

# Social Studies Teachers' Gatekeeping in the Teaching of North Korea: Implications for Citizenship Education\*

Daehoon Jho\*\*

*Assistant Professor, Sungshin Women's University*

## *Abstract*

*This paper explores Korean social studies teachers' pedagogical approaches toward the teaching of North Korea. By analyzing qualitative data collected from in-depth interviews with exemplary high school teachers, this study illustrates how those particular teachers viewed North Korea and how they constructed the image of North Korea for their pedagogical purposes. The pedagogical consequences of several common dilemmas the teachers face with regard to the teaching of North Korea are discussed. The implications of the study are profound not only in understanding the nature of socio-political construction of social studies knowledge by the role of teacher as "curricular and instructional gatekeeper" (Thornton, 1991), but also in promoting comparative insights in the field of citizenship education.*

*Key words : Teacher gatekeeping, practical theory, North Korea, citizenship education, social studies education*

---

\* The earlier version of this paper was presented at the 30th annual conference of Pacific Circle Consortium, held in Mexico City, Mexico, during July 11~15, 2006.

\*\* Contact E-mail : tcjjang@sungshin.ac.kr

## I. Introduction

The true tragedy was not the war itself, for a civil conflict purely among Koreans might have resolved the extraordinary tensions generated by colonialism, national division and foreign intervention. The tragedy was that the war solved nothing: only the status quo ante was restored, only an armistice held the peace. Today the tensions and the problems remain. [Cummings, 1997/2005, p. 298].

As the strong control over national curriculum has gradually waned with the heightened democratic mood of the society, schoolteachers in South Korea (hereafter Korea) have witnessed that the image of North Korea, once colored by harsh ideological biases, has taken a different shape in the 7th and the latest national social studies curriculum and textbooks. However, the ghost of the Cold War ideology still lingers on in the Korean peninsula. It is fair to say that the general public's ambivalent attitude toward North Korea tends to have Korean teachers ideologically and pedagogically constrained when they deal with the issues related to North Korea.

How do Korean social studies teachers perceive of and teach about North Korea? What challenges and dilemmas do they face when teaching the issues related to North Korea? Compared to the observed changes in recent curricular materials the educational community of Korea has suffered from the absence of information about how social studies teachers actually perceive of and teach about North Korea. As Kelly (1986) perceptively noted two decades ago, social studies teachers "have been criticized for the values they are or are not transmitting" no matter what ideological stance they take (p. 113).

These questions seem even more valuable especially when it comes to thinking of the purposes of citizenship education in this globalized multicultural society. What should 'the legitimate definition of democratic citizenship' be? Many believe it involves teaching youngsters to engage in meaningful civic discourse and subsequent political action (Cogan et al., 2002; Steiner-Khamsi, 2002; Torney-Purta, 2001), and empowering students through dialogues that raise consciousness and challenge official knowledge (Apple, 1993, 1996; Engle and Ochoa, 1988; Freire, 1994, 1998). I believe the issue of 'teaching North Korea as a topic in social studies lessons' goes beyond the problem of curriculum or education for reunification. More essentially it intersects fundamental problems stemming from the politics of difference, the teacher as educational agent, and the nature of social studies knowledge. The present study of teachers' narratives about North Korea prompts social studies and citizenship educators to rethink not only their daily practices in classrooms but also their epistemological understandings of school knowledge.

In this paper, I will explore Korean social studies teachers' pedagogical approaches toward the teaching of North Korea, one of the ideologically-sensitive subjects in Korean schools. By analyzing qualitative data collected from in-depth interviews with 10 exemplary high school teachers, I will illustrate how those particular teachers viewed North Korea and how they constructed the image of North Korea for their pedagogical purposes. Particularly, this study will interpret the pedagogical consequences of several common dilemmas the teachers face with regard to the teaching of North Korea. In conclusion, I will draw special attention to the notion of the teacher as curricular and instructional gatekeeper (Thornton,

1991). It is one of the major premises in this study that social studies practitioners are educational gatekeepers at the frontier whose pedagogical practices are heavily influenced by his or her practical knowledge and theories (Cornett, 1987; Elbaz, 1981; Ross et al., 1992; Schön, 1983, 1987), while striving to accommodate to the existing ideological and institutional constraints.

## II. Methodological Framework

Methodologically, I am a post-positivist investigator who considers myself as an agent of making sense of what is going on in the field, highlight the presence of local voices in the raw data, and pay attention to the particulars as well as the general patterns (Bogdan & Biklen, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 1998; Eisner, 1998, LeCompte & Preissle, 1993). Secondly, I am also an investigator who illuminates the significance of the voices of teachers. Teacher narrative goes beyond telling one's story; it indicates an alternative way of knowing as powerful as positivistic knowing, especially considering the situated complexities of classroom instruction constructed by the interplay of the personal and the institutional in a particular terrain of subject matter (Clandinin and Connelly, 1991).

At the beginning, my teacher participants were selected by purposeful sampling (Patton, 1980; Lincoln and Guba, 1995), designed to produce the most appropriate data for the purpose of the present study. I deliberately chose 10 highly qualified social studies teachers. In judging this qualification, I mostly depended on the verbal information provided by the pool of experienced social studies experts that I have known. In sum, those 10 teachers were viewed as highly

knowledgeable, reflective, passionate, and willing to participate in the teacher research. In particular, these teachers were similar in two respects. First, they were working in local public high schools serving middle to upper-middle class communities in the metropolitan area. Second, they graduated from 4-year preservice social studies teacher education programs in universities which have been known prestigious. However, their respective age varied: five teachers were in their late 20s through mid 30s, three in their 40s, and the other three in their 50s. The number of years in teaching also varied among these teachers accordingly.

Basically this study was designed to conduct two-staged, semi-structured in-depth interviews with the high school social studies teachers in Seoul. In the first stage, with their informed consent, I collected a set of preliminary data from 10 highly qualified social studies teachers recommended by various social studies experts, including in-service teachers, researchers, and school administrators with whom I am acquainted. The first-stage interviews are, then, followed by the second-stage interviews intended to ask more specific questions about how to approach the relevant units in their lessons. For the second-stage interview, I deliberately chose 4 teachers who respectively exhibited distinct professional perspectives on the current issue. In the present report, I focus on two teachers, Mr. Lim and Ms. Yoo, who worked in the same school and exhibited differing perspectives on this particular topic.<sup>1)</sup>

Peer debriefing and member checking were also employed to establish the validity of the interpretations of qualitative data. That is, two of my colleague researchers and teacher

---

<sup>1)</sup> These two teachers, Mr. Lim and Ms. Yoo, were selected for this paper especially in that they had exhibited the most contrasting narratives about the teaching of North Korea.

educators offered me critical comments on my data analysis and subsequent interpretation. Also the selected four teachers who participated in the second-stage interviews were asked to discuss my findings.

### III. Theoretical Underpinnings

The research on the teachers' conceptions and beliefs about pedagogical knowledge and teaching has increased considerably in recent years in Korean and the United States (Adler, 1984; Brophy, 1993; Cho, 1989; Lee, 1996; Lyons, 1994; Roh, 1997; Ross et al., 1992; Thornton, 1988; Thornton & Wenger, 1989; Wilson & Wineburg, 1988; Wineburg & Wilson, 1991). This line of research has advanced the notion of, what Thornton (1991) called, the "teacher as curricular and instructional gatekeeper" by illuminating the pervasiveness of teacher gatekeeping in the realm of teachers' daily curricular and instructional practices. In his review of research on teachers' professional viewpoints and decision-making practices in social studies, Thornton (1991) defines teacher gatekeeping as the "decisions teachers make about curriculum and instruction and the criteria they use to make those decisions" (p. 237). The literature on teacher gatekeeping, mostly qualitative in nature, has shed light particularly on how teachers' conceptions and beliefs about pedagogical knowledge and teaching are associated with their daily work.

One of the essential arguments drawn from the idea of teacher gatekeeping was that individual teachers have considerable autonomy in their instructional domain enough to trade off the controlling effect of top-down mandates. Under

that proposition, the image of teacher is no longer a passive deliverer of the textbooks: any official curricular knowledge is not transmitted as it is, but altered by teachers' professional discretion, and by negotiations between teachers and students. In addition this argument implies that the effect of any reform policy is inevitably filtered through the teachers' curricular and instructional decision-making as based on their personal beliefs and conceptions of subject matter knowledge and teaching. In this regard, teachers are considered as a powerful agent of curriculum and educational change.

The research on teacher gatekeeping also has developed the notion of teachers' practical theories of teaching (Cornett, 1990; Elbaz, 1983; Ross et al., 1992; Schön, 1983, 1987).<sup>2)</sup> Their findings illustrate that teachers who live in the real world tend to develop subjective and context-bound theories of teaching for their daily lessons, contrasted with the universal and theoretical principles of teaching. Thus, teachers' practical theories of teaching significantly determine the quality of the enacted curriculum in their classrooms. The educational scholarship should benefit from the knowledge about what kind of practical theories teachers exhibit and how they develop them in their particular working environments.

However, it should not be forgotten that teacher gatekeeping seldom occurs in isolation, but in context. What has been relatively unknown in the Korean literature is how teachers' curricular and instructional gatekeeping activities are interacting with the contextual factors, chiefly among these being the administrative structure of the school, the nature of

---

<sup>2)</sup> By the notion of practical theories, I am indebted to Cornett's (1990) definition. Cornett suggests that (personal) practical theories represent contributions from clinical and personal experiences inside and outside the classroom, and from theoretical, contextual, and personal knowledge (pp. 256-227).

subject matter, the culture of the teaching profession, and even the school system society (Lortie, 1975; McNeil, 1986; Page & Valli, 1990; Siskin, 1991, 1994; Stodolsky, 1988). These contextual factors have enormous impacts on the lives of teachers and students. Under these institutional contexts of education, individual teachers persistently strive to adapt to their work environments, which often causes conflicting goals and leaves individual teachers with the responsibility for resolving those conflicts.

The foregoing discussion has crucial implications for the present study. First, it sheds light on the complexity inherent in the nature of teachers' classroom instruction or the potential power of teacher gatekeeping. More specifically, it is predictable that what students learn from the lessons about North Korea considerably hinges on their teacher's respective gatekeeping role. That is, it becomes highly pivotal to know how individual teachers think about North Korea, how they practically theorize and implement the teaching of North Korea for youngsters, and what contextual factors affect the shape of their gatekeeping activities. It appears that the Korean educational scholarship has not yet elicited an extensive discussion of the meanings of teaching on this particular subject. I believe that teachers' pedagogical practices can be more properly understood in conjunction with the continuous efforts to situate them within their particular contexts of teaching and the broader social, cultural, and political contexts of a given society.

In this study, I intend to advance the claim that the notion of subject matter education is shaped by the combined factors of individuality, subject matter, and the institutional contexts of schooling in a given society. This theoretical perspective on subject matter education becomes a useful heuristic lens for understanding the construction of subject



matter and citizenship education.

#### IV. Historical Background: Understanding the Reality of a Divided Nation

In this section I begin with a brief sketch of the history of Korea in the 20th century, with a special focus on the impact of the reality of the divided nation on Korean schooling. This task will help the international readers situate the nature and findings of the present study within the particular historical context of Korea.

The transition from the traditional Confucian society (late 15th through 19th century) to modern Korea was not smooth but traumatic. Korea in the first half of the 20th century was severely agitated by a series of historical events. In the late 19th century, the old Chosŏn Korea became the focus of intense competitions among imperialist nations such as China, Russia or Japan. 1910, Japan annexed the Chosŏn Korea and implemented its plundering colonial ruling until 1945 when the colonized modern Korea was finally liberated through the military intervention by another two foreign Powers, the Old Soviet Union and the United States. However, this was an ominous prelude of an upcoming territorial and ideological division. During 1950 through 1953, the liberated Korea went through a disastrous, internecine civil war which led to the birth of twin states with opposed ideologies. Since then, the Republic of Korea in the South has been ruled by a capitalist government, while the Democratic People's Republic of Korea in the North by a communist regime.<sup>3)</sup>

---

<sup>3)</sup> For more details about Korean history, I recommend the readers Cumings (1997) and Eckert et al (1990). And there are numerous books about the reality of the divided Korea written in

The discourse of Korean social studies curriculum in the second half of the 20th century has grown in this harsh reality. The subject matter discourse was not free from ideological constraints, but severely distorted by the authoritarian dictatorships. Unlike the case in the United States, the state government in Korea was in strong command of social studies curriculum and textbooks at the national level until very recently. Authoritarian military leaders deviously capitalized on national social studies curriculum so as to legitimate their cold-war ideology and to prolong their political power.

Since the early 1990s, however, the Korean Society has witnessed visible societal and educational changes in a relatively short span of time. Seemingly these tangible changes stemmed from the emergence of the first non-military, civilian president and subsequent democratization of the society. The government's discourse on the issues of North Korea exhibited a deviation from the previous one stricken by the Cold-War ideology. Recent moves by the Ministry of Education also have represented the mainstream policymakers' awareness that the conventional modes of authoritarian control and suppression over schooling no longer meet the changing ethos of Korean society.

Notable changes in the attitudes of Korean people towards North Korea also have been vindicated by numerous social surveys. In a nutshell, North Korea is no longer an enemy to the South; they cannot sense any definite menace to their country. Obviously, the 'sunshine policy' of the former President Kim Dae-Jung and the carefully arranged family reunions have changed South Korean people's sense of security situation. More fundamentally, the shared feeling of

---

English and Japanese.

'emotional ties' with and pities about North Korean people seems to trade off South Korean people's psychological anxiety.

Contrary to this changing ethos, the Cold-War ideology still has survived in the 21st century Korea. Let me introduce the long-standing dilemma in our Korean peninsula: "Should the South continue to provide the North with humanitarian aid and other forms of economic assistance to avoid a famine or an abrupt collapse? Or would such good be abused by the authoritarian communist regime even to make its nuclear missile projects sustainable?" The answer to this has been polarized in the South, and the Cold-War ideology has remained on the right end of that ideological spectrum. On its right end are the advocates of a hard-line policy aiming to enervate the Communist regime as fast as possible and to induce its disintegration and subsequent absorption by the South. The United States, for example, has seen North Korea as anything but a dangerous 'rogue state' or what Bush administration called an 'axis of evil' on earth. On the other end, there is a soft-landing strategy of creating peaceful political contexts so that two Koreas can build a culture of dialogue and trust to engender reconciliation.

Considering the aims of citizenship education, it is hard to deny that this dichotomy has provided an important context for how social studies teachers perceive of and teach about North Korea under their professional discretion.

## **V. One Korean Nation? Or an Axis of Evil?: Cases of Teacher Gatekeeping in High School Social Studies Classrooms**

During my in-depth interviews, exemplary social studies teachers exhibited somewhat overlapping, but also somewhat differing perspectives on the desirability of social studies education. Working in the similar institutional environments of Korean public high schools, these teachers' subject matter perspectives were as unique as their physical appearances were. Nevertheless, their pedagogical perspectives exhibited some common ideological dilemmas and problems entrenched in the social studies textbooks and teachers' professional work environments.

The chief purpose of this paper is to present my analysis of the narratives of exemplary social studies teachers, drawing attention to their curricular and instructional gatekeeping (Thornton, 1991) in teaching the units related to North Korea in their high school social studies textbooks. In particular, I will focus on the selected 2 veteran teachers—Mr. Lim and Ms. Yoo—who worked in the same public high school serving middle to upper class communities, in order to illuminate in detail their gatekeeping activities on the teaching of North Korea. Comparing and contrasting these teachers' narratives, I will illustrate how my social studies teachers perceived their subject matter knowledge and teaching and what differences and commonalities existed in their pedagogical gatekeeping on this ideologically charged subject.

### **Two Teachers' Perspectives on Subject Matter Knowledge and Teaching**

Mr. Lim is a veteran teacher in his mid-50s who majored in general social studies education in one of the prestigious university teacher education programs in Korea. He has taught social studies subjects such as 'Society & Culture,' 'Economics,' and 'Social Studies 1' for

almost 30 years. According to my informants, Mr. Lim was characterized by his colleagues as an assertive scholar-teacher who is possessed by never-ending academic desire; he finds himself an extensive reader of academic writings in social sciences, and sometimes a freelance writer for newspaper and journal columns. He was considered to be one of the well-informed persons in his workplace.

Meanwhile, Ms. Yoo's professional career exhibited much more turbulent years than Mr. Lim's. Another experienced teacher in her early 50s, Ms. Yoo, a Department head of Career and Counseling, majored in history education from one of the top-notch universities in Seoul. She has taught National History (*kuksa*), 'Korean Modern & Contemporary History (*hanguk kŭnhyŏndaesa*),' and 'Social Studies (*saŭoe*).'<sup>4</sup> In 1989, she was laid off due to her joining in Chŏnkyojo, then-current, one and only teacher labor union, which was deemed an illegal, anti-social group by the ruthless military dictatorship. It took 5 years for her to come back to school, and additional 5 years for this teacher union to be endorsed as a legalized professional group. One of my informants who first had introduced her to me described Ms. Yoo as a warm and energetic teacher who knows how to develop good relationships with students. She was also considered to be a progressive one who seeks to transform

---

<sup>4</sup> For the romanization of Korean words, I subscribed to the McCune-Reischauer system. In the case of any Korean author's name whose publication was cited in this study, however, I used their preferred romanization in the reference section. All teacher interviews were conducted and transcribed in Korean. Accordingly, the teachers' vignettes shown in this paper were originally written in Korean. For some important words in these teacher vignettes, however, I added romanized Korean words in parenthesis for the purpose of emphasis.

authoritarian school and occupational cultures in the eyes of her colleagues.

Two teachers exhibited similar but somewhat differing professional conceptions of 'being a good teacher' and 'the desirable of social studies education.' For Mr. Lim, it is one of his professional mottos that "a schoolteacher should not be obsessed with mannerism and passivity." He did not want himself to look burned-out or a piece of deadwood in classrooms:

Well, as you know, social studies lessons are not just a delivery of what is included in the social studies textbooks. But it is another pure fact that social studies textbooks cannot be ignored in classrooms. My practical choice? I have tried to connect social studies knowledge with real stories drawn from the broader society. I believe it is important for social studies teachers to help teenagers to open their eyes to our social world. This approach allows students to properly understand abstractly and superficially written textbooks and further to connect those ideas with their real-life experiences. By the way, do you know what kind of student I am really eager to meet? I'd like to meet those students who can stand up and speak about their understandings of many unreasonable things observed in this society, and even in this school, which are very opposite to what they actually learned from schools. But, I've never met one in these years.

Mr. Lim, like other teachers interviewed in this study, rejected the notion that teaching boils down to 'knowledge transmission' or 'indoctrination.' When speaking about the school subjects he was teaching, Mr. Lim told me that his cherished goal is to "help teenage students to open their eyes to our social world." While he did not dismiss the importance of acquiring certain academic knowledge and skills in our schools, Mr. Lim believed that social studies learning can encourage them to "connect with their every day world where their lived experiences take

place incessantly."

In a similar vein, Ms. Yoo, a history major, underscores the notion of relevance, linking students' learning to their real life experiences and in her unique way:

Looking back on my teaching career, I have found myself realizing that I tend to focus on the delivery of discrete pieces of information, rarely paying attention to the holistic picture of Korean History. I think it is important for social studies teachers to understand the broader structure of the given textbook, the big stream underlying across the units. Based on that understanding, for example, let's say I am teaching the early 20th century Korea. It will be my most important goal to let youngsters use their historical imagination so that they understand how both domestic and foreign factors contributed to the colonization and liberation of the old Korea. And indeed it is my hope that students can connect their historical knowledge to what is going on in the present societies they live in, and realize history very often repeats itself.

Ms. Yoo believed that each subject matter area calls for its own unique ways of teaching its subject matter knowledge, the ways that teachers need to develop based on their solid understandings of subject matter contents. It is her conviction that a professional social studies teacher should strive to focus on "developing her (or his) understanding of the overall structure of given subject matter contents." In her case, social studies teachers' pedagogical content knowledge (Shulman, 1987) need to serve the goal of understanding the connectivity and continuity between the past and the present.

A great majority of teachers in this study saw students' response as the most significant evidence of a 'successful lesson.' Surrounded by a variety of fleeting classroom events, these teachers saw students' active participation and verbal interaction the most crucial part of constituting an ideal

classroom. For Mr. Lim, it is another moment of his professional rewarding that students consider him as "an expert teacher who is capable of teaching the difficult easy" with his thoughtful ways of organizing and expounding given contents. For Ms. Yoo, an ideal picture of her Korean history lessons was deeply associated with including students' own perspectives. She said, "When students get bored and hardly concentrate on my lessons, I believe it is mostly my fault. It is my job to have my students fall for something." From Ms. Yoo's perspective, a teacher's understanding of the students' subjective world is the most crucial element of engendering a meaningful dialogue in her classrooms.

The social studies textbooks served as the most fundamental basis of social studies knowledge for all expert teachers in this study. They confirmed that the contents of the social studies textbooks, which are tightly controlled by the government, represented a major portion of all content coverage that went on in their lessons. In fact, these teachers neither thought of it to be reasonable that every social studies teacher should teach the social studies textbooks word for word nor did they believe that the textbooks should serve as an educational bible for social studies instruction. At the same time, however, they did assert that teachers should not dismiss the reality that the textbooks have significant values chiefly for students' KSAT (Korean version of Scholastic Aptitude Test) scores and school grades, the two most crucial factors of judging one's admission to the higher education. As Ms. Choi, one of the teachers in this study, aptly put it:

Textbooks are similar to *Kyerük* (a chicken rib).<sup>6)</sup> That is, while

---

<sup>6)</sup> *Kyerük* means a chicken rib, which appeared in an old Chinese story. A chicken rib has much to eat, but at the same



our textbooks are not so teacher-friendly, it is difficult for teachers to throw them away. Social studies teachers must know how to use them wisely.

This metaphor of *kyeŏk* was hinting the situation that social studies teachers feel perplexed about whether to accept or give up their social studies textbooks which have many problems.

Likewise, Mr. Lim and Ms. Yoo admitted that the social studies textbooks have been problem-ridden, and that they have been wielding enormous power not only on determining *what students should know*, but also on shaping *the nature of teaching and learning* in Korea's general high schools.

Despite this shared understanding, however, professional discretion on the use of textbooks was different between the two teachers. Ms. Yoo regarded "in-depth, thematic studies of historical figures and events," rather than an existing chronological and superficial coverage of the past, as the most desirable in history teaching. Her pedagogical choice was, then, to go beyond the textbooks so that she could include additional contextual information relevant to certain topics into her lessons. Ms. Lim, however, told me that he preferred sticking to the content structures of the textbooks although he was not fully content with the school's social studies textbooks. His professional decision partly came from his belief that "teachers must capitalize on their textbooks so as to keep a good balance between their own pedagogical goals and students' immediate educational needs." In this regard, Mr. Lim mentioned, he strove to expound given contents in the textbooks effectively, relatively minimizing the effect of his personal interests and values on the daily lessons.

---

time it is a waste to throw it away. When Korean people use this idiomatic expression, it indicates a catch-22 or dilemmatic situation.

Finally, the teacher interviews indicated that social studies instruction was seemingly *teacher-centered* across the teachers: the teacher took a dominant role in their social studies lessons, while the students largely remained as passive participants. Regardless of their respective professional viewpoints of an ideal teaching, teacher dominance appears to be an inevitable mode for Korean social studies teachers, who must deal with the teaching of a heterogeneous instructional group of 30 to 35 teenagers most of whom will be staying in after-school private institutions until 11 or 12 at night for the preparation of school exams and KSAT.

In parallel with this general tendency of teacher dominance, teacher narratives also suggest that social studies teachers' pedagogical gatekeeping differed significantly in dealing with the issues of North Korea. Notably my two teachers, Mr. Lim and Ms. Yoo, exhibited contrasting images of classroom teacher in the teaching of North Korea. Below I illustrate how their respective pedagogical gatekeeping activities were situated in their respective lessons.

### **Mr. Lim's Story about North Korea: Drawing an Ideological Border Line**

Even though he had faint memories about his family's refugee life during the Korean War, Mr. Lim was able to visualize how such an ideological civil war had lasting and devastating impacts on the nation's people. Having or not having this kind of traumatic raw experience related to the Korean War seems to make a marked difference in the teacher's perception of North Korea between older-generation and younger generation teachers in this study for instance, the teachers in their 30s had more difficulties in imagining how horrendous another Korean War would be, than those in their 50s' likewise, the teachers in their 50s tended to exhibit

less positive thinking about the possibility of the reunification between two Koreas than those in their 30s.

What practical theories guide Mr. Lim's lessons about North Korea? I asked Mr. Lim to reflect on his basic set of theories, or "principles" in his term, guiding his lessons. Mr. Lim's practical theories were identified as follows (See Table 1).

First of all, keeping an objective stance toward understanding the status of North Korea is one of the tenets Mr. Lim announced. He mentioned that his scholarly trait has allowed him to self-study various social and political issues, including North Korea, since his university years. This pedagogical tenet was deemed important particularly because he was very much worried about the reality that "the red complex (*saekggal nonjaeng*)" still takes effect in instigating people even in this globalized 21st century Korea:

Above all, a teacher must keep an objective standpoint toward the teaching of North Korea. I always tell my students that "We, South Korean people, must evaluate North Korea based on the sheer empirical facts, not on the old-fashioned Cold War ideology, and that is not negotiable." However, you know, our society still remains suffering from so-called "the red-complex" that some of the right wing politicians used to pop up for some political purposes. There have been always some people or countries who enjoy the subsequent profits from the division of two Koreas.

In this regard, Mr. Lim became a fervent critic against the ultra right wing conservative's discourse, this upholding a series of hard-line policies which ultimately deteriorate the South-North relations to bolster military confrontations. It is one of Mr. Lim's firm beliefs that students should be encouraged to "differentiate factual claims from value-laden ones."

The first theory of teaching about North Korea leads to another: *understanding the superiority of the South over the North*. He mentioned, "The overall evidence tells us the superiority of South over the North in every aspect." This superiority, he said, comes from the confidence and affluence of the South, which enables it to embrace the destitute North. For Mr. Lim, it was unconceivable that students would end up with the conclusion, "The North is a better place for human-beings than the South." He believed it is a teacher's duty to "make them understand this superiority based on the facts."

**Table 1. Comparison of the Two Teachers' Practical Theories**

	Mr. Lim	Ms. Yoo
Theory 1	Keeping an objective stance toward understanding the status of North Korea	Making students fully acknowledging the downright reality of the divided Korea
Theory 2	Understanding the superiority of the South over the North	Contextualizing the issues of North Korea from the historical perspective
Theory 3	Having the textbook as a safe haven from a potential ideological tension	Considering the textbook as the texts written from a certain vantage point
Theory 4	Articulating absolute prohibition of any armed collision in the Korean peninsula in any circumstances	Articulating absolute prohibition of any armed collision in the Korean peninsula in any circumstances

Mr. Lim's third theory seemed to be drawn from the authority of the textbooks: *the textbook has the most legitimate authority in teaching the units related to North Korea*. More essentially, however, an ideological barrier was underlying this theory: *using the textbook as a safe haven from potential ideological tensions*.

I have to acknowledge that my social studies textbooks have the greatest authority in my classrooms. Of course, I am not saying that I worship the textbook as an educational bible. But as a public school teacher, I should resort to the contents of the textbook, especially when it comes to engaging a topic related to North Korea. Why should I do this? That's because there exist some fundamental realities that teen-age students should realize. Let me give you an example. (Pointing to one of the inquiry-based activities of Unit I in his Economics textbook) Teaching the concept of economic system in my Economics class, I encourage students to compare the Constitutions of two Koreas in light of economic system. Having them read the underlying assumptions of each Constitution, I always try to shed light on the reality that "North Korea does have an ambiguous status." At the international level, North Korea is a legitimate country endorsed by the United Nations. But, we should know that our constitutional law clearly regards the North as an illegitimate group unlawfully occupying our territory. Facing this contradictory situation, I always tell them "we should choose the latter definition about North Korea chiefly because we are subject to National Security Law." As a public school teacher, I believe it is a right choice for our students to respect what these laws say to us.

He asserted that no other teaching materials can replace the officially-endorsed social studies textbooks especially with regard to the teaching of North Korea-related units. This belief was closely coupled with the existence of 'the Constitution of the Republic of Korea' and 'National Security Law.' The foregoing vignette partly illustrates his deep concern about walking on the fine line between politically correct and incorrect ways specifically in the matter of North Korea. Mr. Lim thought that violating the boundaries of the existing laws may be the scientist's job, but neither the teacher's nor the students'. Described in the next chapter, this kind of an ideological constraint haunted the minds of my social studies teachers.

Mr. Lim's final theory of teaching about the issues of North Korea boils down to this major proposition: *the*

*absolute prohibition of any armed collision in the Korean peninsula in any circumstance.*

We must not allow two Koreas, or any foreign powers, to perform a sword dance (*k'alchum*) in this peninsula." We must not let them do that. I just don't want to imagine another civil war. It means a mass suicide. Because of this, I often articulated to my students the fact that we are in an armistice, not in a peace treaty. Students need to understand the meaning of this sheer reality on Korean people's life. But students, and even most adults, do not understand the significance of this reality at all. Too accustomed to this long-standing armistice, they seem to believe there will be no war in their future.

It is one of Mr. Lim's claims that it is the most urgent task for two Koreas to conclude an authentic peace treaty markedly different from the previous ones. Particularly Mr. Lim opposed the current discourse of reunification found in the rhetoric of politicians and the mass media, which is only emotionally charged without having a cool-headed, rational stance. Mr. Lim believed that the social studies textbooks are not the exceptions for this:

I think, in our country, teaching about North Korea culminates in the education for reunification (*t'ongil kyoyuk*). I believe there cannot be any other option for teachers. We have 'Moral,' the national school subject and textbook directly published by the Ministry of Education, which straightforwardly discuss the issue of reunification than any other school subjects. But I think our social studies textbooks must provide students with different perspectives on the reunification. There are too many ought-to things in our textbooks with regard to this reunification.

He pointed out that the teaching of North Korea in social studies lessons ultimately ends up with the education for the reunification. The most salient problem of the education for

the reunification seems, as Mr. Lim noted, its normative approach. For this reason, when teaching the units involving the issue of reunification, most of the teachers said to me, they tended to either "feel nothing to teach" especially for KSAT, or "just skip the units with vague statements."

Taken altogether, Mr. Lim was drawing an ideological border line in the teaching of North Korea within that ideological boundary his students are allowed to explore the issues of North Korea from an objective and rational perspective. In this regard, some tacit tensions remained between Mr. Lim's practical theories, especially between Theory 1 and Theory 3. However, these tensions seemed to be reduced in his classrooms, partly due to the students' disinterest in this specific topic, but more directly due to his belief that Theory 3 ultimately takes precedence over Theory 1.

#### **Ms. Yoo's Story about North Korea: Obscuring an Ideological Border Line**

As born in a local province right after the end of Korean War, Ms. Yoo had not so pleasant memoirs about her childhood. Looking at the subsequent miseries of the 3-year civil war, she also felt that another massacre must be avoided in Korea. Ms. Yoo identified herself as a pacifist who supports the idea of one Korean nation, rather than the status quo of the division.

Compared with Mr. Lim's, Ms. Yoo's narrative exhibited somewhat similar but also somewhat significantly differing viewpoints on the same issue. The practical theories (or "beliefs" in her expression) guiding Ms. Yoo's history lessons shaped the image of obscuring an ideological border line.

It was one of the shared beliefs between Ms. Yoo and

Mr. Lim that both teachers and students keep an objective stance toward understanding the status of North Korea. Ms. Yoo thought that students read the texts to differentiate factual and value claims. But, there was a distinctive point in this approach between the two teachers, and this constituted her first theory and starting point of teaching about North Korea: social studies teachers need to help students perceive the downright reality of the divided Korea. Ms. Yoo asserted that making students ponder on the harsh reality of the divided Korea was a challenging task, particularly "considering a short amount of instructional time given to the relevant units." Despite this limitation, she thought it best for teachers to help students face up to the reality that has a profound impact upon their lives at present and in the future:

I believe most of Korean people, even myself, tend to forget the historical reality of this contrived division. Well, it often has been reported in foreign newspapers and magazines that Korean people are the ones who feel secure the most as to the provocative actions by North Korea, compared to those in Japan and the United States. Some people call this South Koreans' security insensibility. I don't buy this statement completely, because I think this characterization reflects the outsiders' hypersensitivity. Nevertheless, one undeniable fact in Korea is that especially young people seem to get more disinterested in the issues of North Korea or the South-North relations than ever before, for example, the on-going 6-party negotiations about Daepodong missile test launches or the controversy over Youngbyŏn nuclear plant. They seemingly do not feel their lives are threatened. And my worst scenario is that if this psychological status lasts long, it will eventually make them indifferent to the reality of the divided Korea itself. Would you like to know what I found in last year's history class? I asked one of my classes "How do you feel about the reunification?" Of course I expected many positive answers from them, but in vain. About a half of the students raised their hands to say "The reunification is not desirable in our



generation. "I was just shocked at their response. In my history lessons, I want to have them perceive the tremendous consequences this unhappy circumstance has on their present and future lives.

The foregoing narration succinctly illustrates the problems Ms. Yoo had when introducing North Korea to her history lessons. Warning students against being manipulated by the right wing' deceptive strategy of resorting to the notion of "crisis consciousness," she also underscored that students need to be exposed to the downright reality of the divided nation in an appropriate manner.

Ms. Yoo's first theory was naturally leading to the second practical theory: *the contextual understanding of the divided Korea should precede the objectification of it.* Interestingly, here she was criticizing one's taking an 'ahistorical' approach toward the reality of the Korean peninsula or the mainstream ideology of treating social studies knowledge as the non-problematic one:

I have to say that in my history lessons, I try to take a deeper look at the given topics so as to have my students contextualize the words written in the textbooks. In fact my textbooks such as 'Modern & Contemporary History of Korea' and 'Social Studies 1' do not tell much about the issues of North Korea. Those texts simply omit the basic information of given historical figures and events. It is a teacher's job to give a detailed narration of given topics with the assistance of reference materials. Frankly, when teaching Korean history courses, I got puzzled whether a detached, objective analysis of North Korea is possible anyway. To me, it seems unlikely simply because it's been an emotionally and politically charged issue.

What Ms. Yoo mentioned has a critical point for us in that the mainstream social studies educators have rarely seen the image of North Korea as a socially constructed one in the idiosyncratic contexts of Korean politics and schooling. Is

there such thing as an objective reality in the matter of describing North Korea? From the post-positivist's viewpoint, her pedagogical anxiety had to stem from this long-standing myth of objectifying our social world.

Ms. Yoo's third practical theory in the teaching of North Korea mirrored her critical viewpoint about Korean history textbooks: *a social studies teacher should consider the textbook as the texts written from a certain vantage point:*

My history textbooks do not tell the whole stories about either the North or the South. It is acceptable to me that the modern history of Korea is written by the perspective of the South. I don't want the textbook written from the vantage point of North Korea. But speaking of the perspective-taking, I think it is important to help students read history, on the basis of the question "Whose perspective does it take?"

For example, Ms. Yoo pinpointed that it has been one of the fundamental problems in the textbooks of 'Modern & Contemporary History of Korea' that the history of the left wing's independence movement is relatively missing compared to that of the right wing. Instead, the left' wing's battle abruptly appears in the 1920s and evaporates in the early 1940s. Most of Korean history textbooks fail to properly illustrate how the left wing's resistance was related to that of the right wing and how the left wing contributed to the liberation of Korea and to the birth of the divided nation. Interestingly enough, however, the teachers in charge of history subjects have begun to note vivid differences among the textbooks in the way of describing the North. The tone of the curricular texts describing the North has changed considerably in recent years. In this vein, Ms. Yoo viewed history textbooks as the *texts* narrated from a particular historical perspective.

Finally, Ms. Yoo also believed that *a peace treaty for the*

*prohibition of any armed collision in the Korean peninsula in any circumstance* should be a major proposition in the teaching of North Korea. Like Mr. Lim, she asserted that prohibiting any civil war in this peninsula must be a non-negotiable principle when teaching North Korean issues. Accordingly, Ms. Yoo thought it should be important for students to take a critical look at how politicians and the mass media defined North Korea, especially those who described North Korea as a rogue state and underscored the need to take military actions against North Korea.

Contrary to Mr. Lim's, the above set of practical theories identified by Ms. Yoo signaled that she was obscuring an ideological border line in her history lessons. To some extent, this might bring some chaotic situation in her classrooms. For the students who were examination-oriented in search of correct answers and good school grades, Ms. Yoo said, her history lessons might look confusing. However, she was convinced that students could benefit from the comparison of differing perspectives on the nature of North Korea, and from the reconstruction of particular historical events.

## VI. Emerging Pedagogical Dilemmas and Problems

The foregoing teacher narratives demonstrate that social studies teachers developed their unique practical theories toward particular curricular topics. Meanwhile, I also came to see that they were exposed to several common pedagogical dilemmas and subsequent problems, where were associated with the reality of teaching situated within the institutional conditions surrounding them.

In sum, three pivotal themes emerged from the teacher

narratives: the ambivalent stance of Korean Society toward North Korea, implicit impact of the teacher's self-censorship on teaching, and pedagogical compromises contrived by the conventional mode of student Assessment.

### **The Ambivalent Stance of Korean Society toward North Korea**

Many of the teachers mentioned that Korean society in general has exhibited an *ambivalent attitude about the issues of North Korea*. And this ambivalence, they believed, tended to have them bewildered in the teaching of this particular topic. The following narrative illustrates one of the dilemmas shared by many of the exemplary social studies teachers in this study. Here, Ms. Park, one of the young teachers, spoke about a contradictory social situation with regard to North Korea:

I guess since the 7th national curriculum revision, things got very different regarding North Korea. For example, in my 'Society & Culture' and 'Economics' textbooks, North Korea is no longer a rogue state or an axis of evil. It is more likely depicted as the other half of Korean nation or a partner who is capable of rational communication and collaboration. I take that as a good sign as a teacher. However, the image of North Korea still appears ambiguous at our societal level. And the government should be partly responsible for this chaos. As you know, we are still under the jurisdiction of the National Security Law, which prohibits any kind of pro-North comments or activities, I guess. We have seen this still works in our society. Also we have known that North Korea, especially at the international level, is viewed as one of the most authoritarian and unpredictable communist states threatening other countries by its nuclear missiles. I just don't know what a true image of North Korea is. Maybe it is easy to say it has both, but these dual images of North Korea do not help me out at all. It's really a pain in the ass.

Ms. Park's narrative prompted me to take a closer look at some potential consequences of this social ambivalence on the teaching of North Korea. As Ms. Park noted, it was one of the most obvious consequences that these contrasting views of North Korea tended to make it difficult for both teachers and students to conduct a detached and objective analysis of North Korea. Since being an emotionally and politically charged issue, my teachers believed it is impossible either to make value-free judgment on the relationship between the South and the North, or to promote students' critical understanding of the reality of the divided nation.

### **Implicit Impact of the Teachers' Self-Censorship on Daily Teaching**

At the beginning of the study, most of the teachers told me that they did not actually feel any obvious institutional surveillance by the Ministry of Education on their daily lessons. Individual teachers felt they had wielded considerable power on determining what to teach in their classrooms. As the interviews went on in regard to the teaching of North Korea, however, some of the teachers had begun to exhibit certain anxieties about teaching the issues of North Korea. They indicated that there were some occasions of their being too self-conscious about the topic of North Korea. Then, who felt self-conscious about the teaching of North Korea and why? In sum, social studies teachers seemed to draw an ideological line, at the tacit level, differentiating between politically 'correct' and 'incorrect' ways of teaching on that particular subject.

I have to adm it that teachers cannot help being conscious of what has been going on in our society. Some have change, and som e have not. In recent years, I have becom e m ore and more aware of what my students think about m y lessons on

that topic. It gives me a very weird feeling. I know I did not do anything wrong in my lessons, but, I was thinking they might take me for a pro-North teacher who keeps telling about North Korea, like a preacher who tries to persuade people into his religion. What I am trying to do is to simply help them take an objective and cool-headed perspective on our unhappily divided nation.

As Ms. Yoo confessed above, potential problems came up especially when the teachers intended to go beyond the textbooks. What they did perceive of was that they became self-conscious about their instructional behaviors when they tried to either "reconstruct the textbook contents" or "teach more than the textbook contents" with reference to North Korea. Above all it was their shared recognition that such behavior tended to give students an impression that "the teacher has a favorable opinion about-North Korea" or even that "the teacher is a pro-North leftist." Although this conjecture was utterly absurd and ridiculous, it seemed very convincing to those teachers that such widespread social belief has been successful in making local social studies practitioners self-regulate their own and others' classroom practices based on that ideologically charged image of schoolteacher.

Meanwhile, it seems to me that these teachers' sense of self-censorship was not irrelevant from a series of social and political controversies over the expression of pro-North Korean thoughts, which had covered TV and newspaper headlines in 2006. For instance, the controversy over a university professor's pro-North Korean remarks on the Internet, which has now grown to an international issue, has become a symbolic case in the 21st century Korea in that it announced the superiority of the National Security Law over the academic freedom of expression on this politically sensitive subject.<sup>6)</sup> The story of Professor Kang Jeong-Koo

delivered an implicit message to Korean social studies teachers that they must distinguish between what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' in the teaching of North Korea.

### **Pedagogical Compromises Contrived by the Conventional Mode of Student Assessment**

The final dilemma shared by the most of the teachers in this study actually originated from the practice of student assessment. In the preceding sections, I have drawn attention to the notion of teacher gatekeeping and its pedagogical consequences on teachers' daily lessons. In fact my teachers' perceptions about student assessment varied indeed. However, I was convinced that this variation in the meanings they attributed to student assessment was rarely overcome among their colleague teachers, especially among those who taught the same courses.

At a glance, this observed variation in the perspective of assessment among the teachers did not seem to do any harm to their social studies lessons. It generated, however, one persistent problem, when combined with one of the conventional school practices that they believed was prevalent in most of Korea's secondary schools: with respect to student

---

<sup>6)</sup> A 60-year old sociology professor, Prof. Kang, was indicted in December 2005 for violating the National Security Law for his pro-North Korean remarks in a series of columns he wrote on the Internet. For example, he viewed the Korean War as a war for reunification by the North, and denounced U.S. General Mac Arthur as an enemy who perpetuated the division of the Korean peninsula. These allegations woke up the confrontation between conservatives and progressives. Conservatives criticized him as an extreme, pro-North leftist who injured the national identity of the South. Meanwhile, progressives defended him in light of the right to free expression.

assessment, the teachers in charge of the same course did not assess their students by using collaboratively developed assessment tools, rather than by using their personal ones. Invoking the principles of fairness and standardization, teachers in Korea's schools have conventionally shared common test batteries for the mid-term and final exams.

Noted elsewhere (Jho, 2002), however, my social studies teachers confirmed that this conventional protocol of student assessment largely engendered a disparity between what teachers taught and underscored in their classrooms and what they utilized to assess their students, with regard to the topic of North Korea. In fact, my social studies teachers deemed it important to identify some common ground for the development of exam items simply because their subject matter viewpoints and instructional styles were significantly different from one another. My social studies teachers told me that they inevitably had to take into account not only what they actually mentioned and underscored in their own classrooms, but also what other teachers did not teach in their respective classrooms. Yet, one fundamental problem emerged in this interactive process: considering the anticipated time and energy, teachers rarely looked forward to any collaborative development of exam items. They verified that such cross-checking activities represented only a marginal amount of collaboration in the absence of any serious editing process. The most conventional way of developing exam items, then, was simply to divide the contents by the number of teachers.

What such long-standing ritual of student assessment implies for the teaching of North Korea seems crystal-clear: while such practice may be effective in giving teachers some psychological reliefs from forced teacher collaboration, it rarely makes them take student assessment seriously on this



particular topic.

## VII. Discussion

How does classroom instruction happen? What determines classroom instruction? I believe this study has addressed these important but too-often-forgotten questions in the contexts of teaching about North Korea. Taken as a whole, what we have discussed so far prompts social studies and citizenship educators to rethink the practices of curriculum and instruction with regard to ideologically-sensitive subjects in light of the goals of citizenship education.

One important message from the present discussion involves the problem of citizenship education manifested in local classrooms. I think it noteworthy to reflect on what actually occurs in our social studies classrooms in the name of citizenship education. Ironically enough, despite the increased attention by the mainstream policymakers and researchers to the significance of valuing diversity and difference in Korean schooling, what has been demonstrated in this study is telling very much the opposite of policymakers' rosy expectations: *a meaningful civic discourse based on the idea of tolerance and the respect for difference seem to have been marginalized in Korea's social studies classrooms.* The nature of social studies instruction turned out to become largely idiosyncratic, as those exemplary teachers constantly strove to accommodate their instructional goals to the institutional conditions. Social studies policymakers and educators need to take this challenging situation seriously and must respond in a proper way so as to achieve the aims of citizenship education in our

classrooms—empowering students through dialogue that raises consciousness and thus prompting social actions in our world, with regard to the extant problems.

This study also advances the power of teachers' practical theorizing on determining the school knowledge about and attitude to North Korea. The findings presented in this paper indicate something other than practitioners' inadvertent personal vignettes but rather they imply the pervasiveness of teacher gatekeeping (Thornton, 1991), that is, the constructive power of individual teachers' pedagogical viewpoints entrenched in the institutional contexts of Korean schooling.

Social studies educators must begin to reconsider the linear and hyper-rational assumption that is held so tenaciously by the mainstream educational discourse—if teachers simply have the opportunity to access innovative ideas, they inevitably will put those ideas into practice. The point I intend to make here is very simple: meaningful change in our classrooms does not occur without teachers' consent and collaboration with regard to those ideas. However, the mainstream discourse on social studies curriculum has for too long overlooked this fundamental aspect of education. Policymakers and researchers need to take a closer look at teachers' stance toward ideologically-sensitive subjects, thus developing instructional environments conducive for meaningful educational experiences among youngsters.

In sum, the issue of teaching about North Korea needs to be reexamined by the ultimate goals of social studies and citizenship education, as well as by the voices of local teachers. Constructing a reflective pedagogical discourse on ideologically-sensitive issues is required to rethink the nature and practice of subject matter education.

## REFERENCES

- Apple, M. W. (1996). *Cultural politics and education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Apple, M. W. (1993). *Official knowledge*. New York: Routledge.
- Bogdan, R. C. & Biklen, S. K. (1998). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theory and methods*. Boston, MA: Allyn and Bacon.
- Cogan, J. J., Morris, P., & Print, M. (2002). *Civic education in the Asia-Pacific region: Case studies across six societies*. New York: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Cornett, J. W. (1987). *Teacher personal practical theories and their influence upon curricular and instructional actions: A case study of a secondary social studies teacher. Unpublished doctoral dissertation*, Columbus, OH: The Ohio State University.
- Cumings, B. (1997). *Korea's place in the sun: A modern history*. New York: W. W. Norton.
- Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.) (1998). *The landscape of qualitative research: Theories and issues*, Vol. 1. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Eckert, C., Lee, K., Lew, Y. I., Robinson, M. & Wagner, E. W. (1990). *Korea old and new: A history*. Seoul, Korea: Ilchokak Publishers (for the Korean Institute, Harvard University).
- Elbaz, F. (1983). *Teacher Thinking: A study of practical knowledge*. New York: Nicols.
- Eisner, W. (1991). *The Enlightened eye: Qualitative inquiry and the enhancement of educational practice*. New York: Macmillan.
- Engle, S. H. and Ochoa, A. S. (1988). *Education for democratic citizenship: Decision-making in the social studies*. New

- York: Teachers College Press.
- Freire, P. (1994). *Pedagogy of hope: Reliving the pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Freire, P. (1998). *Teachers as cultural workers: Letters to those who dare teach*. New York: Westview Press.
- Jho, D. (2002). *Sahoekwa kyosa e ūihae chegusŏng tŏinŭn haksŭppŏng'ga ūi siljejŏk ūimi* (The practical meanings of student assessment reconstructed by social studies teachers). *Sahoekwakyoyuk (Social Studies Education)*, 41 (3), 9-40.
- Kelly, T. E. (1986). Discussing controversial issues: Four perspectives on the teachers' role. *Theory and Research in Social Education*, 14 (2), 113-138.
- Lecompte, M. D. & Preissle, J. (1993). *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research* (2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.
- Lincoln, Y. S. and Guba, E. G. (1985). *Naturalistic inquiry*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Lee, H. (1996). *Han'guk junghakkyo sahoekwa kyosil suŏp e daehan ilsang saenghwal kisuljŏk sarye yŏngu* (An ethnographic case study on social studies instruction in a Korean middle school). Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Seoul National University.
- Lesko, N. (1988). *Symbolizing society: Stories, rites, and structure in a Catholic high school*. New York, Philadelphia, London: Falmer Press.
- Little, J. W. (1990). The persistence of privacy: Autonomy and initiative in teachers' professional relations. *Teachers College Record*, 91(4), 509-536.
- Lortie, D. C. (1975). *The schoolteacher: A sociological study*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- McNeil, L. (1986). *Contradictions of control: School structure*

- and school knowledge*. New York and London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Page, R. N. & Valli, L. (1990). *Curriculum differentiation: Interpretive studies in U. S. secondary schools*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.
- Patton, M. Q. (1980). *Qualitative evaluation methods*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Roh, K. (1997). *An understanding of higher order thinking in social studies: A naturalistic case study of a Korean middle school classroom*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign
- Rohlen, T. P. (1983). *Japan's high schools*. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: University of California Press.
- Shulman, L. (1987). Knowledge and teaching: Foundations of the new reform. *Harvard Educational Review*, 57, 1-22.
- Siskin, L. S. (1991). Departments as different worlds: Subject subcultures in secondary schools. *Educational Administration Quarterly*, 27 (2), 134-160.
- Siskin, L. S. (1994). *Realms of knowledge: Academic departments in secondary schools*. Washington, DC and London: Falmer Press.
- Schön D. A. (1983). *The reflective practitioners: How professionals think in action*. New York: Basic Books.
- Schön D. A. (1987). *Educating the reflective practitioners: Toward a new design for the teaching and learning in the professions*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Steiner-Khamsi, G., Torney-Purta, J., & Schwille, J. (2002). *New paradigms and recurring paradoxes in education for citizenship: An international comparison*. Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Stodolsky, S. S. (1988). *The subject matters: Classroom activity in math and social studies*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Torney-Purta, J. Lehmann, R., Oswald, H., & Schulz, W. (2001). *Citizenship and education in twenty-eight countries: Civic knowledge and engagement at age fourteen*. Amsterdam: IEA.
- Thornton, S. J. (2005). *Teaching social studies that matters: Curriculum for active learning*. New York: Teachers College Press.