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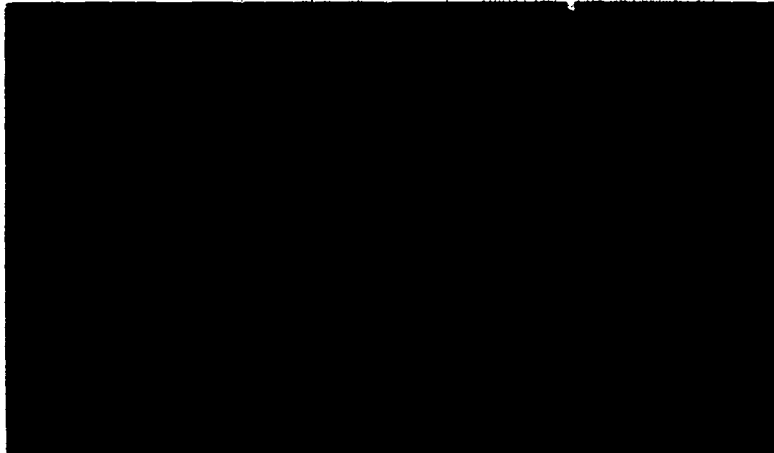
ABSTRACT

Wide variation in approaches to teaching about Asia in the schools suggests a need for categorizing those approaches so that a teacher might see his approach in some relationship with others of differing persuasions. The following evolutionary levels of conceptualization are suggested; Asia as (1) a setting for Western history, where Western events take place under foreign and exotic skies; (2) a problem in American foreign policy, recognized because of its potential effect on our lives; (3) a Westernizing area, as opposed to stereotyped concepts of the exotic and impoverished East; (4) comprised of our brothers, or the "we are all human approach"; (5) studied with the comparative social science process approach to country; (6) an area with cultural uniqueness; (7) a region with forms, patterns, and outlooks to be ingested into our own system of thought and behavior. An evolutionary framework--from nonrecognition of Asia to acceptance on Western terms and finally to learning how to think from an Asian point of view--allows the teacher to take himself and his students from one level to the next, starting from whichever level is appropriate. Viewed as a process of consciousness raising, teaching about Asia provides room for growth for both student and teacher. (JH)

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No. 4

LEVELS OF CONCEPTUALIZATION
IN THE TEACHING OF
ASIAN STUDIES IN SCHOOLS

By
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June 1972

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This paper was presented as part of a symposium, "Successful Approaches in Teaching about Asia in Schools," during the annual meeting of the Association for Asian Studies, New York City, March 29, 1972.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

This is one of a series of papers of the Service Center for Teachers of Asian Studies, which was established by the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) in 1971. The Center came into being as a direct response to the long-felt need of the AAS to give more attention to the needs of the secondary and elementary school teachers who are teaching about Asia. The Center's primary activity is to act as a clearinghouse, to collect and classify all the existing materials on Asia, and to give guidance to teachers of all levels as to the best available materials for the particular needs of a given teacher or a given school situation. One of the ways of achieving this aim is the publication of this present series of papers.

It should be stated at once that while the Center is making these papers available to interested persons, the expressions of opinion and views contained in each of these papers should be attributed exclusively to their specific authors. The Center and the Association neither endorse nor advocate necessarily the author's positions and opinions.

In the future it is hoped that the Center will expand its activities to serve every legitimate need of all school teachers dealing with Asia. At this initial stage, however, the greatest immediate need seems to be to provide some information on and guidelines to the large amount of existing materials, many of them created for very different, though equally legitimate, purposes. By means of these papers, which seeks to present a variety of individual views, and by means of individual and group consultations, the Center seeks to assist all teachers in the important task of introducing to American school children the vast and varied part of human concern which is contained in the past and present of Asian experience.

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LEVELS OF CONCEPTUALIZATION IN THE TEACHING OF ASIAN STUDIES IN SCHOOLS

Before any determination of success can be made on the teaching of Asia we need to know by what criteria success is to be measured. There is a wide spectrum of treatment of Asia in our schools. One finds diametrically opposed practices and approaches in neighboring school districts, in a single school system and even within a single school and department.

The rush to add Asian Studies in schools around the country in the last few years is increasing this disparity of approaches. In New York City a young student teacher has been assigned to teach, "How Hinduism is holding back India." In another classroom in New York City an aim goes on the blackboard. "Why is Asia important to the United States?" At the same time a young teacher in Winston-Salem North Carolina is demonstrating Indian dress and food preparation. In San Francisco an experienced teacher is removing chairs from the room to demonstrate the effects of crowding and he will pursue the concept to an analysis of the Jajmani system. In Minneapolis a group of students are comparing the Ramayan and the Illiad. In a Westchester, New York high school students are learning Bharat Natyam dancing and Japanese calligraphy. In a Durham, North Carolina tenth grade class, students are discussing the basic assumptions underlying Indian Vedantic Monism and western dualism. The picture could easily be expanded to include teachers who are afraid to pronounce Chinese and Indian names, those who spend most of the time devoted to Asia on five year plans and economic growth and those who emphasize the threat of Communism to American interests in Asia. There are those teachers who have an almost mystical faith in modernization and those who reason that Chinese ethics and Indian monism are superior forms of life.

So then what is successful in the teaching of Asia? Doubtless each of the above would assume success if the objectives and values held in each approach were reasonably well executed. How does one deal with the almost endless pluralism that characterizes Asian studies in American schools?

Asia's history is so vast and the civilizations there so complex that any teacher or curriculum maker can easily choose data to support almost any thesis he may hold about India, China and Japan. The myriads of materials being churned out offer more than enough support for any assumptions held. Many will maintain that objectivity is the key to successful teaching, but one could argue that this is not being done on any grand scale, and indeed it may be impossible to do given the enormity of the subject. In addition we are Americans, we have been trained in the social sciences, many of us were educated in the 1940's and 50's, and we live in 1972.

In an effort to set out a method for categorizing the approaches to Asian Civilizations so that those dedicated to any one of them can at least see himself in some relationship with others of differing persuasions, I would like to suggest a conceptual model for sorting out the evolution and levels often used in the teaching of Asia. No intention is held which would denigrate any one of the levels of conceptualization. There are outstanding scholars who could be placed at each level. There no doubt is outstanding teaching at all levels as well. This is merely an attempt to establish some workable categories. We've heard a great deal about consciousness raising lately, so with apologies to Charles Reich and perhaps to the devotees of Kundalini Yoga may I offer seven levels of consciousness in the teaching of Asia.

1. Asia as a Setting for Western History. In this first level of consciousness, we are hardly aware of China, India or Japan, not to mention Burma, Korea, Indonesia, Laos, Thailand, and other Asian countries, as objects in and of themselves. These vague and out of focus areas are mere settings for the drama of western history. Magellan traveled around the world only to die in the Philippines. We would not ask what was going on in the islands at the time. We follow Marco Polo's travels, not the Chinese society in which he moved. This level of operation poses such questions as, "How did the United States 'open' Japan?" It turns Manilla Bay into a setting for Dewey's fleet; it transforms the Himalayas into a hump to be crossed in our war with Japan.

When, and if, a few of the millions of people who live in these areas are mentioned, they are offered as spear carriers and loyal servants to Tyrone Power as he leads his Bengal Lancers into battle. They may appear as Boxers who rebelled, as Kamakasi pilots who sank our ships or "martial" races who helped defend the empire.

Often at this level there develops an exotic fascination with things oriental. The treatment of Asians is done in good National Geographic style. Girls with Ram tattooed on their faces, Chinese opium dens, festivals, with gaudy (godless) gods being carried around, half naked fakirs and snake charmers, pigtailed scholars and Samurai warriors spring vividly forth in living color from the class bulletin boards. A novel like Khushwant Singh's I Shall Not Hear the Nightingale, helps sustain this image.

2. Asia as a Problem in American Foreign Policy. At this second level we now become aware of the separate existence of Asian geography and Asian peoples, but only because of their direct or potential effect on our own

lives. Asian institutions, cultures and nations are seen as means to further U. S. national interests, as factors in a Cold War and threats to an international balance of power. The key concerns are geography, strategy, resources and stability. Japan becomes important because it competes with the United States in textiles and electronics; its GNP and industrial might represent factors in the balance of power. The Peoples' Republic of China looms large in the curriculum at this level. The stress is on Communist China's power potential, its possible expansionist motives in Asia and its role in the power balance.

The constant and not always subtle criteria for considering Asia is whether or not these nations are amenable or at least malleable to United States' objectives in the world. Is the government there friendly to us? How can we maintain that friendship? Is the nation a possible threat? If so how might it be contained? How can we keep the dominoes from falling?

This naturally leads us to make value judgements about the societies in Asia. These judgements in turn color our presentation of the nations. We are more sympathetic to those countries that support our interests. Until recently we tended to stress "Red China" and its lack of individual freedoms and totalitarian society, underplaying the real achievements of the revolution. Taiwan was often presented as a part of the democratic world. Because India's non-alignment policy was not to our official liking, we often labeled it as wishy-wash, and were quick to point to party and political disorganization in the subsequent years. Conversely, because India was willing to ally with the United States, that country was often treated as stable and achieving great social and economic gains.

The focus of study at this level is for scholars to suggest how we may

gain maximum influence in the "key" societies of Asia and how long range United States goals may best be served. Many of our best scholars such as Henry Kissinger and others involved in developing strategic alternatives for the government are concerned with this approach. It was the awareness of Asia as strategically important after World War II that served as a major catalyst in the rapid increase of Asian Studies Centers around the country. The channeling of government funds to assist in establishing centers for the study of Asia which could directly or indirectly contribute to strategic aims ironically is one reason for the abundance of Asian scholars and the rapid introduction of Asian Studies into the schools. It could be argued, however, that this level of awareness is really more appropriate for the study of American History, international relations and American Foreign Policy than it is for an approach to Asian Studies.

3. The Anti-Stereotype Campaign (Phenomenal Development in the Developing Nations). At this level of consciousness comes the first real recognition that there is something of value in Asia, even though we are not quite sure what it is. We sense that textbooks and the generalizations made about Asian societies are unfair and misleading. Often without much tangible information, but armed with lots of good, liberal instincts, we attempt to break student stereotypes of the exotic and impoverished East and show our students just how civilized Asians are.

Now bulletin boards abound with pictures of modern skyscrapers in Tokyo, the Super Bazaar in New Delhi, complex bridges jammed with automobiles, the Bhakra Nagel dam, well dressed women (that is, in skirts and blouses), airports and, above all, cities. Playing down such things as

poverty, religious festivals such as the Durga or Saraswati Puja, arranged marriages, village life and caste, we convince our students that Asians do not live in huts or wander around half clad with begging bowls. We stress how far these nations have developed and argue that they can (or soon will) compare favorably with our own western material culture.

We might ask ourselves what model of development and civilization are we employing at this level. Either consciously or unconsciously we are perhaps using a concept of culture that postulates a linear development from primitive to barbarian, to civilized based on the cultures technological achievements. In this model, as developed by thinkers like Lewis Henry Morgan, Karl Marx and Frederick Ogburn, when man develops pottery he has graduated from savagery to barbarism; once he has achieved an urban life and a written language he may finally be classified as civilized. As later anthropologists demonstrated this model fit well into the evolution of Europe, but can we say it is universally true? Listen to one widely used high school text book apply this model:

Man was first a savage, then a barbarian, and finally a civilized being. The savage depends almost entirely on nature. He secures food from wild plants and wild animals; he knows nothing of metals but makes his tools and weapons of stone, wood, and bone; he wears little or no clothing; and his home is merely a cave, a rock shelter, or a hut of bark. Such primitive folk still live in the interior of Africa and Australia. The barbarian has gained more control over nature than the savage. He plants seeds, has domesticated animals, and uses some metal implements. Most American Indians before the coming of Columbus and most of the Negroes in Africa may be classified as barbarians. In contrast to the savage and the barbarian, the civilized man is one who, to a large extent, can change his surroundings to his needs and wants.¹

The temptation here is to use the post-renaissance West as the model for the "developing" states of Asia. We have not, to use Edward Kracke's phrase, "overcome our preconceptions concerning the basis of a civilization and its objectives."² We want to show that the Asian nations are just as civilized as the west, but in doing so we apply the standards of the west: factories, buses, modern appliances in the home and teeming cities.

When we operate at this level we are likely to use terms such as "developing nations," "catching up," "a society becoming more socially mobile" and more than any we use "modern and modernization." We want our students to appreciate Asian societies and perhaps feel that they will identify with their own notions of what a modern civilization is. Former Ambassador Bowles would often route his American visitors to India through Ludiana in the Punjab so that they would be sure to see a "modern" India as well as the Green Revolution in full flower.

While this level of operation and the knocking down of the collection of stereotypes collected over the years from Erroll Flynn movies, B.B.C. documentaries, and television is certainly more empathetic to Asian cultures than conceiving of them as dominoes, there is still a strong bias at work and a fear to go further into the civilizations for fear of finding elements that don't quite fit Morgan's or our concept of what a "civilization" is.

4. We Are all Human (Brothers and Sisters Under the Skin):

Closely allied with the anti-stereotype campaign level is the approach that postulates that the peoples of the world are really all very much alike. We all strive for security, love our families and are basically warm-hearted.

Empathy is the key factor at this fourth level and is the chief

motivation on the part of the teacher. If only we could meet face to face and talk together without the interposition of governments we would realize our common humanity. Curriculum materials at this level are often slides of faces from all over the world shown to the accompaniment of Barbra Streisand singing "People Who Need People." Frequently teachers who have visited an Asian country for a short time and have experienced the warmth, hospitality and eagerness of the Asian hosts to make their visitors feel at home take this approach. The direct personal contact and assumed friendship is used as a substitute for the complicated historical, political and cultural differences which may separate us from one another. Very often one finds this approach in elementary schools where teachers are trying to foster the idea of one world of humanity.

Frequently the "we are all human approach" assumes that those less fortunate than ourselves in Asia must have suffered some bad luck and exploitation and are in dire need of our human compassion. This feeling is perhaps wound up in our missionary tradition and sense of stewardship. We look at Asian nations to see ways in which we might help these poor, unfortunate people, our brothers in need. Asians need to be saved, if no longer from paganism, at least from hunger, superstition and primitive living conditions. We are concerned with Sister Teresa in Calcutta, UNICEF projects, Ford Foundation funding. The creative teacher tries to encourage her students to donate books and clothing to even the poorest Asian orphan.

Sometimes we carry this level to a point where we are told that Asians are even more human than materialistic Americans. Some families are more humane, Indians are non-violent and the people of the

offer escapes from the viciousness of daily life in the west. We need to learn true humanity from them.

Much of our teaching in high schools would fit the level of anti-stereotypes and we are all human. This effort to promote student awareness that Asians are civilized, even if by our standards, and that they are human is indeed a departure from treatments based on levels one and two. Undoubtedly teachers who have made this transition feel they have brought about a near revolution in the past ten years.

5. The Comparative Social Science Process Approach: At this level of conceptualization, the teacher seeks to offer a structural basis for the study of all cultures through the use of techniques developed by the social sciences. This technique is very often associated with the so-called "New Social Studies" and stresses processes of analysis more than the uniqueness of the subject matter to be studied. When applied to Asian Studies the teacher simply selects processes assumed to be universal such as socialization, urbanization, decision making or distribution of wealth and applies them to case studies selected from Asia and the rest of the world as well. In this approach the cultural uniqueness of Japan or India is subordinated to a comparative study of processes that are presumed to be universal. Data from these cultures are used as material for analysis by the application of social science disciplines. Of course several assumptions are at work at this level. One of the key assumptions is that all cultures will evolve through similar stages of development in their way to becoming "modern." The high priest of this school is Daniel Lerner. After an analysis of many differing cultures he maintains that

Our data on seventy-three countries, distributed over all the continents of the earth. . . suggests that the mode of modernization follows an autonomous historical logic - that each phase tends to generate the next phase by some mechanism which operates independently of cultural or doctrinal variations.³

There is much of this quality in the "New Social Studies." Because the structures are held to be universal it is assumed that students can deal equally well with data from Asia, Africa or the United States. No substantial background in Asian Studies is required for the teacher. Students can look for socialization in novels like the Makioka Sisters, Chemmeen or Little Women. An intensive background in the setting of each is not necessary.

This inquiry method has proven highly stimulating to teachers and students alike. Teachers with little training in Asian Studies have been freed to introduce Asia into the curriculum which has greatly increased the amount of time and effort spent on Non-Western studies. However, it is a bit paradoxical that this very method often tends to deny the uniqueness of these cultures and therefore to vitiate many of the reasons for introducing Asia in the first place.

A second assumption in this approach is that our social sciences are adequate tools for exploring the universals we are comparing among several cultures. Perhaps we forget that social sciences such as political science, history, anthropology, economics and sociology are all of man's inventions and therefore accept many western values as the norm. As quoted by Edward Kracke again, "The objectives of social sciences are related to value systems which are after all arrived at subjectively." Thus what we take to be universal processes may serve to distort other cultures.

In political science we may use a two party system as a norm. This would relegate panchayats, rule by the elders or scholars to a less mature political system. In history we may use a linear development as the model. This reduces the Yin-Yang, and a cyclical view of history to "what some people may believe." In economics we may assume growth and an ever increasing GNP as the norm in which case the jajmani system becomes static, inefficient and pre-modern. In sociology we may assume class loyalties as the norm and view caste as a problem to be overcome on the way to developing a class system. In psychology we may assume Freud to be normal and view expressions of filial piety and group loyalty as oppressive of individual growth. The list could be considerably enlarged.

The comparative approach of the new social studies come close to operating from a universal culture model which owes much to thinkers like Morgan at the turn of the century. The tacit belief is that the Non-West is at the evolutionary stage of pre-renaissance Europe and what happened to us during the last five hundred years will happen in Asia. Only the names have been changed and the locations shifted. Only one real question need haunt us here. What if cultures don't evolve at all and there are no universal models?

6. The Cultural Uniqueness Approach (Paint Me Like I wa. Watts and All): At this level of operation there comes a live consciousness of the uniqueness of each of the Asian nations. Gone are the terms, for last, "Asian mind," or "Oriental World View." Each nation is viewed as a civilization in the context of its own aspirations and goals. They do not respond to stimuli in exactly the same way. In short, they

do not respond to stimuli the way we do either. This is where the real challenge of this level appears. Recent research in neurology and psychology seems to indicate that our very perceptions are shaped by our own culturally conditioned world views. The average Indian or Chinese is perceiving and conceiving a different world and universe than most of us. The very language and thought patterns we employ may be preventing us from truly understanding cultures like India and China. For example, much of our teaching assumes a dualistic world view. We like disagreement in our classes. We expect students to take sides on issues and to know where they stand. When there is strong disagreement expressed in a class we are generally pleased. In short we think and talk using the categories either/or. But what happens when we place China and India in this dichotomous pattern? We ask questions such as, "Is China Confucian or Marxist?" "Is Indian society more traditional or more modern?" "Is India more pro-Russian or pro-American?" "Is Caste good or bad?" "Is India doing as well as China?" These questions are not helping us clarify the world views we are trying to understand. To empathize at all with the culture of classical China we must somehow suspend this dualistic thought pattern and try to think in a system that harmonizes opposites and stresses reciprocity. To do justice to Indian nonism we can remain obsessed with the twin magnets of good and evil. To get to India we must somehow go beyond these pairs. The problem with the dualistic thought pattern here is that if we make a genuine attempt to understand these systems we will be examining our own culture and that we will be questioning assumptions many of us hold as immutable as the laws of physics.

If this is possible we can make some real progress in understanding the

philosophic skin of an Indian, Chinese or Japanese and look at them as Ruth Benedict suggested years ago. That is that each culture is a unique expression of forms and institutions and there is no universal criteria by which to evaluate any one of them. There simply is no monolithic model of what a culture should be. The philosopher Karl Potter suggests we use what he terms a "no discipline approach." In this we would not use only the social sciences and other categories of western evaluation, but rather we would use as our evidence the creations of the culture under study. In this sense the humanities provide the opportunity, we listen to the music, read the literature, enjoy the art, try to penetrate the social and political institutions on their own terms and try to create a reasonably accurate picture of the culture under study.

If we do this we are now free to introduce all the taboos from levels three and four. There we were afraid that certain practices, if offered to students, would convey the "wrong idea." Now we can introduce the Durga Puja and Kali worship without thinking we are denegrating India. We can be objective about caste and look at it as a functional social system instead of introducing it as a problem to be solved. We can be honest about the lack of two party democracy in China and Vietnam because by the rules of this level we know the cultures never presumed to value this form of government. Group loyalty, arranged marriages, extended families and even that biggest of all taboos from level four - tribalism - may be analyzed. The richness and sophistication of the Hindu deity system is understood because we know at this point that they had a deity system and that it was a polytheistic system. We can do all this because we have created and conscious yardsticks of what a culture should be. The student are

stripped away and we are attempting to take India, China, Japan and the other Asian cultures as they are, which means warts and all.

7. Asia Gets to Us (Mans' Universal questions, Asia's particular answers): At this last level of consciousness we perhaps transcend the purely intellectual process of understanding the uniqueness of one or more of the great Asian cultures and we begin to ingest some of the forms, patterns, outlooks and insights into our own systems of thought and behavior. In brief we are changed by that which we study. In our individual quests for truth and meaning we might include a sliver or two of Asian wisdom. We are now attempting to build our own philosophy of life and at the same time extend a hand to the struggling students who are also on their own quests. Our exposure to India, China and Japan may goad us into a larger context in our search for tentative answers. We may come to think that some Asian forms both past and present have applicability for the world in which we live. Perhaps we are prepared to admit that Hinduism and Buddhism may come closer to the universe described by Einstein than our own system of beliefs. We might entertain the possibility that China's long experience with bureaucracy might provide a valuable model in an increasingly bureaucratic world. Perhaps the Chinese and Japanese social ethics may contribute to a western understanding of the most intimate human relationships.

This level of consciousness is exemplified by the work of Carl Jung who owes much to Oriental thought. He is a man whose life and thought is a grand affair, a man whose great works in mythology owe their origin to a world system of which Asia is a great part.

music has grown and developed since his experience in India. In addition there are T. S. Eliot, Herman Hesse, Walter Spink and a host of others whose lives have been expanded as a result of contact with Asian cultures.

It is possible with children of any age to offer them this rich menu of philosophic and institutional choice which transcends merely a western point of view. Certainly few will be genuinely affected, but those who are will never be quite the same. Confucious, Sankara, Kalidassa and Li Po are as much a part of man's total heritage as are Locke, Aristotle and Shakespeare. There is no good reason why they should not be formally taught as a part of our larger heritage and become a part of what we all think and become.

Perhaps a universal man, enlarged by all civilizations, will be the man of the future. He will be quite different than the "modern" man of level five who assumes rationalism, technology and mass communications are the sine qua non of twentieth century civilization. There are philosophies, art forms, psychologies and social relationships that go far deeper than many western scholars and purely western disciplines have probed. The difference between this man and the one on level five is that this one is changed by what he has studied while level five man remains the detached scientist.

There are few teachers, materials or even students operating at this level of conceptualization. Our present social organization would have to be reorganized into a truly universal one including all world civilizations as part of our educational program. Music, art, literature, mathematics and science would have to include contributions from larger world areas.

our educational history this is more utopian than a reality.

The great unevenness described in the first part of this paper must be the context in which we choose and develop our own particular approach to Asia. The simple fact is that student levels of conceptualization are so pluralistic as to make a single approach to Asia inappropriate. These differences are observable from school to school, class to class and from individual to individual within a single class.

The best level of conceptualization is the one to which the student can realistically move from where she is. If a student's major images concerning Asia are common stereotypes gathered from movies, comic books and aunts and uncles who have done the seven day tourist trek, then time is best spent on dispelling those stereotypes. This may take a week or a year. The key for the teacher is to know where the students are in their perceptions and conceptions and to know when they have gone on to the more sophisticated levels. Of course it is crucial that students know on a visceral level that Asians are human, but spending weeks on this when students already accept the notion becomes a sequence of classes drowned in liberal cliches.

Few individuals in any class will evolve through the seven levels presented here, however, it is important that the teacher know there is more to Asia than the orthodoxies in his or her own mind. By operating on these multiple levels a teacher can provide a stimulus and a challenge for students on any level of consciousness.

Beyond the implications for teaching at the multiple levels, there are other questions raised that require the individual teacher and curriculum developer to analyze assumptions and to have, over a long

way from treating Asia as an extension of Western Civilization, but have we come far enough? Are there elements of historical writing and interpretation inherent in our British, German and French models of history that misinterpret and distort our understanding of Asian History? Do the processes of the New Social Studies really achieve the objective of being fair to Asian societies? As our tools of analysis become more sophisticated we ought to begin to question the assumptions of economics, sociology, political science and anthropology, all of which are inventions of recent Western History. There is great ferment and disagreement within these disciplines as they apply to "Non-Western cultures" and we ought not to assume that a single approach or model derived from one of them is the final truth. The argument between the universalist culture model as developed by Daniel Lerner and used in much of the New Social Studies must be considered alongside Karl Potter's thesis that the best approach to Asia is the "no discipline approach." An individual teacher's answer to this important question will help clarify the philosophic difference between levels six and seven of this paper. An often unchallenged assumption of the New Social Studies is the model built on starkly dichotomous lines of traditional and modern. As the work of J. H. J. Jongen and David and Susan Rudolph has demonstrated this simple model is far too broad that it fails

As we proceed to develop our curriculum based on the social science we need to know the options that are available. We need to know the options of Asia and take us our own mind. We should be sharing with our students and modern, universalist versus traditional the social science disciplines.

the right to develop their own culture models, tools of analysis and philosophies of history and civilization.

The introduction of Asia into our curriculum has caused us to question anew the very basis and assumptions of our fields of inquiry. We should not fail to grapple with these exciting questions at the same time we enjoy the cultural richness of half the world.

NOTES

1. Wesley Roehm and Morris R. Buske, Record of Mankind, p. 2.
2. Quoted in Milton Singer, "The Asian Civilizations Program at the University of Chicago," Ward Morehouse Editor, Asian Studies in Liberal Arts Colleges, p. 31.
3. Theodore De Bary and Ainslie Embree (Eds.) Approaches to Asian Civilization, p. 230.
4. Morehouse, Op. cit., p. 31.