognize that all popular cultural forms are *knowledge* in and of themselves" (emphasis added, p. 48). To deal critically with dominant discourses in global education, I believe, rests in an engagement with what (we think) we know about the world outside of the United States, why we need to "know" it, and what representations have been constructed, and made available, to guide (a particular) learning and knowing about the Other.

In 1945, Harvard's Committee on Education Policy responded to the necessity of area studies noting, "China is still in many respects *terra incognita*… The very remoteness of her civilization makes the study of China an unusually interesting one from the standpoint of liberal education" (in Wallerstein, 1997, p. 202). Placing China "over there" is an early example of the divisions of mainstream knowledge that critical global educators find increasingly problematic. To provide a more current example, Carafella and Bohan (2012) encourage the use of novels for teaching about China, specifically the Cultural Revolution. The authors immediately distance China, and note its unfamiliarity:

> Teaching about China can often be difficult because Chinese culture is very *different* from the culture of most American students. Students in social studies classes find it hard to relate to such a *distant and unfamiliar* country. (128, emphasis added)

I juxtapose these examples not to say that we have remained motionless in our thinking about studying the world *outside* of the United States, but to illustrate what we have been taught, and what we encounter outside of an educational context, ultimately is reflected in our teaching (or suggestions for teaching). What is lacking, and needs analysis and explication, is the learning that is encountered outside of the educational context. As Willinsky (1998) so significantly pointed out, "We are schooled in differences both great and small, in borderlines and boundaries, in historical struggles and exotic practices, all of which extend the meaning of difference" (p. 1). These divisions are embedded in the learning that goes on in schools, as well as the materials, like *Social Education*, and even *National Geographic*, that pervade spaces within and outside of school contexts.

If it is understood that teachers teach based off of what they themselves learn, and yet still absent from the curriculum are "critical aspects of global knowledge" (Subedi, 2013, p. 1), then it is necessary to identify, analyze, and challenge what "learning" has been made available and how (if) that continues to impede the goals of critical global education. This research study attempts to add to the literature on critical global education through a historical, textual, and photographic analysis of representations of China in both cultural texts – *National Geographic* and *Life* magazines – and the flagship journal of the Social Studies, *Social Education*.

Research Questions

"Located in the terrain of everyday life" (Giroux & Simon, 1989, p. 221), popular culture is a significant space where society learns about, and forms understanding about self and other. However, an uncritical approach (compounded by the presence of an orientalist legacy) has continued to reproduce stereotypes, and over-simplistic representations (Crocco, 2005; Subedi, 2010; Merryfield, 2012). Students are exposed to not only curricular representations, but also representations that pervade popular media in what Kellner and Share (2005) argue, "help construct our images and understanding of the world" (in Sensoy, 2010, p. 40). It is my aim, through this dissertation, to add to critical global studies research by identifying and analyzing the cultural and political forces that have worked to in/form perceptions of and knowledge about China. I approach this study guided by the following questions:

- How do *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* perform the work of representation?
- What representational practices do these journals use to re/present China?
- How do these journals work pedagogically to explain and/or extend difference?
- What are the implications of these representations in popular media for global studies curriculum?

Theoretical Perspectives

This study draws on various theoretical perspectives for engaging both narrative and visual representations in *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education*. Understanding how representations are constructed through language and image, and thus how language and image can be used to fix meaning and extend difference necessitates the use of a theoretical frame aimed at uncovering and challenging the fixity of meaning and difference. Drawing on postcolonial theorists (Blaut, 1993; Said, 1978; Tchen, 1999; wa Thiong'o; Willinsky, 1998), the perspectives employed in this study attempt explore how representation can work to fix meaning and extend difference through imperialist structures and an orientalist lens.

National Geographic, Life, and *Social Education* rely heavily on visual imagery, specifically photographs, as a primary tool of representation. Thus, it is important to understand how photography is theorized as a representational practice. To attend to this, this study also draws on the work of Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag. Together, postcolonial perspectives and theorizing photography work alongside each other to draw out the constructed nature of representation, and how representation – through language and/or image – can work to capture and secure the meaning of difference and perpetuate division.

Framing the world in/through the West – Imperialism and Orientalism

This theoretical framing is organized around imperialism and orientalism. Imperialism can be broadly defined as an act of exerting rule or authority over another. More specifically, however, imperialism is about power, and the means through which the West used imperialism to justify its project to name, classify, categorize, and study the non-Western world. Imperialism has worked to extend categories and classifications named during the period of empire, "directed at extending the dominion of Europe around the globe" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 10). These classifications have extended beyond the end of empire, and persist up to the present day. As such, imperialism has become a dominant lens through which we come to see and know the world, a world now dependent upon binaries such as East/West, primitive/civilized. The imperial legacy is pervasive, extending its reach to education, popular culture, and literature, as orientalism illustrates.

Said (1978) described the unequal relationship between West and the East. Specifically, his *Orientalism* reveals the relationship between the East and the West, or the Orient and the Occident, as a relationship of power. The Westerner exerts this power (domination) in the ways in which he shapes and frames the Orient through Western representation. The "Oriental" does not speak for him/herself. Rather, he/she is described, written about, and "Orientalized" (p. 5) through Western observations about him/her. Thus, Orientalism is

> Premised upon exteriority, that is, on the fact that the Orientalist, poet or scholar, makes the Orient speak, describes the Orient, renders its mysteries plain for and to the West. (20-21)

Rendering the Orient accessible to the West has more to do with the Western world than it does with the Orient (p. 12), and "is directly indebted to various Western techniques of representation that make the Orient visible, clear, "there" in discourse about it" (p. 22). Representations work to not only render the Orient visible, but also position the Orient in binary opposition to the West, binaries created through imperialism. These binaries were (are) not equal, and these imperialist structures were built upon the superior and rational West against and dominant over the irrational and different Orient (p. 40). These structures, or binaries, have created a space to classify, name, and collect the Orient through the positional superiority (p. 7) of the West.

Orientalist thinking in the United States is rooted in the history of United States immigration. European immigrants, who imagined the Orient as "more decadent, exotic, and immoral" (Leong, 2005, p. 7) carried with them these attitudes and ideas of the East. American Orientalism examines how the United States formed a national identity through consumer culture. In addition, it challenges Said (1978) by placing orientalist thinking well before the ascendancy of the U.S. imperium after World War II, or what Said (1978) referred to as the "latest phase of Orientalism" (p. 285).

The United States looked at the Orient (China) as a manifest destiny (Tchen, 1999; Leong, 2005), which Tchen (1999) explained was "not only a colonizing vision of the frontier but also an occidentalist view of extending European American Protestant civilization influenced by European ideas" (p. xvi). The Orient to the United States was a place to impose, through missionary projects, especially, Western and Christian "civilization" on the very "uncivilized" Chinese. The binaries of civilized/primitive became a way of seeing not only the Chinese in China, but also the Chinese immigrant in the United States. Additionally, in the United States

> Measuring oneself against the exoticized and the alien became a means toward stabilizing, and destabilizing, a sense of belonging and normalcy with a sense of freedom and individuality. (Tchen, 1999, xx)

The quest for freedom and individuality was tied into a quest for "Chinese things." Owning Chinese luxuries denoted a particular knowledge about China, which, from an Orientalist perspective, knowledge about the Orient meant dominance/power over it (Said, 1978, p. 36). The quest for Chinese things was also an attempt to simulate European aristocracy. In the United States, however, without aristocratic titles, possession and display of these Chinese luxuries and curiosities was not only an emulation of European court culture, but it also signaled a "symbolic cultural mastery of China itself" (Tchen, 1999, p. 57). These symbolic "uses" of China and

Chinese things substantiated the United States as *the* center, or top of the "modern world" hierarchy, and by the end of the Second World War, essentially reframed pre-World War II colonial discourses (Vukovich, 2012, p. 21).

Language as a colonizing practice is also important as it is a way of knowing the self, another, and understanding the relationship between oneself and the world. In colonized countries, the dominant language – always the language of the colonizer – came to alienate the colonized (wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 17). As a "carrier of culture," language as well became the terms through which the colonized came to view and experience his world. As wa Thiong'o (1986) described, the language of the colonized was suppressed and understood

> In his impressionable mind with low status, humiliation, corporal punishment, slow-footed intelligence, and ability or downright stupidity, non-intelligibility and barbarism. (18)

Through the dominant language of the colonizer, the colonized learned about himself, learned of his culture, as well as the world around him. While the colonizer constructed the colonized-subject in his literature, popular culture, and education, the colonized was made to believe in a privilege in learning the language of the colonizer, while at the same time positioned "to stand outside of himself and look at himself" (wa Thiong'o, 1986, p. 17). Thus, the colonizer's language was used to dominate and exert power over the other not only by suppressing and finally losing his language, but also by forcing him to rely on Western knowledge and representation to speak and write about his country, people, and culture. As such imperial structures work(ed) to position language of the other on the periphery and the language of the colonized at the center.

Positioning the non-West on the periphery of the West is what Blaut (1993) refers to as the Inside-Outside model. The Inside, or center, is where most history and progress occurs. It has "one permanent center from which culture-changing ideas tend to originate, and a vast periphery that changes as a result (mainly) of diffusion from that center" (p. 13). Ideas and innovation flow from center to periphery in a process called Eurocentric diffusionism, effectively trapping those on the periphery in a tunnel of time (p. 5). Following World War II, a more modern diffusionism took hold, whereby modernization became the way for "Third World countries [to] gain prosperity" (p. 29).

The degree with which imperial discourses persist in the curriculum is a primary concern of many global educators as well, though engaging postcolonial theory in education is relatively new (Subedi & Daza, 2008, p. 4). Postcolonial theory in global education research encourages researchers and practitioners to question how "educational knowledge, particularly knowledge produced in Euro-American contexts and by the elite in both First and Third world contexts, is complicit in reinforcing colonial notions of culture, power, and difference" (Subedi & Daza, 2008, p. 4). In other words, this approach necessitates critiques of dominant discourses, which devalue marginalized perspectives (Subedi, 2010, p. 8). Like language, imperial structures position curriculum content, whereby there is an unequal relationship between Western and non-Western discourses in the curriculum.

An influential contribution to postcolonial theorizing in education is Willinksy's (1998) *Learning to divide the world: Education at Empire's end*. In his extension of Said's (1978) *Orientalism*, Willinsky argues that for centuries the "imperial project" has been selecting the hierarchical structures for humanity to reside and it fits neatly into the imperial context. He argues that "much of the knowledge achieved through conquest and colonization was understood to legitimate the political and cultural domination of imperialism" (p. 3). The ordering, classifying, and naming of "the Other" by Europe has been used to educate and divide the world.

This persists in education today, and as a result we carry with us a “legacy of imperialism” (p. 4), which continues to impact how and what (global issue) is taught in the social studies (in Merryfield & Subedi, 2006, p. 288). What is at work here is the privileging of certain discourses over others in the curriculum (Subedi, 2013, p. 2), and the lack of critical engagement with these discourses. The result of this uncritical approach is the reproduction of stereotypes, and over-simplistic representations of the Other (Crocco, 2005; Subedi 2010, 2013; Merryfield, 2012).

This study employs postcolonial theoretical perspectives for two broad reasons. First, it is important to understand how representation works and has worked to fix meaning and extend difference, thus perpetuating divisions such as East/West, primitive/civilized. Second, and more specifically, the carry-over of these representational practices to education has resulted in curriculum divisions as well. China is understood as having two histories– Ancient China and Communist China – though both situate China outside the tunnel of history, where “everything seems to be rockbound, timeless, changeless tradition” (Blaut, 1993, p. 5).

Photographic Representation – Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag

There is an element of realism that circulates around the act of photographing and the photograph itself. When a photograph is captured, “light rays reflecting off objects pass through a lens and register an imprint on a medium” (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 17). There is an assumption that what the photograph captures is an imprint of that thing, object or event. This complicates, not only the photograph itself, but also the act of photographing. Roland Barthes and Susan Sontag have theorized photography by looking at the effect and affect of photographs. In their analyses and discussions of photography, they reveal the complexities of photography as well as challenge its assumed realism. This study attempts to establish a theoretical frame through the lens of Barthes' and Sontag's photographic theorizing.

Barthes' (1980) encounter with photography is a particularly useful lens for this study, as he not only draws out the complexities present in a photograph, but also described the effect and affect that a single photograph possesses. He described photography as having two themes, the *studium* and *punctum*. Studium is an effect in photography, which provides evidence that something has happened (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 18), provoking "only a general and, so to speak, *polite* interest" (Barthes, 1980, p. 27, emphasis in original). For Barthes:

> To recognize the *studium* is inevitably to encounter the photographer's intentions, to enter into harmony with them, to approve or disapprove of them, but always to understand them, to argue them with myself, for culture (from which the *studium* derives) is a contract arrived at between creators and consumers. (27-28, emphasis in original)

Barthes (1980) was articulating the cultural and historical positioning that affect meaning. In other words, a photograph carries various meanings depending on the "reader." The studium, however, is disrupted by the punctum, which, "speckled with these sensitive points" (p. 27), "pierces one's heart with feeling" (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 18). Punctum refers to a detail that interrupts the reading of a photograph. In Barthes' (1980) reading of images, he described the punctum as

> A detail [that] overwhelms the entirety of my reading; it is an intense mutation of my interest, a fulguration. By the mark of *something*, the photographer is no longer "anything whatever." This *something* has triggered me, has provoked a tiny shock, a satori, the passage of a void (it is of no importance that its referent is insignificant). A strange thing: the virtuous gesture which seizes upon "docile" photographs (those invested by a simple *studium*) is an idle gesture (to leaf through, to glance quickly and desultorily, to linger, then to hurry on); on the contrary, the reading of the *punctum* (of the pricked photograph, so to speak) is at once brief and active. (49, emphasis in original)

For this study, I conceptualize the studium as an effect that leaves an impression, but one that does not linger, or stay with me. At the same time, it is through the studium that I encounter these photographs, trying to make sense of them and the photographers' intentions. The punctum, however, happens in a moment, and is something that never leaves, something, however big or small, that stays with me. Through studium and punctum, and my divergence from Barthes should be noted that a punctum might very well only exist *for* me, I examine photographs that disturb, disrupt, and challenge my thinking about China.

A photograph's complexity is also revealed in that it assumes reality, what Sontag (1977) argued gives the photograph authority because not only is it "an interpretation of the real; it is also a trace, something directly stenciled off the real" (p. 154). This extends a photograph's power as a tool for remembering and forgetting. Photographs allow for participation and alienation, which works to explain how certain events are remembered, and how images guide viewers to both remember *and* forget aspects both present and absent in photographs. Sontag argued that

> A society which makes it normative to aspire never to experience privation, failure, misery, pain, dread disease, and in which death itself is regarded not as natural and inevitable but as cruel, unmerited disaster, creates a tremendous curiosity that is partly satisfied through picture-taking. The feeling of being exempt from calamity stimulates interest in looking at painful pictures, and looking at them suggests and strengthens that one is exempt. Partly it is because one is "here," not "there," and partly it is the character of inevitability that all events acquire when they are transmuted into images. In the real world, something *is* happening and no one knows what is *going* to happen. In the image-world, it *has* happened, and it *will* forever happen in that way. (168, emphasis in original)

Sontag (1977) conceptualized the image-world as the space created by the photographer with the photographs that s/he snaps. Importantly, while the event is captured in a photograph, the event at some point ends, but through its captured image, lives on, or still exists even after the event has ended (p. 11).

Barthes and Sontag are intended as interpretive tools for engaging in the realities of representation, and photographs more specifically. Historically, photographs have been influential in depicting and portraying difference and otherness. As Sturken and Cartwright explained, through photographs, “Western cultures have attributed to Eastern and Middle Eastern cultures qualities such as exoticism and barbarism” (p. 113). The appropriation of narrative and visual text to assert dominant, imperial thinking is significant for reading and understanding the work of representation, and thus how photography becomes implicated in rendering the Orient present to the West. When we look at or take photographs through an orientalist lens, even if unconsciously, we become part of, and implicated in the power structure the West maintains over the non-West. In that sense, photography helps secure and perpetuate imperial structures and power. How the West has framed the world through its justification of imperialism, resulting in unequal binaries and orientalist views, works well with theories of photographic. Together, they reveal how representations are powerful in maintaining imperialist structures that still persist today.

Chapter 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

The following literature review summarizes historical and contemporary scholarship on postwar area studies, teaching global perspectives, and China in the curriculum. The selection of research studies within their larger fields – area studies, global studies, and social studies, respectively – is intended to provide a context of the fields/areas of study, which have been sites of knowledge production about China, as well as the spaces that utilize that knowledge for teaching and learning about China. Because the study responds to questions about pedagogical practices of *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* in giving meaning to the world through the work of representation, it is necessary to look at the rationales, methods, as well as the content for teaching about the world in general, and China in particular, found in the literature.

Post-War Area Studies

Area Studies is an interdisciplinary approach to research and scholarship of various regions of the world, borrowing from disciplines in history, political science, geography, and literature, to name a few. It is important to look historically at the formation of area studies as an academic discipline, not only because it intersects with the scope of this study, but also because of the rationale for needing to learn about the world in the politically and ideologically-charged cold war[6] context. Thus, this section focuses on the development of post-war area studies as constructs of the Cold War, by looking simultaneously at analyses and critiques of area studies programs in the United States, as well as studies that have examined more deeply China's

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[6] When used adjectivally, "cold war" is not capitalized. However, when used as a proper noun, it is capitalized.

"position" in the Cold War, including how China was both sympathized and feared in the United States.

Area studies departments developed during the Cold War as a means to understand particular regions of the world. Though this was felt by the United States prior to the end of World War II, area studies were needed even more so following the War, in order to better "understand the functioning of those that already had communist regimes and to help prevent other areas from 'falling into the hands of communists'" (Wallerstein, 1997, p. 201). Or, as Chow (2010) pointed out, "fields of information retrieval and dissemination that were necessary for the perpetuation of the United State's political and ideological hegemony" (p. 15).

Most area studies fields had significant funding contributions from the Ford, Rockefeller, and Carnegie foundations, as well as ties to government agencies such as the CIA and FBI. In Cumings' (1997) historical study, he found that in order to revive the field after the McCarthy "onslaught," the Ford Foundation contributed at least $30 million into the field (p. 9). Cumings also notes "the Ford Foundation in close consultation with the CIA helped shape postwar area studies" (p. 10). Funding did not only come from foundations, however. The passing of the National Defense Education Act in 1958, influenced by the Soviet launch of Sputnik in 1957, resulted in the distribution of aid to area studies programs across the United States; aid that continued for 20 years (Wallerstein, 1997, p. 208).

Area studies as a construct of the Cold War is well documented in the literature. Chow (2010) critiques the field by analogously describing it as bomber-target, whereby the United States occupies the position of the bomber, and other cultures serve as target fields, for military and information gathering (p. 16), or, rather a seemingly one-sided, U.S. – centered view of information. What she aimed to articulate was that

> As long as the focus of our study of Asia remains the United States, and as long as this focus is not accompanied by knowledge of what is happening elsewhere at other times as well as the present, such study will ultimately confirm once again the self-referential function of virtual worlding that was unleashed by the dropping of the atomic bombs, with the United States always occupying the position of bomber, and other cultures always viewed as the military and information field targets. (16)

Chow (2010) furthered Harootunian's (1999) critique that knowledge production was one-sided. He argued that area studies researchers rejected Said's critique of Orientalism, ultimately resulting in a missed opportunity "to become a site where a genuinely alternative form of knowledge production might have been possible" (in Chow, 2010, p. 17). The reason behind this rejection was that it was "disruptive to the administrative and instrumentalist agendas."

The context of the formation of area studies is significant. As pointed out earlier, area studies in the United States developed in response to the threat of nuclear war and the spread of communism. Looking into this cold war context with a specific focus on China, Cohen (2011) examined China's political "position" after World War II, and its recognition as the legitimate government of China, versus Chiang Kai-Shek's in Taiwan. He traced this history through actions/inaction by U.S. presidents from Truman to Reagan, though noting rapprochement during the Nixon administration. Focusing on the early years of the Cold War, Cohen argued that the United States was moving toward recognition, but the Korean War disrupted this. Cohen remarked, "Once Communist Chinese were killing Americans, anger toward the Chinese mounted in the United States, and recognition [of the PRS as the official government of China] would have been political suicide for Democrats already suffering from Republican charges that they were "soft on communism"" (p.2). This resulted in political and financial support of Taiwan and Chiang Kai-shek, whom Cohen argued benefitted the most from the Korean War.

The Eisenhower administration displayed several concerns over Taiwan (Kai-Shek, specifically) and China. First, there was a concern that Kai-shek would try to involve the United States in a war helping him reclaim Mainland China. The second, and most significant, was that "[Eisenhower] thought it would be a mistake to force the Chinese to be dependent on the Soviet Union" (Cohen, 2011, p. 3). The political negotiations in the United States regarding recognition of China is significant because it begins to uncover the ways in which China was positioned in the Cold War. While communism was certainly a threat to democracy and freedom, Chinese communism did not supersede the "communism + nuclear weapons" of the Soviet Union. It also points to a particular role the Chinese played as an intermediary between the United States and the Soviet Union.

In Jian's (2001) study of declassified Chinese documents, he argued that China's role was not peripheral, despite the dominant perception of the Cold War being a "tension between the two contending superpowers – the United States and the Soviet Union" (p. 2). On the contrary, China/East Asia was the "main battlefield" of the Cold War, and because China served as a buffer zone, it kept the Cold War "cold" (p. 3). The contradiction, however, lies in the "revolutionary spirit" of the People's Republic of China. While Jian argued that China served as the buffer between the United States and the Soviet Union, he also pointed out the revolutionary dimension of China/Chinese during the Cold War served to enhance "the perception of the Cold War as a battle between "good" and "evil" on both sides" (pp. 3-4). Thus, while the threat of nuclear attack by the Soviet Union dominated perceptions of the Soviet Union in the United States, the idea of revolution, and the reality of its hold on the Chinese, was significant in defining China's revolutionary position during the Cold War.

In his remarkable study of patriotic perceptions in the United States, Hirschberg (1993) examined the cold war schema and the cognitive effects of this schema. He argued that "through cold war lenses, Americans saw a world consistent with their biased cold war beliefs, and this helped elicit support for cold war-oriented policies and to perpetuate the patriotism upon which those beliefs were founded" (p. 5). Through the cold war schema, Hirschberg determined that democracy and communism are "negatively related opposites" (p. 42). He pointed to the significance of this: primarily that during the Cold War, democracy was at stake (p. 42).

Though these studies look specifically at area studies and cold war history in the United States, the intersection with the emergence of global studies cannot be overlooked. Global education in the 1960s grew out of the need to prepare young people "to live in an increasingly problematic and interconnected world" (Gaudelli, 2003, p. 5). At the same time, the "struggle over communism" became a dominant theme in schools, and portrayed, as in area studies, as a threat to democracy (Evans, 2004, p. 96).

Going global in educational practice

When Hanvey (1976) called for educators to teach "awareness of our own cultural perspective, awareness of how other peoples see the world, awareness of global patterns of change" (p. 35), his approach was aimed directly at moving beyond a local, low-empathetic perspective (p. 18) through the attainment of perspective-consciousness. Hanvey's work has been influential to an entire generation of educators (Zong, et. al., 2008, p. 198), and provided a central aim to the field of global education, that is, teaching from (and attaining) a global perspective. Though Hanvey's work was seminal in moving beyond international relations, critical decision-making (Merryfield, 1998; Gaudelli, 2003) and the educational legacy of imperialism (Willinsky, 1998; Merryfield & Subedi, 2006) were missing components to his approach.

Teaching global perspectives is a difficult undertaking for social studies educators (Smith, 1999). This may be due in part to the variations in what it means to teach with or even have a global perspective, which may only be definable within the context that it is situated. Research suggests that conceptions of global perspective impact practice, and thus what (and how) students are taught about the world. Significantly, teacher decision-making, and the context that informs decisions, impacts how teachers promote or hinder attainment of a global perspective.

Merryfield (1998) conducted a study to examine how theory impacts teacher pedagogy and instructional decision-making for teaching global perspectives. Observing and interviewing three groups, which she categorized as exemplary global educators, experienced and pre-service teachers, Merryfield found similarities and differences between theories that guided instructional decision-making. The majority of teachers were guided by the belief that teaching about culture and diversity through multiple perspectives would bring about cross-cultural understanding. The exemplary global educators more frequently used higher-order thinking to examine complexities of power, control, and inequality (p. 366). The experienced and pre-service teachers were more likely to add a global component to a lesson.

Identifying nationalism as a problem facing global education in the United States, Gaudelli (2003) examined how four teachers in three New Jersey schools dealt with issues of nationalism in a global context. In other words, how do they teach a global perspective within a system that is traditionally nationalistic? Gaudelli employed Leung and Print's (1998) three categories of nationalism – ethnic/cultural, civic/democratic, and cosmopolitan – while adding a fourth, eclectic nationalism, to frame the teachers' approach. Arguing that global education is not anti- (or pro-) American, Gaudelli's findings highlight a component of national critique by all four teachers, but significant differences in their intentions (p. 7). For example, teachers who employed civic/democratic nationalism encouraged national critique, but their intention on viewing the world by "looking out/looking in" was to "demonstrate the unique and superior qualities of life in the United States" (p. 79). In addition, his findings illustrate how beliefs and personal theories arise in the pedagogies of these practitioners, and thus how they conceptualize a global perspective.

Cross and Molnar (1994) identified three perspectives or "world views" toward global education. The nationalist perspective recognizes the world's interdependence but that emerging global societies pose a threat to American sovereignty. The international commerce model promotes the creation and maintenance of an international market economy, one where multinational corporations dominate and are competitive at the international level. The humanistic orientation "focuses on social justice, human rights, cross-cultural understanding peace, cooperation, and binding the earth together as one community" (p. 134).

Similarly, Gaudelli (2009) considers five visions of global citizenship – neoliberal, nationalist, Marxist, world justice/governance, and cosmopolitan. He emphasized at the outset that neoliberal and nationalist orientations are the dominant discourses in conceptualizing global citizenship, but are "interrupted at times by less recognized minority discourses of Marxism, world justice/governance, and cosmopolitanism" (p. 69). While these perspectives are seemingly segregated by the perspective taken by the teacher (or curriculum writer, or researcher), Cross and Molnar (1994) emphasized the necessity of synthesizing these orientations because "these views of the world are related to one another and represent a complete image of mankind" (p.

139). Through hermeneutic and dialogic thinking, Gaudelli similarly calls for students, teachers, and curriculum writers to engage competing worldviews (p. 79).

What is missing from the studies in area studies and teaching a global perspective in global studies curriculum is consideration of *what* knowledge has been produced, and thus *is used* for teaching a global perspective. Both area and global studies are connected foundationally, but the challenges and impact of that produced knowledge, and the possible recycling of similar knowledges through global studies are significant points to consider. The following section focuses on content specifically for teaching about China – an area studies subject produced in the academy, and a school subject taught within most global studies curricula.

Learning about China

Acknowledging that curriculum is not only a form of representation, but also that curriculum *is* access to "knowledge," it is necessary to examine what knowledge is accessible (privileged) and restricted (silenced) in the context of social studies literature. Also significant, and will be a focus of this section is the way in which content about the world is made available through a dominant educational medium, the textbook. This section examines the limitations and representations of textbooks in general, and then takes a closer look at content specific to China/Asia[7].

Textbooks are a dominant classroom medium, but their superficial coverage can lead to

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[7] It is important to point out that representations of China do not include Asia. However, representations of Asia necessarily include China. There is still so little research pertaining specifically to teaching about China, and as the section illustrates, most research has been done with Asia more generally. However, so much can be learned about China from content studies about Asia.

“misconceptions, discouragement, and disinterest” (Werner, 2000, p. 195). In addition, the limitation of textbook content often leads to stereotyping, and “one or two cases can have an inordinate impact on shaping an impression of a society, its people, or its dominant religion” (Crocco, 2005, p. 562). Merryfield (2012) indicated this as well, by cautioning that a sole focus on elites or victims can lead to a narrow view of another culture (p. 20). With textbooks playing a significant role in the classroom, it becomes necessary to draw attention not only to what a text says, but also “to how it is organized to make its particular claim to knowledge and how the latter influences the readers’ production of meaning” (Segall, 2010, p. 231).

Marino and Bolgatz (2010) examined the influence of the world history movement (post 1945) on how historical information is arranged, sequenced and systematized in 23 state world history standards. The world history movement was a response to the Western-civilization approach to world history, which at the time was synonymous with “European” or “Western civ” courses (p. 369). They found that the use of these standards, aimed at approaching history through a global lens, largely promote a Eurocentric orientation, especially for topics before 1945. In addition, non-Western content, though outnumbering western topics 11 to 9 in the standards, were taken out of historical context. The authors provide a specific example of this regarding China. They ask, “How can one understand, for example, the Cultural Revolution without having learned anything about China’s history prior to this point, save perhaps, for a few lessons on the Qing dynasty or the Boxer Rebellion?” (p. 387). Their findings point to a dominance of Eurocentrism in topics prior to 1945, and “decontexualized post-1945, with little attention to an integrated, comparative, or world systems approach” (p. 388). While this research highlights the significant inadequacies of moving past a Western-centered approach to teaching about the world, it raised a larger question of how and why a place (country) makes it into the curriculum and how it gets portrayed (represented). The decontextualization of non-Western histories in their findings aligns neatly to decolonization and the creation of area studies during the cold war period. It also reinforces Masalski and Levy's (2010) call to move past outdated assumptions of China so prevalent in textbooks even today (p. 7).

Literature relating specifically to teaching about China is minimal, though not insignificant. In January/February 2010, *Social Education* dedicated the entire issue to teaching about China. The purpose of this issue called for teachers to move past "outdated assumptions; encourage further study about this important, changing, vast, and varied nation; and provide an improved education for students" (Masalski & Levi, 2010, p. 7). These "outdated assumptions" rest in the representations of China in textbooks (p. 7). As noted previously, representations in textbooks are significant as they dominate instructional materials (Werner, 2000; Bain, 2006). What are these textbook representations and what meaning do they suggest to students (and teachers) about China?

Gluck (1997) outlined approaches to world history textbooks, and how they have situated Asia. The conjunctive approach "imperially conjoined the West and the world" (p. 200). The collision model illustrates the histories of Asia as "reacting to the imperialist threat or civilizational stimulus of the West rather than acting in the context of their own histories." This model, Gluck points out, also gave rise to a prominent historical storyline – Japan succeeded, China failed (p. 200). Cumings (1997) echoed this very sentiment in his discussion of the formation of area studies during the early years of the Cold War where "countries inside the containment system, like Japan or South Korea, and those outside it, like China or North Korea, were clearly placed as friend or enemy, ally or adversary" (p. 3). Additionally, the study of Japan and South Korea was understood as modernization studies and China and North Koreas as communist studies (p. 3).

In her analysis of Canadian world history textbooks, Fu (2008) analyzed problematic representations of China. Specifically, she considered a common textbook trope, "Traditional China" which includes China in the pre-modern period. Though Fu does not specifically identify dates to situate this period, her analysis, or coverage in the textbook rather, implicitly suggests this period ending around the Enlightenment (late 17th century). She also examined China "within" the modern period. Her analysis revealed significant findings on the representations of China in world history textbooks, and the implications they have on the construction of knowledge about China.

For China within the modern period, Fu (2008) found that China was excluded from master narratives of modernity, only mentioned when China is "interpreted as obstructing, hindering, or menacing the ascent of the West to modernity" (p. 3). In addition, she points to the reinforcement of "Traditional China" trope, but viewed in terms of decadence, only permitted to modernize "in a separate temporality and only after several violent tutorials with EuroAmerica" (p. 57).[8] Finally, she concluded that the textbooks' representation of China as only impacting the West in foreign policy, presents a narrative that suggests a "history of "lack" inviting completion by the West."

Hong's (2008) dissertation examined how a "curriculum about others" developed into a "curriculum of othering." Taking into consideration the growing visibility of Asia(ns) and the under/misrepresentations in the classroom (p. 8), Hong sought to problematize the paradoxical representations that have "distorted" perceptions of Asia in American society (p. 7). A significant finding in his study illustrated that students come to class with specific perceptions about Asia – He cited students who think about *Memoirs of a Geisha* when they think about Asian women (p. 182), and remembering Kim Jong-Il after watching *Team America* (p. 183).

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[8] The primary "tutorial" was the Opium War (1840).

Discussion

In Merryfield's (1998) study of exemplary global educators, experienced, and pre-service teachers discussed earlier, she acknowledges the impact contextual components have on teaching a global perspective. She responded that "knowledge of globalization and access to resources to teach it, and [teachers'] perceptions of student characteristics" were the most important factors in teachers' decision-making (p. 366). What this suggests, and Merryfield points to this as well, is that teaching a global perspective is connected specifically to a teacher's own perspective and theory of global education.

Responding to Merryfield's finding that "access to resources" (p. 366) impact teaching a global perspective, it is important to consider the materials that have been used to shape and assist (indirectly or directly) teaching a global perspective. Without this consideration, there is a measurable gap in the analysis. Gaudelli (2003) asks a significant question that is worth reiterating – "Do we truly want to promote a global perspective?" (p. 127). What he is trying to push educators to do is rethink *how we study and have studied the world*. It is also significant, however, to consider what we are learning, and what students have access to learn about. Merryfield (2001) echoes this when she called for a "truly global global education" (p. 182) by

> Adding new perspectives and knowledge to American or European constructions of history, culture, political, or economic systems… to illuminate other world views and provide insights into how identity, power, and history interact. (p. 190)

In order to answer this call, it is important to challenge the assumptions that *give meaning* to the other, having been constructed by both academic departments, educational resources, and even representations outside the circumscribed learning space of schools.

The literature presented above highlights components that, taken together, attempt to contextualize the foundations that have been (are) powerful in disseminating knowledge and learning about the Other in the context of the United States. This study does not question if representations *are* constructed. However, acknowledging the history and critiques of both area and global studies as “cold war constructs,” and the “institutionalized divisions” that remain present in curriculum content (Merryfield, 2001, p. 182), opens up space for rethinking and questioning the knowledge and learning that representations mediate about the Other.

Chapter 3 – RESEARCH METHODS

This section describes the research methods used throughout the study. In addition, this section addresses the rationale for applying historical, textual, and photographic analysis to this study's selected "data" sources – *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* – to respond to how and what various representations produced about China in these publications. Finally, I provide my criteria for selecting the articles, as well as a list of the articles used to complete the analysis.

To respond to the research questions, I carried out two layers of research – one which attended to the content, the other to the context. Broadly, content analysis is an analytical approach to written text "as a method for describing and interpreting the written productions of a society or social group" (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 161). Context analysis, though similar, describes the "social situations surrounding the document in question, [and] must be understood to grasp the significance of the document itself" (Altheide, 1996, p. 9). In order to analyze these layers, I have developed protocols to interrogate the articles for both content and context. These are discussed in the following section.

Historical Analysis

This study examined constructions of China through representations in cultural and educational texts. To consider these representations historically, and the process by which they have changed, or stayed the same, necessitates access to journals that have published significantly throughout the period of study, 1960s-present. The use of journals rather than another data source, like oral histories or letters, is related to the reach of mass communication, as well as to their audience. Thus, while there are numerous sources (and media) available, I have selected three publications, which align to this rationale, to carry out the analysis.

The first two publications are *National Geographic* and *Life Magazine*. These popular culture artifacts carry a degree of legitimacy in the United States, as evidenced by the National Magazine awards both magazines received (and continue to for NG) recognizing achievement in photojournalism and reporting, as well as their mass circulation reaching millions of middle class Americans (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 2). The selection of *Social Education* as a third "data source/cite" is aimed at locating the educational current(s) for teaching/learning about the world outside of the United States. *Social Education* is not of the classroom per se, but its use to this study provides a nice link between popular culture and pedagogy. Unlike *National Geographic* and *Life* however, *Social Education* was (is) produced for a smaller, more specific audience – teachers, and teacher educators. As the leading practitioner journal for the National Council of the Social Studies, *Social Education* can be illustrative to what learning has been (is being) suggested for teaching about the world more generally, and China in particular.

Content and Context Analysis

In order to begin my inquiry of these journals, I first located articles that dealt in some manner with the content of China. Once I identified all articles (discussed and listed below), I narrowed the sample for content and context analysis. Altheide (1996) points out that a sample should include a range of messages, which "must emerge as the researcher inspects and reflects on some initial materials" (p. 33). To do this, I located articles in all three journals, which dealt broadly with historical, political, cultural, and economic issues, or an (explicit) intersection among these issues. To attend to this sampling, however, I identified a few key "historical moments" from which to situate and narrow the selection – the Cultural Revolution (1960s); Rapprochement (1970s); Economic reform – "Four modernizations" (early 1980s); Tiananmen Square (1989); Post-Tiananmen – Jiang Zemin & President Clinton (1997); post-9/11 (2000s); Summer Olympics (2008). I used these as historical markers, and did not assume (or look) that the articles from which I drew the sample dealt the content of China explicitly. However, I believe that these historical locations provided a "range of messages" that can attend to the historical, political, cultural, and economic dialogue used to represent China in *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education*.

Next, I employed content analysis to gather information on the sample articles. Using deductive analysis, which determines preset categories (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 214) I developed a protocol to ask questions of the document. Borrowing from qualitative media studies, this protocol was developed to be "capable of documenting visual as well as written and narrative information" and "have a reflective segment in which the researcher can make notes and comments" about similarities and differences between sources (Altheide, 1996, p. 27). The categories were preliminary, and as I moved through the articles, I employed a inductive analysis, which addresses emergent themes and patterns (in Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 214). To analyze the content of each journal, I identified the following categories:

1. Date
2. (Historical) Context of article
3. Summary of text
4. Description of images
5. Location of images/text
6. Themes identified
7. Notes/Reflection

Content analysis guides the researcher to describe and interpret written texts (Marshall & Rossman, 2011, p. 161). After I completed this portion of the analysis, I was able to develop a narrative that articulated how the journals employed representational strategies to re/present China, and how they had changed/developed throughout the scope of study.

In addition to locating and identifying the representations of China through content analysis, this study also sought to analyze and engage in what the implications of popular media representations are for critical global education, and thus its impact on teaching a global perspective. Kellner (1995) argued that media cultural texts

> Are complex artifacts that embody social and political discourses whose analysis and interpretation require methods of reading and critique to articulate their embeddedness in the political economy, social relations, and the political environment within which they are produced, circulated, and received. (4)

Thus, employing textual analysis and photographic interpretation to this study allowed me to move beyond general description of the articles' content, and to uncover the power structures that give meaning to both narrative and visual texts. Application of textual analysis (Fairclough, 2003) and photographic interpretation (Sontag, 1977; Barthes, 1980) allowed for further/deeper inquiry revealing the context of the document by asking not only what the text "says" but also what/whose voice is being privileged/omitted by the text and/or image. Drawing on cultural studies research, interrogating the documents further revealed how texts "emerge from, and play a role in, the changing historical, political, and social context" (Saukko, 2003), of the United States. Like the protocol developed for the analysis of content for locating and identifying the representations of China, I examined the context of the texts and images by asking the following questions:

1. What is explicit and implicit (assumed) in/of the text?
2. What contradictions/consensus exists between the written and visual text?
3. Whose voice(s) is/are present?
4. Is there a dominant voice in the text?
5. How is voice/text framed?

Textual analysis

Researchers employing textual analysis “must take account of the institutional positions, interests, values, intentions, desires etc. of producers; the relations between elements at different levels in texts; and the institutional positions, knowledge, purposes, values etc. of receivers” (Fairclough, 2003, pp. 10-11). Thus, textual analysis as an analytical tool guides the researcher to identify/locate what is explicit in the text, as well as what is implicit, or assumed, and who the audience of a text is in order to “clarify their contribution to processes of meaning-making” (p. 11).

National Geographic, *Life*, and *Social Education* magazines occupy multiple discursive spaces, the discourse represented through written text, and the discourse represented by the photographed (visual) text. However, the discourses in these magazines are not, and should not be seen as detached from the meaning that their representations mediate. While an examination and analysis of one discourse is significant, for example Lutz and Collins’ (1993) study of *National Geographic* photographs, looking at how these modes of representation work together to make meaning about the world, specifically representations that construct meaning about China underlies this study. Fairclough (2003) explains that “discourses not only represent the world as it is (or rather is seen to be), they are also projective, imaginaries, representing possible worlds which are different from the actual world, and tied in to projects to change the world in particular directions” (p. 124). In order to address the research questions, the approach to this inquiry considered how narrative and visual texts/discourses work with or in tension with one another to make meaning, by asking “which texts and voices are included, which are excluded, and what [are the] significant absences” (p. 47).

National Geographic, *Life*, and *Social Education* magazines are also negotiated texts, meaning they are "the outcome of a process of negotiation about which voices should be included in the text and in what relation" (Fairclough, 2003, p. 43). This applies fittingly with these publications, which are authored, submitted, edited, formatted, and finally published. In addition, there are times where the authors who write the narrative are different from those who photograph the images in these publications. This study will address the negotiations by asking if contradictions and consensus exist in the written and visual texts. If so, what are they and (how) do they add to the complexity of the process of representation?

Photographic Interpretation

As noted above, the discursive spaces that *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* occupy, as well necessitate the analysis of the visual text – photography. Meaning made through/by photography is complicated, arguably more so than the narrative text, in that it "seems to have a more innocent, and therefore more accurate, relation to visible reality than do other mimetic objects" (Sontag, 1977, p. 6). This innocence, however, is what makes the photograph aggressive (p. 7), and potentially problematic. This study employed photographic analysis and interpretation in an attempt to uncover how photography is powerful in re/producing and/or reinforcing a particular meaning about the other, China in particular.

To analyze the content of the photographs, I applied a compositional interpretation of the image (Rose, 2012, p. 58). Approaching photographs though compositional interpretation allows the researcher to look for content, color, spatial organization, light, and expressive content. Rose (2012) suggests that approaching each image through compositional interpretation is helpful "as a first stage of getting to grips with an image that is new [to the researcher]" (p. 77). The limitations of this approach, however, is that it is more descriptive than interpretive. Applying Barthes (1980) and Sontag's (1978) theoretical stances to photography added this missing interpretive dimension.

While *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* occupy multiple discursive spaces, it is important to note that there is a range of discourses present in every photograph. With the exception of the editorials in *Life*, and the 1960s articles in *Social Education*, photographs were present in all of the analyzed articles. Hall (1997a) defined photography as a "representational *system*, using images on light-sensitive paper to *communicate* photographic meaning about a particular person, event or scene" (emphasis added, p. 5). Within this "system" exist objects, which help derive meaning for the viewer (Sturken and Cartwright, 2009). A single photograph may seem innocent, but it is a complicated space within the photograph itself, and for the "reader" looking at the photograph. What was of interest to me with these photographs was how they authenticated the written narrative within which they are situated. By authenticating a narrative, I mean to describe the manner in which the reproduction (use) of a photograph "confirm[s] their authenticity and impl[ies] they happen in the way the text suggests" (Werner, 2000, p. 206). This aligns well with Sontag (1977), who described how "the picture may distort, but there is always a presumption that something exists, or did exist, which is like what it is in the picture" (p. 5). What this suggests is that an individual, a "reader," brings to the photograph, an expectation of something similar to what is being viewed. Unpacking the intersection between the appropriation of photographs to convince the reader of the story's authenticity and a viewer's presumptions oscillated between explicating the narrative, the written account and identifying the use of rhetoric, the e/affective language, to bring to mind particular historical events and/or embedded stereotypes of China and the Chinese.

Coding Scheme

I developed a system of codes to assist in grouping themes and patterns present in the journals. Each journal was coded separately (Table 1). The codes were selected to align with the research questions and theoretical lenses, thus drawing a "theorized connection between the image [and narrative] and the broader cultural context in which meaning is made" (Rose, 2012, p. 91).

In *Social Education*, for example, the obvious practical application led me to look for how authors suggested content specifics for teaching, and/or specific methods. Broadly conceived, content *is* the material on the pages of *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education*. However, given the practitioner orientation of *Social Education*, I looked specifically for ways that content was suggested for teaching, as well as suggestions for teaching the content (methods). The following example from Crown's (1973) *Social Education* illustrates her suggestions for teaching – content and methods:

> It will also be possible, as more and more Americans visit China, to compare what one reads in works written by the Chinese with what is reported by returning visitors. Too often we listen to only the observers and not the participants in another culture, thus distorting our understanding. The selections of Chinese writing included in this feature are an attempt to help listen to the voices – or perhaps, more accurately, the collective voice – of China to provide teachers with material which will help students place themselves within the Chinese culture, as well as material to make comparisons with our own culture. (15).

In my analysis of *National Geographic* and *Life*, the codes that emerged quite early considered affective language and repetition of particular words – Reds, Communists, Individualistic. The photographs in the articles complicated the analysis insofar as the photographs were narratives in themselves, as well as being generally anchored with a caption. In addition, the framing within the narrative and the caption created layers out of which "representations" could not so easily be named. For example, it was difficult when looking at the images and text to conclude definitively

"*National Geographic* typically represents China as aggressively communist." Thus, what the coding scheme helped me do was determine the wide-range of methods employed by each journal to represent in general, and represent China in particular.

🟥 Divisions, dichotomies, segregation, essentializing
🟦 Suggestions for teaching, content specific → (what) historical, geographical
🟩 Suggestions for teaching, methods specific → how to teach, when to include
🟨 Critiques, admonitions, praise → insights (implicit even) into what students/teachers may/not know or have access to
🟪 Justifications for teaching/learning/knowing about China
■ Affective language

Table 1 – Coding Scheme

Noting the abundance of photographs present in each of these articles, I read the narrative first, coding for affective language and in-text references to images found within the narrative itself. I began this in just the first article I read in *National Geographic* because I noticed out of so many photographs only a handful were given in-text references. This suggested right away that the images carried their own message, though sometimes it was linked with the narrative itself, and sometimes it carried an attachment to something else, like an ideology.

Finally, in attending to the research questions, the theoretical framing of imperialism and orientalism, and Barthes and Sontag's theories of photographic representation moves alongside the research methods by disrupting and challenging the foundations of knowledge to expose a power/knowledge relationship (Segall, 2006, p. 160). By selecting *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* – all publications that hold a degree of legitimacy for imparting a particular (constructed) knowledge of the world – this study employed multiple theoretical perspectives to uncover assumptions, which continue to divide the world into "us" and "them" (Merryfield, 2001, p. 181).

Sources of study

National Geographic Magazine

National Geographic magazine is a monthly magazine, covering a wide range of topics and grounded in its mission to diffuse knowledge about the earth, sea, and sky.[9] Since *National Geographic* published volume 1 in 1889, it has aimed to "increase and diffuse geographic knowledge" (p. i). The early years of the magazine were not adorned with the now famous photographs that have made *National Geographic* so widely known. Photographs were introduced in 1910, with color photography in the 1920s and 1930s. By the 1950s and 60s *National Geographic* "mirrored the burst of optimism and idealism" that characterized the period (Foster, 2012, p. 1). Recognizing that the 1950s and 1960s cannot be solely characterized as optimistic and idealistic and that *National Geographic* aimed to represent these emotions through photography made this an intriguing site to study, not only for what it included, but also for what it left out. Intended as a "scholarly" publication in contrast to other monthly magazines, *National Geographic* appealed to "large families whose current realities were middle-class, but whose aspirations tended toward the educated, "cultured" life-style of upper-middle-class professionals (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 17).

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[9] This is acknowledged on the inside cover of each issue, though the language/word use varies.

In a groundbreaking study of the photography of *National Geographic*, Lutz and Collins' (1993) *Reading National Geographic* used content analysis to explicate how powerful media shapes models of the third world. They directed their study toward the photographs of *National Geographic*, which they describe as "one of the most culturally valued and potent media vehicles shaping American understandings of, and responses to, the world outside the United States" (p. xii). To borrow McAlister's (2001) term "encounter," *National Geographic* was a way of knowing and experiencing the world through encounters that "happen across wide geographic spaces, among people who will never meet except through the medium of culture" (p. 1). Indeed, part of what gives *National Geographic* its legitimacy to its now global readership, is its documentation and interpretation of "the world's sweeping changes through the lens of *personal* experience" (Foster, 2012, p. 1, emphasis added).

Life Magazine

Life magazine was a magazine of pictures. Published as a weekly until 1972, *Life* aimed at entertaining, informing, and influencing millions of readers (Doss, 2001, p. 2). Between 1972 and 1978 the magazine only published special issues, at which time it became a monthly publication. Henry Luce, who purchased *Life* in 1934, believed that pictures "could shape and direct popular opinion" (Doss, 2001, p. 11). Recognizing the power in visual representations to influence "men's minds," *Life* magazine used images to narrate the story of America, American life, and the "sure belief that the American way was the way of the world." Interestingly, Luce hoped that China would embrace this American way of the world through an adoption of Christianity, and a democracy (Jespersen, 1996, p. xx). Analyzing the images of *Life* magazine for this study provides a strong example of the authoritative/power dynamic present in the construction of texts – both visual and textual.

Another reason for using *Life* magazine as a data source was situated with its publisher, and editor-in-chief, Henry Luce. Luce was born in China to missionary parents. Though he appreciated China, he felt that China, thus the Chinese, needed saving, and it was America who needed to save it (Herzstein, 2005, p. 2). Through the images and texts of his magazines, he maintained an abiding loyalty to the United States, recognizing its "cultural and moral superiority" (Long, 2001, p. 56). Herzstein (2005) argued that the magazines of Time Inc., including *Life*, "more often than not reflected the views that Luce also expressed in memoranda, speeches and diary notes. This was especially true in regard to… the American commitment to "uplifting" – that is modernizing and Christianizing – the people of China" (p. 3).

The limitation to analyzing *Life* magazines was that little historical work has been done of the magazine itself. Doss (2001) pointed out that much of the historical studies that have been taken up have been done in-house, and are "non-critical and generally coffee-table compilations of *Life*'s "best" pictures and photo-essays" (p. 4). Another limitation was that *Life* is no longer in circulation. However, *Life* magazines from 1936-1972 are available open source in Google Books.

Social Education

In relation to *National Geographic* and *Life*, *Social Education* provides a link between popular culture and pedagogy. *Social Education* is the flagship journal of the National Council of the Social Studies (NCSS), published six times a year. As the leading practitioner journal for the National Council of the Social Studies, the purpose of *Social Education* is to influence educational/social studies practice. The rationale for using *Social Education* in this study was to identify what educational perspectives were/are held regarding the teaching of China. In other words, what does this publication suggest for teachers to teach about China?

Like Segall (2006), I identify *Social Education* as a "representation of the field's "official" discourse" (p. 161). For example, communism as anti-American and a threat to democracy was a theme that permeated in educational discourse during the cold war period. Evans (2004) discussed the need for teaching communism as a way to combat it. He noted articles in *Social Education* appearing throughout the cold war period as evidence of this discourse (p. 114). As patterns of representations emerged from an analysis of both *National Geographic* and *Life* magazine, *Social Education* responded – through acknowledgement of replicating/reinforcing, or absence.

National Geographic, *Life*, and *Social Education* are texts where "encountering the world" takes place. How these journals use representations to create that encounter is of significant interest to this study. Representations are, for the most part, always problematic, but in order to uncover power structures behind these representations, serious questions must be asked. The choice of *National Geographic* and *Life* as data sources rests in their stated purpose of diffusing knowledge about the world and the "structuring of visual experience" (Doss, 2001, p. 11), respectively. *Social Education* is not independent of "knowledge diffusion" or "visual experience," but its purpose to this study is to consider connections between *National Geographic* and *Life*'s response to the historical context in which they are situated, with how social educators are encouraged to respond through classroom practice. Taken together, these journals, through representations (images, texts, or even lesson plans) move forward meaning about the world, meaning which this study sought to uncover, interrogate, and disrupt.

Selected Articles

Jespersen (1996) pointed out that when the Chinese Communist came to power in 1949, it took nearly three decades for the United States and China to reestablish formal relations (p. xx). What is compelling about this, and necessary for this study, are the considerations of what our "encounters" were with China during this cold war period when China "closed off" to the rest of the world, yet became a subject of study in the academy. This research examined journals over a 60-year period during which these cultural and educational encounters took place, using *National Geographic*, *Life,* and *Social Education* as locations of these encounters. What follows is the collection of articles that were analyzed from each publication.

The decision to narrow the sample based on the cover photos was made because of the emphasis given to a story when it takes the cover. The one exception to this analysis is that I examined *National Geographic* and *Life*'s response to the Tiananmen Square incident in Beijing on June 4, 1989. *Social Education* responded in 1991, and with a cover photo. Wheeler (2002) explained that with cover photos, "consumers perceive them as being a showcase of sorts, a window into the magazine's interior, a promise of what's inside" (p. 119). By making an article the "cover story," it is a statement by the journal. Wheeler further described the significance of cover photos as follows:

- A cover is the most conspicuous page of any magazine; its power and prominence only increase its potential for misleading viewers.
- A mismatch in authenticity between a magazine's cover and its contents seem to be a kind of false advertising.
- A cover is viewed not only by buyers of the magazine but also by passersby who may absorb the cover's message. (119)

Below is a list of journal titles that I used in my analysis. A more complete citation can be found in the References section.

National Geographic

Using the *National Geographic Indexes*, I located articles from 1960-2008 by scanning for terms related to China – "China," "Communist/ism," and "Taiwan." The following represents the articles that were located. From these, it was necessary to narrow the pool for analysis. Thus, I selected articles in which the article about China received the cover photo.

- November 1964, This is the China I saw
  Jorgen Bisch, photographs by the author

- December 1971, Return to changing China
  Audrey Topping, photographs by the author

- May 1974, A lady from China's past.
  Alice Hall, photographs by China Pictoral

- March 1980, Journey to China's far west.
  Rick Gore, photographs by Bruce Dale

- September 1985, Sichuan: Where China changes courses
  Ross Terrill, photographs by Cary Wolinsky

- July 1991, China's youth wait for tomorrow.
  Ross Terrill, photographs by Leong Ka Tai

- March 1994, Shanghai: Where China's past and future meet
  William S. Ellis, photographs by Stuart Franklin

- September 1997, China's Three Gorges: Before the flood
  Arthur Zich, photographs by Bob Sacha

- September 2006, China Rising
  Brook Larmer, photographs by Fritz Hoffman

- May 2008, China: Inside the Dragon
  Peter Hessler, photographs by Fritz Hoffman

Life

Though *Life* did not publish an index like *National Geographic*, I was still able to locate articles based primarily on article title, which generally speaks to the subject matter of the article. All issues of *Life* (1936-1972) have been digitized and are available on Google Books. I used www.originallifemagazines.com to identify articles, and then reviewed the articles and their images using Google Books. However, I only used these sites for selection purposes to facilitate locating the original magazines. The reading, analysis, and synthesis of the articles took place at both the New York Public Library, Main Branch, which houses an entire collection, and Columbia University Library.

- September 23, 1966, Behind Mao's violent rule: The 100 violent years
  John Fairbank

- January 20, 1967, CHINA: Crisis in Mao's purge
  A. Doak Barnett

- June 2, 1967, In the hands of the Red Guards
  Ma Sitson (Chinas famous violinist)

- April 30, 1971, Inside China
  John Sarr and Frank Fischbeck

- July 30, 1971, What China wants from Nixon
  Edgar Snow

- March 2, 1972, Nixon in the land of Mao
  Hugh Sidney

- October, 1980, Faces of an unexpected China
  Photo-essay by Eve Arnold

- July 1989, China's Blood

Social Education

Social Education is published six times a year directly by the National Council of the Social Studies (NCSS). There are no digital resources available prior to 1989, though the final edition of each volume provides an index of articles for the specific year. After located a nearly complete collection from 1960-present, I scanned hard copies of the journal for articles relating specifically to China. I drew an assumption that articles related specifically to teaching about China would be somewhat limited in *Social Education*. However, I found a sample size that worked well for the analysis.

- November, 1969 Asia: the new, the old, the timeless
  Special issue, articles by Bonnie Crown, Yu-kuang Chu, and Seymore Fersh

- January, 1973 Contemporary writings from the People's Republic of China
  Bonnie Crown

- March, 1980 The People's Republic of China: What are students studying?
  Special issue, articles by Eugene Gilliom, and Jan Tucker, photographs by Eugene Gilliom

- May, 1984 Education in China today
  Special issue, articles written by Jan Tucker and Eugene Gilliom, and Everett Keach and Nancy Kalupa

- February, 1986 Teaching about a changing China
  Special issue, articles by Michael Chang, John Cogan, David Grossman, Tedd Levy, Lynn Paine, and Jonathan D. Spence

- October, 1991 China: The dream deferred. Teaching about Tiananmen
  Articles by Deborah Doyle, and Henry Kiernan

- December, 2006 Countering textbook distortion: War atrocities in Asia, 1937-1945
  Yali Zhao and John D. Hoge

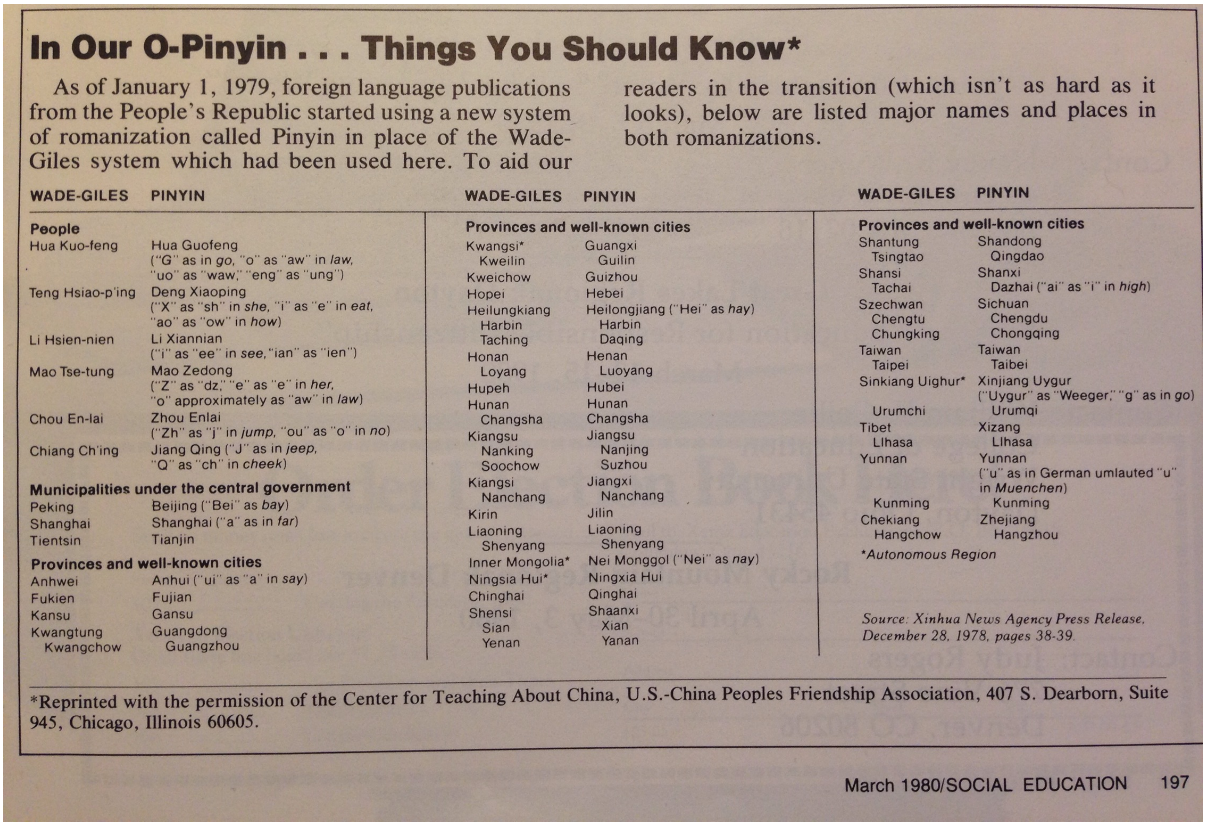
- January/February, 2010 China today: Teaching about a changing cultural landscape
  Special issue, articles by Stephen C. Angle, Qi Chen, Rob Gifford, Tanya Lee, Jonathan Lipman, Jon Huntsman, Kathleen Woods Masalski and Tedd Levy, Kristen Stapleton, Caryn White Stedman, and Shiping Zheng

A note on the use of Chinese language

In the early 1950s, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) was working to simplify characters from their more complex, traditional form (Table 2). The purpose was to increase literacy (which it did) and use a common language, because a "country with language barriers is a mess, not a modern state" (translated from http://www.gov.cn/xwfb/2006-03/22/content_233556.htm). Around the same time the CCP recognized Pinyin as the official Romanization for Chinese language. Notably, Western publications, including *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* continued to use the Wade-Giles system until the early 1980s (Table 2). To help readers transition from Wade Giles to Pinyin, one article in *Social Education* included a sidebar (figure 2), which listed names and places in both Romanization systems. Interestingly however, the issue itself (March, 1980) uses the Wade Giles system throughout.

Traditional	Simplified	Wade Giles	Pinyin
中國	中国	Mao Tse-tung	Mao Zedong

Table 2 – Simplification of Chinese characters



In Our O-Pinyin . . . Things You Should Know*

As of January 1, 1979, foreign language publications from the People's Republic started using a new system of romanization called Pinyin in place of the Wade-Giles system which had been used here. To aid our readers in the transition (which isn't as hard as it looks), below are listed major names and places in both romanizations.

WADE-GILES	PINYIN
People	
Hua Kuo-feng	Hua Guofeng ("G" as in *go*, "o" as "aw" in *law*, "uo" as "waw," "eng" as "ung")
Teng Hsiao-p'ing	Deng Xiaoping ("X" as "sh" in *she*, "i" as "e" in *eat*, "ao" as "ow" in *how*)
Li Hsien-nien	Li Xiannian ("i" as "ee" in *see*, "ian" as "ien")
Mao Tse-tung	Mao Zedong ("Z" as "dz," "e" as "e" in *her*, "o" approximately as "aw" in *law*)
Chou En-lai	Zhou Enlai ("Zh" as "j" in *jump*, "ou" as "o" in *no*)
Chiang Ch'ing	Jiang Qing ("J" as in *jeep*, "Q" as "ch" in *cheek*)
Municipalities under the central government	
Peking	Beijing ("Bei" as *bay*)
Shanghai	Shanghai ("a" as in *far*)
Tientsin	Tianjin
Provinces and well-known cities	
Anhwei	Anhui ("ui" as "a" in *say*)
Fukien	Fujian
Kansu	Gansu
Kwangtung	Guangdong
Kwangchow	Guangzhou
Kwangsi*	Guangxi
Kweilin	Guilin
Kweichow	Guizhou
Hopei	Hebei
Heilungkiang	Heilongjiang ("Hei" as *hay*)
Harbin	Harbin
Taching	Daqing
Honan	Henan
Loyang	Luoyang
Hupeh	Hubei
Hunan	Hunan
Changsha	Changsha
Kiangsu	Jiangsu
Nanking	Nanjing
Soochow	Suzhou
Kiangsi	Jiangxi
Nanchang	Nanchang
Kirin	Jilin
Liaoning	Liaoning
Shenyang	Shenyang
Inner Mongolia*	Nei Monggol ("Nei" as *nay*)
Ningsia Hui*	Ningxia Hui
Chinghai	Qinghai
Shensi	Shaanxi
Sian	Xian
Yenan	Yanan
Shantung	Shandong
Tsingtao	Qingdao
Shansi	Shanxi
Tachai	Dazhai ("ai" as "i" in *high*)
Szechwan	Sichuan
Chengtu	Chengdu
Chungking	Chongqing
Taiwan	Taiwan
Taipei	Taibei
Sinkiang Uighur*	Xinjiang Uygur ("Uygur" as "Weeger," "g" as in *go*)
Urumchi	Urumqi
Tibet	Xizang
Lhasa	Lhasa
Yunnan	Yunnan ("u" as in German umlauted "u" in *Muenchen*)
Kunming	Kunming
Chekiang	Zhejiang
Hangchow	Hangzhou

**Autonomous Region*

Source: Xinhua News Agency Press Release, December 28, 1978, pages 38-39.

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March 1980/SOCIAL EDUCATION 197

Figure 2 – Transition from Wade Giles to Pinyin (*Social Education*, March 1980, p. 197)

This use of Chinese language in this dissertation will align with both standard Pinyin, and simplified characters when applicable. When pulling from quotations, the use of Chinese language will mirror that which is employed in the journals, which until 1984 was the Wade Giles system.

Human Subjects in Research and Teachers College Institutional Review Board

This research involved minimal risk and falls under Exempted Research, Category 4: "Research involving the collection of study of existing data, document, or records. Sources must either be publicly available or information much be recorded by the investigator in such a manner that subjects cannot be identified, directly, or through identifiers linked to subjects." As required by the IRB, regardless of category, I submitted my research proposal along with the application for IRB approval at Teachers College, Columbia University.

Subjectivity of the researcher

Tessa Morris-Suzuki (2001) emphasized the necessity in drawing a distinction between historical *truth* and historical *truthfulness* because this is how we will ultimately understand the past. Historical truth conveys the idea that there is a "total reality, which is accessible to, and describable by, the historian" (p. 304). She is not suggesting that that there is no historical truth; only that it is infinite and unattainable. So what we are left with are partial representations, opening the relationship between subject and object, historical truthfulness. She argues that the relationship between oneself and historical truthfulness involves, "involves, an attempt to be aware of the position from which we approach the past, and of the biases of our own perspective. It requires both critical reflection and a certain breadth of vision- an effort to weigh up the wide range of different forms in which evidence of a past time, place or event reaches the present" (p. 304). My experiences have impacted not only the choices I made in selecting this body of work to research for this dissertation, but also my interpretation of the data.

After I graduated from college, I moved to Wuhan, a city in central China, to teach English at Wuhan Transportation University. Prior to moving there, I had had no formal or informal experiences with China. My schooling focused on Western Civilization and, with the exception of the Tiananmen Square protests China was never a part of my learning. One of my college professors, a sociologist from China, approached me a few months before graduation asking me if I ever thought of teaching. I had never thought about it, but I was very interested in giving it a try. By complete accident, a deep love for teaching, and an interest in Chinese history and culture came about simultaneously.

Teaching and living in China was significant for me in many ways, but two stand out the most as greatly influencing my approach to research and teaching. First, I worked with a group of students whose history and culture were unfamiliar to me, awakening me to the limitation of my own schooling. Second, the diversity in nationality, ethnicity, and culture of the people I worked and went to school with revealed my held (mis)perception about the United States being viewed by "outsiders" as a place were everyone wanted to live. They connection to my own national identity not only became present for me, it also made my keenly aware of (1) the relationship people have with their own nation, communities, and world, (2) factors that complicate that relationship, for example (post)colonialism, or poverty, and (3) perceptions held about the United States from perspectives *outside* of the United States.

When I returned to the United States, I began teaching 10th grade world history (also an accident, I was hired to teach the Latin classes!). I struggled as a world history teacher to come to terms with the disparity of what was given to me to teach in the curriculum versus what I had experienced living in China. Instructional materials offered little, if any historical context for contemporary China. My approach to this study, especially my reading and interpretation of the images and stories that I have encountered, is impacted by both my experiences in and teaching about China. I think a teacher's experience affects any interpretation, or approach, to representation, and as such, I acknowledge mine here.

More specifically, I am able to mark the time that my interest in representation – news, media, or popular culture – was heightened. In 1998, NATO missed a target during the war in Kosovo unintentionally hitting the Chinese Embassy in Yugoslavia. It was my second year in

China, and I was studying Chinese language at Wuhan University. I remember being called into the Foreign Students' Office by the director. He was concerned that as Americans (there was another American studying there as well) we might get hassled. He was by no means concerned about our safety; he just wanted us to be aware of what had happened and how some people were really angered by the situation, resulting in protests around the US and British embassies in Beijing. He also mentioned that some students in Wuhan were gathering at the "Bridges"[10] to express their outrage.

My mother tried to contact me several days after the incident in Yugoslavia, but had been unable. When we finally connected, she was furious. In the United States, news reports of mass demonstrations, and heightened threats to foreigners living, but especially teaching, in China cycled her news channels. Meanwhile, my students were furious with the United States because their Chinese news reports disseminated the incident as a direct and intentional attack not only on the Chinese government, but specifically Chinese journalists. In between my mother's questions and concerns, and my students' questions and concerns, what became present, and thus illuminated for me, was the power of media, and the absence of engagement with what media *does in/for* learning and understanding about the self and other. Though it is easier to look back at 1998 situated in 2014, this event triggered my interests and intrigue in media and learning.

I am a white, middle-class woman, from the southern United States, thus I represent the demographic of all three of the journals used in this study. My experiences living in China for three years, and as a former secondary social studies teacher, and current teacher educator, I come to this research with particular assumptions about China's representation in popular media, as well as common perceptions that persist about China today. As the sole researcher in this project, I recognize my role, my authority, in giving meaning to the visual and narrative texts that I explore. Additionally, my position as sole researcher necessitates that I make the decisions regarding what is included in the analysis, as well as what it left out.

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[10] Professor Zhang was referring to No. 1 and 2 Yangtze River Bridges

My identity as a researcher and educator intersect and are not separate. As for my audience, I write to both researchers and educators, who share in these intersections, and those who see them as separate. To my audience, this study is intended to bring about more consideration of the foundations of what we know and have had access to about the other, and the power that representation has to in/form that knowledge base. Without consideration of foundational and historical issues, research and scholarship about the non-western world remains trapped in time, and outside of history (Blaut, 1993).

Chapter 4 – CULTURAL RE/PRESENTATIONS OF CHINA

Giroux and Simon (1989) emphasized that popular culture "must be grasped in terms of how cultural forms enter into the ideological and institutional structuring relations which *sustain differences* between what constitutes dominant culture and what does not" (p. 10, emphasis added). Using the methods of analysis discussed in Chapter 3, this study sought to locate and analyze modes of representations employed by *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education*. To discuss how representations are pedagogical and powerful in defining and extending difference, this chapter delves into the practices of representation that have emerged from these publications.

There are numerous ways one could define representation. Representations work to depict, portray, speak for or about someone or something. Sturken and Cartwright's (2009) definition is an intersection of these working elements of representation, which refers to "the use of language and images to create meaning about the world around us" (p. 12). Similarly, in his discussion of discourse Fairclough (2003) describes "discourses as ways of representing *aspects* of the world" (p. 124, emphasis added). Representations, and discourse as a mode of representation, must be understood as partial. Meaning, they re/present the world in a particular way and whether consciously or not, representations give voice to, or silence, that which (or whom) is being represented.

The use of photography as a dominant mode of representation emerged from the analysis. *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* all used of photographs to represent certain aspects of China. Whether the focus was cultural (*National Geographic*), historical (*Life*) or economic (*Social Education*), each journal employed photographs to depict, portray, and speak for and about China. Significantly, photographs work to authenticate the narrative by implying "they happen in the way the text suggests" (Werner, 2000, p. 26). Many of the photographs in *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* were taken as part of a travel experience. This is much more stated in *National Geographic*. However, each of these journals used photographs to legitimate a travel experience, providing the reader evidence, or proof of travel, because when we hear about something, "but doubt, [it] seems proven when we're shown a photograph" (Sontag, 1977, p. 5). Finally, the use of any image in *National Geographic, Life,* or *Social Education* brings to the fore the relationship between an event, the photographer, and the viewer. This relationship is evolving (Morris-Suzuki, 2005, p. 78), revealing the tensions present in and problems of "assigning" meaning to an image. Thus, the photographs discussed herein are not conceptualized as misrepresentations. Rather, they are understood as partial explanations, and it is the task of this research to engage with how photographs are appropriated to represent, produce and reproduce meanings.

This chapter looks at each journal explicitly, conceptualizing each as a source of cultural pedagogy, pedagogy itself being understood to "organize[s] someone's experiences as well as organize[s] that someone to experience" (Segall, 2004, p. 480). Though more explicit in *National Geographic* and *Life*, the purpose and mission of these journals was to bring home the world, to experience life. These journals set out to be pedagogical, though it is necessary to expand the scope of what pedagogy looks like and what it can be. Trend (1992) described schooling as a place where

> Depersonalization and control [begins] by fragmenting knowledge into categories and units of measurement. Not only are relationships among different ways of thinking removed, but learning is conceived as something that occurs only in school and at a specific point in one's life. (123)

Pedagogy is not confined within the four walls of classroom, and the sociocultural dimensions of learning outside of that space must be considered. Thus, as sources of cultural pedagogy, *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* "*contribute* to educating us how to behave and what to think, feel, believe, fear, and desire – and what not to" (Kellner, 1995, p. 2, emphasis added). These journals are educative and instructive in what they report, as well as in the methods and tools they employ to report their content.

While *Social Education* might engage more explicitly in the contribution to educating us through "theory and practice of teaching" and/or "information about or training in a particular field," *National Geographic* and *Life* function in a similar instructive vein. The National Geographic Society, chartered as a "nonprofit scientific and educational organization for increasing and diffusing geographic knowledge" (inside cover up to 1988), has used its monthly publication, *National Geographic Magazine*, as a platform to diffuse this knowledge since its first issue in 1889. *Life* magazine aimed to teach through pictures, as its editor Henry Luce described in 1931:

> To see life; to see the world; to eyewitness great events; to watch the faces of the poor and the gestures of the proud; to see strange things – machines, armies, multitudes, shadows in the jungle and on the moon; to see man's work – his paintings, towers, and discoveries; to see things thousands of miles away, things hidden behind walls and within rooms, things dangerously to come to; the women that men love and many children; to see and to take pleasure in seeing; to see and be amazed; to see and be instructed. (In Doss, 2001, 2)

Interestingly, Luce believed so strongly in the strength of photo-documentation that he claimed, "A hundred years from now the historian should be able to rely largely on our Picture Magazine instead of having to fumble through dozens of newspapers and magazines" (Doss, 2001, p. 2). The emphasis and significance that *Life* placed on their photo-essays to report history taking place, positions *Life* as a particularly compelling, and powerfully instructive, source for learning about the world.

What I describe and analyze in the following segments attempts to illustrate how *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* perform the work of representing China through narratives and visuals, and thus how they contribute pedagogically to Western (US) understandings of/about China. Briefly, I see these three journals unique in their performance. That is, *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* use different elements and styles to teach about the world. *National Geographic* combines photography and travelogue narratives; *Life* uses very large photo-journalistic pictures (photo-essays); and *Social Education* focuses on educational resources and methods for teaching about the world, but feature as well teacher/scholar travel experiences. The audiences of these journals cannot be overlooked, as the elements employed in these publications are directed to a specific readership. While this study does not attend to audience studies explicitly, it is necessary to understand that each of these publications re/presents through narrative and image with a particular audience in mind. A brief discussion of the intended audience, circulation numbers, and subscription costs introduces each journal.

National Geographic

> *National Geographic* identifies itself as a scientific and educational institution, and it is also located in a long tradition of travelogue as it sends its staff on expeditions to bring back stories and photos of faraway people and places. While these photographs and stories of curious and exotic practices can be perused and marveled at by readers in the privacy of their own homes, they draw people into contact with a much wider set of cultural ideas. (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 1)

Since its first publication in 1888, the aim of *National Geographic* was to diffuse geographic knowledge. Not long after *National Geographic*'s first issue, mass publications became more prominent, most aimed at a "set of consumers who were likely to share aspirations, needs, and consumer habits" (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 17). *National Geographic*, however, was a bit different in that it "defined itself as a scholarly, rather than [the] profit-oriented enterprise," of most popular weekly publications. Interestingly, though, the readership of *National Geographic* was not too dissimilar from the readers of the less expensive, profit-driven weeklies. Like these publications, *National Geographic* as well appealed "largely to families whose current realities were middle-class but whose aspirations tended toward the educated, "cultured" life-style of upper-middle-class professionals" (p. 17). Circulation of *National Geographic* rose throughout the 20th century, but made a significant climb during the cold war. Circulation jumped from 5.6 million in 1967 to 7.2 million in 1971 (p. 37).

The options for subscriptions to *National Geographic* today are numerous. Subscribers can still receive the traditional yellow-glossed cover journal for $15 a year for 12 issues. In 1964, the journal was $8.00 year and $1 per copy, the 2014 equivalent to about $60 a year or $7.50 per copy[11]. Thus, *National Geographic* has become more accessible today. This is evident in the other options available for Nook, for Kindle, for Google Play, and a special issues collection. Prices are $2.99, $1.99, $4.99, and $10.99-$12.99 respectively per issue. Interestingly, on *National Geographic*'s website, the subscriber is reassured that if s/he "prefers the good old days, [*National Geographic*] will offer embossed slipcases so you can keep your past issues in superior condition." As a free service, users can sign up to *National Geographic* online, where they have access to many articles and their accompanying photographs.

National Geographic's primary representational technique was to present to its readers encounters with the world outside of the United States. As a travelogue, each month *National Geographic* features stories of authors and their encounters with the world. At times these encounters went smoothly, and other times the encounters were frustrating and tiresome. Thinking of travel as an imperial practice, Willinsky (1998) described travel as a sought-out desire by the Western traveler to

---

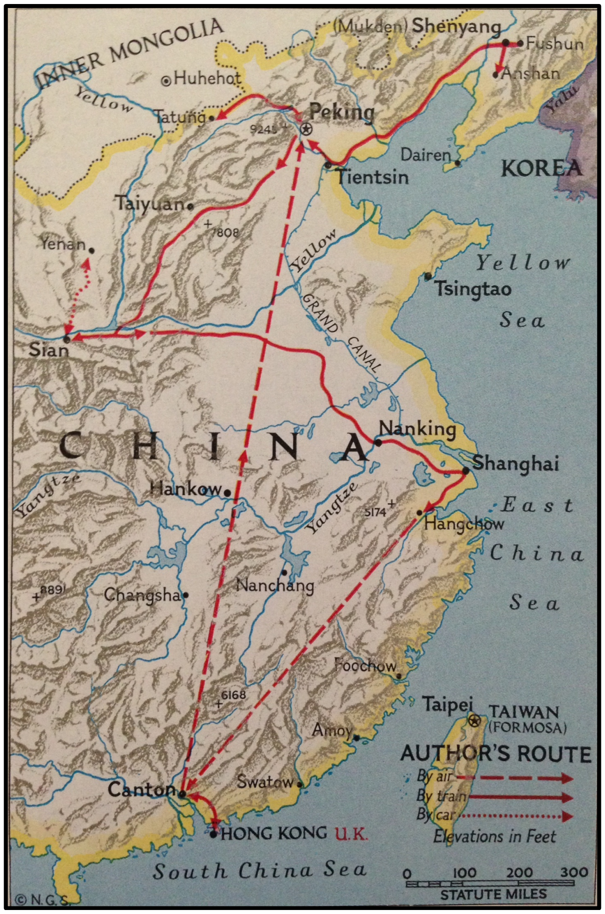
[11] Calculated at http://www.dollartimes.com/calculators/inflation.htm).

> Seek the thrill of crossing the line and entering the space of the other, but [in so doing] we see this as a way of knowing ourselves and defining our place as the ones who, hovering above this divide, *can* know the others and ourselves, as if to encompass the whole world. (78, emphasis in original)

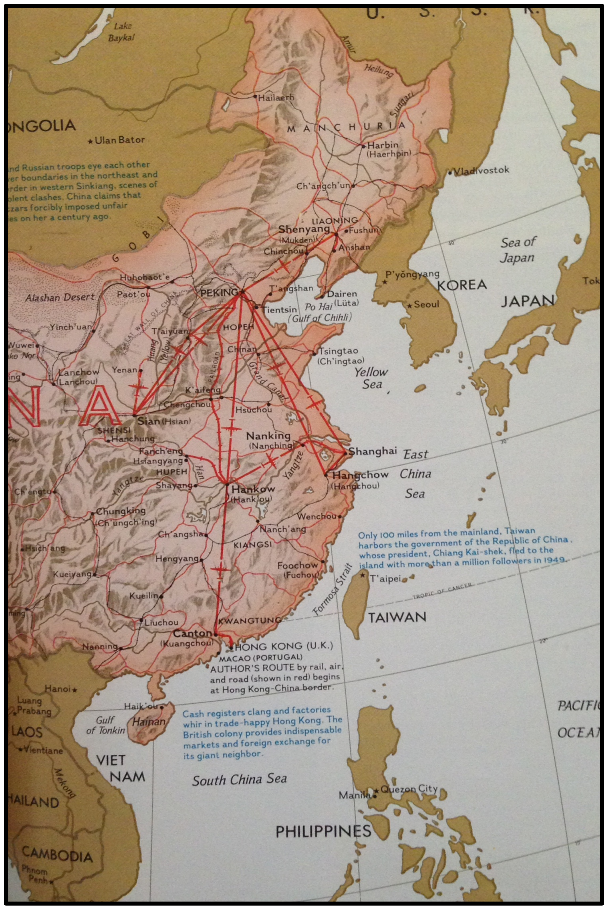
Travel intersects with education because with travel writing, the intent is to bring back the world for (literary) consumption. This was, and to some extent, continues to be the primary mission of *National Geographic*. There have been challenges to *National Geographic*'s travel encounters, especially at times during heighted political conflicts, when the need to encounter the world conflicted with the patriotic fervor of the United States.

During the Cold War, writers, photographers, and editors at *National Geographic* had to work to represent nations like China, and the Soviet Union, in a way that positioned the representation somewhere between favorable and evil because "favorable portrayals [in *National Geographic*] of eastern bloc nations would have been unpatriotic; yet to dwell on their evils would violate editorial policy" (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 36). For the Soviet Union, *National Geographic* simply did not cover it between 1945 and 1959 (p. 36). Articles about China were scarce as well. Though this dearth may be somewhat attributed to travel restrictions to China, Lutz and Collins noted that despite travel restrictions, *National Geographic* was frequently "able to circumvent such restrictions by using European photographers when the U.S. State Department was the restricting party" (fn., p. 37). Notably, the two articles written about (and from) the People's Republic of China between 1960 and 1972 were by Danish author Jorgen

Bisch (1964), and Canadian journalist, Audrey Topping (1971)[12]. Despite the seven years between their trips, Bisch and Topping had similar itineraries (Map 1, Map 2).


INNER MONGOLIA
(Mukden) Shenyang
Fushun
Anshan
Huhehot
Yellow
Tatung
Peking
9245
Yalu
Dairen
KOREA
Tientsin
Taiyuan
7808
Yenan
Yellow
Yellow
Tsingtao
Sea
GRAND CANAL
Sian
C H I N A
Nanking
Shanghai
Hankow
Yangtze
Yangtze
5174
East
Hangchow
China
Sea
8891
Changsha
Nanchang
Foochow
6168
Taipei
TAIWAN (FORMOSA)
Amoy
AUTHOR'S ROUTE
By air
By train
By car
Elevations in Feet
Canton
Swatow
HONG KONG U.K.
South China Sea
0 100 200 300
STATUTE MILES
© N.G.S.

Map 1 – November 1964, p. 600


U. S. S. R.
Lake Baykal
Amur
Heilung
Hailaerh
M A N C H U R I A
Harbin (Haerhpin)
Vladivostok
ONGOLIA
Ulan Bator
nd Russian troops eye each other
er boundaries in the northeast and
rder in western Sinkiang, scenes of
olent clashes. China claims that
zars forcibly imposed unfair
es on her a century ago.
Ch'angch'un
G O B I
LIAONING
Shenyang (Mukden)
Fushun
Anshan
Chinchow
Sea of Japan
Huhohaot'e
Paot'ou
Alashan Desert
PEKING
T'angshan
Tientsin
Dairen (Lüta)
Po Hai (Gulf of Chihli)
P'yongyang
KOREA
Seoul
JAPAN
Yinch'uan
T'aiyüan
HOPEH
Wuwei
Lanchow (Lanchou)
Yenan
Chinan
Tsingtao (Ch'ingtao)
Yellow Sea
K'aifeng
Chengchou
Sian (Hsian)
SHENSI
Hanchung
Hsüchou
Nanking (Nanching)
Shanghai
East China Sea
Hangchow (Hangchou)
Hsiangyang
HUPEH
Shayang
Hankow (Hank'ou)
Ch'engtu
Chungking (Ch'ungch'ing)
Wenchou
Ch'angsha
Nanch'ang
KIANGSI
Hengyang
Foochow (Fuchou)
Formosa Strait
T'aipei
TROPIC OF CANCER
TAIWAN
Kueilin
Liuchou
KWANGTUNG
Canton (Kuangchou)
Nanning
HONG KONG (U.K.)
MACAO (PORTUGAL)
Hanoi
Haik'ou
Hainan
Gulf of Tonkin
LAOS
Vientiane
VIET NAM
HAILAND
CAMBODIA
South China Sea
PHILIPPINES
Manila
Quezon City
PACIFIC
OCEAN

Only 100 miles from the mainland, Taiwan harbors the government of the Republic of China, whose president, Chiang Kai-shek, fled to the island with more than a million followers in 1949.

AUTHOR'S ROUTE by rail, air, and road (shown in red) begins at Hong Kong-China border.

Cash registers clang and factories whir in trade-happy Hong Kong. The British colony provides indispensable markets and foreign exchange for its giant neighbor.

Map 2 – December 1971, p. 803

Bisch's "This is the China I saw" recounts his six-week journey throughout China. Having visited the country in 1958, Bisch noticed changes in China since his first encounter. In 1964, he described China as recovering and changing since his last visit: "This time food seemed more plentiful, and many trees had been planted in Peking. The drab work clothes had largely given place to more individual and attractive attire" (p. 591). Always accompanied by several guides, Bisch takes the reader on a 15,000-mile journey by train, car, and plane throughout the country.

---

[12] The editor makes reference to Topping's nationality, noting it to play a major role in her article: "[Topping's] perceptive account reflects both two years of experience in pre-Communist China as a college student and the viewpoint of a Canadian, whose country has traditionally maintained a tolerant stance toward the land of Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai" (Topping, 1971, p. 801).

Topping's "Return to changing China" highlights a return for her as well. Traveling with her sister, together they were eager to compare the "new and old" China. Having lived in China as a teenager, Topping saw China almost as an "ancestral land, for our grandparents had lived much of their lives here and our father had been born here" (p. 801). Topping's background is interesting because her father was a diplomat, who knew then CCP Premier Zhou Enlai. On this trip, she along with her father met with the Premier, creating a more explicit link to politics. This link is significant, as Nixon would travel to China nearly three months after the publishing of her December 1971 article, though Topping herself admitted towards the end of the article that she was unaware of these negotiations during her trip (p. 833).

Topping's voice is different from that of Bisch[13] in that she wrote from a semi-insider's perspective and made attempts to give a voice to the Chinese people she was able to talk with:

> All over China we asked farmers and workers over 30 years of age to tell us what, for them, was the most important thing Mao had done. 'I never have to worry about my children. I know they will never be hungry as I was,' said a woman at a workers' settlement. 'I have a warm house to live in. Before, I had nothing,' said a bearded old shepherd on the road" (820)

Topping's attempt to give a voice to the Chinese people is in no way to suggest that the article was neutral, and free of generalizing and stereotyping of the Chinese. These elements were certainly present, and will be discussed further. However, her attention to women's rights, "people power," and even pollution, provide a much different perspective than Bisch's.

Bisch and Topping both focused on representing the Chinese people[14] – through their daily activities, schooling, or travel. Implicit within these representations (though at times explicit), however, are reminders to *National Geographic* readers of the Chinese communist government, and (perceived) cultural homogeneity and uniformity of the Chinese. Whether these nuances were the work of embedded thinking on the part of writers, photographers, and editors, or an intentional act to remind the reader of the threat/fear of communism, illuminates the tensions of representational practice, and indeed of prescribing meaning(s) to these representations. Considering the context of cold war containment policies, and increased tensions in Vietnam during the time of both Bisch and Topping's articles, the undercurrent of communist spread is not surprising. In addition, it speaks to the compromising space *National Geographic* had to navigate in order to bring China to the homes of Americans, while at the same time maintaining an allegiance to the United States, and its policies of containment.

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[13] However, she does direct the reader to Bisch's 1964 article (p. 809).

In order to balance a commitment to journalism and to the United States, travel reporting in *National Geographic* was a three-text process. The three texts circulating these journals were the article narrative, the image, and its anchoring caption. But, how do images and text work together to convey, authenticate (Werner, 2000), or even fix meaning about China? Hall (1997b) explained that meaning floats, but "fixing" it is the work of representational practice (p. 228). Building on Barthes (1977), Hall further explained,

> The 'meaning' of a photograph, then, does not lie exclusively in the image, but in the conjunction of image and text. Two discourses – the discourse of written language and the discourse of photography – are required to produce and 'fix' the meaning. (228)

What stood out in the *National Geographic* issues was the representation of China and the Chinese people as homogenous and conformist, linked at times to Chinese communist policies.

---

[14] This is not necessarily unique to these two issues, but it becomes even more complex, or more obscured I think, in the 1980s and 1990s, when the focus shifted from communist dictatorship to a communist government with relaxed economic policies (and arguable democratic reforms).

These representations of China were emphasized through particular editorial practices, what I refer to and describe below as “editorial curating.”

Editorial “curating”

There are three layers of texts in *National Geographic* – the text of the caption, the text of the narrative, and the text of the image. Not all images have titles, but when they do, the titles work as a fourth text. The editor is in a position of power to move, adjust, and select the texts presented in the article. In addition, he writes the captions that accompany the images. Despite a photographer having made the decision to capture a particular image, “photographers at *National Geographic* have never controlled which of their pictures will be published” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 66). This process of curating, according to Lutz and Collins extended the aims of photography in *National Geographic* to replicate “popular understandings of the third world” (p. 30), with the editor being the primary curator of images and caption in *National Geographic*.

The images captured by the photographers, who at times authored the feature articles they captured through photography, and the editor’s decision to use what images he feels successfully replicates popular understandings creates an imbalance in authorships, the editor’s being most dominant. One *National Geographic* editor commented that photographers “want to tell the truth about what they’ve seen, while editors and home staff may object, protesting that it is radically different from *what they assume* is out there” (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 69, emphasis added). The captions and brief editorial notes at the beginning of each article serve as a sounding board for the editors to push political, social, and cultural assumptions, as well as the selection of photographs for the articles.

Taking Bisch's article as an example of the imbalance between authorial/photographic and editorial vision (assumptions), the narrative, title of the image, the caption, and the image, illustrate the four texts present,, as well as an example of curating power of the editor. The editor condenses and conflates an experience Bisch had while touring, as well as appropriates a photograph to explain the experience the way the editor understands it. The following is an account of Bisch's experience:

> A railway journey of 1000 miles brought me to Sian [from Tatung]. From there, I learned with joy, we would continue to Yenan by car. I expressed the hope that this would afford an opportunity to photograph the countryside.
>
> We set out early in the morning, beneath a clearly sky studded with fleecy clouds – ideal for landscape photography. As we wound through a canyon, I asked the driver to stop. He didn't react. Then I asked Hsu Yu. She asked Cheng. He asked the Cultural Committee from Sian.
>
> All conferred earnestly. Three of four miles later, far from the landscape I had waned to photograph, they finally told me we could not stop because a ferry was waiting for us. Later, I learned the ferry ran every 15 minutes.
>
> Repeated requests brought repeated refusals, and my frustration grew. Then we skirted a beautiful valley where a river glittered in the sun. A gang of workers was busily repairing the road, a marvelous shot against that green-and-silver background.
>
> "Please do stop here."
>
> Again a long discussion.
>
> "Could you please at least stop the car while you are talking?" I pleaded. "Then, if your final answer is no, I shall not take any photographs."
>
> "Mr. Bisch, it is much too dangerous to stop here. Some stones might fall down from the mountain.
>
> "But there must be 300 Chinese workers repairing the road; if it were dangerous, would they be here?"
>
> Again a discussion, and a half a mile farther on came a firm, "No, sir, it's too dangerous."
>
> Three miles later the car stopped.
>
> "Sir, you can take photographs from here."
>
> "I'm not at all interested in this scene," I said curtly.
>
> "Mr. Bisch, nothing means more to us than your safety. And it was dangerous to stop in that other spot."
>
> "I don't believe you," I muttered. (618, 623-624)

Bisch explained clearly that they travel by train from Tatung to Sian, and onto Yenan by car, thus experiencing the troubles with taking pictures far from Tatung. The editor condensed Bisch's account and conflated his experiences in Tatung, Sian, and Yenan to emphasize Bisch's struggles and frustrations effectively omitting the more pleasant moments on his journey. He does this through the use of an image (Figure 4) and its caption. Titling the image "Idle youths and a lonely grandfather congregate on a main street" (p. 607), the editor captioned it,

> One of the few Western visitors to Tatung since the Communist takeover, Mr. Bisch attracted crowds where he went. Forbidden by his guides to stop, he shot this picture from the window of his moving automobile. Red paint brightens the block. Wine bottles fill a store window. (607)

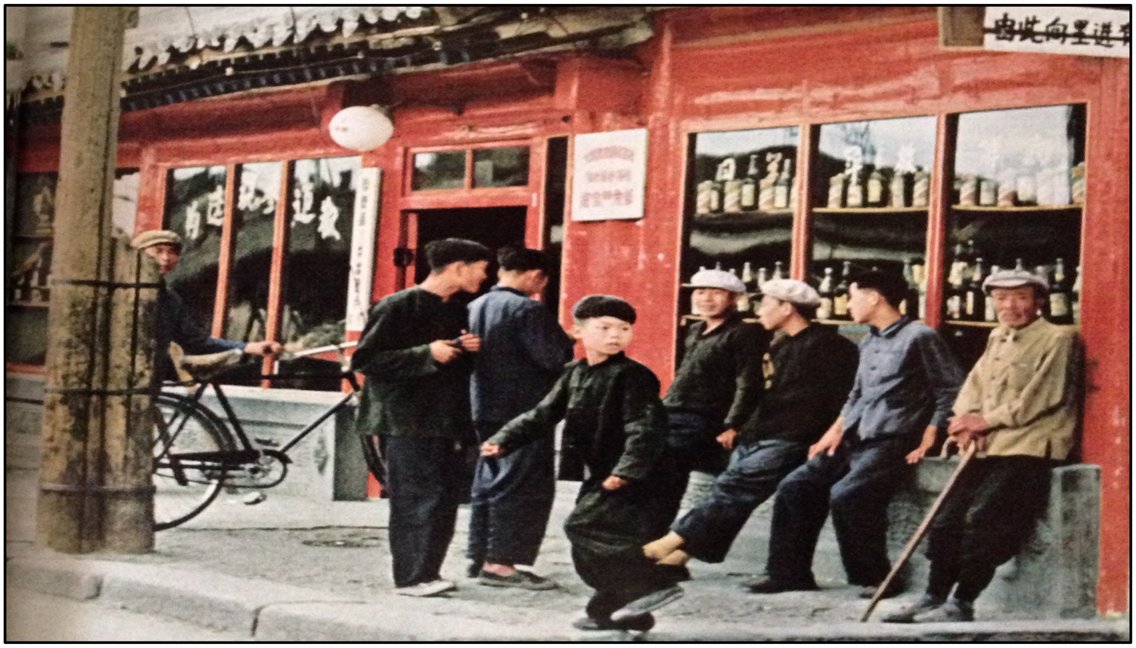

Figure 4 – Text of the Image (*National Geographic*, November 1964, p. 607)

The text of the image title sets the viewer up to see "idle youths" and the "lonely grandfather," yet the caption does not explain this scene captured by Bisch. The use of this photograph by the editor seems to be more for the purpose of explaining that Bisch was forced to take pictures through a car window because he was forbidden to stop. While Bisch was not allowed to stop, the image in Figure 4 is not the location where this happened. Though it may be slight, there is a tension between what Bisch explained in the narrative, and how the editor understood the experience, and thus how he wanted to share it with the readers of the magazine.

The conflation extends the editor's note at the beginning of the article, in which he firmly states how, "the Chinese sought to control [Bisch's] opportunities for observation and photography" (p. 591). At the same time, however, the editor introduces Bisch as a truth-seeker, determined and able to get the story despite the restrictions "behind the Bamboo Curtain" (p. 591). Bisch, himself, provided his own account of seeking the truth. While it works against the caption description authored by the editor, even in a modest way, it works within a more dominant narrative of restriction and control that circulated about China and other communist nations during the period.

Another example of editorial curating is *National Geographic*'s 1991 "China's youth wait for tomorrow," an account of the events learning up to the protests at Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989 and its aftermath. The act of curating in this article is interesting because the editor uses photographs taken during the protests, more than two year before this article was written. In order to set up the article's title and articulate that "China's youth wait for tomorrow," there was a need to capture this particular moment, at least to give a context to what the students lost, and what they are now waiting for.

After the title page and the editor's note, the reader is presented with the iconic[15] "Tank Man," photographed by Charlie Cole. Spread across two pages, the caption reads "The power of one: An unarmed protestor confronts tanks near Tiananmen Square. In June 1989, idealism challenged military might – and, this time, lost" (p. 112). The use of Charlie Cole's "Tank

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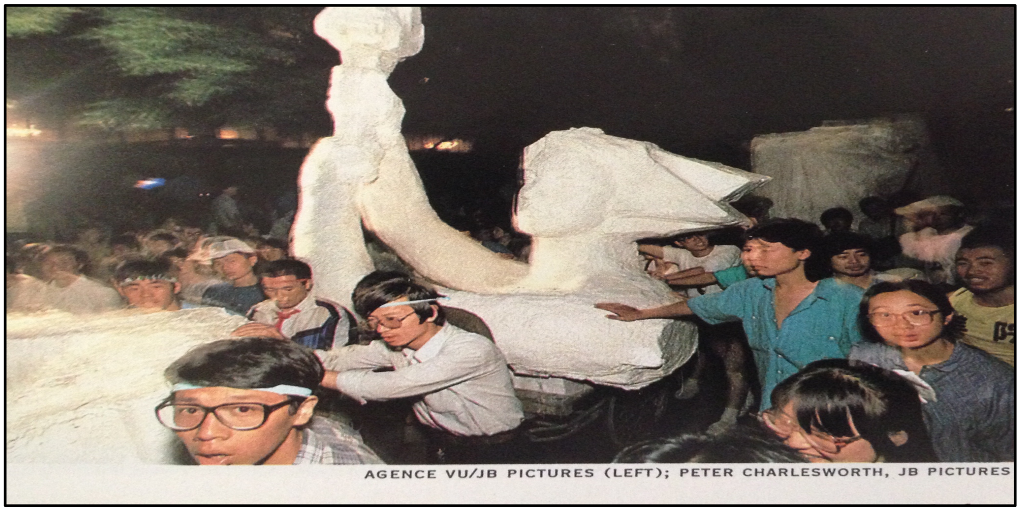
[15] Sturken and Cartwright (2009) define icon in the sense I have used it here as "something (or someone) that has great symbolic meaning for many people. Icons are often perceived to represent universal concepts, emotions, and meanings" (p. 36). "Tank Man," as he (and the photo) came to be called, represents the struggle for democracy.

Man”[16] served as an introduction to all that was lost in the pro-democracy movement that ended with the deaths of hundreds of Chinese.

The images below (Figures 5-7) piece together the events leading up to Tiananmen Square in Terrill’s article. Different photographers, who, at the time the images were captured, were on assignment with *Newsweek, Time Magazine*, and SYGMA photography, took the pictures. What the editor presented in Figures 5-7 are photographs capturing what (and who) by 1991 had become symbols of the student movement in China. To reproduce the Goddess of Democracy (figure 4), and Wang Dan (figure 5) and Chai Ling (figure 6) in moments of (democratic) engagement, reminds the reader of the events, and what was lost, and connecting it to the article title, what China’s youth still wait for.



AGENCE VU/JB PICTURES (LEFT); PETER CHARLESWORTH, JB PICTURES

Figure 5 – Goddess of Democracy (*National Geographic*, 1991, p. 115)

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[16] There are actually four photographers who captured similar images, from similar points of view from Beijing Hotel. For more on these versions, see Patrick Witty’s Behind the scenes: Tank Man of Tiananmen (http://lens.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/06/03/behind-the-scenes-tank-man-of-tiananmen/)

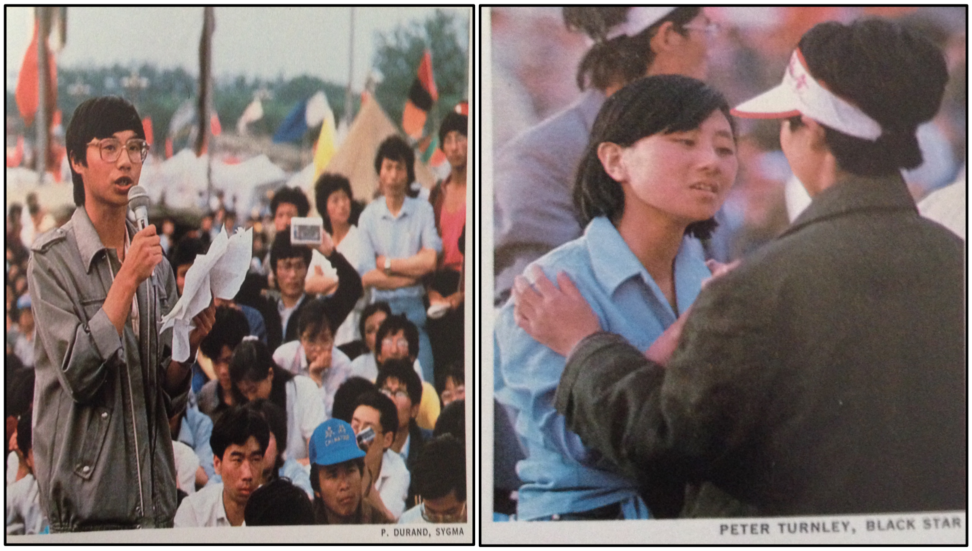


Figure 6 and 7 – Wang Dan and Chai Ling (*National Geographic*, July 1991, p. 115)

The caption attached to images 5-7 sums up what *National Geographic* (the editor) wanted its readers to know about these images.

> Thousands of young people had occupied Tiananmen Square for more than six weeks when the statue they called the Goddess of Democracy was carried there by student demonstrators [figure 4]. Students assembled the 30-foot-high plaster figure on May 30, 1989. Five days later it was crushed by army tanks.
>
> Several thousand people were arrested in the aftermath of the uprising. Wang Dan [figure 5] and Chai Ling [figure 6], leaders of the student movement, were targets of the government crackdown. Chai Ling went into hiding, then escaped to the United States. In January 1991 Wang Dan was convicted of "counterrevolutionary" sabotage and sentenced to four years in prison. His status as an international celebrity may have saved him from a worse fate.

What these images are also capable of conveying was that democracy, linked with free speech, is so fundamental to Western notions of freedom and independence. Positioning these photographs at the beginning of the article not only reminds the reader about his/her own individual liberties, but as well conveys the lengths people will go, and should, to fight for those rights and freedoms.

Framed to the left of and much larger than Figures 5-7, Figure 8 demonstrates the consequences of the failed student movement at Tiananmen on June 4, 1989. The caption explained

> Two anonymous men arrested in a pro-democracy demonstration in southern China were prepared for execution and shot in the back. Photographs of the corpses were posted as a warning. (115)

This image does not capture the consequences as a result of the protests at Tiananmen, but of another pro-democracy movement in southern China. Context for where, or even when is noticeably absent. What is significant, however, is the capturing of "anonymous men," who themselves can be linked to the ultimate sacrifice, or as the caption described, "a worse fate." They stand in for the people who made the sacrifice during the protests at Tiananmen.

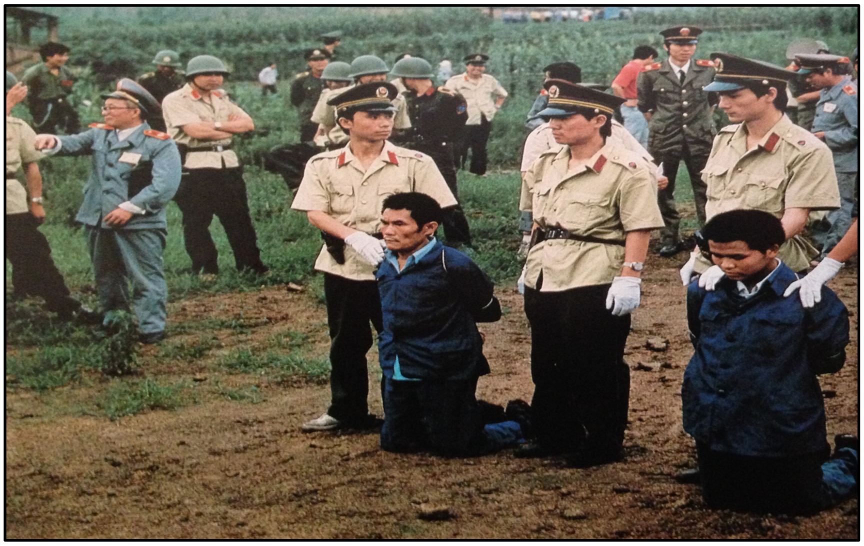
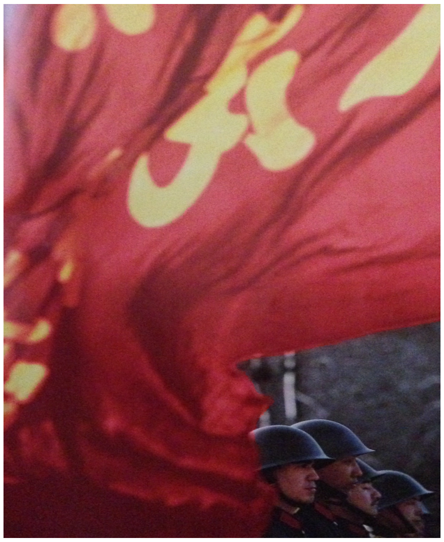


Figure 8 – A worse fate (*National Geographic*, July 1991, pp. 114-115)

The images that the editor selected to introduce the reader to the protests at Tiananmen Square were meant to convey the movement's idealism up to the moment when idealism was crushed, and the punishment of those who challenged the Chinese government in protest (Figure 8).

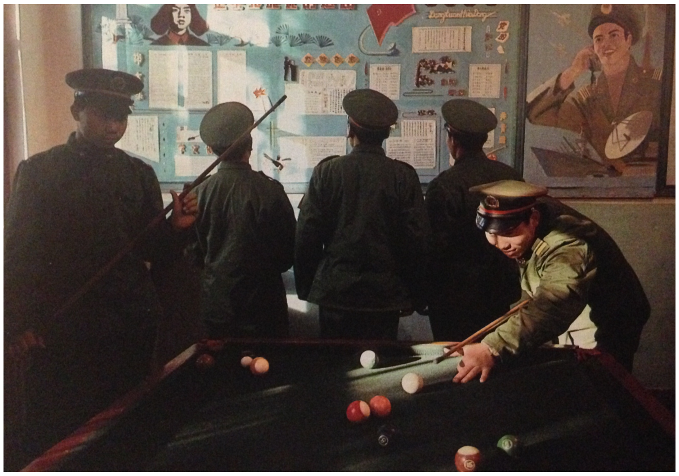
The editor does his work to remind readers, once they have turned the page to begin the article about the conditions in post-Tiananmen China, that Tiananmen is not to be forgotten. To think about this in terms of an imperialist lens, the editor exercises a power to represent a particular world order, one of the dominance of the democratic, Western world. He does this by using images that illustrate the antithesis of democracy, by highlighting the social context of

China in the years following the protests. He anchors these images with captions, which further his stance, and reveal China's context. For example, the bright color of the flag in Figure 9 waves over the police officers. The caption does not simply explain the content of the photograph – that the police officers pass by marching in a parade. The editor uses captions, as examples of totalitarianism, dictatorship and control. He also does this repetitively to emphasize his ideas about Chinese society.



"Police officers pass in review during a parade in Beijing for high officials. The People's Armed Police force was increased during the past decade, when reforms brought rising incomes – and crime rates. Yet the force failed to control student unrest in 1989, and hardened units of the army were finally called in to reclaim Tiananmen Square" (pp. 120-121).

Figure 9 – Police officers (*National Geographic*, July 1991, pp. 120-121)



"Taking a cue to relax, People's Liberation Army soldiers unwind in their barracks. In 1989, elderly army leaders gave the word to shoot demonstrators at Tiananmen Square; next time, the young may not obey orders to fire against their own" (p. 136).

Figure 10 – Soldiers shoot pool (*National Geographic*, July 1991, p. 136)

While two young soldiers shoot pool (Figure 10), three other soldiers with their backs turned look a notice board. As in Figure 9, the caption is a (repetitive) practice by the editor, who exercises control over what the reader sees and reads of the events at Tiananmen. In addition, capturing youth, however, is not only a focus of both the caption, and the image, but it also ties in the image directly into the article title. In other words, these young soldiers are waiting for the future as well.

Detaching the image from the text that references it, like in the examples above, is deliberate and illustrates the significance that *National Geographic* places on the images to tell a story (and sell a magazine). According to Lutz and Collins (1993) "because marketing studies show that 53 percent of subscribers read only picture captions, not the text, editors see captions as a *crucial opportunity* to give these casual readers a fix on the article" (p. 76, emphasis added). Lutz and Collins explained that *National Geographic* was committed to providing only "factual material." However, this means that through a process of selection, or editorial curating, the magazine *decided* "what small subsection of the facts it will portray" (p. 57). In a similar way to the public history museum where the use of objects are used to "control and articulate educational tenets" and promote a particular version of history (Trofanenko, 2010 p. 275), so too does *National Geographic* select and photographs to tell a story.

Politics, homogeneity and uniformity

The editorial power of selecting, arranging, and authoring captions was an intentional practice aimed at providing "the facts." However, there were times when the editorial voice did not seem so dominant. In other words, it seemed to align with the vision of the author and photographer. This was most obvious when narratives, images, and captions functioned together to present the Chinese as uniform and homogenous. In Bisch (1964) and Topping's (1971) article, articulating this sameness was much more explicit as the following examples will show. However, this presumed sameness and uniformity of the Chinese was not confined to the articles in 1960s and 1970s. The appropriation of photographs to capture the Chinese at work or at leisure traps China in a communist conformist world, or in a past ancient civilization. Though the communist/ancient categories intersect at times, the presumed sameness of the Chinese in these images is striking.

There are 50 images in Bisch's 48-page article. Throughout the article, he recounts his journey, in-text reference being given to only eight of the 50 images. One of the images with an in-text citation is from the section "**Railroads remain class-conscious**" (p. 609). This section is particularly interesting because of his juxtaposing of class division and classlessness:

> The classless society has not quite engulfed the Chinese railroads. As in Russia, you can buy a first-class ticket entitling you to a "soft" seat, or a second-class fare consigning you to a "hard" seat.

This short paragraph, describing how class division is still visible in train transportation, sets up the following two paragraphs, which describes Bisch's conceptualization of classlessness, and how he came to see it throughout his journey. As a way of conceptualizing classlessness, Bisch explained:

> Each neat green-painted coach had a young girl attendant who plied the passengers with frequent draughts of green tea. And at each station the girls, their braids swinging down to their knees, hurried out with a brush and water bucket to wash the coaches. At the same time, harangued by a voice on the loud speaker, many passengers streamed out onto the platform and **did their gymnastics** individually or in teams.
>
> Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, has pronounced "body building" good, so one sees Chinese **exercising everywhere** (pages 628-9). I saw factory workers **exercising between shifts**, and even restaurant customers while waiting for service. Later, in Shanghai, every morning at five o'clock I saw hundreds of citizens **performing calisthenics** on the wide stone esplanade along the Whangpoo River. In the same place, old masters of **sword dancing** and other **traditional gymnastics** taught their art to any eager child free of charge. (613, added emphasis)

While these two passages speak to classlessness by describing that everyone – from factory workers to restaurant customers – engages in the activity of exercise, also illuminated through language is the Chinese "doing what they are told" which is indicated by the words "harangued" and "pronounced." The text focuses on what the Chinese are doing, how they are doing it (specifically in relation to the amount of people taking on this activity), and more subtly, why they are doing it. How does this work with the image that he describes?

In examining the images in *National Geographic*, it is important to remember that meaning cannot be fixed (Hall, 1997b), but attempting to fix meaning comes with anchoring an image with text (Barthes, 1980). What meanings do the photograph and its anchored caption convey (Figure 11)? Do they align with the descriptions given by Bisch 15 pages before the image's location in the article?

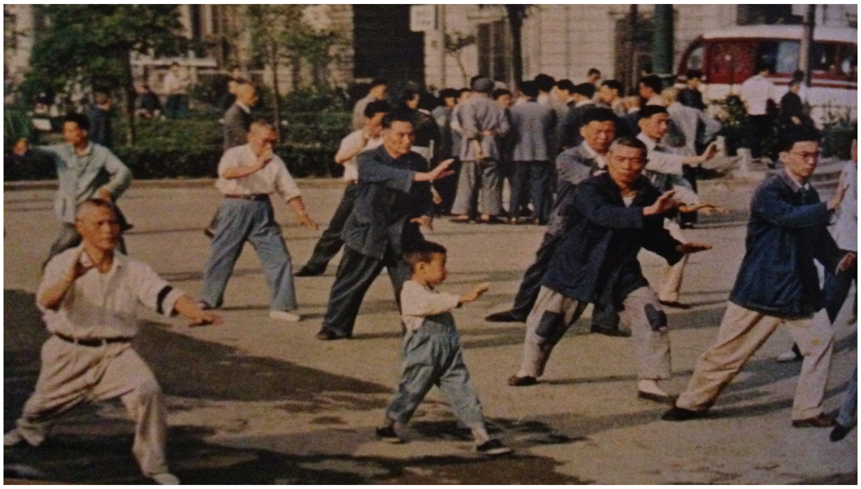


Figure 11 – **"Shadow boxers greet sunrise** in Shanghai Square. They perform one of many intricate movements of *Tai chi chuan*, a ritual based on Taoist philosophy. Balletlike movement stress the individual's harmony with nature. All forms of exercise, from calisthenics to sword dancing, have become a national routine" (*National Geographic*, November 1964, p. 629, emphasis in original).

There are subtle distinctions between the caption and Bisch's text, but overall the messages are parallel. Bisch's "Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Communist Party, has pronounced "body building" good," and "hundreds of citizens" (p. 613) is condensed by the editor and articulated as "national routine." The undercurrent of uniformity is present however. The explicit message aligns with Bisch's observation of seeing Chinese people exercising everywhere.

There are two elements, which disrupt my examination of the photograph, its punctum (Barthes, 1980). Looking closely at the photograph, there are *two* groups of Chinese people[17]. In the foreground the group is doing the same thing – they perform 抬起穿 (taiqi chuan). They perform in the way that Bisch and the editor have described. However, in the background, there is a small group huddled together. It complicates the reading because the suggestion of uniformity is disrupted by what appears to be a casual grouping of individuals, individuals not taking part in one of the many exercises that have "become national routine" (p. 629). The foregrounded group dominates, and is acknowledged by the caption and the in-text citation in the main article. The framing of the large group captures uniformity, despite its rather obscured message in the daily activity of exercising[18].

Topping's (1971) article also includes an image of exercise (Figure 12). She does not describe exercise as Bisch did, but there are some similarities in this depiction.

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[17] They are also wearing essentially the same thing, those "blue suits" that Bisch commented at the very beginning he had seen everywhere on his last trip in 1958.

[18] PROTOCOL NOTES – I don't see innocence in this image, not that an image is ever innocent. There is something that is so troubling to me, about capturing Chinese in groups. Perhaps it brings to my mind the terms "hoard," "masses," or "swarms" that at one time or another have been used to describe the Chinese in these magazines.

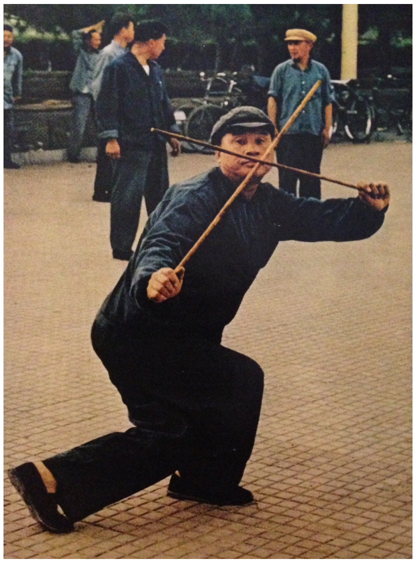

Figure 12 – Right arm duels left

“**Right arm duels left** as a Peking resident performs a sword dance. Each morning across the land, streets and squares fill with physical fitness buffs vigorously exercising or moving gracefully through such ancient, stylized rituals. Body building bears the blessing of Chairman Mao and enjoys enormous popularity among Chinese of all ages” (*National Geographic*, December 1971, p. 825).

The use of the term ritual here is interesting as it suggests a prescribed method of doing some action, here an “ancient, stylized ritual.” Lutz and Collins (1993) explained ritual as “organized group behavior” (p. 90), and that capturing ritual in photographs is more interesting because of the action it depicts. Additionally, the

> Non-Westerner comes to be portrayed as a ritual performer, embedded (perhaps some would read encrusted) in tradition and living in a sacred (some would say superstitious) world. (90)

Though the idea of ritual in the sense of how *National Geographic* has been known to capture it (Figure 13, for example) does not necessarily convey the same message as its use here, the use of the word “ritual” does however “fix” China as trapped outside the tunnel of history (Blaut, 1993 p. 5)[19], always performing, uniformly, these ancient and stylized acts.

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[19] As another contrast, in the July 1991 there is an image of a couple dancing in Beijing. The caption reads, “Dancers meet daily to tunes from portable stereos in Beijing’s Ditan Park. Traditionally, morning exercisers practiced *tai ji* [sic] *quan*, an ancient martial art of slow measured movement. Now young urban Chinese jitterbug or tango before going to work” (Terrill, 1991, p. 134, emphasis in original).

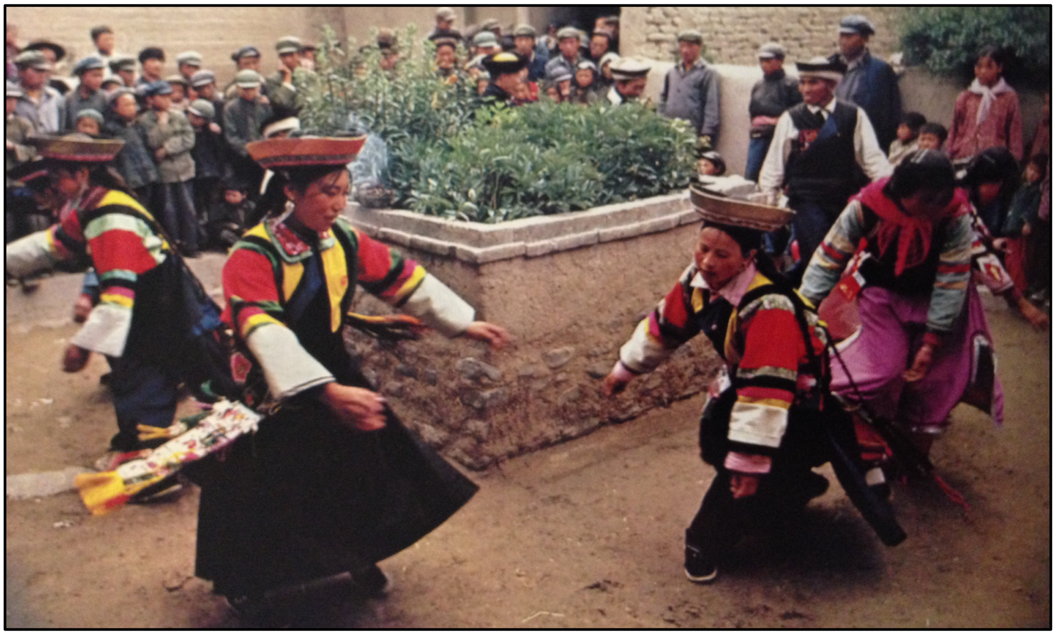

Figure 13 – "**Eager traditionalists**, members of the 160,000 Tu minority perform and impromptu dance in Qinghai. Former nomads related to the Mongols, the Tu won partial autonomy as frontier guards for imperial China. They have jettisoned some customs, such as girls' losing their chance for traditional marriage if not betrothed by age 15" (*National Geographic*, March 1984, p. 300).

Figure 14 is an example of how ritual is linked with labor and work in a more recent article in *National Geographic* (2008). It illustrates an assumed "fixed" method or approach to planting rice, as well as an almost mechanical approach to the work. The caption explains:

> Bending to the constant rhythm of farming, a woman gathers rice shoots from a plot near home to sow in terraced fields. Come what may, fire or flood, this is the work that still feeds her family and stands at the heart of her ancient culture. (124)

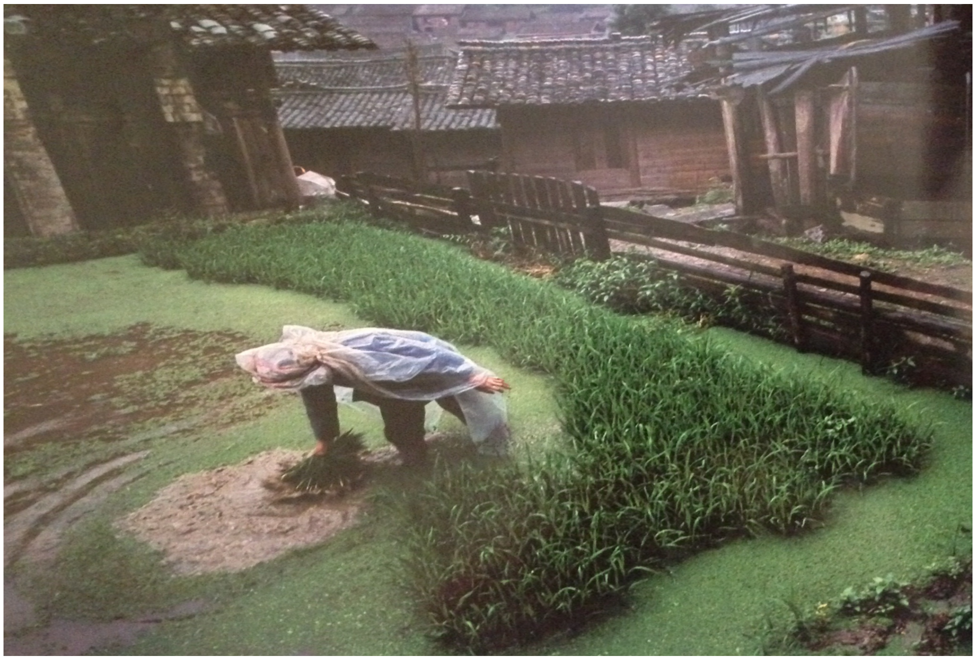

Figure 14 – Woman gathers rice (*National Geographic*, May 2008, p. 124)

Figure 14 captures an elderly woman leading over the plant the rice. She is frozen in these movements by the snap of the camera, yet the image conveys repetitive movements.

Detached from the images in Figures 11 and 12, both Topping and Bisch explicitly connect China with homogeneity and uniformity. For Bisch, he subtly interjects into his own final thoughts, "As a nonconformist in China's world of conformity, I had been a long trial for them" (p. 638). However, Topping (1971) fixes a version of China as incapable of anything but conformist and homogenous:

> [There is] a power no visitor to modern China can fail to discern. People power. Nearly 800 million people thinking all the same thoughts, reading the same books, talking about the same things, wearing similar clothes, living in a similar style.
>
> There is little room for tolerance or dissent. "Armed with Mao's thought," they believe that nothing is impossible, that they can move mountains with teaspoons, turn deserts into arable land, change the direction of rivers, and harness the tides. All with people power. (813, 816)

Topping explains the social context of China through her Western notions of China. She presents the social environment in China in a tone that is supportive and energized by this "power."

However, she silences every voice that sits outside of this "conformist" space, perhaps even perpetuating the notion that the Chinese "follow blindly." Willinsky's (1998) own brief analysis of *National Geographic* and how it has worked to perpetuate division and difference works well here. He wrote,

> The magazine is about the convenience engagement and self-improvement of the viewer, and it plays on the *fascination with human difference* that has long been the educational masking of the non-Westerner as an object of fascination and desire. (150, emphasis added).

Topping's language here is that of fascination. Through her Western lens, she observes China, speaks for China, and through her fascination, "makes the Orient visible" (Said, 1978, p. 22). She was fascinated by the homogeneity of it all, or rather, what was so completely different not only from the "old" China she once knew, but from her view as a Westerner from where she articulates her fascination.

Though authored in different ways, captions of (presumed) sameness and uniformity were present throughout the decades in *National Geographic*, yet anchored to images that captured the Chinese at work. The captions are important here because it is the use of language that triggers meaning of homogeneity and uniformity in the images. In other words, detached from their captions, would I (or another reader) link the images to uniformity, or more simply Chinese always doing similar work? Remembering that captions work with the image to fix the meaning (Hall, 1997b), it is not the solely the images that convey the ideas of sameness and uniformity. Rather, the captions direct the viewer to the image of what sameness and uniformity looks like.

In both 1964 and 1991 (Figures 15 and 17) workers are urged to take on the work according to the caption. This is evident in the use of "exhorted" in Figure 15 and the use of quotations around the word volunteers in Figure 17. In the 1985 image, Figure 16 captures workers "pitching in." The focus on factory, or massive human labor connects Figures 18 and 19. Referring to the labor in Figure 18 as "human conveyor belts" evokes mechanization; almost removing the humanness of the work these men and women are taking on.

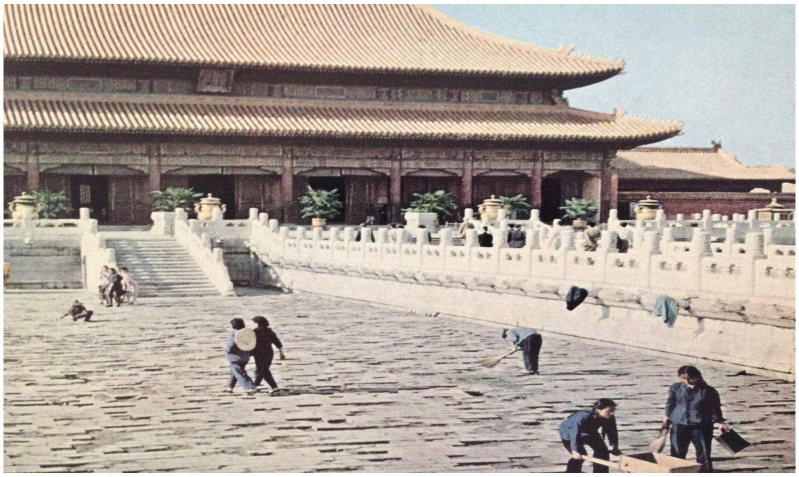

Figure 15 – 1964

"Communist-exhorted volunteers in the Forbidden City weed the courtyard of the Palace of Heavenly Purity, where the last Manchu Emperor was married in 1922 at age 16. His wedding marked the dynasty's final even of imperial splendor" (*National Geographic*, November 1964, p. 599)

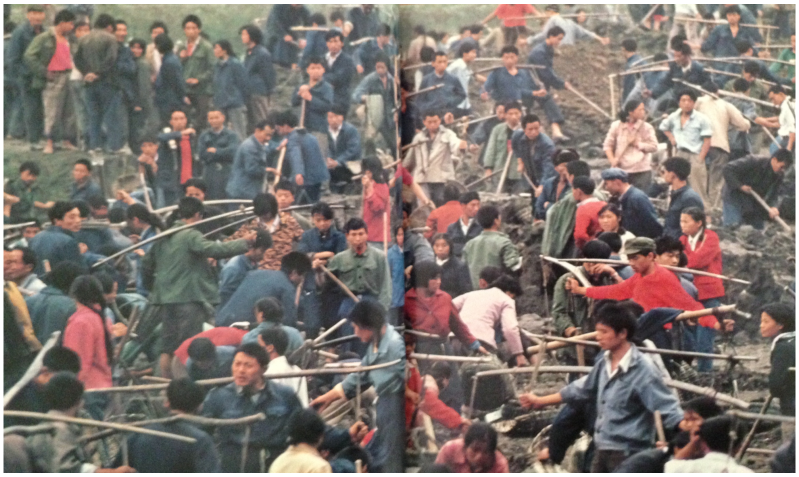

Figure 16 – 1985

"Pitching in on a gigantic scale at the request of the Central Committee, peasants who live along a 30-mile stretch of road between Chengdu and Guanxian widen the roadbed in just one week. Each worker received five yuan a day and a portion of the wood from the trees cut down. At its peak the project involved 200,000 laborers" (*National Geographic*, September 1985, p. 305)

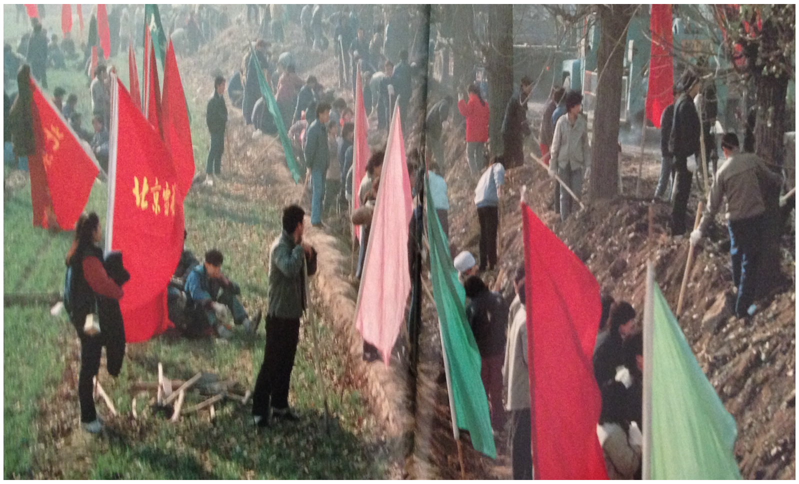

Figure 17 – 1991

“Some lean into shovels; some lean on them. Recruited as “volunteers,” 100,000 students worked in the autumn of 1990 to ready Beijing for the 11th Asian Games. Other city residents were told to attack “four pests”: mosquitoes, flies, rats, and roaches” (*National Geographic*, July, 1991, p. 117).

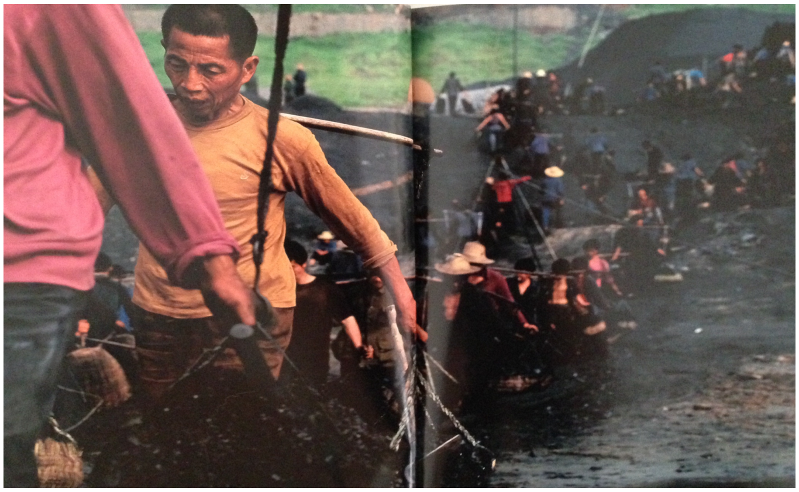

Figure 18 – 1997

“Human conveyor belts haul coal to barges in Fengjie for delivery to power plants downriver. China relies on its huge deposits of high-sulfur coal for three-quarters of its electricity. Consequently, its air is among the foulest in the world. A quarter of all deaths in China are from pulmonary disease, and the nation’s carbon dioxide emissions figure prominently in the threat of global warming. The advantages of hydropower over fossil fuels are self-evident, argue dam supporters. The dam’s power will first feed the coast, locals will still rely on coal” (*National Geographic*, September 1997, p. 31).

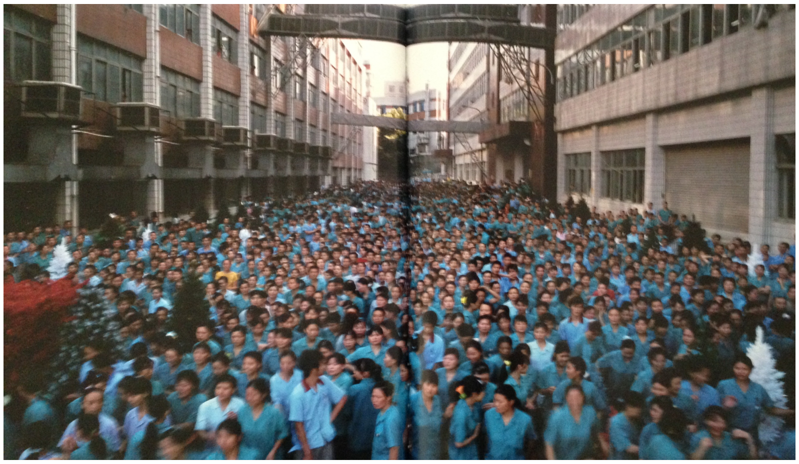

Figure 19 – 2008

“MASS PRODUCTION Packed between assembly and shipping buildings at Shenzhen’s Boiji Christmas tree factory, some 2,000 workers assembled for a portrait at the morning shift change in July 2006. In its heyday, according to managing director Billy Chau, Boji exported 1.6 million trees to the U.S. each year” (*National Geographic*, May 2008, p. 67).

Summary of National Geographic

Bisch (1964) and Topping's (1971) articles work together to describe a travel experience of two individuals' respective return to China. Bisch's *National Geographic* article highlights various ideas about Chinese politics, society, and culture. As a source of cultural pedagogy, *National Geographic* is influential in shape a viewer's beliefs and thinking about the world. What Bisch and Topping's narratives and photographic representations teach about cultural pedagogy is that they are powerful for educating readers of the perceived social realities of China, specifically as a restricted/closed, conformist, and revolutionary nation. Despite the absence of the editor during the authors and the photographers' travel throughout China, the editor exercised great influence and power over the images that were selected and used to tell a story in line with the "popular understandings of the Third World" (Lutz & Collins, 1993, p. 30). These popular understandings are built upon centuries of imperialism, as well as the orientalist lenses used to gaze at and bring the non-Western world to the West.

Beginning in the 1980s, *National Geographic* published articles that focused specifically on cities like Kunming (1981), Sichuan (1985), and Shanghai (1980 and 1994), while paying attention as well to "Nomads of China's West" (1982) and "Peoples of China's Far Provinces" (1984). The articles in the first five years of the 80s align with the prescribed "opening up" of China after the death of Mao Zedong in 1976, and an acceptance, so to speak, by the United States of Deng Xiaoping's capitalistic-like policies. Again, the social context of China is understood in relation to the United States. Article titles such as "China's Opening Door" and "Sichuan: China Changes Course" suggest a China in transition; a transition which sees more relaxed economic policies that the United States (for the most part) is comfortable. The March 1980 article begins with, "For decades China has presented a mask to Western eyes. Now openness is growing as official attitudes relax" (p. 292). This short statement reveals that although the United States may have been more "at ease" with the economic opening up of China, China is dominated by Western interpretations, or observations, about it.

With the move toward "modernization" by China, and the relaxation of some of the stricter policies of the People's Republic of China following the death of Mao, it was interesting to see how *National Geographic* framed the story of China. Despite a presumed "comfort" by the Western reader of these relaxed policies, there were (are) still ways of exercising control by the magazine in its choices of what to articulate about China's changes since Mao's death. Namely that regardless of changes, China was (is) still communist, and conformist. For example, demonstrating some circumspection on the part of the Western author was articulated like this: "Today, although there are limits to Deng's goals imposed by rigidity of the political system – after all, a Communist Party still rules" (Terrill, 1985, p. 287).

I found this practice particularly compelling, especially in the *National Geographic* articles published after the death of Mao Zedong, as it suggests a Western wariness of China's communist system and the presumed challenges of collaboration with Western, democratic nations. Even in 2008, there is a circumspection alerting the reader. Figure 20 gives the reader some sense of this circumspection. As children sit in a classroom, they are surrounded by posters of Sun Yatsen, Mao Zedong, and Zhou Enlai. There are two scrolls as well, also with images of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai. The Chinese national flag rests under the image of Mao. The caption also works well to draw the readers' attention to these elements by explaining that the student are learning "under the watchful eyes" of these former influential leaders of China.

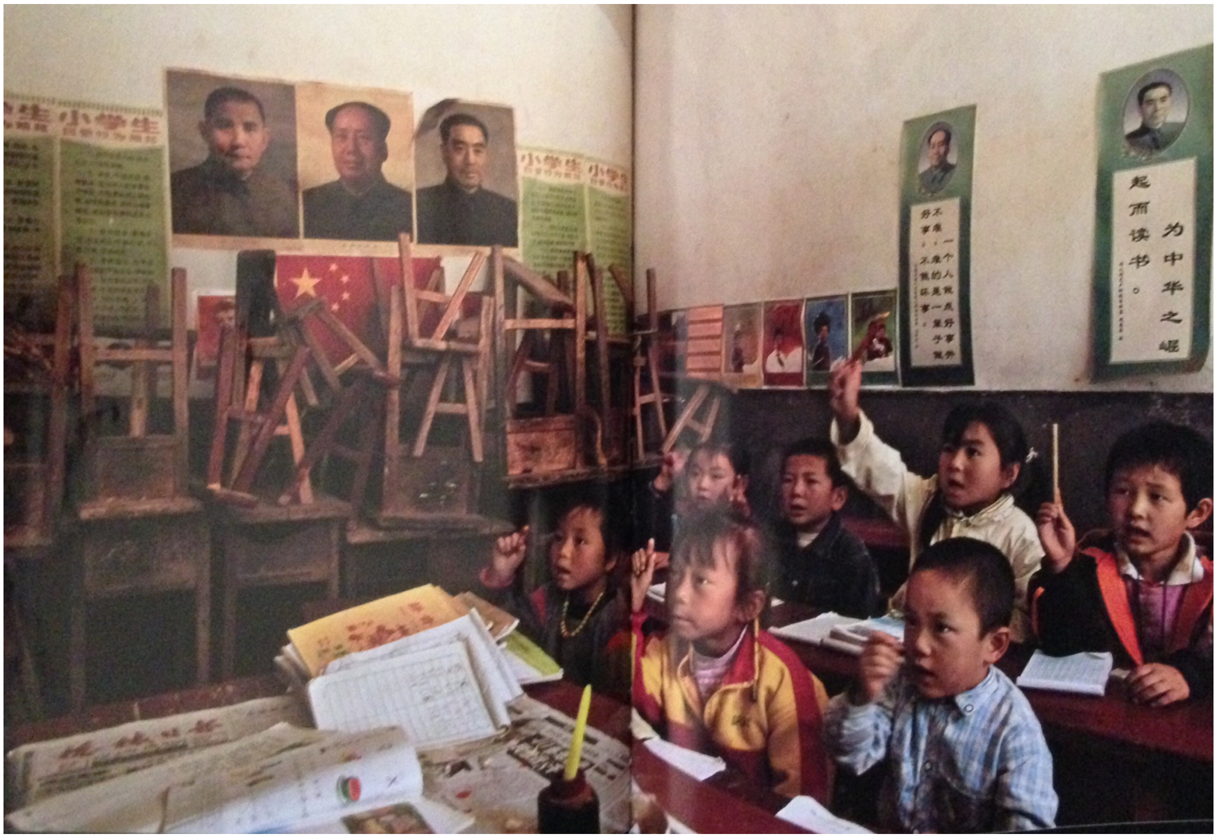

Figure 20 – "Scripting the future students in rural Shaanxi Province practice strokes that form Chinese characters under the watchful eyes of Sun Yat-sen, Mao, and Zhou Enlai. Major education investment has pushed the national literacy rate to 91 percent, but some 85 million Chinese still can't read" (*National Geographic*, May 2008, pp. 68-69).

There are intentional pedagogical practices at work in *National Geographic*. As indicated in the brief explanation of Figure 20, the use of the image and the caption work together to make China visible to the reader, visible in ways that the editor wants to illuminate. These practices, specifically the use of editorial curating through image selection and caption writing are exercises in power. The editor uses photographs to construct a version of China that is accessible, and knowable to the Western readers of *National Geographic*. With a dominant focus on culture, captured narratively and visually through a Western perspective, *National Geographic* used travel encounters to observe, describe, and capture China. *Life* magazine, on the other hand, focused on history and news reporting to bring the United States into contact with China. *Life* is the focus of the next section.

Life Magazine

I always thought it was the business of *Time* to make enemies – and of *Life* to make friends
– Henry Robinson Luce

In 1936, Henry R. Luce bought the rights to *Life*, a defunct humor magazine that had begun in 1883 (Doss, 2001; Wainwright, 1986). As the co-founder and publisher of *Time*, a news magazine aimed at "one million college graduates who might read a paper that was modern" (Herzstein, 2005, p. 24), Luce had a different vision for *Life*. Luce wanted a "simpleminded alternative to *Time*" (Wainwright, 1986, p. 12), one where topics and subjects could be attended to from a broad, more general perspective. Intent on providing Americans with a generalist picture magazine while attending to the news, according to Herzstein (2005),

> [Luce] had insisted that [*Life*] be big and that it be as cheap (ten cents) as *Fortune* was expensive. *Life* was the great publishing phenomenon of its time, and within a few years, 15 percent of the population, or an estimated seventeen million people, read or looked at *Life* each week. Indeed, the magazine became the "television" of the pre-TV era. (28)

As "America's Magazine," *Life* reached millions of subscribers, and casual readers every week for 36 years. The newsstand price of the journal was ten cents in 1936[20], increasing to fifteen cents in June 1946. In 1958, the price was raised to twenty-five cents but lowered to twenty cents in 1961[21]. In the final two years of the weekly publication, it was fifty cents. The price of the magazine may have attributed to *Life* being a favorite journal across all income groups.

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[20] The original name for the journal was *Dime*.

[21] This is less than $2.00 in 2014. Subscription rates were $3.99 in 1958, about $32 in 2014.

However, most subscribers were among the wealthiest Americans (Herzstein, 2005, p. 158). According to a 1967 survey of Chicago readers of *Life*, the magazine was most popular among the top two income categories, about 48.2 and 40.2 percent respectively (Baughman, 2001, p. 45).

Baughman (2001) examined *Life*'s readership polls, focusing on demographics, casual readers and subscribers, and the impact television had not just on *Life*, but subscriptions to many periodicals. To understand the circulation of *Life*, Baughman distinguished between casual readers (pass along readers and thumbers) and subscription holders. In his description,

> 'The waiting room reader' by definition consumed *Life*, less closely than the year-in, year-out subscriber and newsstand patron. Someone leafing through *Life* at a dentist's office or beauty parlor might only scan the magazine. (42)

The "pass-along" factor complicates the assessment of who read *Life*, and *Life* had the highest pass-along rate among periodicals (Baughman, 2001, p. 42). Thus, while circulation toward the end of 1971 was around 5.5 million (Wainwright, 1987, p. 420), early in 1972 the pass-along rate was 4.63 persons per copy, amounting to nearly 25 million readers a week (Baughman, 2001, p. 42). The notion that "everyone read *Life*" included, most importantly, these casual and pass-along readers.

Life's subscriber base was primarily made up of "middle-class Americans, most of whom shared Henry Luce's fundamental assumptions about God and the Republican Party" (Baughman, 2001, p. 48). Subscription-wise, *Life*'s aim of shaping cultural and political values on Americans only influenced a small segment of the population, many of whom read other periodicals in addition to *Life*. Because Baughman (2001) was concerned with hard numbers in the readership, his examination of *Life* deemphasized *Life*'s influence on the number of casual readers by pointing out that "many nonsubscribers occasionally sampling the magazine *merely* *looked at the pictures*, while having their hair curled" (p. 46, emphasis added). As mass-production of images works to "guide our presentation of the self in everyday life, our ways of relating to others, and the creation of social values and goals" (Kellner, 1995, p. 19), the influence of *Life* to shape cultural and political values on subscription holders, as well as the causal readership is significant. As Doss (2001) sharply pointed out, "the impermanence [of casually reading and flipping] does not, of course, diminish the import of images seen quickly, because even momentary glimpses can generate lasting memories" (p. 8). Luce's intentions to create a "generalist picture magazine" that appealed to America meant developing it to fit the viewing norms that were well established by the time *Life* published in first issue in 1936, specifically looking at pictures. The combination of news and photography, and subsequent development of the photo-essay set *Life* apart from other periodicals. The development of this new genre is the highlight of the following section.

Establishing a new genre

Life magazine was a photo-journal, which presented its material in a manner similar to a television news report. The significance of Life as a new genre was with Luce's foresight. By bridging established viewing norms – the newspaper and the picture weekly – Luce made *Life* unique. As a *Chicago Tribune* reporter remarked, "*Life* photographs were there to savor, a week at a time; *Life* photographers fanned out over the globe the way that network crews do today, but what *Life* photographers brought back was timeless" (Greene, 1986, p. D1). As a style of news reporting, *Life* photographs are particularly significant because of their "implied veracity" (Wheeler, 2002). Kozol (1994) situated the implied truth of news photography historically. She explained

> In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, news organizations, government organizations, and social reformers first established photographs as evidence when they adopted the medium for purposes of documentation. After obtaining legal and cultural status as evidence, photography in turn helped legitimize the news as a credible medium of information (23)

In addition to the evidentiary nature of photographs, photographers also recognized the "camera's ability to address emotional desires and needs" (Kozol, 1994, p. 23). *Life* capitalized on both the presumed veracity of news and the emotional dimension of photography, adding to the magazine's appeal.

There was an entertainment dimension of *Life* which meant that "both sober-minded parents and their carefree children could equally enjoy the magazine" (Baughman, 2001, p. 46). Wainwright (1986) explained that in comparison to Luce's news-focused *Time* magazine however, Luce wanted the magazine to be

> Partly for people who just find it too hard going to read *Time every week cover to cover*. And [*Life*] also has a place because, though I'm continually against it, *Time* has developed an innate tendency to go more and more specialist; it is less and less willing to be simple and naïve and to tackle these subjects in a broad perspective. (12, emphasis in original)

Luce's vision for *Life* combined the familiar style of newspaper, and news-focused periodicals, with entertainment magazines. Though *Life* may have been most popular among the middle class, Luce's combination of the news with visual imagery "undoubtedly gave it greater influence than its audience size indicated" (Baughman, 2001, p. 45).

The photographs in *Life* were meant to be revealing, and at times graphic. In addition, the photographic story telling aligned with Luce's personal convictions and ideas about the world, a world which "could be brought into being by the American middle classes led by the American elites" (Smith, 2001, pp. 37-38). To see life as Luce saw it, and "to shape how the world and the nation would be seen, and how an American middle-class saw the world, nation, and itself"

(Doss, 2001, p. 15) required a reliance on a style of photojournalism and documentary photography.

Documentary photography has been associated with the practice of capturing the poor or marginalized as part of a larger project to display such circumstances to affect change (Rose, 2012, p. 23). However, according to Rose (2012),

> The aim [of documentary photography] was to be as objective and accurate as possible in these depictions. However, since the apparent horror was being shown to audiences who had the power to pressure for change, documentary photography usually pictures the relatively powerless to the relatively poor. It has been accused of voyeurism and worse. (23)

As a contrast, Wheeler (2002) distinguished between photojournalism and documentary photography; photojournalism being intent on presenting objective news[22], while documentary photography makes no claim of objectivity (p. 88). For Wheeler, photojournalism is too narrow a term. Instead, he uses "nonfiction photographic environment," which includes documentary photography and is defined as

> All newspaper, magazine, broadcast, cable, or online still photography that accompanies nonfiction text published or otherwise distributed in the mass media, including spontaneous glimpse-and-snap pictures as well as photos that are posed, arranged, and taken in studios or under other controlled conditions (some exceptions are listed below)[23]. Aside from photos that accompany text, the definition also includes purportedly nonfiction, mass-media photos appearing alone, or in collections or photo essays. (117-118)

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[22] Wheeler (2002) points out the intention of objectivity, but does not claim photojournalism or documentary photography as objective.

[23] Wheeler (2002) excludes fashion/beauty magazines because "drastically manipulated photography is taken for granted by art directors and editors" (p. 121), as well as "marketing, public relations, promotional and advertising photography, unless such work is represented to the public as being unmanipulated or "real." Thus, Wheeler looks at "implied veracity" of photographs.

Kozol (1994), however, explained the distinction between photojournalism and documentary photography based on representational practice. *Life*'s use of the photo-essay in particular distinguished photojournalism from documentary and news photography. As a prominent feature of *Life*'s style of photojournalism, the photo-essays "always convey their messages in the context of other images, captions, and texts" (p. 42). Thus, photojournalism combines narrative and photographs to build a plot line of the news event. Readers of *Life* did not just see photographs. Advertising was also significant to keeping *Life*'s profits up. News, pictures, and advertisements were three elements that made up *Life*'s content. They worked alongside one another to sell products and news stories.

Selling a product

While the revenue of subscription and newsstand sales paid for the cost of paper and printing, *Life* was dependent on the advertising revenues for profit (Kozol, 1994, p. 35). Luce knew well the necessity of advertising in his picture magazine, and the role that advertisements would play in *Life*. In a proposal to advertisers, Kozol (1994) quoted Luce in 1936 as stating

> Pictures are faster than words… in advertising, pictures hurry, where text creeps. Pictures invite a look, where long texts repel. Pictures dramatize where text narrates and describes. Pictures sell. (36)

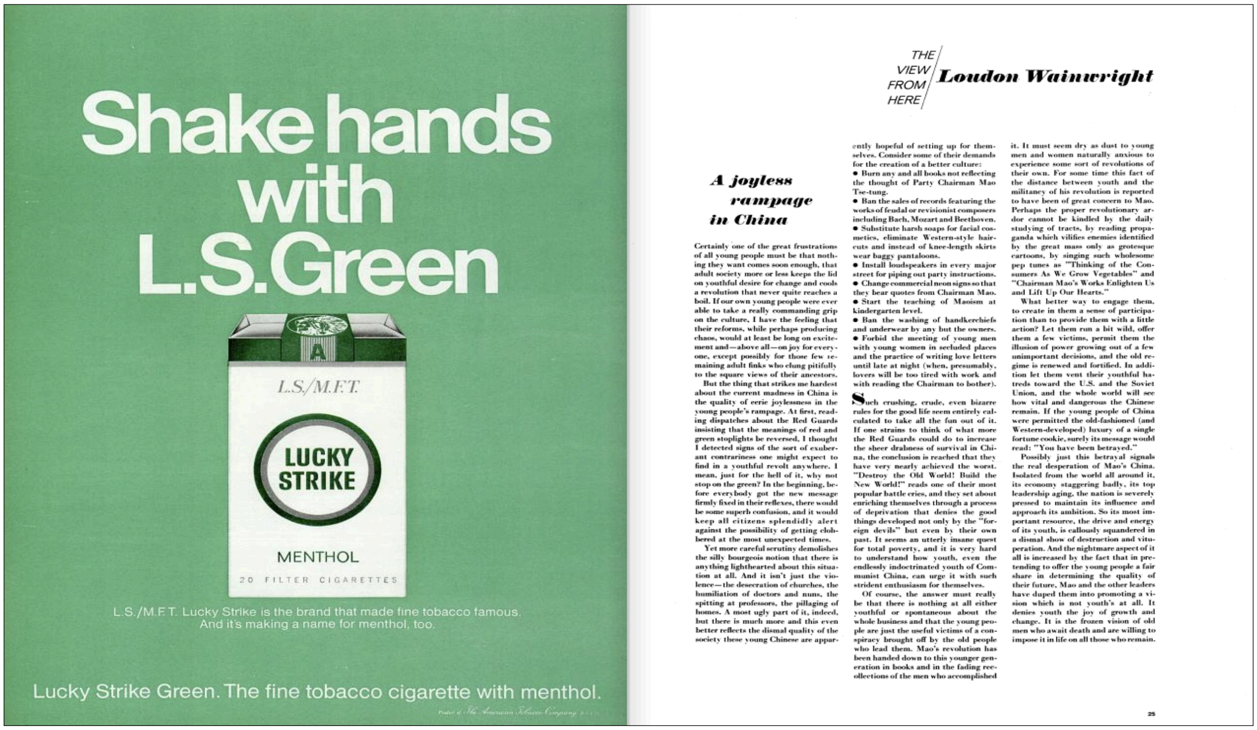
Luce's words here really get to the heart of *Life* magazine. While juxtaposing advertising with photographs and written narrative did not necessarily make *Life* unique, Luce was intent on selling through pictures – selling his view of the world, his view of the United States, and consumer products. Significantly, the amalgamation of *Life*'s stories with advertising added to the viewer's visual experience in that not only were readers *instructed* what to think about, they were also *instructed* on what to buy (Doss, 2001, p. 8).

Figure 21 and 22 illustrate the juxtaposition of advertisements with narrative stories in *Life* magazine. The editorial, “Joyless Rampage in China” is framed to the right of a full-page Lucky Strike ad, which is in bright green. In figure 21, it is difficult to miss the use of language and color – the **madness** of moving and the **turmoil** of Mao’s rule, CHINA in all caps and red, the only color used on both pages. As the young child in figure 22 hides in a box, the introduction of the feature photo-essay, itself shaped like the Qianmen Gate, noted that China has been “a prisoner of her own history” (p. 61). Thus, while the reader is being sold which telephone company to switch to, the reader is also being sold (a version of) China.

According to Hales (2001), however, the positioning of the advertisements in proximity to the photo-essays and editorials was often unplanned. He explained

> In the office of the managing editor, each week the walls became vertical mock-up boards for the final version, and as the week went on, the editorial and advertising sales staffs arranged and rearranged the sequence, the size of ads and articles, the scale of individual pictures, and all the other elements that made up the finished product. (116)

What Hales meant by unplanned is that the advertisements were not selected based on the stories and photo-essays. However, the arranging and rearranging suggests a system of curating, whereby decisions were intentionally and carefully made to not only present a newsworthy story but also to reinforce consumer and domestic ideologies (Kozol, 1994, p. 36). This is style of curating is much different than the editorial curating in *National Geographic*, where the editor made intentional decisions to arrange photographs in a particular way. However, the positioning of advertisements throughout *Life* magazine does illustrate the almost equal consideration given to advertising, editorials, and photo-essays.


Shake hands with L.S.Green
L.S./M.F.T.
LUCKY STRIKE
MENTHOL
20 FILTER CIGARETTES
L.S./M.F.T. Lucky Strike is the brand that made fine tobacco famous. And it's making a name for menthol, too.
Lucky Strike Green. The fine tobacco cigarette with menthol.
25

THE VIEW FROM HERE **Loudon Wainwright**

A joyless rampage in China

Certainly one of the great frustrations of all young people must be that nothing they want comes soon enough, that adult society more or less keeps the lid on youthful desire for change and cools a revolution that never quite reaches a boil. If our own young people were ever able to take a really commanding grip on the culture, I have the feeling that their reforms, while perhaps producing chaos, would at least be long on excitement and—above all—on joy for everyone, except possibly for those few remaining adult finks who clung pitifully to the square views of their ancestors.

But the thing that strikes me hardest about the current madness in China is the quality of eerie joylessness in the young people's rampage. At first, reading dispatches about the Red Guards insisting that the meanings of red and green stoplights be reversed, I thought I detected signs of the sort of exuberant contrariness one might expect to find in a youthful revolt anywhere. I mean, just for the hell of it, why not stop on the green? In the beginning, before everybody got the new message firmly fixed in their reflexes, there would be some superb confusion, and it would keep all citizens splendidly alert against the possibility of getting clobbered at the most unexpected times.

Yet more careful scrutiny demolishes the silly bourgeois notion that there is anything lighthearted about this situation at all. And it isn't just the violence—the desecration of churches, the humiliation of doctors and nuns, the spitting at professors, the pillaging of homes. A most ugly part of it, indeed, but there is much more and this even better reflects the dismal quality of the society these young Chinese are apparently hopeful of setting up for themselves. Consider some of their demands for the creation of a better culture:

- Burn any and all books not reflecting the thought of Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung.
- Ban the sales of records featuring the works of feudal or revisionist composers including Bach, Mozart and Beethoven.
- Substitute harsh soaps for facial cosmetics, eliminate Western-style haircuts and instead of knee-length skirts wear baggy pantaloons.
- Install loudspeakers in every major street for piping out party instructions.
- Change commercial neon signs so that they bear quotes from Chairman Mao.
- Start the teaching of Maoism at kindergarten level.
- Ban the washing of handkerchiefs and underwear by any but the owners.
- Forbid the meeting of young men with young women in secluded places and the practice of writing love letters until late at night (when, presumably, lovers will be too tired with work and with reading the Chairman to bother).

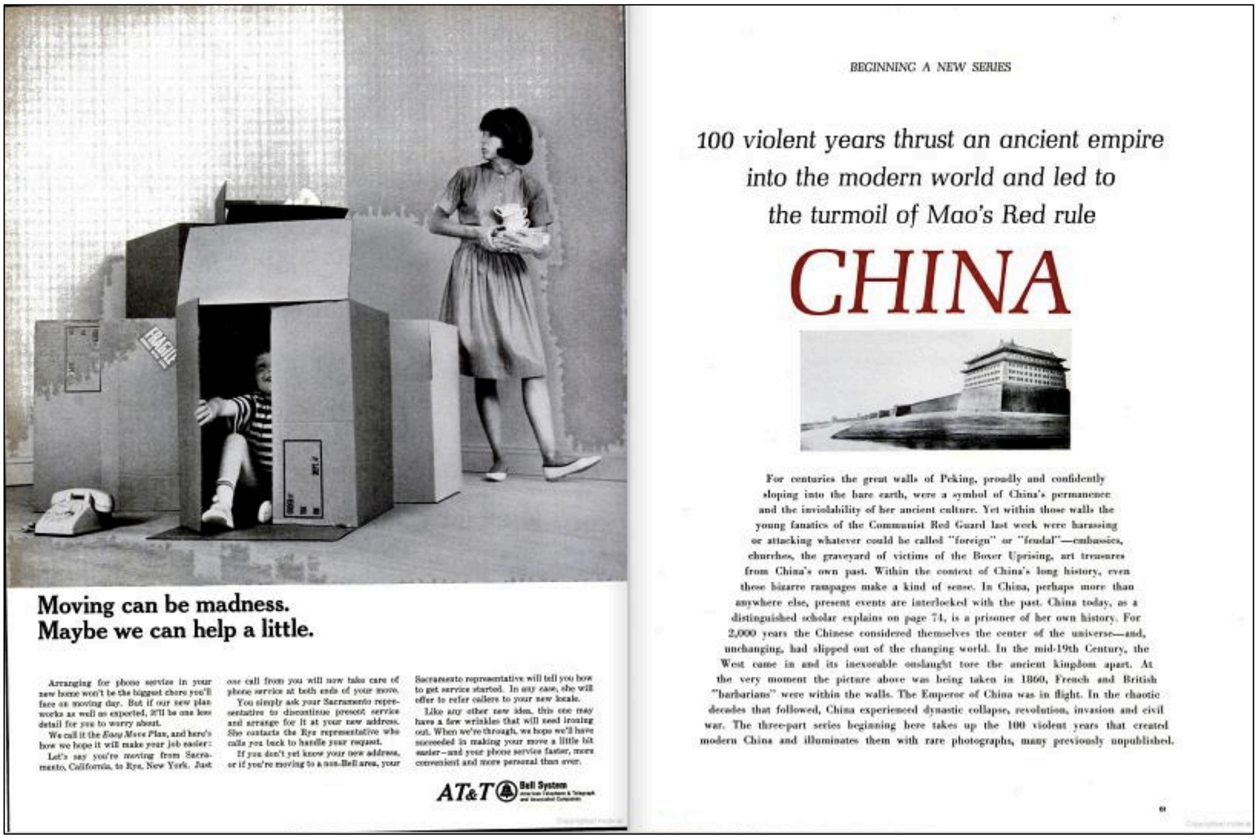
Such crushing, crude, even bizarre rules for the good life seem entirely calculated to take all the fun out of it. If one strains to think of what more the Red Guards could do to increase the sheer drabness of survival in China, the conclusion is reached that they have very nearly achieved the worst. "Destroy the Old World! Build the New World!" reads one of their most popular battle cries, and they set about enriching themselves through a process of deprivation that denies the good things developed not only by the "foreign devils" but even by their own past. It seems an utterly insane quest for total poverty, and it is very hard to understand how youth, even the endlessly indoctrinated youth of Communist China, can urge it with such strident enthusiasm for themselves.

Of course, the answer must really be that there is nothing at all either youthful or spontaneous about the whole business and that the young people are just the useful victims of a conspiracy brought off by the old people who lead them. Mao's revolution has been handed down to this younger generation in books and in the fading recollections of the men who accomplished it. It must seem dry as dust to young men and women naturally anxious to experience some sort of revolutions of their own. For some time this fact of the distance between youth and the militancy of his revolution is reported to have been of great concern to Mao. Perhaps the proper revolutionary ardor cannot be kindled by the daily studying of tracts, by reading propaganda which vilifies enemies identified by the great mass only as grotesque cartoons, by singing such wholesome pep tunes as "Thinking of the Consumers As We Grow Vegetables" and "Chairman Mao's Works Enlighten Us and Lift Up Our Hearts."

What better way to engage them, to create in them a sense of participation than to provide them with a little action? Let them run a bit wild, offer them a few victims, permit them the illusion of power growing out of a few unimportant decisions, and the old regime is renewed and fortified. In addition let them vent their youthful hatreds toward the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and the whole world will see how vital and dangerous the Chinese remain. If the young people of China were permitted the old-fashioned (and Western-developed) luxury of a single fortune cookie, surely its message would read: "You have been betrayed."

Possibly just this betrayal signals the real desperation of Mao's China. Isolated from the world all around it, its economy staggering badly, its top leadership aging, the nation is severely pressed to maintain its influence and approach its ambition. So its most important resource, the drive and energy of its youth, is callously squandered in a dismal show of destruction and vituperation. And the nightmare aspect of it all is increased by the fact that in pretending to offer the young people a fair share in determining the quality of their future, Mao and the other leaders have duped them into promoting a vision which is not youth's at all. It denies youth the joy of growth and change. It is the frozen vision of old men who await death and are willing to impose it in life on all those who remain.

Figure 21 – The advertisement and editorial juxtaposition (*Life*, September 9, 1966, pp. 24-25)


Moving can be madness.
Maybe we can help a little.
AT&T Bell System
American Telephone & Telegraph and Associated Companies
BEGINNING A NEW SERIES
100 violent years thrust an ancient empire into the modern world and led to the turmoil of Mao's Red rule
CHINA
61

Arranging for phone service in your new home won't be the biggest chore you'll face on moving day. But if our new plan works as well as expected, it'll be one less detail for you to worry about.

We call it the *Easy Move Plan*, and here's how we hope it will make your job easier:

Let's say you're moving from Sacramento, California, to Rye, New York. Just one call from you will now take care of phone service at both ends of your move.

You simply ask your Sacramento representative to discontinue present service and arrange for it at your new address. She contacts the Rye representative who calls you back to handle your request.

If you don't yet know your new address, or if you're moving to a non-Bell area, your Sacramento representative will tell you how to get service started. In any case, she will offer to refer callers to your new locale.

Like any other new idea, this one may have a few wrinkles that will need ironing out. When we're through, we hope we'll have succeeded in making your move a little bit easier—and your phone service faster, more convenient and more personal than ever.

For centuries the great walls of Peking, proudly and confidently sloping into the bare earth, were a symbol of China's permanence and the inviolability of her ancient culture. Yet within those walls the young fanatics of the Communist Red Guard last week were harassing or attacking whatever could be called "foreign" or "feudal"—embassies, churches, the graveyard of victims of the Boxer Uprising, art treasures from China's own past. Within the context of China's long history, even these bizarre rampages make a kind of sense. In China, perhaps more than anywhere else, present events are interlocked with the past. China today, as a distinguished scholar explains on page 74, is a prisoner of her own history. For 2,000 years the Chinese considered themselves the center of the universe—and, unchanging, had slipped out of the changing world. In the mid-19th Century, the West came in and its inexorable onslaught tore the ancient kingdom apart. At the very moment the picture above was being taken in 1860, French and British "barbarians" were within the walls. The Emperor of China was in flight. In the chaotic decades that followed, China experienced dynastic collapse, revolution, invasion and civil war. The three-part series beginning here takes up the 100 violent years that created modern China and illuminates them with rare photographs, many previously unpublished.

Figure 22 – Advertisements and the feature story (*Life*, September 26, 1966, pp. 60-61)

Despite *Life*'s dependence on advertising, and the juxtaposition of a photo-essays like "China: 100 Violent Years" with an AT&T advertisement (Figure 22), the photo essay was *Life*'s most prominent feature, and thus a primary representational and pedagogical practice. The combination of photographs and narratives, and the framing of each into a photo-essay worked to construct a story around the news event. The focus on photographs to tell this story aligned with Luce's belief that photographs would be a selling point. In this sense, the photo-essay sold the news event. In the context of this study, *Life* was selling the (a) story of China. Kozol (1994) explained *Life*'s typical formula for re/presenting a news story

> Introduced the news story with a half- or full-page photograph, frequently featuring "characters" to represent the topic. Accompanying text explained how the photograph illustrated the news item. In the subsequent pages, a series of smaller and larger photographs displayed various aspects of the situation, culminating in a final full-page paragraph. Photo-essays frequently progressed visually through time or space toward a solution. (43)

Life's reporting formula is significant for understanding how images work pedagogically. The photo-essay gives the reader both a visual and narrative display to "see" and experience history in the making. To illustrate *Life*'s use of photo-essay to report the news, and thus its representational and pedagogical practices, the following section looks at *Life*'s reporting in and about China, specifically during the Cultural Revolution.

History in the making – Covering China during the Cultural Revolution

Having established itself as a photo-journal, *Life* magazine was influential in capturing events happening all around the world. Capturing history, as a pedagogical practice, was a way for *Life* to bring the news to the American viewer/reader, but through photographs. The arrangement of photographs with captions worked pedagogically to explain *chronologically* a historical or current event. The chronology is significant because it was the sequential flow of events that made the photo-essays pedagogically powerful to “capture history.” Though an editorial or an essay followed many photo-essays, it was the photographs that were laid out for the viewer to see, chronologically, the event taking place. Where A. Doak Barnett, a leading China historian could explain in words that “History’s logic weighs against Maoism” (January 20, 1967), it was the photographs that visually captured the “irrationality” of Mao Zedong Thought (Figure 23). Applying Luce’s belief in the nature of photographs (as a selling point), Figure 23 dramatizes, where Barnett describes. Thus, the young Red Guards holding their flags, and their large portrait of Mao Zedong, marching and parading in groups was more effective, and perhaps more profitable, than the essays that followed.

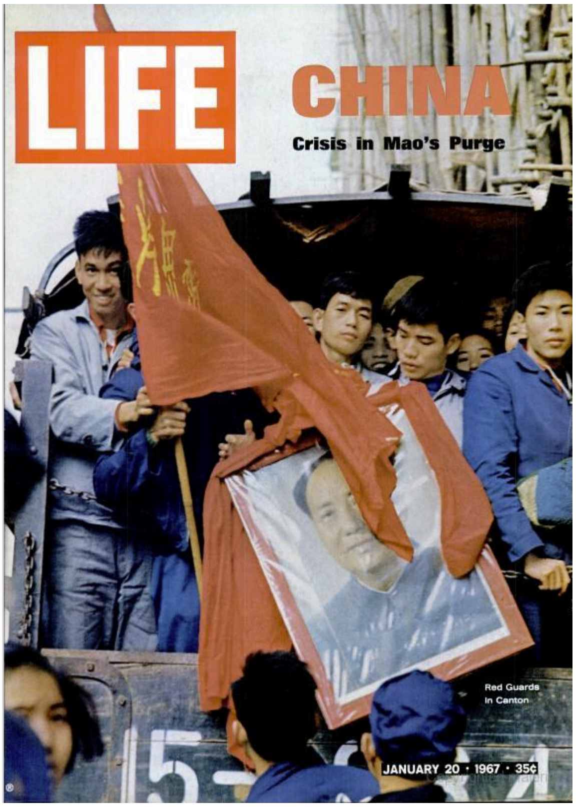


Figure 23 – Young Red Guards (*Life*, January 20, 1967)

History in the making for *Life* became a way to capture the news visually, and accessibly, to even the most casual of reader. This section looks at *Life*’s focus on China during the Cultural

Revolution. Not all the photo-essays dealt with the Cultural Revolution, but the essays were meant to provide a historical explanation to what was happening in China in the mid-1960s.

In an attempt to understand the historical context leading up to Mao Zedong's rule, *Life* announced it would be reporting a three part special series on the history of China. On September 16, 1966, a week before its publication, *Life* previewed the series:

> As political convulsions shake Communist China today, LIFE begins a three-part series to illuminate what is going on there. Using rare pictures, the series documents the massive events of the past 100 years, which broke up an ancient empire and brought Communist rule to the largest nation on earth – a nation imprisoned by its own history. (37)

To bring to the U.S. reader what was happening in China, *Life* asked prominent China historian, John Fairbank, to write about China's history. The three essays – Behind Mao's violent rule: The 100 violent years (Part I), Revolution and the Warlords (Part II), and, Mao takes over: Today's Red Guards (Part III)[24], were presented with a series of photographs, the photo-essay, which described visually and narratively these historical events.

The photographs used to re/present the past 100 years were taken from a series of sources. In the table of contents for Part 1, the editor noted that *Life* "undertook a worldwide search for photographs which unearthed many rare pictures. Some of them have never been published" (September 23, 1966, p. 5). Photographic credits listed under the table of contents range from private personal collections like the Baroness Giovannella Grenier Collection to the Board of Missions of the United Methodist Church. "Used to make a substitute world" (Sontag, 1977, p. 162), significantly, these photographs, now published in *Life* were **collected** from a variety of sources, and pieced together, **curated**, to re/present the past 100 years of China.

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[24] I was unable to locate this final section "Today's Red Guards." Even Google's *Life* database does not have this article. It has the issue that the article was in, but the pages have been removed.

The images in the special series were selected by the editor to give the reader an experience and to learn about Chinese history. This experience focused on what life was like in China, *for the Westerner*, as the narrative and images of Westerners the photo-essay illustrate. In addition, the search for photographs to help cover this story was launched worldwide, but the selections used for the photo-essay came from Westerners (September 23, 1966, p. 5). Considering the average thumber, a quick glance at the page headings (even without looking at the images) draws the reader into the experience of the Westerner:

- Lulled by centuries of tradition, China believed itself impervious to change
- On Eve of Trouble – Remote, Self-Centered
- The opening wedge – wars for opium and privilege
- Boxer Uprising: inside the besieged legations
- An allied expedition to the rescue
- Armies from afar, a dynasty disgraced

These headings work to summarize the narrative. For example, in the narrative associated with the heading “The opening wedge – wars for opium and privilege,” the editor explained that China’s “association with the West in the 19th century consisted mainly of being shot at and humbled” (p. 65). The “wars for opium and privilege” as presented in *Life* drew the readers’ attention to the stubbornness of the Chinese to surrender, and the impact the war had on the acquisition of treaty ports by the British. The experiences of the Chinese are suppressed, and the viewpoint of the West is dominant.

The headings work in a similar way to frame the images. In Figure 24, the heading “Boxer Uprising: inside the besieged legions,” captures the experience of foreigners in China. The largest image captures a group of Western missionaries, a commonly assumed primary target of the Boxers[25]. However the focus on the missionaries also foregrounds Luce’s own experience growing up the son of missionaries. The caption anchoring this image indicates the role that missionaries have had on Chinese scholarship in the United States:

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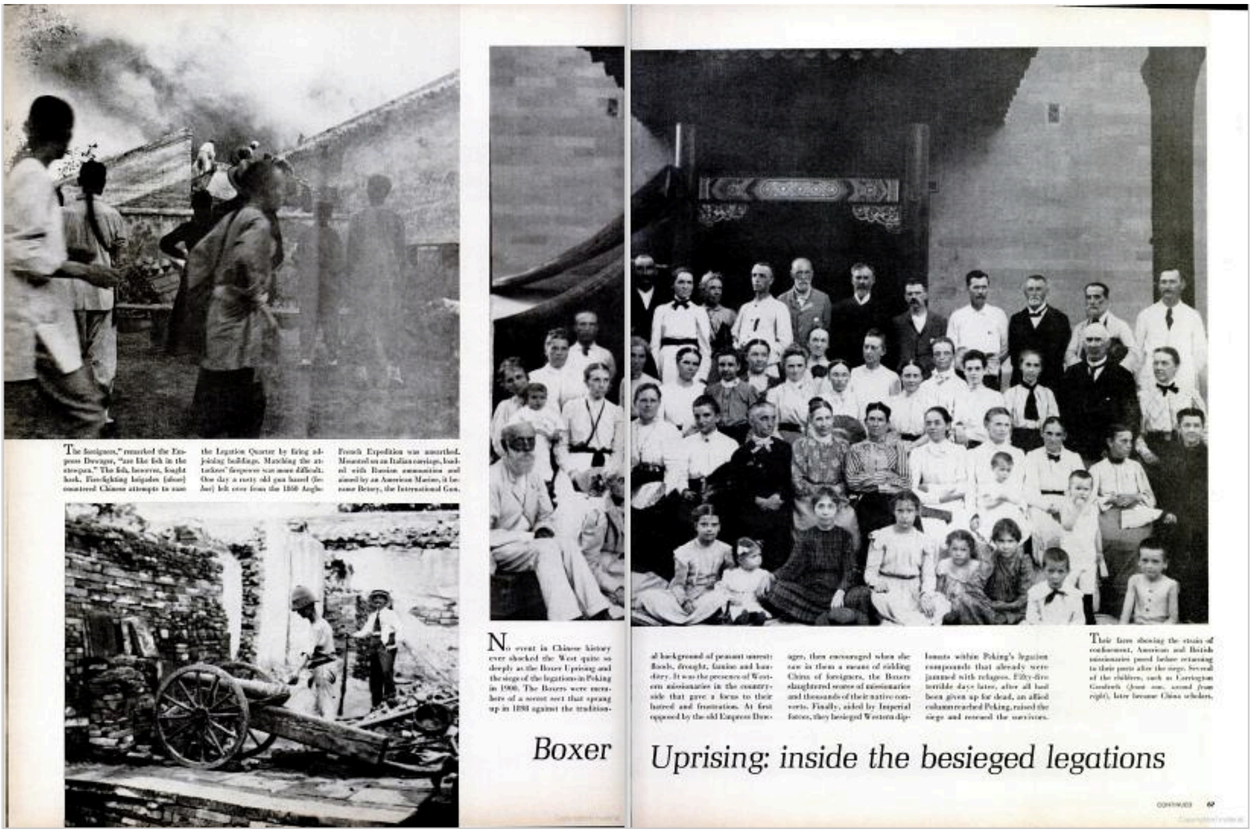
[25] The Boxers were demanding an end to the special privileges awarded to Chinese Christian converts. Their attacks soon included Western missionaries, who fell into the category of

> Their faces showing the strain of confinement, American and British missionaries posed before returning to their posts after the siege. Several of the children, such as Carrington Goodrich (front row, second from right) later became China scholars. (67)



Boxer Uprising: inside the besieged legations

Figure 24 – Boxer Uprising: inside the besieged legations (*Life*, September 23, 1966, pp. 66-67)

Working with the heading, the missionaries sit with exhausted expressions. Their exhaustion comes from confinement, not fighting the battles. This photograph in particular shows a group, a family of missionaries. The idea of family would have resonated would the readers of *Life*, and

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"anything foreign." When the Boxer's advanced to Beijing, the Empress Dowager allied with the Boxers so as not to lose their loyalty (Spence, 1990, pp. 231-233).

thus its dominance of this section is notable. In addition, it articulates an imperialist lens by categorizing the experiences the Boxer Rebellion and the impact it had on Westerners, specifically American and British missionaries, over the Chinese experiences. It is also draws out an American orientalist lens whereby the West comes to see the Chinese as a project for civilizing through Christian conversion.

The caption positioned between the smaller photographs in figure 23 sets up the heading on the following page – An allied expedition to the rescue:

> “The foreigners,” remarked Empress Dowager, “are like fish in the stewpan.” The fish, however, fought back. Fire-fighting brigades (above) countered Chinese attempts to raze the Legation Quarter by firing adjoining buildings. Matching the attackers’ firepower was more difficult. One day, a rusty old gun barrel (below) left over from the 1860 Anglo-French Expedition[26] was unearthed. Mounted on an Italian carriage, loaded with Russian ammunition and aimed by an American Marine, it became Betsey, the International Gun. (66).

What is at work in these photographs, and the ones on the following pages, is *Life*’s attempt at explaining history – the history of China that has led to “the turmoil of Mao’s Red Rule” (p. 61). Thus, history in the making for *Life* is also a pedagogical practice in constructing (making) history for its readership.

As history is being made in the eyes of the Westerner, the images in *Life* help the viewer relate to those historical experiences. Figure 25 is a photograph of a scene from the 1900 Boxer Rebellion. It captures two Chinese men killed during the “rescue” mission, which was made up of six countries[27]. This image shows death and destruction. As a documentary photograph, it reveals “a hidden reality, that is, a reality hidden from [the photographer]” (Sontag, 1977, p. 55). The reality, however, is also suppressed from the audience. Drawing on the familiar, the connection between the photograph and the assumed Western/American thumber, or subscriber, is the American flag, described in the caption as "Old Glory floated above Japanese infantrymen at the gate of Tientsin" (*Life*, 1966, p. 68).

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[26] The second Opium War, 1856-1860.

[27] Great Britain, United States, Germany, Japan, Italy, and Austria.

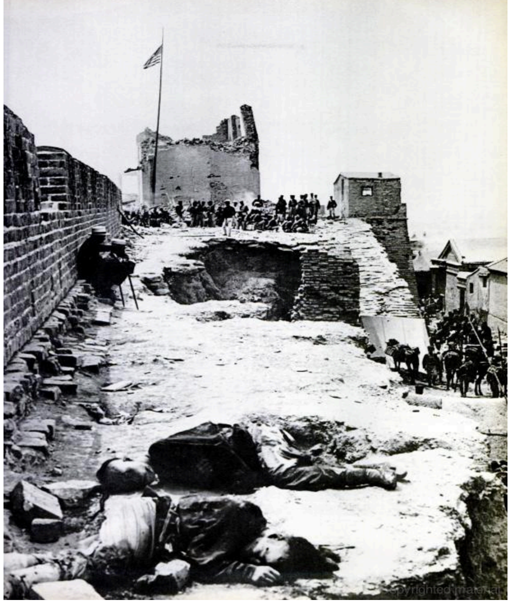


Figure 25 – "Old Glory" (*Life*, September 23, 1966, p. 69)

The dead Chinese men in Figure 25 are in the foreground but not acknowledged in the caption – they are there to gaze at, but not relate to, just as the photographer gazes "on other people's reality with curiosity, with detachment, with professionalism" (Sontag, 1977, p. 55). The camera angle makes this point. From the vantage point of the photographer, positioned slightly above the dead Chinese men, the lighting seems to draw the eye along the incline and fix on flag. In the context of the photo-essay, this image was the largest on the page, and yet the bodies of the dead Chinese were not acknowledged in the caption. While the photograph brings the viewer into presence with death, looking up at the flag is the reminder of America's history. That relationship to history is positioned by the angles and framing of the photograph.

Turning the page, there is another image of death. The caption explains a scene from battle:

> In the gloom of the great Ch’ien Men gate on the Peking wall lay the flag-draped body of Capt. Henry Joseph Reily, U.S. Army, surrounded by the men of his battery. While directing fire in support of a futile, bloody American attack on the Forbidden City, he was killed by Imperial troops the day after the allies entered Peking to lift the Boxer siege.

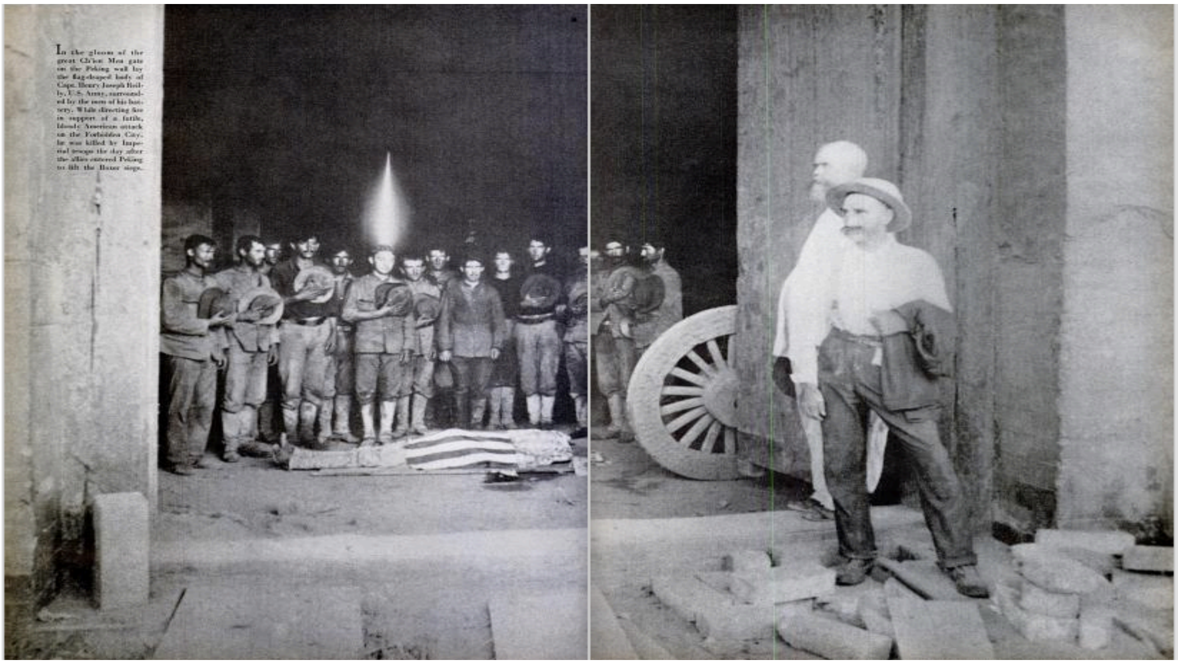


Figure 26 – Flag draped over fallen soldier (*Life*, September 23, 1966, pp. 70-71)

In Figure 26, there is another reminder of death, in both the caption and the image itself. Death in this image however, is linked with honor and sacrifice of a fallen United States soldier, with the American flag emphasizing this honor and sacrifice. The camera angle puts the viewer at eye level, almost to allow participation in the mourning of the fallen soldier. There is something very significant in terms of how the viewer is may be directed to relate to in these two images. Through the practices of looking, when a viewer looks down on something, like on the Chinese in figure 24, it gives the viewer a sort of power over what is looked down upon. In addition, when the viewer looks up at something, like up at the flag in figure 24, the ways of seeing in the sense suggest a reverence, positioning the viewer in some way inferior to the object it looks up to

(Rose, 2012, p. 66). Both images also capture a scene of death, yet death is only acknowledged for the fallen soldier in Figure 26, the flag here signifying his sacrifice.

That images can work both to detach from and connect the viewer to what is photographed is a very important aspect to viewing *Life* images. The viewer only sees a fragment of what the photographer sees. The photographer is always present if only “to carry his camera and react quickly when the moment comes” (Rose, 2012, p. 26). However, the photographer is perceived absent from images, because s/he is rarely, if ever, seen. *Life*’s images work to remove that presence, but in so doing establishes the viewer as “distant and somewhat superior to what the image shows us” (p. 26) and, most significantly, positions the viewer “from the same hidden vantage point” as the photographer. Thus, positioning the viewer to gaze upon/over the subject, to become the spectator, is a tool specifically employed by *Life* magazine (Morgan, 2001, p. 140). As pointed out in the theoretical framework, the orientalist observes the Orient in order to “Orientalize” it (Said, 1978, p. 5). The photographs, which were captured through an orientalist gaze, allow the viewer to take part in this power structure.

Several months after *Life*’s special series, *Life* aimed to document a fracture within the Chinese government, and communism itself. Keeping with the typical formatting formula, Figure 27 introduced the photo-essay which consists of 12 images. It is referenced twice in the 12-image photo essay preceding the article, “History’s logic weighs against Maoism.” The caption anchoring the image reads

> Scrawled out on old copies of *The People’s Daily* and spread out in a village in Canton, a Red Guard *tatzebao* (big character paper) attacks local officials for anti-Mao behavior – and reflects a power struggle sweeping Red China. (27).

A subsequent reference to the image describes, “In the south China city of Canton, worried citizens mingled with Red Guards and gathered around the tatzebao to see who was marked for purge” (p. 29).

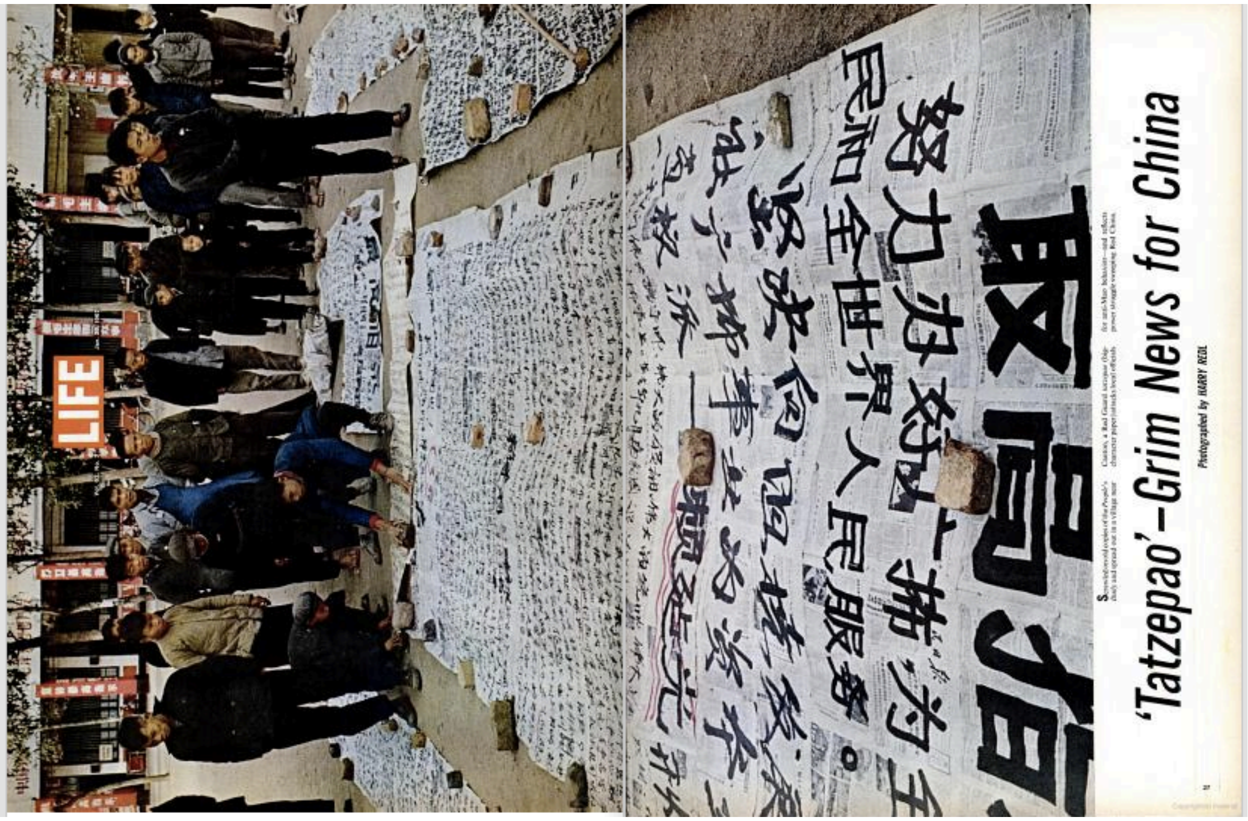
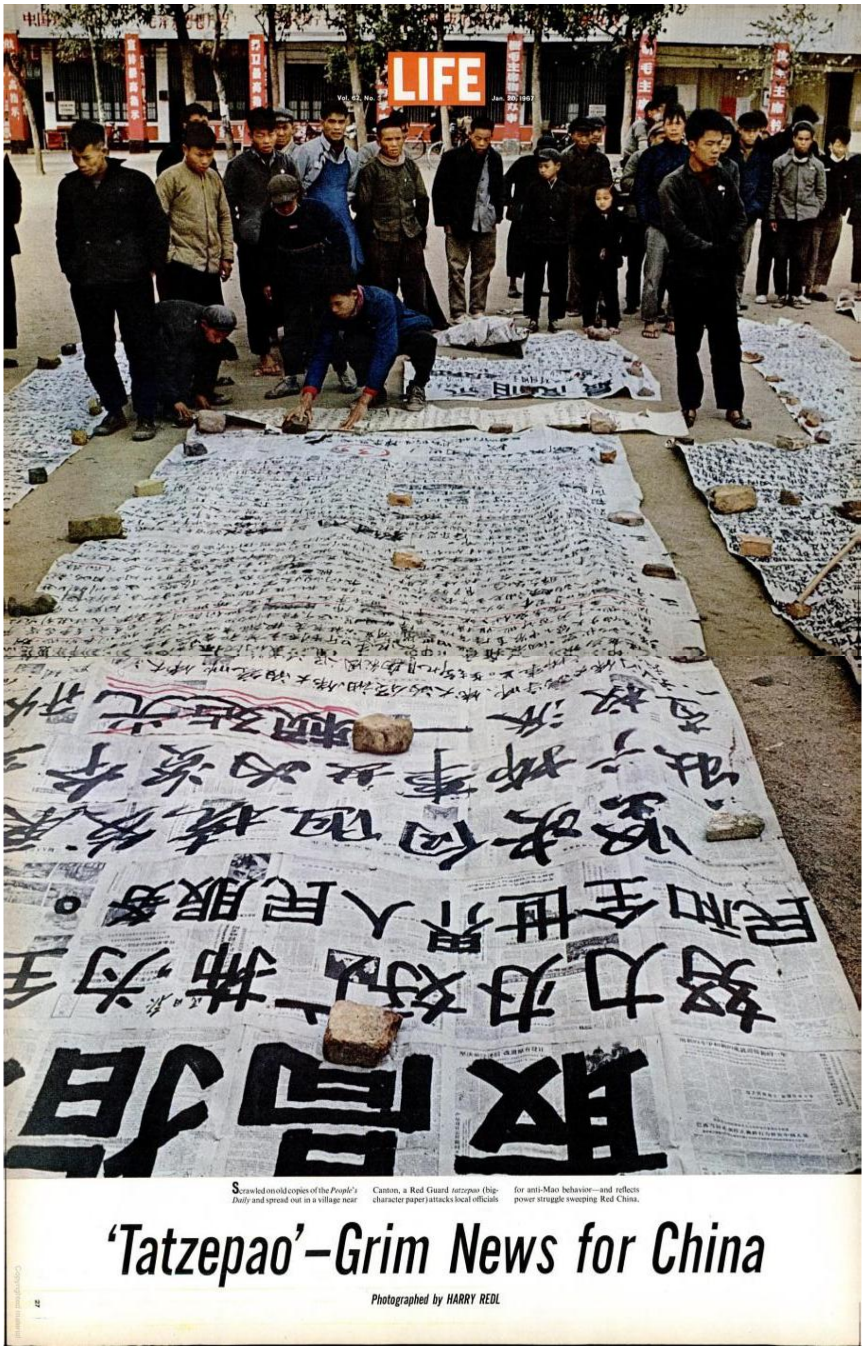


Figure 27 – Grim news for China (*Life*, January 20, 1967, pp. 26-27)

Figure 27 is an attempt at capturing the reality of the Cultural Revolution, “to participate in the reality of the object depicted” (Sontag, 1977, p. 155). What *Life* employed in the reproduction of this image is the physical and emotional dimension of “Big Character Posters.” The image is quite large, taking up the entire two-page spread, about 21” x 13.5” (W x H). To get the full effect of the image, one must turn the magazine 90° clockwise (Figure 28). It looks and feels like a cover photo, with its size, as well as the famous *Life* logo bookended with the volume, number and date, atop this large photograph.



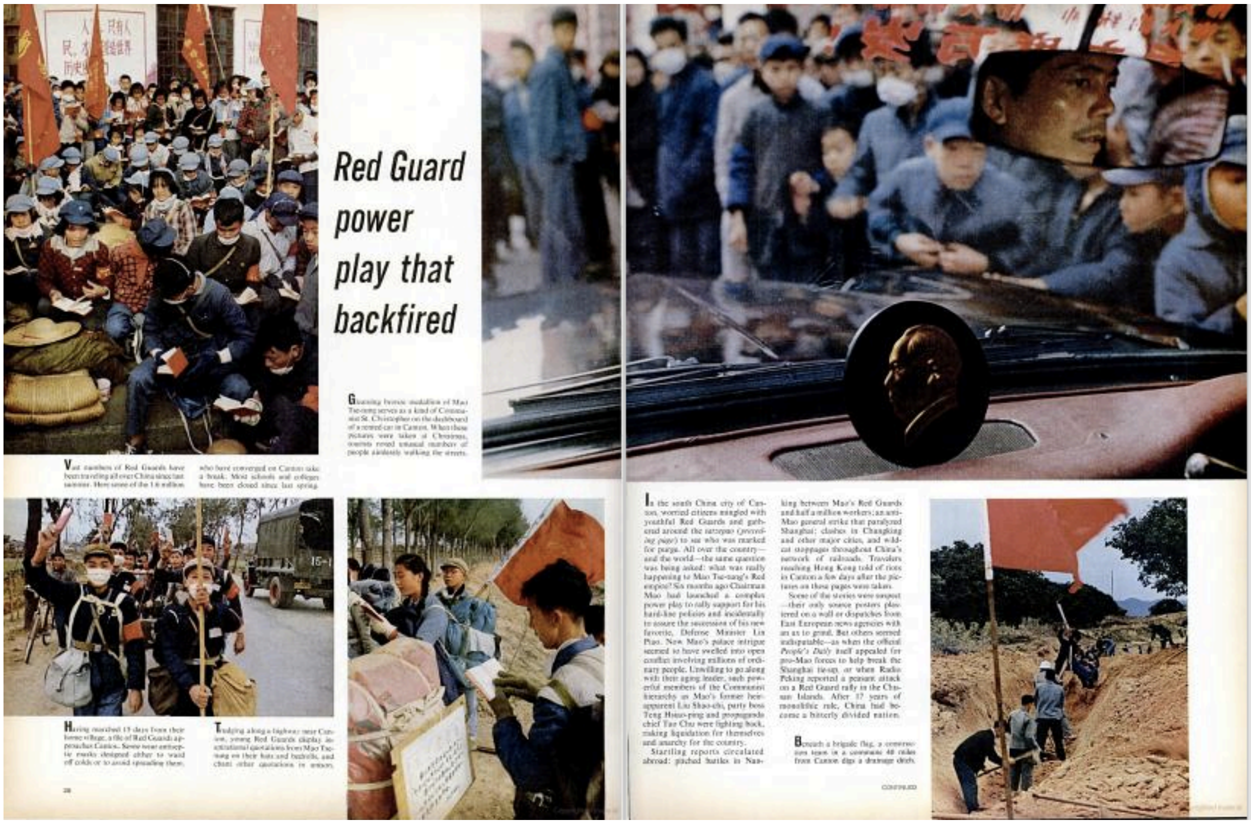
Scrawled on old copies of the *People's Daily* and spread out in a village near Canton, a Red Guard *tatzepao* (big-character paper) attacks local officials for anti-Mao behavior—and reflects power struggle sweeping Red China.

'Tatzepao'–Grim News for China

Photographed by HARRY REDL

Figure 28 – Grim news for China, 90° clockwise (*Life*, January 20, 1967, pp. 26-27)

While the image allows the viewer to "participate in the reality of the object," the viewer is not participating in the history that is being captured on film. Rather, she is watching it, as a spectator. In a similar practice as the flag in Figure 25 discussed previously, the camera angle hovers above both the posters, and the group of Chinese looking at the posters.



Red Guard power play that backfired

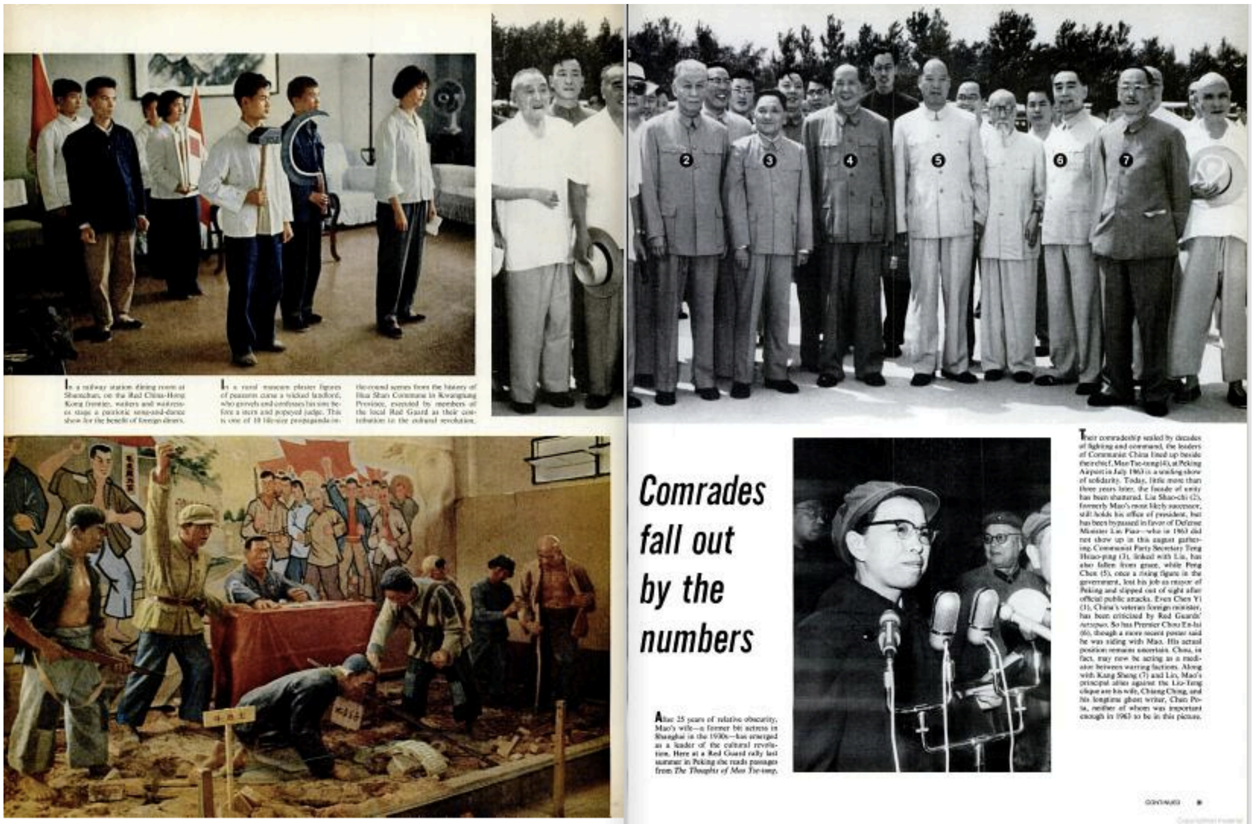
Figure 29 – "Red Guard Power Play" (*Life*, January 20, 1967, pp. 28-29)

The ten images (Figures 28-30) together play on language that situates a China-in-turmoil at the hands of the Red Guards – "Vast numbers of Red Guards," "A file of Red Guards approaches." The reporting-style of images like this push the reader into thinking about real life China, again viewed from the lens of the Western spectator. However, the images themselves freeze these moments and events (Sontag, 1977, p. 81). There are elements of the essay following this photo-essay that work alongside the images (Figure 30). China studies scholar A. Doak Barnett focused his essay on explaining the events of the Cultural Revolution, which he described as

> An escalation of [Mao's] long effort to restore a sense of revolutionary momentum in China. It has attacked any and every influence – domestic as well as foreign – that

> does not reinforce Mao's romantic vision of what a true revolution was and should be. (32)

Barnett further explained the tensions among top leaders in the communist party, reinforcing the photo-essay's description that "the façade of unity has been shattered" (p. 31). Barnett expressed a tension between supporters of Maoism and those who were tending toward a more adaptive (less revolutionary) approach to governing China. This was largely absent from the photo-essay, which focused on the Red Guards and their push of Mao Zedong Thought.



In a railway station dining room at Shumchun, on the Red China-Hong Kong frontier, waiters and waitresses stage a patriotic song-and-dance show for the benefit of foreign diners.

In a rural museum plaster figures of peasants curse a wicked landlord, who grovels and confesses his sins before a stern and popeyed judge. This is one of 18 life-size propaganda-in-the-round scenes from the history of Hua Shan Commune in Kwangtung Province, executed by members of the local Red Guard as their contribution to the cultural revolution.

Comrades fall out by the numbers

After 25 years of relative obscurity, Mao's wife—a former bit actress in Shanghai in the 1930s—has emerged as a leader of the cultural revolution. Here at a Red Guard rally last summer in Peking she reads passages from *The Thoughts of Mao Tse-tung*.

Their comradeship sealed by decades of fighting and command, the leaders of Communist China lined up beside their chief, Mao Tse-tung (4), at Peking Airport in July 1963 in a smiling show of solidarity. Today, little more than three years later, the facade of unity has been shattered. Liu Shao-chi (2), formerly Mao's most likely successor, still holds his office of president, but has been bypassed in favor of Defense Minister Lin Piao—who in 1963 did not show up in this august gathering. Communist Party Secretary Teng Hsiao-ping (3), linked with Liu, has also fallen from grace, while Peng Chen (5), once a rising figure in the government, lost his job as mayor of Peking and slipped out of sight after official public attacks. Even Chen Yi (1), China's veteran foreign minister, has been criticized by Red Guards' *tatzepao*. So has Premier Chou En-lai (6), though a more recent poster said he was siding with Mao. His actual position remains uncertain. Chou, in fact, may now be acting as a mediator between warring factions. Along with Kang Sheng (7) and Lin, Mao's principal allies against the Liu-Teng clique are his wife, Chiang Ching, and his longtime ghost writer, Chen Po-ta, neither of whom was important enough in 1963 to be in this picture.

CONTINUED

Figure 30 – "Comrades fall out by the numbers" (*Life*, January 20, 1967, pp. 30-31)

Life used images to frame, or build a historical narrative about China. Thus capturing history in the making, as was often the intention of photojournalism, also worked to make history through a lens that would be accessible to the casual and dedicated reader of *Life* magazine.

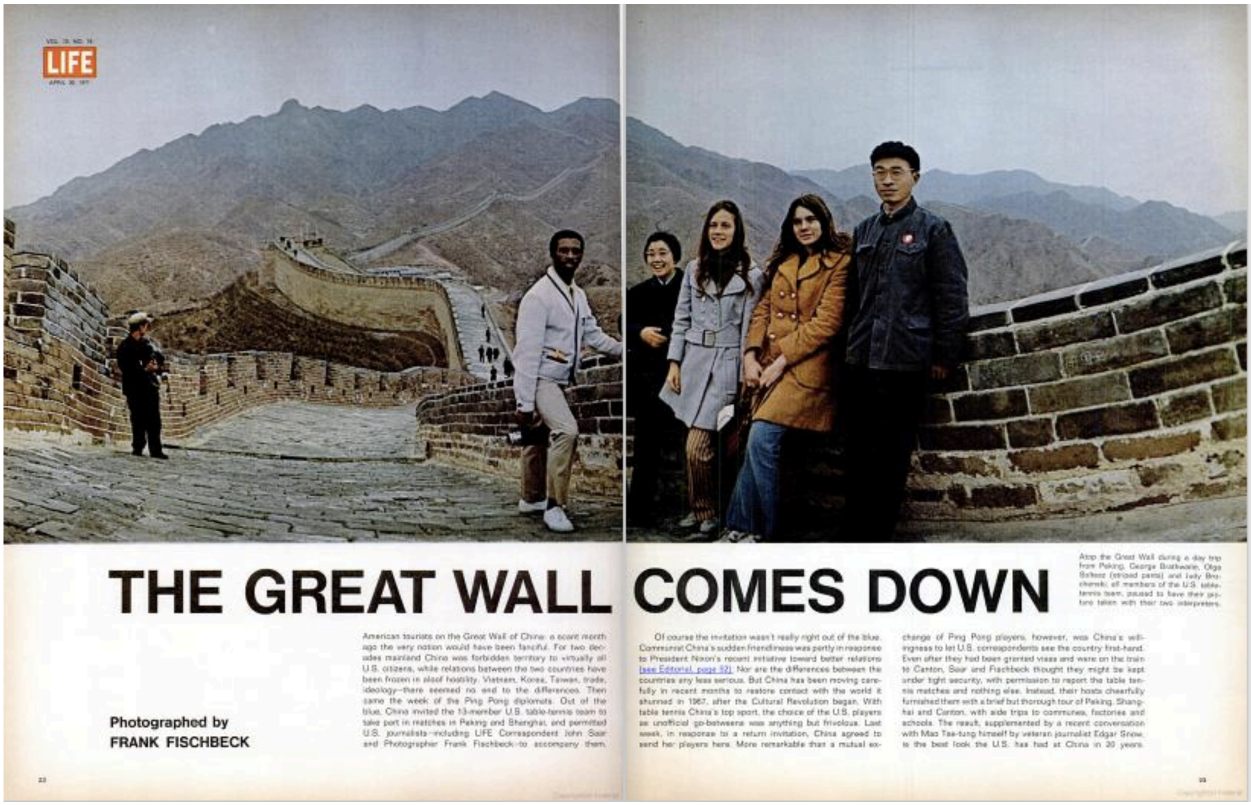
Summary of Life Magazine

The editors of *Life* assumed that photographs carried a somewhat singular, simplistic, and didactic message (Doss, 2001, p. 11). Using the photo-essays to carry out this message was *Life*'s primary pedagogical practice. Images are never singular or simplistic, but the intentional positioning and framing did indeed propose a didactic message. *Life*'s re/presentation of China was particularly harsh, even for the period marked by communist fear and "Red Scare" in the United States. This is not surprising though, given its founder and editor Henry Luce's hope that China would embrace the American way by adopting Christianity and democracy (Jespersen, 1996, p. xx). Luce believed strongly in a United States mission to "save" China, and his attacks on "Chinese Reds" intentionally reflected is beliefs. This is significant to *Life* as a source of cultural pedagogy, primarily in that it employed viewing norms – newspapers and photo weeklies – to extend Luce's worldview. Thus, to act pedagogically, *Life* used images in their stories, and images in their advertising to direct readers on what to believe and what to buy.

The images of later issues in the final years of the *Life* as a weekly publication, worked to present China as more open, and willing to work with the West (Figure 31). The April 30, 1971 issue begins with a short editorial indicating President Nixon's desire and hopes to travel to China. Quoting Nixon as saying he wanted to go to China before he died, the writer explained that Nixon's

> Message was sent to the mainland in every conceivable manner, including that delicate and deliberate gambit of using the phrase "the People's Republic of China" rather than "Red China." Nixon himself penned that into a toast to Romania's President Nicholae Ceausescu. American journalists missed the significance of it. Nixon's men made certain the Romanians did not. They pointed it out to Ceausescu, knowing the word would go quickly to China. (4)

Though this account seems somewhat fictionalized, it gets to a slight shift in thinking about China, and the potential political future between China and the United States. However, thinking still gave a sense that the viewer should see China from a superior position (Rose, 2012, p. 26). The continued use of image and narrative to exercise power of the West over China is evident in this account as well. As a source of cultural pedagogy, to think about China meant to think about China on *Life*'s terms. This is its pedagogical power.



THE GREAT WALL COMES DOWN

Atop the Great Wall during a day trip from Peking, George Braithwaite, Olga Soltesz (striped pants) and Judy Bochenski, all members of the U.S. table-tennis team, paused to have their picture taken with their two interpreters.

Photographed by
FRANK FISCHBECK

American tourists on the Great Wall of China: a scant month ago the very notion would have been fanciful. For two decades mainland China was forbidden territory to virtually all U.S. citizens, while relations between the two countries have been frozen in aloof hostility. Vietnam, Korea, Taiwan, trade, ideology—there seemed no end to the differences. Then came the week of the Ping Pong diplomats. Out of the blue, China invited the 13-member U.S. table-tennis team to take part in matches in Peking and Shanghai, and permitted U.S. journalists—including LIFE Correspondent John Saar and Photographer Frank Fischbeck—to accompany them.

Of course the invitation wasn't really right out of the blue. Communist China's sudden friendliness was partly in response to President Nixon's recent initiative toward better relations (see Editorial, page 92). Nor are the differences between the countries any less serious. But China has been moving carefully in recent months to restore contact with the world it shunned in 1967, after the Cultural Revolution began. With table tennis China's top sport, the choice of the U.S. players as unofficial go-betweens was anything but frivolous. Last week, in response to a return invitation, China agreed to send her players here. More remarkable than a mutual exchange of Ping Pong players, however, was China's willingness to let U.S. correspondents see the country first-hand. Even after they had been granted visas and were on the train to Canton, Saar and Fischbeck thought they might be kept under tight security, with permission to report the table tennis matches and nothing else. Instead, their hosts cheerfully furnished them with a brief but thorough tour of Peking, Shanghai and Canton, with side trips to communes, factories and schools. The result, supplemented by a recent conversation with Mao Tse-tung himself by veteran journalist Edgar Snow, is the best look the U.S. has had at China in 20 years.

Figure 31 – "The Great Wall Comes Down" (*Life*, April 30, 1971, pp. 22-23)

As relations between the United States and China "thawed," China-coverage dealt more with the developing relationship between the United States and China, than with the Red Guards and Cultural Revolution that dominated *Life*'s coverage of China in the last three years of the 60s. However, these types of images play a significant part in the teaching of China's Cultural Revolution, which is a content staple in social studies classrooms today. Though presented in a much different way than *National Geographic* and *Life*, *Social Education*, the practitioner journal for the National Council of the Social Studies, included articles about China within the context of education. This is the focus of the next section.

Social Education

> The kinds of education we gain from the study of other peoples are largely determined by the questions which we ask and the facts which we seek. It should be a warning clue that in our culture, we often go abroad on "fact-finding missions" and, what luck, the facts almost invariably support the assumptions and hopes of the mission-maker! (Fersh, 1969, p. 782)

Social Education is the flagship journal for the National Council of the Social Studies (NCSS). It is aimed at a much smaller audience, unlike the millions of readers/subscribers of *National Geographic* and *Life* magazines. In 1964, the circulation of *Social Education* was only about 14,000 (*Social Education*, February 1964, p. 92). As the leading practitioner journal for NCSS, today *Social Education* reaches more than 20,000 teachers and teacher educators six times a year (personal communication with NCSS publications, March 4, 2014). Until the early 1990s, individuals were able to purchase a subscription without membership to the National Council for the Social Studies. After that, *Social Education* turned inward, so-to-speak, offering the journal to individuals as a membership option to the National Council of the Social Studies. The current membership rates for NCSS range from $142 for a two-year comprehensive membership to $40/year for students, beginning teachers, and retired persons. Members have the option of *Social Education* or *Social Studies and the Young Learner* through their membership to NCSS. Stand-alone subscriptions are available to schools, colleges, libraries, and non-profit organizations. Single copies of journals are available to member for $7.00 and non-members for $7.95. Single articles are available in PDF to nonmembers for $9.95.

As a source of media culture, *Social Education* has responded and continues to respond to current themes and concerns through educational platforms articulating necessity, timeliness, and concern over specific topics being included in (or suggested for) classroom instruction. Evans (2004) described the connection of *Social Education* with the developing trends of the social studies from the late 1960s to the early 1980s as adrift and lacking conceptual focus, and "had become something of a potpourri, a journal dominated by special issues with a focus on what seemed to at least one observer as 'one damn thing after another'" (p. 153). Evans links *Social Education* with trends in the field, which in the 1960s had shifted from the new social studies movement to newer social studies, replacing the "Little League social scientist" with the social activist (p. 135). Additionally, "topical interest evolved, including a focus on urbanization, environmentalism, population, futurism, women's studies, and area studies, especially concerning Africa and Asia." As mentioned in the literature review, area studies programs and global education developed during the years after World War II, and the interest in understanding the world outside of the United States was clearly reflected in the articles/special issues that were published in *Social Education*, regardless of its perceived lack of conceptual focus. Given the context of developing area and global studies in the United States, *Social Education* would have been in a good position to use its journal to extend the needs and interests of these developing world studies.

Evans (2004) looked briefly, yet more generally at *Social Education*, noting that during 1960s the journal's issues began to emphasize "newer methods and techniques, including simulation and values clarification" (p. 135), and these new methods worked concurrently with topical foci. However, it was not until the 1980s that dedicated consideration was given to teaching about China – how to teach China, what to teach about China, and why. Until then, the journal seemed to “leave it up to the teacher” to decide what to do with the material that was published about China. Most of the articles dealing with the topic of China focused on trying *to understand* or make sense of China’s history, culture, and contemporary politics, rather than suggesting methods for teaching about China. One can assume that there was a subtext of teaching, despite a direct explanation for teaching the material that was presented in these articles. How was China brought into view pedagogically in *Social Education*?

China, pedagogically

Until 1970, *Social Education* was published collaboratively with the American Historical Association, and at least until 1986, historians or asianists wrote most of the articles related specifically to China-as-a-topic. The lack of direct methods for teaching about China might be attributed to this. What was present in these early articles with a China-topic was that they presented China for understanding, yet not fully engaging with China as a topic for teaching and learning in school. What is significant about this pedagogical approach is that it left China to its readership. In other words, *Social Education* and the articles published in the journal distanced themselves from China, leaving it up to the reader to work with the material.

For example, when Theodore H.E. Chen, then director of the Soviet-Asian Studies Center at the University of Southern California, gave the keynote address at the 43rd annual meeting of the National Council of the Social Studies, he laid out the possible paths the People’s Republic of China had before it. Reproduced in print for the March 1964 issue of *Social Education*, Chen’s “Whither Communist China?” was an assessment of China’s future, which rested “on whether ideological doctrines or a realistic appraisal of actual conditions will determine Communist policy” (p. 130). Chen made one explicit reference to Chinese education, noting that

> A slight relaxation of control may continue; more incentives for individual effort in the form of immediately attainable material reward may be provided, and the economy may turn for the better as a result of more flexibility and tolerance of limited forms of private enterprise and free trading; the educators and scholars may have a better chance to do a better educational job with less political domination. (130)

Chen is not addressing how scholars and teachers should address the topic of China in the United States. Rather, he is referring to scholars and educators *in China.* Chen's keynote address was concerned more with China's tomorrow and the possible dissolution, or at the very least relaxation of Communism. That there were implications for these possibilities to the United States, and education in the United States, remains an assumption, but these implications were not presented outright.

Another example of an early *Social Education* article working to understand China (or re/present China for understanding), was Yu-kuang Chu's (1969) "The warps and woofs of Chinese civilization." This article examined policies and events that shaped China. In his attempt at objectivity by not placing an explicit value of these policies and events[28], Chu analogously described them as *warps* – enduring trends that continue to the present day – and *woofs* – forces of major historical periods that reshape and affect trends, thus forming new patterns (p. 805). Chu's use of weaving terms was meant to illustrate the developing process of Chinese civilization.

Chu stated explicitly that he preferred to compare the development of Chinese civilization to weaving (Figure 32) in order to avoid the polarization of viewpoints that "have emerged to explain the trend of events taking place on Mainland China" (p. 804). These trends represent two sides. The first views

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[28] He did, however, place judgments, which I coded as "critiques, judgments, or admonitions." For example, "Lest the present writer appear to be a Marxist who claims that economic foundations determine the superstructure of society, we shall take an ideological "warp" and show how it has dominated objective reality" (p. 806).

> The policies of the Communist regime as a complete break from the past and regards Communism as totally alien to Chinese culture. The longer the Communist regime lasts, the more un-Chinese China will become. Hence, Chinese culture will have to be "saved" in Taiwan, among Chinese communities overseas, and by sinologists all over the world at least so far as knowledge of Chinese civilization is concerned. (804)

The second view sees "the emergence of Communist China as a natural outgrowth of Chinese forces, [and] while it needed outside stimulation at the start, no external forces could prevent Communism from achieving victory" (pp. 804-805). By presenting the development of Chinese civilization as a system of interwoven warps and woofs, Chu was trying to disrupt the divisions that were present in the scholarship about China[29]. He noted that though the divisions are not in the "cleancut fashion as indicated [by the two views], but their leanings are often easy to see" (p. 805).

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[29] Interestingly, this is not the only re/presentation of understanding China through dualisms, or other categories used to understand China. For example, Lynn Paine's (1986) article "In search of a metaphor to understand China's changes" described China as a tapestry, stating "how the tapestry looks depends in part on our perspective – what threads we focus on, and we stand to see the shapes and colors" (p. 106). The three perspectives she outlines are 1) Linear development: Modernization theory, 2) Cyclical approaches: Recurring threads, and 3) Dialectical perspective: Waves of change. In a 2010 *Social Education*, former NPR correspondent, Rob Gifford described two kinds of China watchers – Panda huggers and Dragon slayer (p. 9).

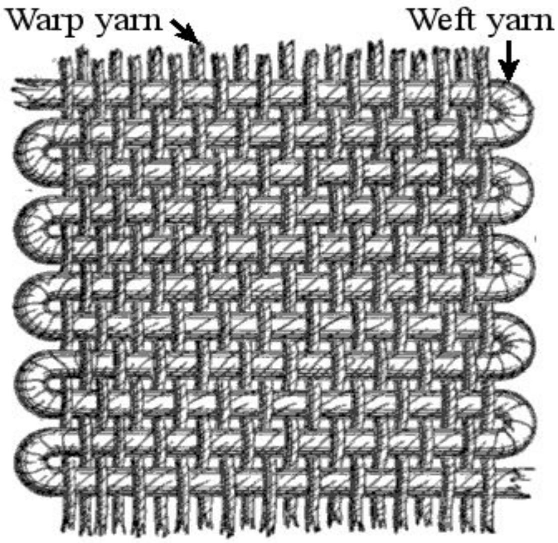

Figure 32 – Warp and woof (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Warp_and_weft.jpg)

Throughout Chu's analysis, he seemed to be making an effort to challenge "simplistic" understandings of China, noting quite explicitly that China's history and politics are connected. In other words, China's history should be understood as a developing process, and not static. He stated,

> The important point is to see contemporary events in mainland China as the interweaving of "warps" and "woofs." This analogy has the accidental characteristic in that in Chinese weaving it is the warps that predominate (more warps than woofs per square inch of woven material), while in Western weaving the reverse is true. It is left to the imagination of the reader to draw any implication, if any, from this curious fact. (805)

There seems to be circumspection in Chu's description, in that he attempts to disengage with the "curious fact" of how trends and modernization work differently in the West and China. One is left wondering if Chu is suggesting that there has been more movement, and more shaping (modernizing?) in the Western world and that the "enduring trends" (carried over from the Ancient) are more prominent in China.

The final warp in his analysis, however, stood out not only because of its comparison to cooking in the United States, but also because it was an outlier to the rest of the article. It did not flow. It was, in a sense, a type of punctum (Barthes, 1980) of the written narrative in the same way a particular element or detail stands out in a photograph. It revealed his Orientalist vision, a vision common "of all who have thought about the Orient in the West" (Said, 1978, p. 69).

> Because Chinese civilization is essentially mundane, it seems appropriate to take the practical art of cooking as a last example of the interweaving of "warps" and "woofs." What makes Chinese cooking Chinese is not the use of Chinese ingredients; it lies in the method of cooking. The method is based upon two fundamental principles: blending of flavors and a sense of timing. One cuts meat and vegetables, cooks them separately for they require different cooking time and must not be overcooked, and then assembles and mixes them into a dish with a little sauce. The fine art of cooking consists of making interesting and pleasing combination of flavors, aromas, colors, textures, shapes, temperatures, etc. in a single dish as well as in a sequence of dishes. Allowing for some exaggeration, one could contrast this with Western methods of cooking, which tend to keep things separate. One eats a steak for protein, potato or bread for carbohydrate, butter for fat, salad for fiber, drinks coffee for liquid, and finally takes a pill for multivitamins! A balanced Western meal reflects an analytical and scientific mind and represents a different method of cooking. (811)

Chu was describing the method of cooking as a warp, but the ingredients (Western) as woofs. He argued this by stating that a "Chinese housewife can cook a Chinese meal using only ingredients available in any supermarket in this country" (p. 811). His only example of Chinese cooking was Chop Suey. Chu acknowledged that Chop Suey was a Western invention. However, he insisted in its Chineseness because the methods used make it are Chinese, but "it is undoubtedly the worst example of Chinese cooking, since it is mass produced and always overcooked" (p. 811).

Chu did recognize the complexity of China's history, and thus the problematic of re/presenting a static China. He made this clear by concluding,

> We wish to point out that the usefulness of the analogy of weaving lies in the fact that we can see Chinese civilization as a developing process. We are less likely to freeze it around 1850, put it in a museum as an exotic masterpiece, and regret its passing under modern conditions. (811)

However, his essay used comparisons to the West in order to explain China to the presumed Western/U.S. reader. He also presents warps and woofs distinctively, only connected through the weaving metaphor (Table 3). That is, they touch, sometimes overlap, but they are not explained as a process of development, unless they have been influenced by the West – "In modern times the wave of Western influences, including nationalism and Communism, similarly represented new "woofs" interwove with Chinese "warps." The resulting new pattern is not yet clear but it is sure to be different from the old as well as from that of the West" (p. 807). Most significantly, Chu re/presents China as a closed system (Said, 1978, p. 70), despite providing interconnections depicted through Chu's weaving metaphor. Though he aimed to avoid the polarization that he believed was prominent in scholarship about China, he presented a divided method for understanding China, rather than illustrate China's developmental process[30].

WARPS	**WOOFS**
Intensive farming	Rural reorganization Industrialization
Unified rule – "Regarded as the norm and any division or foreign domination as abnormal and temporary" (p. 807)[31]	
"Cultural unity as a basis for political unity" (p. 807)	Communism, especially as reframed by Mao
Dynastic – "Government by an educated elite"	Maoist Communists as the "new elite"

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[30] Which, is a process defined here by the West. See Blaut (1993), Chapter 2 and 3.

[31] Chu went on to explain that the "warp" of unified rule was a main reason the idea of a "two-China" was rejected by the PRC and RC. He stated, "Though very popular among China specialists in the United States, [the two-China theory] is most emphatically rejected by both Communist and Nationalist China. It is one of the very few points on which they agree. How can the "two China" theory be put into effect if the Chinese themselves universally refuse to accept it? Not that they are blind to the present fact of division but that they regard it as abnormal and undesirable and hence they should not take any step tending to perpetuate the division. Deep down in the heart of every Chinese is the hope and faith that China will sooner or later somehow be reunited" (p. 807).

Point of view (Confucian) – moral	Point of view (Maoist) – the woof here is to emphasize that society is still placed over the individual yet a power content has been substituted creating “totalitarianism and intolerance” (p. 808)
Language	Communist-created terms and jargon “sometimes incomprehensible to Chinese living outside of mainland China” (p. 811).
Method of cooking	Ingredients (incorporating Western ingredients)

Table 3 - Warps and Woofs

Situated within the context of the United States and China’s (re)building of diplomatic relations, *Social Education* responded in 1973 with a special issue on “Contemporary writings from the People’s Republic of China.” Published nearly one year after President Nixon’s visit to China, this issue presented a series of writings including poetry, picture stories, and novels originating in the People’s Republic of China. The special editor for this issue, Bonnie R. Crown, wanted to share the literature of China because she believed that “by studying literature, we can see how people live, what their land is like, how they work, what their relationships are with others, and the quality of their aspirations and values” (p. 10). Similar to her *Social Education* article in 1969[32], Crown’s rationale for using literature to study culture and society was an attempt to learn about China from Chinese artists, writers, and musicians. As she noted in 1969, literature about Asia, from Asia, “reveals Asia in a way that works by Western writers *about* Asia never can” (p. 793, emphasis in original). She approached this selection of literature the same way.

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[32] At the time of this issue, Bonnie R. Crown was the director of the Asian Literature Program for the Asia Society. In 1969, Crown also wrote an article (same issue with Chu’s warps and woofs article). In 1969 however, she looked more broadly at Asian literature, including India, Japan, and Vietnam.

Despite some similarities to Chen (1964) and Chu (1969) articles discussed above, Crown's article *reads* a different way. There are factors that may account for this, one most notably being the "break" between the National Council of the Social Studies publishing *Social Education* in collaboration with the American Historical Association. What separates Crown's article from the earlier 1960s *Social Education*s is an explicit reference to teaching about China, not only by the Crown herself, but also by the editors of *Social Education*. In Crown's 1969 article "Voices of Asia," she let the voices "speak for themselves," leaving interpretation, as well as putting them to classroom use, up to the reader. Though her 1973 articled presented content for teaching about China, the presentation is still positioned as a way of understanding China, or presenting China for understanding[33]. In this way, however, it is not dissimilar from Chen (1964) and Chu (1969).

Crown seemed dedicated to presenting a Chinese viewpoint, though at times she held tightly onto China as a homogenous nation of people essentially conditioned to believe a certain way For example, she explained that

> The American reader, living in a country with such a wide variety of backgrounds and where ethnic literature is increasingly being written, will be struck by the homogeneity of the Chinese. There are certain conventions followed in the literature of the masses – just as there were conventions followed by the traditional poets – which sometimes have made the works indistinguishable. There are no differing class interests represented here; the dominant feature is the attention given to the masses of people as seen molded by the thoughts of Mao Tse-tung. (16)

Crown's assessment is not too dissimilar from Topping's *National Geographic* article in 1971, which she expressed her fascination of the sameness of the Chinese, and the power that was illuminated through what she described as "people power" (p. 811). Crown's decision to select material illustrative of the pervasiveness of Mao Zedong thought presumes a sameness about the Chinese that Topping presumed as well.

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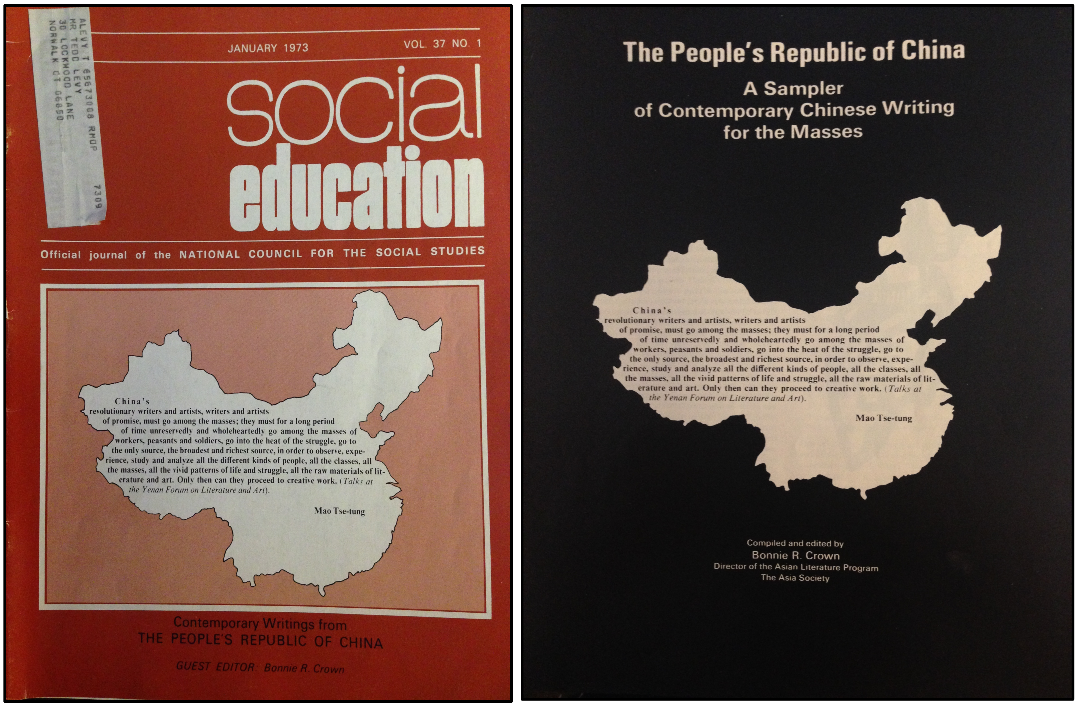
[33] Eight years after Crown's article, *Social Education* published a similar collection of writings from Japan. It is interesting that the author included a rationale for teaching it, as well as an explanation for how to teach it. This is indicated by the discussion questions that follow each selection. Though this was published 8 years after Crown's, I wonder if this is at all making suggestions about the perceptions of China?

The cover of the Crown's special issue signals upfront that the issue deals with contemporary writings from the People's Republic of China (Figure 33). The cover is reproduced as an introduction to the section (Figure 34), but with a slight alteration to the title – A sampler of contemporary Chinese writing *for the masses* (p. 9, emphasis added).


JANUARY 1973
VOL. 37 NO. 1
social education
Official journal of the NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE SOCIAL STUDIES
Contemporary Writings from
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA
GUEST EDITOR: Bonnie R. Crown
The People's Republic of China
A Sampler
of Contemporary Chinese Writing
for the Masses
Compiled and edited by
Bonnie R. Crown
Director of the Asian Literature Program
The Asia Society

China's revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise, must go among the masses; they must for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle, go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all the different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can they proceed to creative work. (*Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art*).

Mao Tse-tung

Figure 33 and 34 – Contemporary writings from China (*Social Education*, January 1973)

Both of these images are outline sketches of China. The colors are clearly different, with a burnt orange/red color for the front cover material, and the all-black background for the inside introduction to Crown's compilation of Chinese contemporary writings. According to color psychology, black is the color of gloom (Birren, 1961, p. 141). It is nearly impossible to infer the editorial decisions to frame a sketch of China in burnt orange/red, and then in a very dark black. Both colors however, are distinctive, and importantly, foreground China. In addition, the sketch of China framed by these solid colors hints of China as disconnected, isolated from the rest of the world. This isolation signals an editorial distancing of the material presented on the pages that follow.

Within both outline sketches of China is a quotation by Mao Zedong, given at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art in 1942[34]. In the quoted selection, Mao was encouraging "revolutionary writers and artists, writers and artists of promise" to

> Go among the masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers, go into the heat of the struggle go to the only source, the broadest and richest source, in order to observe, experience, study and analyze all different kinds of people, all the classes, all the masses, all the vivid patterns of life and struggle, all the raw materials of literature and art. Only then can [writers and artists] proceed to creative work. (Cover image, 9).

The use of a Mao quotation here is significant. First, it represents a willingness on some level by *Social Education* to think seriously (and pedagogically) about China's leader. Second, it provides a consideration of Mao's thinking outside of (and not confined to) the Little Red Book. This article is about literature, and why literature is so significant for understanding another culture. This short quotation introduces that sentiment, and sets up Crown's introduction about the compilation of writings, as well as why/how it is significant for teachers in the United States.

Crown's declaration of the need to teach about China comes in the second paragraph of her introduction when she argues that many teachers often ignore Chinese literature because they are propagandistic, political, and/or unsophisticated. This is problematic for her, and is made explicit when she stated

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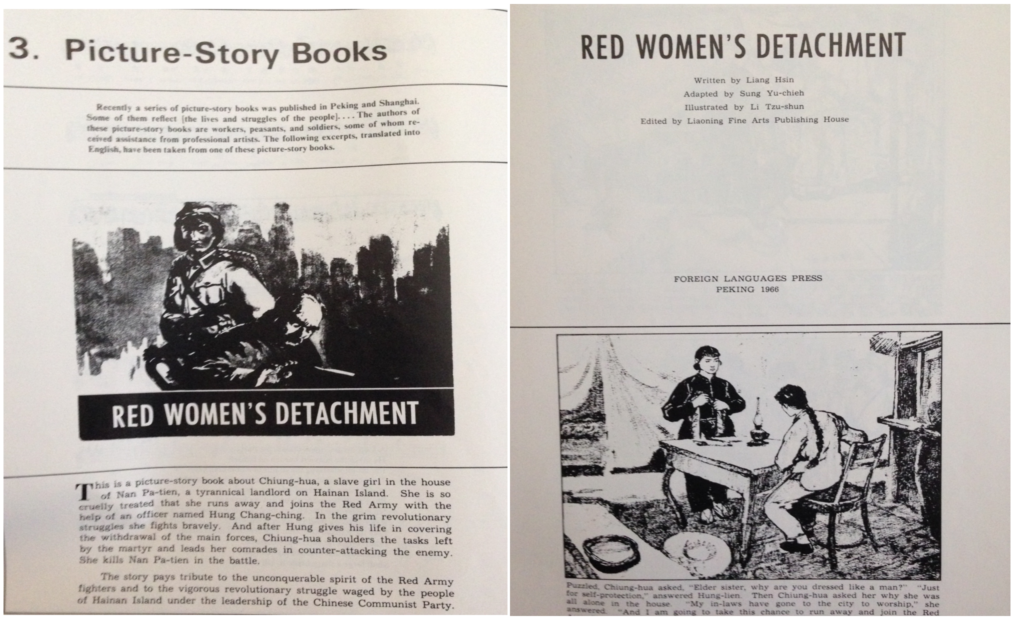
[34] The date of this speech is provided later in the article, p. 11.

> Social studies teachers and students cannot afford to take this Chinese exclusion attitude. If we are to deepen our understanding of another society we must study factors that form that society. And literature is one of the most influential factors. (10)

This is Crown's one explicit reference to the justification of teaching about China. Interestingly, she chose the word "exclusion" evoking the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882. However, and implicit throughout, are justifications for bringing this material into the classroom, in what I conceptualize as a way of bringing China into conversation with the United States, motivated by Nixon's visit to China a year earlier.

Selections of contemporary writing were drawn from poetry, Beijing/Peking Opera, picture-story books (Figure 35), Kuaiban-Chinese "clapper verse"[35], songs, short stories, and novels. Unlike Crown's 1969 *Social Education* article, she provides a description and to some extent, analysis of each of the selections.



3. Picture-Story Books

Recently a series of picture-story books was published in Peking and Shanghai. Some of them reflect [the lives and struggles of the people]. . . . The authors of these picture-story books are workers, peasants, and soldiers, some of whom received assistance from professional artists. The following excerpts, translated into English, have been taken from one of these picture-story books.

RED WOMEN'S DETACHMENT

This is a picture-story book about Chiung-hua, a slave girl in the house of Nan Pa-tien, a tyrannical landlord on Hainan Island. She is so cruelly treated that she runs away and joins the Red Army with the help of an officer named Hung Chang-ching. In the grim revolutionary struggles she fights bravely. And after Hung gives his life in covering the withdrawal of the main forces, Chiung-hua shoulders the tasks left by the martyr and leads her comrades in counter-attacking the enemy. She kills Nan Pa-tien in the battle.

The story pays tribute to the unconquerable spirit of the Red Army fighters and to the vigorous revolutionary struggle waged by the people of Hainan Island under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party.

RED WOMEN'S DETACHMENT

Written by Liang Hsin
Adapted by Sung Yu-chieh
Illustrated by Li Tzu-shun
Edited by Liaoning Fine Arts Publishing House

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1966

Puzzled, Chiung-hua asked, "Elder sister, why are you dressed like a man?" "Just for self-protection," answered Hung-lien. Then Chiung-hua asked her why she was all alone in the house. "My in-laws have gone to the city to worship," she answered. "And I am going to take this chance to run away and join the Red

Figure 35 – Picture-Story Books (*Social Education*, January 1973, pp. 26-31)

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[35] Kuaiban "is based on the seven-character line, which is common to much Chinese poetry… The storyteller performs alone with his clappers. He does not sing or chant, though his delivery is distinctive" (Owen, in Crown, 1973, p. 34).

Though she frequently reminded the reader that the contemporary context of China is "revolutionary,"[36] Crown was also quick to point out that revolution in literature is not unique to the period of Communist China (p. 11), reinforcing her claim that literature provides an entryway to understanding another society.

There was a noticeable tension between Crown, the guest editor, and *Social Education*. As Director of Asian Literature for the Asia Society, Crown acknowledged that to understand China (or any society), one must as well look to original work coming from China. Crown presented a viewpoint that considered why Chinese reforms were put into place, and she offered insight and interest into why the Chinese people were supportive of Mao Zedong. Pedagogically, Crown was offering another viewpoint, through the introduction of literature from China. *Social Education* acknowledged the significance of primary source original material as well, and thus published this selection from China. However, in an editorial reflection, authored by *Social Education* editor Daniel Roselle, *Social Education* revealed circumspection of China and the publishing of the material. His reflection stated:

> SOCIAL EDUCATION believes that one of its important functions is to provide social studies teachers with hard-to-obtain primary source materials that can be used effectively in teaching[37]. We are therefore pleased to have an opportunity presented to few educational journals – namely, to publish "A Sampler of Contemporary Writings for the Masses" drawn from the People's Republic of China (pp. 9-46). The publication of this material does not constitute the approval or disapproval by SOCIAL EDUCATION or the National Council of the Social Studies of any patterns of literature or life in the People's

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[36] For example, in her introduction to poetry, she wrote, "Poetry of contemporary China is directed at the masses," (p. 11), or in her description of Peking Opera she wrote, "The modern Peking opera is model opera. It abounds in tales of modern revolutionary heroes and heroines" (p. 12).

[37] My initial reaction to the phrase "effectively in teaching" is troubled because at first glance the author does not provide any methods or pedagogical strategies for teaching this material. I wonder how a teacher would/did use this?

> Republic of China; and we shall leave it to the imagination and creativity of each teacher to determine for herself how these writings can best be used. (3)

As noted at the beginning of this section, *Social Education* is intended to be a reference journal for educators. Its mission to provide a variety of resources is stated on the inside cover: "[*Social Education*] does not accept responsibility for the views expressed in articles, reviews, and other contributions that appear in its pages. It provides opportunities for the publication of materials that represent divergent ideas, judgments, and opinions."[38] That this statement bears repeating in an editorial reflection signals a refusal by *Social Education* to claim any affiliation with the material that is drawn *from* the People's Republic of China.

Social Education's refusal to affiliate themselves with material originating from China, and thus "leaving it up to the teacher to decide," is made more clear in the excerpt following Crown's compilation of contemporary Chinese writings. Immediately following Crown's article, *Social Education* reproduced an excerpt from *Issues in United States Foreign Policy – The People's Republic of China*. Providing an editor's note as a preface to this profile/overview of the PRC, the editor signals the reader:

> The following material is taken from a briefing paper recently prepared by the Bureau of Public Affairs and the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, Office of Media Services, United States Department of State, for use by a group of newsmen travelling to the People's Republic of China. ***Social Education* believes that the basic information will be of value to social studies teachers**. (47, emphasis added)

The editor's articulation that this material, or "basic information," would be particularly valuable to the social studies teacher is significant. Contrarily, Roselle, in his editorial reflection reminded the reader (presumably also a social studies teacher), that the materials presented in the special compilation of contemporary writings from China in no way constitutes "approval or disapproval." What *Social Education* implied here, and how it works both representationally and pedagogically, is that work (knowledge?) produced *in China* should be met with caution, or at the very least at the discretion of the teacher using it in her classroom. However, the *Issues in United States Foreign Policy* produced in the United States is vetted and therefore a "value to social studies teachers." There is certainly a contradiction to these two editorial statements, but I think by not making an "approval or disapproval" of the Chinese material, yet claiming the use of the *Issues in United States Foreign Policy* as "valuable" not only segregates the learning that can be pulled from both of these documents, but also makes a loud claim of legitimacy of Western-produced knowledge about China. Thus, the disassociation by *Social Education* of the China literature, yet the willingness to claim the State Department's overview draws out an imperial legacy of suppressing the marginalized voice (China) by the dominant voice (United States).

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[38] This statement is present in every issue to present. The wording is slightly different in more current issues. For example, "Contributors express their own views, reflecting divergent opinions" (November/December 2013).

Similar to *National Geographic*, *Social Education* began to publish more China-related articles in the 1980s. Though the few articles in the *Social Education* discussed above featured images, they were sketches and reprints of Chinese drawings, scroll paintings, or paper cutouts. It was not until the 1980s, that photography was more visible, at least for the articles about China. A common element in these photographs was that the author, a traveler documenting an experience in China, captured these images. That is, they seemed to be used as evidence, in what Sontag (1977) described as justification, "incontrovertible truth that a given thing happened" (p. 5). What links the 1980s articles with the previous articles in 1964, 1969, and 1973 is the continued presentation of China for learning. That is, little direction is given to teachers for how to teach with these materials. However, it is not completely absent. The 1980s in particular focused on a modernizing China. That is, *Social Education* was interested in the changes happening all around China. Modernization as a discourse circulated throughout the 1980s in the images as well as the articles in *Social Education*. It is the focus of the following section.

Two Modernizations

The discourse of modernization is very interesting in the representations of China in *Social Education* throughout the 1980s. The "opening up" of China in a way made China a more accessible topic for study, as many of the strict policies of Mao's China has been softened. However, there was a process of modernizing China representationally, which worked to confine China to a relationship with modernization as imposed on (given) by the West. Thus "modernizing China" meant access to and abundance of "things." Or, rather, the discourse of modernization refers to a Western project of *modernizing* China. The articles in *Social Education* during the 1980s attempted to distance themselves from modernization within China, and thus articulate modernization in relationship to the United States and the West (Blaut, 1993).

There were two articles in the March 1980 issue of *Social Education*. The first was a translated reprint of (selections from) the Chinese university entrance exam. The layout of the exam is annotated with commentator notes throughout. The purpose of most of these notes was to explain certain events or policies that are not indicated in the translation. For example, a point under Section 5 of the General Knowledge of Scientific Socialism – *Continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat*, is "the great significance of realizing the four great modernizations* of socialism" (p. 184). The commentator provides the reader a definition of the four great modernizations.

Ohio State University social studies professor, Eugene Gilliom was the commentator for the reproduction (in English) of China's college entrance exam. As noted in the beginning of the article titled "The People's Republic of China: What are the students studying," Gilliom also provided the photographs and their accompanying captions. There are seven images laid out throughout this piece, yet none seem to have any relation explicitly with the text besides they capture Chinese students and teachers in school settings.

One of these images, captioned as "A classroom scene at the Lao Wu-shiang Middle School" (p. 183) is also the cover image (Figure 36).

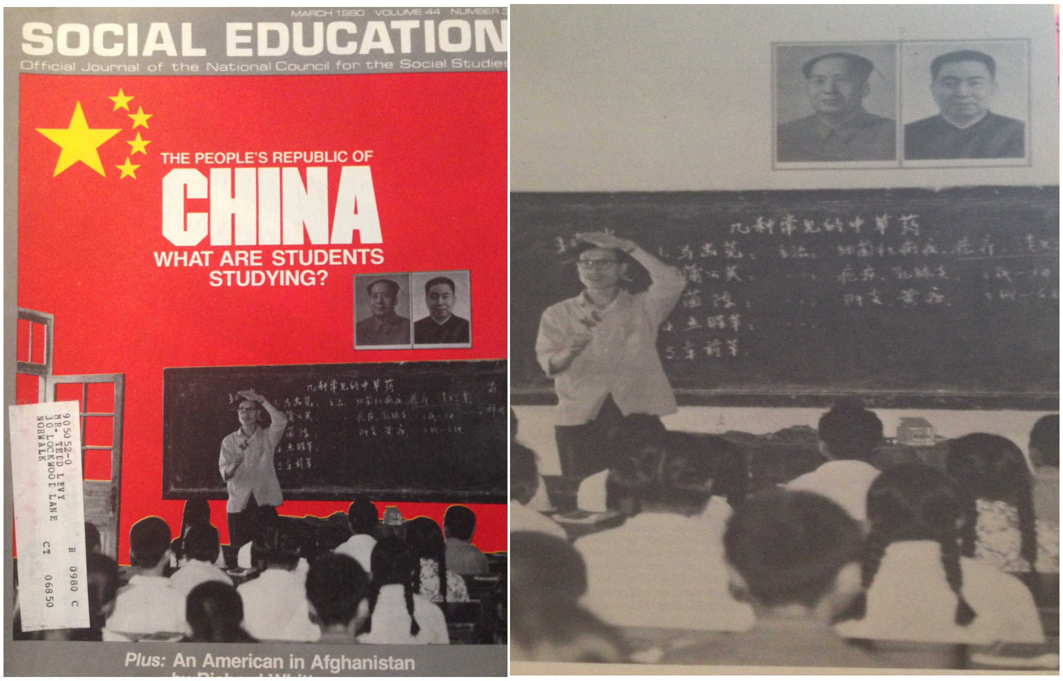
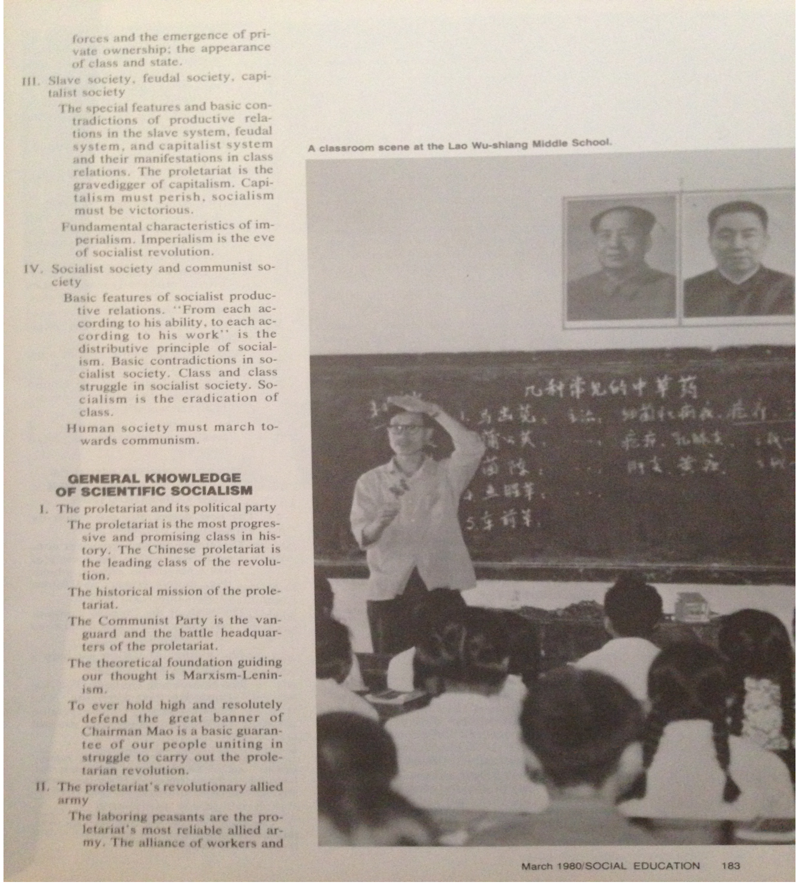

MARCH 1980 VOLUME 44 NUMBER 3
SOCIAL EDUCATION
Official Journal of the National Council for the Social Studies
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF
CHINA
WHAT ARE STUDENTS STUDYING?
Plus: An American in Afghanistan

Figure 356 – Classroom scene (*Social Education*, March 1980, cover photo and p. 183)

What is striking about these images is how much more dramatic the cover photo is, with its use of bright red and yellow stars to represent the Chinese flag. Additionally, "CHINA" is in all caps and much larger than any other word on the page (including *Social Education*), which signals something urgent or emphatic. Obviously, the Chinese flag is red, but the dramatic effect of use of color is notable. Other elements that stand out are the images of Mao Zedong and Hua

Guofeng to the viewer's right of the chalkboard. As the viewer, I take the position of the students in the classroom, yet standing slightly above them. I am, however on the periphery as the teacher explains more about what is written on the board.

In the context of Gilliom's article, the positioning of the image with the texts is interesting (Figure 37). To the left of the images there are two sections of the Brief History of Social Development (Slave society, feudal society, capitalist society; Socialist and communist society) and General Knowledge of Scientific Socialism (The proletariat and its political party; The proletariat's revolutionary allied army).



forces and the emergence of private ownership; the appearance of class and state.

III. Slave society, feudal society, capitalist society

The special features and basic contradictions of productive relations in the slave system, feudal system, and capitalist system and their manifestations in class relations. The proletariat is the gravedigger of capitalism. Capitalism must perish, socialism must be victorious.

Fundamental characteristics of imperialism. Imperialism is the eve of socialist revolution.

IV. Socialist society and communist society

Basic features of socialist productive relations. "From each according to his ability, to each according to his work" is the distributive principle of socialism. Basic contradictions in socialist society. Class and class struggle in socialist society. Socialism is the eradication of class.

Human society must march towards communism.

GENERAL KNOWLEDGE OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALISM

I. The proletariat and its political party

The proletariat is the most progressive and promising class in history. The Chinese proletariat is the leading class of the revolution.

The historical mission of the proletariat.

The Communist Party is the vanguard and the battle headquarters of the proletariat.

The theoretical foundation guiding our thought is Marxism-Leninism.

To ever hold high and resolutely defend the great banner of Chairman Mao is a basic guarantee of our people uniting in struggle to carry out the proletarian revolution.

II. The proletariat's revolutionary allied army

The laboring peasants are the proletariat's most reliable allied army. The alliance of workers and

A classroom scene at the Lao Wu-shiang Middle School.

March 1980/SOCIAL EDUCATION 183

Figure 37 – photo/text framing (*Social Education*, March 1980, p. 183)

The cover image draws attention to what students are studying in China, and the urgency from the bright red Chinese flag and China in all caps, indicates the reader needs to know what they are studying. Sontag (1977) is helpful here for interpreting the juxtaposition of the image in Figure 37 with the text. Noting that a photograph "changes according to the context in which it is seen" (p. 106), the framing of text around the photograph assumes the context of the teacher's class.

What disrupts the reading of this photograph, and thus what makes it striking (and problematic) reside in the cultural and linguistic knowledge. Barthes (1968/2012) explained this in his analysis of the Panzini advertisement in that cultural and linguistic codes become a requirement when reading and deciphering messages in a photograph. He explained, " the code from which this message has been taken is none other than that of the French language; the only knowledge required to decipher it is a knowledge of writing and French" (p. 34). As someone fluent in Mandarin and (presumably) unlike most readers of *Social Education*, I looked at this photograph and to see what the teacher was teaching. The title on the blackboard – 几种常见的中草药 – translates "A few common things about Chinese herbal medicine." This is quite different from what Gilliom and *Social Education* presented about "What students are studying" in China. This is not to claim that the editors were malicious or even intended this juxtaposition of what students are studying, as indicated by the reprint of the entrance exam, versus what students were actually studying as depicted in the picture. However, coupling the title with the context of the exam, what else can the reader assume? In a sense, the mind is trapped into ignoring (forgetting) the other possible topics the teacher could be teaching.

The second article in the issue "What are students in China studying" focused on materials for teaching about a post-Mao China. This article, reprinted from a 1979 issue of *Teaching about China*, encouraged teachers to build self-study programs because textbook publishers remained hesitant about China, and thus "good intentions about China may end up on the cutting room floor, to be replaced by less controversial materials on Japan or India" (Tucker, 1980, p. 195). What this suggests is that communism still remained controversial in practice.

Tucker's main concern was that another decade would pass in United States' schools without any attention paid to China. He made several pleas in this short article listing some resources for teachers and educators wishing to build a self-study program. Tucker's use of photography, however, was interesting, serving to emphasize his point. Gene Gilliom, the commentating editor in the reprint of the Chinese college entrance exam, took the images. There are two images in his short article, but one in particular works to anchor his plea (Figure 38).

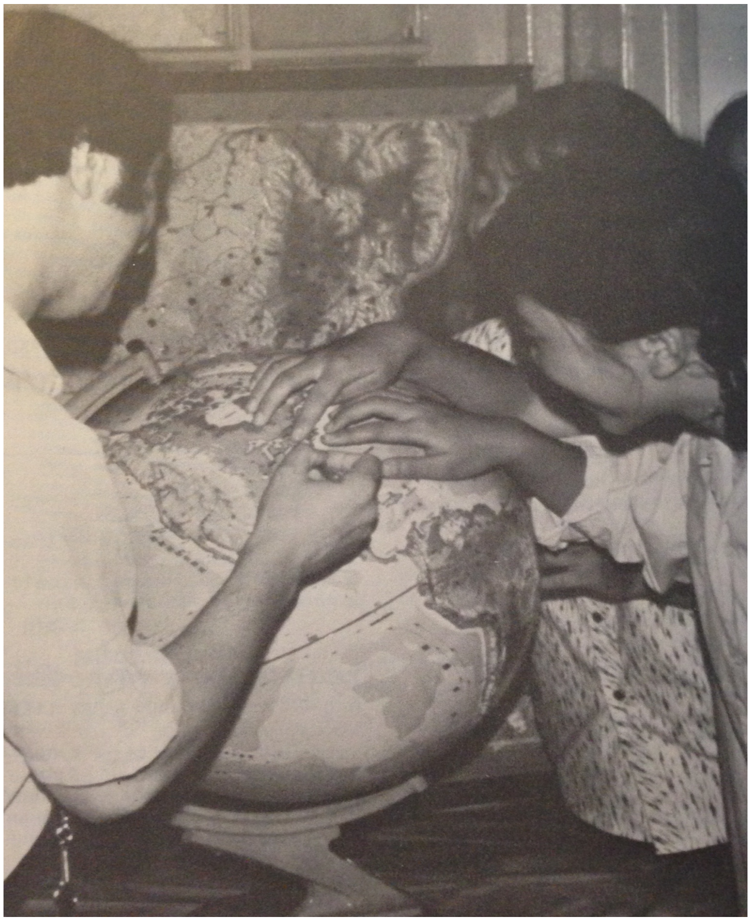


Figure 38 – Chinese students express interest (*Social Education*, March 1980, p. 194)

This seemingly staged photograph captures students locating the United States on the globe. The caption emphasizes how the students are (now) learning about the United States, and thus the United States should learn about China as well:

> At #54 Middle School in Tianjin. On out first two trips to China, we found that most people were relatively uninterested in the United States. This appears to have changed drastically, and people now seem much more curious about us and where we come from. (194)

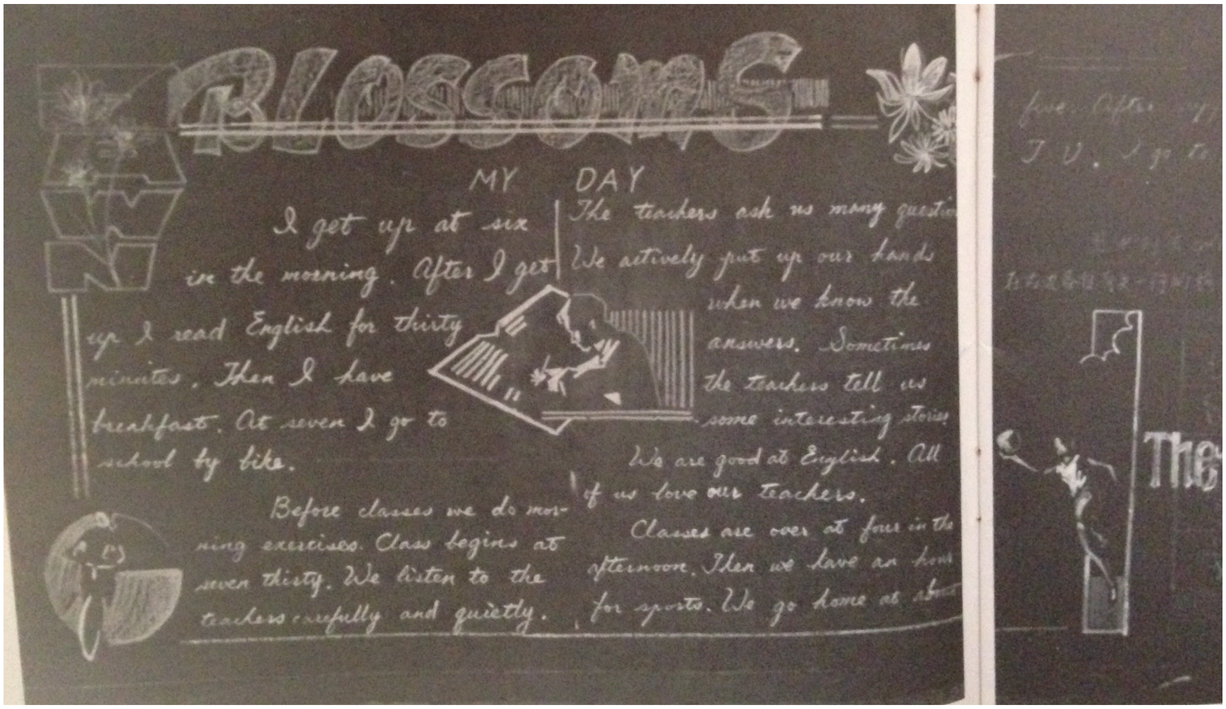
The significance of this, and indeed the caption that accompanies it, works to illustrate the changes within China itself. Noting explicitly that on previous visits "most people were relatively uninterested" (p. 194), the image indicates this change, and suggests that students are learning about the United States.

The images found in the articles of the 1980s also represent a modernizing China. The word *modernizing* aligns with Deng Xiaoping's "Four Modernizations," but the modernization that was represented in Social Education was articulated through a lens of the West. This articulation draws out both diffusionism (Blaut, 1993), and a presumed stasis on the part of Chinese society. More specifically, *Social Education* represented the "modernizing China" through images linked explicitly to the West (Figures 39-42).

Figure 39 was used in the March 1980 and the May1984 issue of *Social Education*. In the March 1980 issue, the caption explained

> At Nanjing Middle School #10. A chalkboard on the school grounds. Not only does this bear out the fact that English is being widely studied in China today, but it also gives the notion of the activities of a middle school student's day. (189)

The use of this same image in May 1984 provides no caption or explanation. However, the text that framed the image in 1984 discusses the use of English widely throughout China, at all levels of schooling (p. 316).



BLOSSOMS

MY DAY

I get up at six in the morning. After I get up I read English for thirty minutes. Then I have breakfast. At seven I go to school by bike.

Before classes we do morning exercises. Class begins at seven thirty. We listen to the teachers carefully and quietly. The teachers ask us many questi

We actively put up our hands when we know the answers. Sometimes the teachers tell us some interesting stories.

We are good at English. All of us love our teachers.

Classes are over at four in the afternoon. Then we have an hou for sports. We go home at abou

Figure 39 – English Practice (*Social Education*, March 1980, p. 189)

The May 1984 issue, “Education in China today” had a very similar theme as the 1980 issue described above. The focus however, is on the experiences of Gilliom and Tucker as they toured China and Chinese schools. Still within a context of a “modernizing China” Gilliom and Tucker related through their observations and experiences what the Chinese were learning about in school.

Working alongside the “modernizing China” theme are Tucker and Gilliom’s (1984) descriptions of Chinese schools, and what the teachers were instructed to teach. Despite a move to modernize, Tucker and Gilliom remind the reader that virtually everything in school (in China) is politicized, and teachers must respond in kind. In their discussion of social studies in Chinese schools, Tucker and Gilliom (1985) explain:

> The social studies in China must be considered, of course in light of the political, economic, and social factors described above[39]. Changes have occurred since the end of the Cultural Revolution and the arrest of the Gang of Four – political rhetoric has softened considerably, the contributions of Mao Zedong have been reevaluated, a style of leadership has emerged, and China has launched a massive effort to achieve modernization. Yet, virtually all aspects of life in the People's Republic of China continue to be politicized. To speak of social studies in the Chinese context, therefore, is to speak primarily of citizenship education.
>
> With the goal of molding responsible citizens constantly in educators' minds, opportunities are rarely lost in schools to drive home political and moral messages reflecting the Communist Party's current concerns and educational campaigns. The responsibility for purveying these messages extends far beyond what we would term "the social studies." Rather, as mentioned earlier, teachers in all subject areas are expected to nurture in their students the five loves, the five stresses, and the four points that characterize moral education in China. (317-318)

What is primarily at work in this description of Chinese schools, and indeed with the insertion of photographs, is a tension in the term modernization – from a Chinese point of view and the Western/US conceptualization. Tucker and Gilliom seem troubled by the politicized nature of schools, yet see modernization/modernizing in a much different way. They link a "modernizing China" to western symbols – Coke bottles (Figure 40), Rubik's Cube (Figure 41), and English language (Figure 42). Or rather, the presence/incorporation of certain Western elements signals that modernization/modernity has made its way to China.

There is no caption for Figure 40, as with the other images floating throughout this article. However, the famous shape of the Coke bottle cannot be mistaken. Written in Chinese (and phonetically sounding like Coca-Cola for the first four characters), the billboard reads – 可口可乐，美味怡神, Coca-Cola, Refreshing and Delicious. Even the use of a billboard signals modernization, as it is a common way of advertising in the United States.

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[39] These changes are explained as seeking international standards in higher education, moral education, and faculty development.

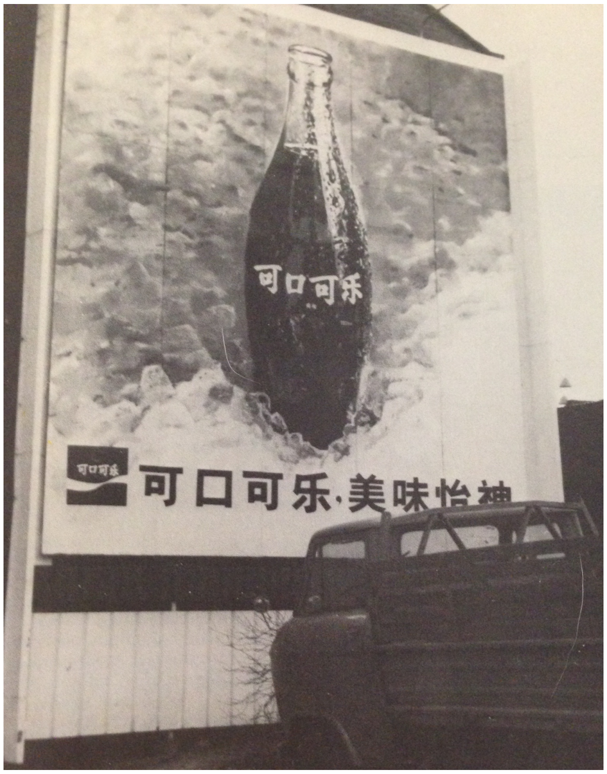

Figure 40 – Coca-Cola Billboard (*Social Education*, May 1984, p. 313)

Similarly in Figures 41 and 42[40], these types of images, with the symbols of the West – Rubik's Cube and English usage – provide a description of what modernization "looks like" through the lens of the West, or more specifically through diffusionism (Blaut, 1993), a process by which "an idea or its material effect (such as a tool, an art style, etc,) came *into* the community, having originated in some other community" (p. 11, emphasis in original). Through a diffusionist lens, the use of these images to represent China's modernization makes sense. These Western items moved from the West to the East. But, thinking about these images as representative of a modernized China through the legacy of imperialism, rightly questions the purpose of these images to represent China. Willinsky (1998) would argue that it is in the display of these images educate “in the value of Western hegemony” (p. 86). These images work to display the West. And, to the reader of *Social Education*, these images teach Western power and dominance over China.

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[40] Interestingly, Figure 42 uses a combination of English and *Japanese*, not Chinese language. Because there are no captions with the image, the origin, including where it was taken, is unclear. At the beginning of the article, the editor noted the images were taken on a study tour, but a description of that tour was not given. I wonder if they went to Japan and this image got mixed in with the China photos. Or, perhaps it is in China, and not only is English being used more widely, so to is Japanese. It is both confusing and frustrating.

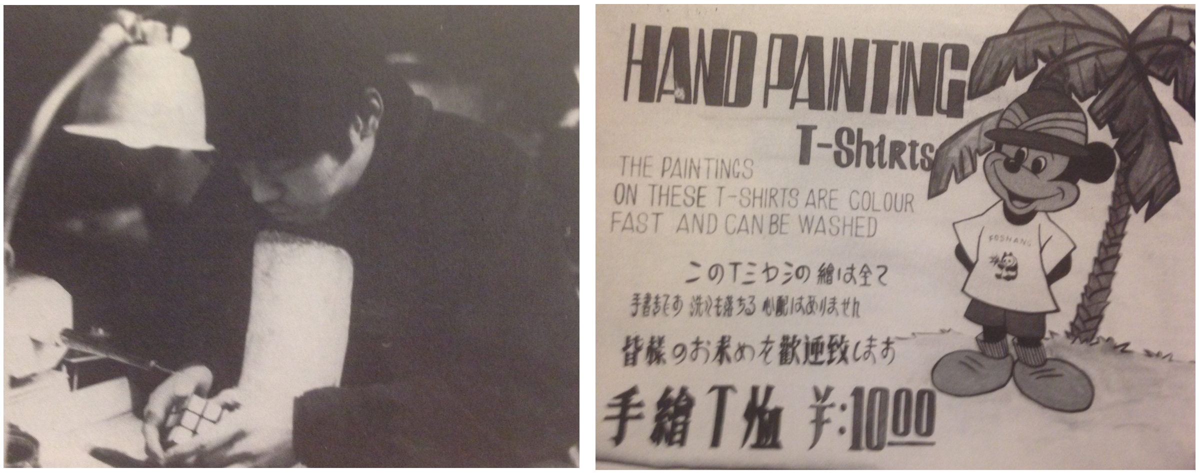
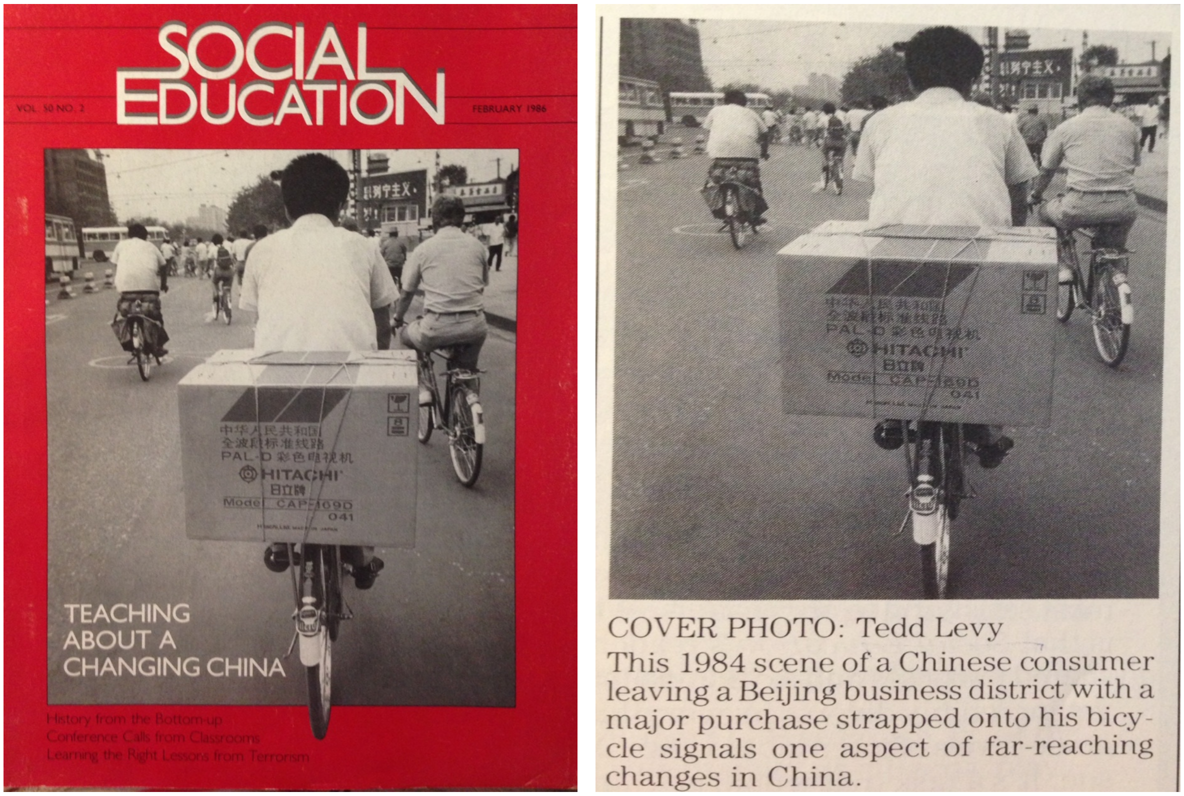

HAND PANTING
T-Shirts
THE PAINTINGS ON THESE T-SHIRTS ARE COLOUR FAST AND CAN BE WASHED
このTシャツの絵は全て
手書きです 洗濯も落ちる心配はありません
皆様のお求めを歓迎致します
手繪T恤 ¥:1000

Figure 41 and 42 – Rubik’s Cube and T-shirt Billboard (*Social Education*, May 1984, p. 316, 322)

The images illustrate what has moved into China, while the changes that have developed since the death of Mao Zedong, especially in education – “Chinese version of social studies” (p. 323) – are articulated by Tucker and Gilliom as highly political, and unlikely to change (in the political sense). Though there are certainly changes present within the system of education in China, Tucker and Gilliom seem suspect to the type of “modernizing” that can actually happen in such a politicized environment. The focus then turns to economic modernization, and the affordability of “stuff,” as captured in the February 1986 cover photo of *Social Education*. The cover photo (Figure 43) is reproduced in the table of contents with a caption illustrating how the authors of this *Social Education* special issue conceptualize change in China:

> This 1984 scene of a Chinese consumer leaving a Beijing business district with a major purchase[41] strapped to his bicycle signals one aspect of far-reaching changed in China. (79)


SOCIAL EDUCATION
VOL. 50 NO. 2
FEBRUARY 1986
TEACHING ABOUT A CHANGING CHINA
History from the Bottom-up
Conference Calls from Classrooms
Learning the Right Lessons from Terrorism

COVER PHOTO: Tedd Levy
This 1984 scene of a Chinese consumer leaving a Beijing business district with a major purchase strapped onto his bicycle signals one aspect of far-reaching changes in China.

Figure 43 – Teaching about a changing China (*Social Education*, February 1986, cover)

When *Social Education* published a special section "Teaching about a changing China" in February 1986, the focus was dedicated to teaching about China in schools in the United States, a contrast to the previous years' focus on Chinese education. In David Grossman's "A checklist for teaching about a changing China" (p. 129), he gives the reader a checklist of questions aimed at selecting or adapting materials for teaching about the changed in China since 1949. The checklist categories are

1. Change and Continuity
2. Multiple Perspectives

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[41] The Chinese consumer has just purchased a Hitachi color television set.

3. The Human Dimension
4. Modes of Comparison
5. Use of Language
6. Evaluation of Sources

Under each heading, he poses a series of yes or no questions to help the teacher evaluate the materials. Under the heading "Modes of Comparison" he asks the teacher to consider the following questions:

1. Is China compared to the U.S. without reference to the different historical contexts of the two societies?
2. Are the criteria used for comparison only those based on Western industrialized "social indicators"?
3. Is an "us versus them" mentality encouraged (as opposed to a continuum of similarities and differences)?

To select good materials, the answered to the above and the other questions on this checklist should be no. His approach is interesting, but seemingly contradictory to the representations of China as seen in both the cover photo and the caption in the inside cover. For example, he asked, "Has only a Western frame of reference and value system (e.g. modernization) been used to evaluate China's experience?" (p. 129). Employing Grossman's checklist to evaluate this *Social Education* as a balanced resource for teaching about a changing China, the results would not work with Grossman's aim. Though *Social Education* may have engaged with these questions, they answered yes by re/presenting China, and its modernization, through diffusionism (Blaut, 1993, p. 28). In addition, the displays of China as "modernized" work to authenticate and further Western imperial practices. Representing modernization, and a modernizing China changed with the protests of Tiananmen Square.

The events at Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989 challenged the study of China in U.S. schools and in *Social Education*. Like *National Geographic*, 1989 in a way disrupted the "progress" seen through modernization discourse, shifting concerns to the meaning of democracy, and the failed attempt by the student demonstrators. When *Social Education* responded to the Tiananmen Square protests, it was in a familiar format – through the travel experiences of two teachers. In their articles, "The lessons of teaching Tiananmen: the Dream Deferred" and "Tiananmen Square and China: One year later," Kiernan and Doyle respectively shared their perspective of the protests, as well as the rationale for teaching about the events in school.

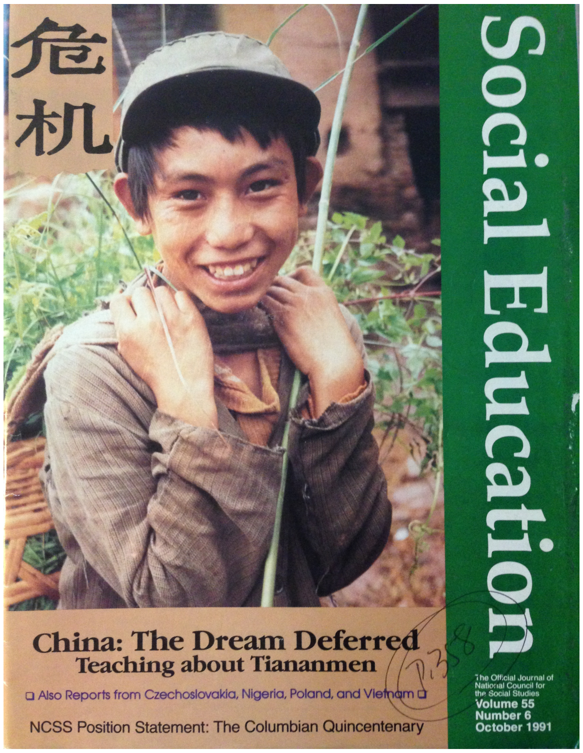
危
机
Social Education
China: The Dream Deferred
Teaching about Tiananmen
Also Reports from Czechoslovakia, Nigeria, Poland, and Vietnam
NCSS Position Statement: The Columbian Quincentenary
The Official Journal of National Council for the Social Studies
Volume 55
Number 6
October 1991

Figure 44 – "危机" (*Social Education*, October 1991, cover)

The cover photo (Figure 44), and the articles by Kiernan and Doyle combine to emphasize a loss of democracy. Kiernan ended his article by reflecting on an encounter with a student on his study tour. He wrote,

> Yet, I am reminded of a young college student I met at an English Corner in Kunming who, after looking over his shoulder said: "Do not let America forget us." Teaching about the events at Tiananmen Square is an important step in remembering and in teaching students about the right to think and inquire. The Chinese students' dream of human rights is truly deferred and they must arouse our concern and hope. (386)

The cover photo as well emphasized the deferral of a dream, yet it does something more. Lutz and Collins (1993) are helpful for interpreting the image of the smiling boy. They argue that like the portrait, the smile

> Follows cultural conventions in defining and depicting the person. The smiling, happy person evokes the goal of the pursuit of happiness, written into the Declaration of Independence… The smile is a key way of achieving idealization of the other, permitting the projection of the ideal of the happy life. (96)

These ideals are linked with democracy, a dream that has been deferred, which is indicated on the cover, as well as the article by Kiernan. However, the boy's smile indicates that deferment is only temporary.

Complicating this read, however, is the appropriation of the Chinese character "危机," which means "crisis." Noting that is was most likely a formatting decision to not caption this image in the table of contents, like in the February 1986 cover, it was striking to find the caption as well as the meaning of this Chinese character (for non-readers of Mandarin) in page 366 of the issue, following an article on Poland. The caption explained the cover:

> The cover photograph was taken by author Deborah Doyle during her 1990 Fulbright Program Seminar in China. The top character on the upper left corner is taken from the Chinese word (weixian) meaning "dangerous; peril." The bottom character is taken from the Chinese word (jihui) meaning "chance; opportunity." Together these characters form the Chinese compound word (weiji) which means "crisis," a term familiar to most Sinologists. The editors thank Cathy Stachniak, a doctoral candidate in the School of Languages and Linguistics at Georgetown University, for her assistance with the calligraphy. (366)

The image conveys both hope, yet in Chinese captures the crisis of the events of June 4, 1989. Like *National Geographic*'s article, "China's youth wait for tomorrow," the suggestion that democracy is what they are waiting for is apparent. Let out of both of these articles, however, is the democracy in a Chinese context, always assuming that democracy is universal for those who choose to adopt it.

Summary of Social Education

Though articulated in a much different way than *National Geographic* and *Life, Social Education* does perform the work of representation, thus contributing to learning about China. In earlier *Social Education* journals, the connection to methods for teaching the topic of China was not made explicitly, though there was clearly a subtext for teaching. That is, it seemed apparent that the material presented about China was meant to build a better understanding of China, thus translating to classroom practice. During the 1980s, Deng Xiaoping's "Four Modernizations" became the focus of China in *Social Education* articles. However, authors drew upon Western conceptions of modernization and change, tying change into access of goods, and "Western things" such as Coke, and the pervasiveness of English learning in school. The photographs especially in the 1980s article illustrate change through these Western symbols. More significantly, the use of images to illustrate change and modernization worked pedagogically to extend Western domination over the Eastern other. *Social Education* also used editorial distancing, as explained in the discussion of Chinese literature, while legitimating U.S.-produced materials for classroom use.

There was a shift, perhaps a rupture in 1989 with the Tiananmen Square protests. *Social Education* responded in October 1991 with a cover photo, articulating crisis, yet hope for a democratic future for China. There were few articles on China after *Social Education*'s 1991 articles about Tiananmen Square. In fact, it was not until 2010 that *Social Education* dedicated the entire issue to teaching about China. This issue called for educators to move past outdated assumptions; assumptions that perhaps had been made throughout issues in *Social Education* and in the curriculum since China first started garnering attention in the U.S. curriculum after the Second World War.

Chapter Summary

National Geographic, Life, and *Social Education* re/presented China using methods, which aligned to each journal's style and audience. *National Geographic*'s travelogue approach shared through images and narrative, experiences in China, and encounters with Chinese people. However, it was the curating power of the editor to build and construct through captioned narratives around the photographs of these travel encounters that makes *National Geographic* a source of cultural pedagogy. In *Life*, the dominance of telling a story through the photo-essay worked to give even the most casual reader an insight into the culture and politics of contemporary China. Significantly, the juxtaposition of selling stories and selling products was a practice in cultural pedagogy whereby the reader was also sold a particular worldview – it's founder and editor, Henry R. Luce's. Powerfully, the sequencing of events to report history-in-the-making makes *Life* a contributor to how the West exerts authority over the non-West. Finally, *Social Education*'s focus on teaching and learning offered suggestions for teaching about China, though at times these suggestions were not explicit. The editorial decisions to associate or dissociate with the material implicates *Social Education* in the imperial practices of positioning the West over the non-West, specifically with regard to communism (disassociate) or modernization through a Western conceptualization (associate). Though their pedagogical practices are different, they employed a Western gaze to understand and articulate China. This is the focus of the final section.

Chapter 5 – Discussion and implications

All too frequently, students are asked to interpret and judge Chinese events from a U.S.-centric perspective without any exposure to Chinese perspectives (which indeed are plural).
David Grossman (*Social Education*, 1986)

In this final chapter, I discuss how *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* used representations to educate its readers about the world. As explained in the previous chapter, I conceptualized each journal as sources of cultural pedagogy. That is, through representational practices, *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* have contributed to Western understandings of what to think or believe about, and how to interact with the non-Western world that the journals represented. This chapter is composed of three sections. In the first section, I discuss what *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* teach about cultural pedagogy. Specifically, I focus on photography and its use to represent culture. Building on the use of photography as a pedagogical practice for bringing the non-Western world to the West, I discuss how cultural pedagogy is useful in revealing the continued presence of imperialist and orientalist lenses.

Imperialist and orientalist notions of the other in these three journals have worked to fix and situate China within a boundless, timeless tunnel (Blaut, 1993). There are implications for this in social studies, as this fixity remains present in more contemporary representations, including educational content for teaching about China. In the second section of this chapter, I discuss these implications for global studies education and research, and a need for continuing the work of postcolonial theorists and global educators in disrupting the patterns (of representation) that further imperialist and orientalist worldviews. Finally, I conclude with my response to Masalski and Levy's (2010) call to challenge stereotypes and outdated assumptions, which I introduced at the beginning of this dissertation, as well as how teachers can carry out this work by reflecting on my own experiences with the representations analyzed in this study.

Cultural Pedagogy

National Geographic, Life, and *Social Education* are pedagogical in different ways, yet all three used photographs and narrative to bring China into view for the Western reader. These journals are significant as sources of cultural pedagogy because they employ these practices to reinforce imperialist structures of Western dominance over the non-Western world, however unconsciously. Photographs, though not independent from the caption that anchors them, are appropriated to produce and reproduce culture of the non-Western world mediated through imperialist and orientalist lenses. Thus, through the practices of looking, the audience of these journals takes part and becomes implicated in dominating the non-Western world.

Specifically, *National Geographic* used photography to authenticate the travel experience of the author and photographer. The editor's power in curating what these experiences should show and tell the Western reader about Chinese culture is important for understanding *National Geographic* as a source of cultural pedagogy. These photographs became a way for the reader to see, experience, and learn about China through visual encounters with images of China and Chinese people through Western observations, which rendered the Orient present (Said, 1978). In *Life*, the photo-essay sought to teach about history and contemporary society in China. Pieced together in a manner similar to a news report, images in *Life* were intended to teach about and report on life in China. The worldview of *Life*'s founder and editor, Henry R. Luce, was visible in representations of China's history. The power to exert authority over China by furthering social structures, which placed China in an unequal power relationship with the United States, is significant for conceptualizing *Life* as a source of cultural pedagogy. Finally, *Social Education* brought ancient and contemporary China into a specific educational dialogue with teachers by providing its readers with materials about, and sometime from China. *Social Education*'s representational practices were, and continue to be a platform to teach about a China that teachers themselves can teach about in their classrooms. As a source of cultural pedagogy, *Social Education* worked to further imperial practices by positioning the West over the non-West through its editorial decisions to associate or dissociate with the material it presented for learning about China. These associations and disassociations were most evident with regard to modernization and communism, respectively. All three of these publications, however, exercised pedagogical practices through decisions in curating, re/producing, and educating about the non-Western world. The use of photography to extend these practices is the focus on the next section.

Photography

Fairclough (2003) described discourse as a way "of representing aspects of the world – the processes, the relations, and structure" (p. 124). Additionally, discourses represent "possible worlds which are different from the actual world" (p. 124). The representational styles of *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* used both image and narrative to communicate experiences and encounters, mediated through an imperialist and orientalist lens. Whether intentionally or not, these practices work to extend unequal binaries of West and non-West, as well as assign and secure cultural meaning of the other.. The use of photographs are particularly significant as they have historically been use to categorize difference and otherness (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009, p. 111). As explained in the theoretical framework, representational practices are influential to positioning difference, whether visually through photography, or narratively through language. Photographs can teach so much about cultural pedagogy because their didactic and mimetic power.

There are elements to photographs that seek to disrupt reading, and potential meaning of photographs. For Barthes (1980), the punctum is the element that gives pause, and interrupts this interpretive moment. What is interesting about the punctum is the question of whether or not the photographer intended these small elements to be present in images. Thinking back to the images *Life* used to represent the Boxer Rebellion, I was drawn to the American flag, which seemed to be framed intentionally to draw the viewer's attention to it. In the sense that the flag was an intentional element, the photographer controls the punctum. However, Barthes (1980) would not identify these elements as punctum, because the images in *Life* were essentially news photographs, which Barthes described as unary, "emphatically transforming "reality" without doubling it, without making it vacillate (emphasis is a power of cohesion): no duality, no indirection, no disturbance" (p. 41). Barthes does not claim that the unary photograph is not affective – it *can* traumatize, but not disturb; it *can* shout, but not wound (p. 41). While Barthes argued that many news photographs are absent of a punctum because he essentially does not want to look again, or pause to think about it, I think there is a powerful dimension to re/reading these images now. That is, the punctum is present through my experiences and context.

Photographs and the use of photographs to represent are exercises in power. In one way, power is exercised by the decision to use a particular photograph to create/construct meaning through that photograph. Thus photographs are steeped in power, as they can and have been appropriated to give meaning to an event, or even bring a past event into the present. In another way, photographs are powerful in that they assume reality, what Sontag (1977) described as a redefinition of reality, whereby reality becomes more about what we see in an image (p. 161) than the possibilities of what reality could be captured by the naked eye, or beyond what is captured in the picture. This is important when we think about the curating power of the editor to construct that reality. By employing photographs to articulate culture or history, the editor puts the *represented* into his worldview, concealing other possible realities or constructions of culture or history.

Curating these images is significant, as it is a primary pedagogical exercise in the power relationship between the presenter and the represented. The curation, however, often goes unnoticed. What becomes illuminated is the veracity of what is represented, which is assumed through the evidentiary nature of photographs. Put together, the editor exercises authority by constructing and representing culture through photographs; photographs exercise authority over the viewer by articulating truth (which the viewer assumes).

Photographs are also powerful in producing and reproducing culture through the nostalgic desire of the photographer. Sontag (1977) explained that when we are nostalgic, we take pictures (p. 15). When someone travels, like the photographer for *National Geographic*, the reporter for *Life*, or the teacher for *Social Education*, does s/he look for what s/he understands to be true? In other words, in our embedded orientalist desires to capture the exotic, have we made the exotic familiar, and thus seek it out to capture it (again and again) in the pictures we take? Sontag (1977) argued that

> Through the camera, people become consumers or tourists of reality… Bringing the exotic near, rendering the familiar and homely exotic, photographs make the entire world available as an object of appraisal. (110)

Thus, nostalgia guides photographers to capture something familiar, or rather, something that was made familiar through a Western desire to capture the Orient. Nostalgia works to secure China as unchanging by seeking out familiarity of the exotic in the images captured by photographers. The photographers, writers and editors' use (and capturing) of certain images and their accompanying stories employed an orientalist gaze/sensibility in that they were attempting to capture the exotic other. The extent to which visual and narrative text work to extend imperialist and orientalist notions of the non-Western world is the focus of the next section.

Imperialism and Orientalism

When Sontag (1977) described the image-world, she explained something has happened, and will forever happen in the way it was captured in a photograph (p. 168). The images and text that were analyzed throughout this study captured China, a China that has happened and is happening vis-à-vis the United States. As explained in chapter four, *National Geographic*, *Life*, and *Social Education* employed editorial decisions (curating) to build a story that aligned with popular (Western) assumptions about the (non-Western) world. Aligning images with popular assumptions is not the same as showing the East vis-à-vis the West. However, if popular assumptions are built from embedded imperialist and orientalist views of the world, then they work together. Meaning, re/presenting a China is driven by a need to align with popular assumptions in a way that is both understandable and relatable to a U.S./Western audience.

Each journal attempted to capture the non-Western world by bringing it into the presence of the American reader. This is problematic, and it ties in with current efforts for teaching global history, including China and any other non-Western history within the global curriculum. As noted in the literature review, Fu (2008) found that textbook representations excluded China from dominant narratives, particularly modernization, where the Chinese were seen to either be hindering the modernization process, or accepting modernization on Western terms. The focus on dominant, Western conceptions of the world continue to pervade both the curriculum, and the media. Importantly, the attempt by these journals to capture the world illustrates the embedded imperialist and orientalist thinking. Seeing the East vis-à-vis the West through an imperialist and orientalist lens concealed a world/reality outside of national narratives and assumptions.

The notion that the East can only understood through the West ignores the national histories of those outside of the West. Gluck (1997) reminds us that Asian histories were only present in the context of United States as histories of reacting to the United States. Asian histories were rarely, if ever explained in the context of their own histories (p. 200). Meaning, Asian histories are only understood in the context of the United States' interpretation (and writing) of history. That *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education* also used re/presented China out the context of its history reveals the imperial legacy, as well as a link between popular culture forms and educational media.

The visual and narrative texts in *National Geographic, Life* and *Social Education* "furnish instant history, instant sociology, and instant participation" (Sontag, 1977, p. 147). In addition, photographs become a way to encounter and show the world, a "museum without walls," (Sontag, 1977, p. 110). Yet, they are significant for furthering imperialist and orientalist notions of the non-Western world. Images have been historically used in the West to capture the exotic and mystical, primitive and barbaric Eastern Other (Said, 1978; Sturken & Cartwright, 2009; Willinsky, 1998). Through the continued practice of taking pictures, the exotic has become familiar, and there is a desire to continue to "entrap the world" (Sontag, 1977, p. 89) fixing it in time. In addition, the positioning of the East vis-à-vis the West perpetuates these fixed notions of China, as well as a positional superiority of the United States.

The use of photography to entrap and secure familiarity of the exotic raises a larger, more theoretical question – are we trapped into thinking in (and learning from) binary oppositions? In other words, does looking at images through postcolonial lenses, as I have attempted to do with particular attention to Said (1978) and Willisnky (1998), assume two ways of seeing – that of the West, and that of the East through the West? I wonder if binaries unintentionally invite comparison rather than disruption of the categories that have been used to perpetuate the unequal binaries borne out of centuries of imperialism? In the tendency to place the East in the East (constructed by the West?), and the West in the West, what perspectives get lost in this way of thinking, knowing, and learning about the world? How should teachers and researchers respond to this? The implications of this study for teaching and learning are the focus on the next section.

Implications

There are implications for this study to both teachers and teacher educators, mainly the theorizing that occurs when encountering both image and text, and how they render these encounters pedagogically. One intent of this study was to expand the meaning of pedagogy and illustrate how journals can and do act pedagogically, and, what those practices can teach us about the pedagogy of representation. "Acting" pedagogically, however, is not unique to *National Geographic, Life,* or *Social Education*. What I have presented and analyzed throughout this study is a pedagogical act as well. That is, I have pulled from these journals threads that I conceptualized to be their practices in pedagogy, specifically, the use of visual and narrative representations to teach about China. The methods I employed throughout this study, and thus what I have learned about the pedagogy of representation serves as a model for the ways teachers and teacher educators can analyze representations in their classrooms. In this way, this dissertation is not about representations of China. Rather, my encounters with these practices of representing China can work as a case study for how others can engage representations more generally, and of any topic. This section considers the implications of this study to social studies education and research, specifically teaching and researching the global.

Given the literature on teaching a global perspective (Cross & Molnar, 1994; Merryfield, 1998; Gaudelli, 2003) a teacher's global perspective is itself bound to theories about teaching and theories about the world. If these theories are themselves built upon Western, orientalist notions of China (history), how do we challenge these notions? How can photographs in particular challenge or reinforce understandings of China historically, and in a contemporary context? Thus, engagement with representation is an important implication of this study. That is, teachers (and researchers) need to consider the ways in which they encounter images and texts. Through my own encounters with these journals, one struggle that persisted was the imperative of explaining and analyzing what I see to be represented pedagogically in these journals, without telling the reader what they *should be* seeing. However, representations as problematic is fundamentally a perspective I would like every teacher to have in order to think critically about what is being represented, as well as how is it being represented to direct a particular meaning. This study then, could be a model for engaging with how representations come to exist, how they function to create meaning about the world, and ultimately how they are powerful in perpetuating imperialist and orientalist notions of the non-Western world.

Because popular media and educational materials often reinforce national narratives, then educators and researchers need to consider the challenges that limit our ability to conceptualize the true nature of having a global perspective. This comes with first acknowledging that perspectives are multiple, and even theories like postcolonialism can work to trap our understanding into prescribed and categorized spaces. The perceived binaries of us/them, East/West, or civilized/primitive suggest two narratives, often disconnected from each other. In a way, I see binaries as parallel lines, always happening at the same time, but never intersecting. This is important because even as more non-Western perspectives make their way into classrooms, they work to add, rather than transform the connective and interconnected dimensions of the global. That is, the non-West continues to react to the West and the West is always acting within the context of Western history. In this way, there is no global perspective, no interconnectedness; only Western understandings and constructions of the non-Western world. Thus, the legacy of imperialist thinking persists in our teaching about the non-Western world.

The facile addition of non-Western histories further troubles the process of learning about the world, as global issues are perceived as happening outside of the United States. There is a disassociation of global issues like poverty, hunger, and human rights. When these topics are given attention in the curriculum, they are associated with the world outside of the United States – the poverty of South East Asia, the hunger in Africa, the human rights abuses in China. This is not an exercise in interconnectedness, but the tendency to assume the local and national are free from these issues, removed from being impacted by or implicated in them.

Connecting the tendency to disassociate with the images in *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education*, it is clear that these journals work alongside this type of dissociative framework as well. Despite their aims to bring the world into the homes and schools of the United States, they perpetuate bounded national narratives of the world outside of the United States. If global education aims to increase interconnectedness between peoples and cultures, teachers and researchers need to think deeply about the historical roots and lenses out of which conceptions and contemporary understandings of the world have originated. Engaging with the content and context of representations is a good place to start.

Knowing that divisions persist in the curriculum, teachers needs to engage in how difference in positioned in the classroom, as well as the media that pervade the space outside of the classroom context. What really kept pushing me throughout this research was how others would give meaning to these images and their accompanying narratives. In the study, my aim was to set aside the meaning that I made, yet attempt to articulate the meaning that I believed was intended by these journals. Certainly, elements of my subjectivity were present as I worked through these images and texts, but I often wondered how my own students would react to these images given their subjectivities and experiences with China and/or the teaching of China. Would examination and analysis of photographs through content analysis help teachers and students disrupt the fixity of China, and the embeddedness of orientalist thinking? How can photographs, and representation more generally, work to challenge or reinforce meaning of the global? In my experiences as a teacher and teacher educator, I do believe that asking these types of questions will continue the work of challenging imperialist and orientalist thinking, and its pervasiveness in media and curriculum representations today.

Further Study

This study has implications for global education research as well. To what extent has our study of theory and research built an internalization of Western understandings of the non-Western world? How much of the global goes into our research about it? Upon conclusion of writing this study, a critique of Orientalism and the educational legacy of imperialism has been illuminated for me. This has come about primarily in the movement back-between the theories and the analysis. What occurred was the images helped me understand the theories in a more accessible way. In this way, the theories revealed the ways in which they can be restrictive. For example, in all the divisions and difference that the imperial legacy reveals, I began to question if we have fixed ourselves as researchers into understanding the world only through a binary system. I began to question whether my own interpretations, through the lens of Said (1978) and Willinsky (1998), were bound within the binaries of East/West. Research, and the researcher, may benefit from the flexibility of moving between theory and analysis to see what interpretations and understandings may come out of not being bound to a particular theoretical approach.

Researchers need to learn more about how teachers engage media in their classrooms. Existing studies on global perspectives are beneficial to understanding how a teacher's view of the world is bound to her theories of the world and teaching. But, how cognizant are teachers (we) of the historical roots of these theories? Global education would benefit from further studies on how teachers engage historical and contemporary popular media, and significantly, how they theorize media as a powerful tool for extending difference through imperial practices. An interdisciplinary approach to a study could help teachers (and researchers) work to disrupt the marginalization and othering that continues to impede the global education goals of interconnectedness.

Throughout my engagement with *National Geographic, Life* and *Social Education*, I wondered how other non-Western countries were represented? Were themes of difference from the West prominent, as they were in the study of representations of China? How have historical events impacted representations of other non-Western countries? These questions are important because the non-Western world is still engaged in the West, bounded by a nationalist view of the world. As interesting as I find these questions, it is obvious to me now that representations of the non-Western world are representative of Western notions of the non-West. In that sense, again, this study is not about China, but about how the West appropriates methods to construct meaning about Western and non-Western world. Teachers and researchers need to consider this national positioning when carrying out their work in global education.

Another area for further study is of *Social Education*. *Social Education* has not been researched like mass media publications like *National Geographic* and *Life*. However, as was illustrated in chapter four, *Social Education* employs tactics and methods for representing, and these tactics should be explored more fully through a dedicated study of the journal. This would include interviews with editorial staff, as well as sections editors, who are typically volunteers from the educational community. In addition, the decision to use particular photographs in *Social Education* was never made clear in any of the journals I examined, outside of explaining they were taken as part of a study tour. *Social Education*'s use of teachers' study abroad experiences to explain contemporary contexts is another tactic employed to bring China into an educational context. It also drives home a vital global education argument that travel abroad experiences enhance learning about oneself and the culture in which these teachers are immersed (Dolby, 2004; Kaplan, 1996; Subreenduth, 2010). As the practitioner journal for the National Council of the Social Studies, engaging in what is selected for study at the secondary level, as well as how that engagement is articulated is significant. *Social Education* is not benign, and the choice to include particular topics, lessons, or special issues should be considered critically. *Social Education* uses education as their dominant pedagogical practice, but it should not be assumed that *Social Education* is free from the political, and highly contested terrain in the practices of representation. Readers of and contributors to *Social Education* need to acknowledge this.

Conclusions and Reflections

I wanted to conclude this study by reflecting on what has driven me to take on this study, while acknowledging the presence of China in more contemporary media, including educational content. When I introduced this dissertation with a statement about Masalski and Levy's (2010) call for teachers to challenge outdated assumptions and cold war stereotypes, I did so to bring attention to the more current interest that is circulating about knowing more about China (in order to be prepared to compete globally). In addition, it was my encounter with this special issue on China where I began to think more critically about representations of China in all media, not just popular forms.

This notion of a cold war stereotype is intriguing, and it as well connects the present with the 1960s, where the scope of this study began. However, the use of "cold war stereotype" requires serious consideration to what a cold war stereotype is. My conceptualization of a cold war stereotype relies heavily on the (types of) images analyzed throughout this study. That is, images (representations) that were produced in China during the Cold War, but used frequently in contemporary media and curriculum of China in the United States. Like area studies scholarship, which tended to produce China from outside of China (Vukovich, 2012), so too are the images explored throughout this study as a way of bringing China to a United States library, coffee table, or classroom. Put more plainly, the images and texts explored throughout this study were conceived and brought to a Western audience, constructing a version of China through an Orientialist gaze/vision (Said, 1978). The images of Chinese in blue suits, or Red Guards, for example, invoke this cold war sentiment. Remembering that in the 19th century yellow peril "warned of Asiatics racially weakening the national body and justified the exclusion of Asian immigrants" (Leong, 2005, p. 129), and during the Cold War this yellow peril resurfaced to infuse feelings of fear and concern over the communist threat to democracy, the cold war stereotype then, replaces yellow peril (or renames it) through an emphasis of Maoist, and cold war ideology for explaining and understanding contemporary China to Western, democratic audiences, specifically in the United States.

The communist aspect of China's government exacerbates circumspection, but it is not singularly responsible for the fear that pervades. It is certainly part of it, but it is more historically rooted. Massumi's (2010) argument on the affect of fear works well here. Fear is the "anticipatory reality in the present of a threatening future" (p. 54), and the perceived future threat is manifested based on a past future threats. Considering Massumi's postulation, even when there was a fear of a communist spread to Southeast Asia throughout the1960s, it was based on a previous threat of China and the Chinese dating back possibly to the Boxer Rebellion, or even to the fear of Chinese during the immigration period in the mid-nineteenth century.

We are positioned representationally regarding "seeing and knowing" the world in the United States, and to deal critically with discourses of division and difference requires an engagement with what we think we know, why we need to know it, and what re/presentations have been used to construct that knowing. It requires deeper and critical analysis with both media and curriculum content, and the acknowledgement that access to content for teaching and learning about the world stretches far beyond the walls of a classroom, despite particular representations occupying that curriculum space. More specific to China, there is still a circumspection surrounding China in the United States, and more contemporary representations are illustrative of this circumspection.

Throughout my encounters with representations in *National Geographic, Life,* and *Social Education*, I have met with struggles and frustrations. Most notably, however, is how I look and see representations now. I think of photographs in particular in ways I never imagined. Now, I wonder why an image was taken, and more curiously, why a particular image was selected to represent a certain something, to use Barthes' (1980) phrase. Images are omnipresent, and we participate and become implicated in their message, regardless of whether we acknowledge the encounter or not.

This study is a product of my teaching, so as I worked on analysis and discussion, I was simultaneously reflecting on my own practice. The field of social studies can be somewhat isolating, especially when trying to push the boundaries of what social studies means, and specifically what social studies can do. My teaching, including this study, serves as a way of thinking about how China particularly, and the world more generally, is positioned historically, geographically, and culturally in the United States. In my courses, engaging media became a way for students to articulate methods for expanding their pedagogy to include critical media engagement in their own classrooms. This study is my way of engaging media critically, and expanding the definition of pedagogy so as to emphasize that seeing, learning, and knowing is always taking place. This work is far from complete, but it is my hope and aim that teachers and researchers will take up similar work to engage representation, expand meanings of both pedagogy and social studies, and push the boundaries of educational research and practice.

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