# SUPPORTING MEANINGFUL INITIAL LEARNING OF THE ASSOCIATIVE PROPERTY: CROSS-CULTURAL DIFFERENCES IN TEXTBOOK PRESENTATIONS 

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#### Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to examine how Chinese and U.S. textbooks present the associative property of multiplication (AP) to support student's initial learning. For all of the identified worked examples, we analyzed the nature of context and the purpose of using word problems and illustrations. There were important cross-cultural differences in textbook presentations. The U.S. reform textbook did not explicitly introduce AP; the U.S. traditional textbooks introduced AP and applied it to computation while the accompanying word problems and illustrations did not help students understand AP. In contrast, the Chinese textbook introduced AP through a word problem context while seamlessly incorporating sense making of AP. Our findings of cross-cultural differences suggest alternative approaches for grounding fundamental mathematical ideas in word problems and illustrations to support students' meaningful initial learning.


Keywords: Meaningful initial learning, the associative property of multiplication, worked examples, textbook presentations, cross-cultural differences.

[^0]Fundamental mathematical ideas in early grades, such the associative property, undergird number operations and provide foundations for reasoning and proof (Carpenter, Franke, \& Levi, 2003). Because the nature of fundamental ideas tends to be general and abstract, learning the formalisms of these ideas without grounding them in supporting contexts relegates students memorizing cryptic rules. This often results in cognitively inert knowledge that is hard to activate while reasoning in other contexts (Goldstone \& Wilensky, 2008). Indeed, reasoning without involving fundamental ideas has been viewed as one of the roots of many issues in mathematics education such as low achievement in the U.S. (Thompson, 2008). Many students mechanically manipulate symbols and rules without understanding meanings behind the processes (Wearne \& Hiebert, 1988). The present study focuses on the case of the associative property of multiplication [( $a b) c=a(b c)$, simply AP], exploring how textbooks may present fundamental mathematical ideas in meaningful ways during students' initial learning. Initial learning refers to students' first formal learning of a mathematical idea during which the key concept or terminology was explicitly introduced. In particular with the case of AP of multiplication, we refer to the initial learning as the first lesson or a chapter that formally presents the vocabulary word, "the associative property of multiplication," in a textbook series.

## BACKGROUND

The associative property of multiplication is an important property that elementary students are expected to be introduced to, learn about, and understand in third or fourth grades (Common Core State Standards Initiative, 2010; NCTM, 2000; NCTM 2006). Although elementary students were found to possess intuitive understanding of this property (e.g., Schifter, Monk, Russell, \& Bastable, 2008), they were seldom provided with meaningful initial learning experiences. Without meaningful initial learning, students may not be able to transfer this property to new situations during later learning. For example, Larsen (2010) reported that U.S undergraduate students struggled with making sense of the meaning of the associative property during a teaching experiment inferring that this difficulty was
linked to past learning experiences with the associative property. In addition, middle school teachers and preservice teachers (Zaslavsky \& Peled, 1996) were found to possess erroneous beliefs about both the associative and commutative properties. Included in the erroneous beliefs were that both were dependent on each other because both properties were about "change in order." This misunderstanding appeared as an obstacle for teachers' own learning of binary operations.

Concrete contexts, such as word problems and illustrations, may provide students with conceptual support for learning abstract principles like AP (e.g., Koedinger \& Nathan, 2004; NCTM, 2000; Resnick, Cauzinille-Marmeche, \& Mathieu, 1987). These contexts are familiar to students, thus may easily activate students' personal experiences and prior knowledge that in turn may be used to help students make sense of abstract ideas (Goldstone \& Son, 2005; Goldstone \& Wilensky, 2008). Although there are assertions for teaching mathematics through problem solving (e.g., Cai, 2003), very few studies have explored how the AP of multiplication may be learned and understood through word problem contexts.

Relevant research on other closely related ideas may shed light onto the ways to support students' initial learning of AP. Resnick et al. (1987) suggested that students could be guided to make sense of $a-(b+c)=a-b-c$ through the following problems: (a) Mary had 30 candies. She gave 20 of them to her friends, 8 to Sandra, and 12 to Tom [representing $30-(8+12)$ ] and (b) Mary had 30 candies. She gave 8 of them to Sandra. Later she gave 12 candies to Tom (representing 30 -$8-12)$. These two contexts together provided a source for the meaning of $a-(b+c)$ $=a-b-c$. In addition, Ding and Li (2010a) reported that Chinese textbooks initially introduced the distributive property $[(a+b) c=a c+b c]$ through a word problem, "A pair of pants is $45 ¥$, and a jacket is $65 ¥$ (shown by pictures). Someone buys 5 jackets and 5 pants. How much do they pay altogether?" Students were guided to solve this problem in two ways: (a) first figuring out how much one pair of pants and one jacket cost and then the total cost, $(65+45) \times 5^{1}$, and (b) first figuring out how much 5 pants cost and how much 5 shirts cost respectively and then the total cost, $65 \times 5+45 \times 5$. A comparison of these two solutions, $(65+45) \times 5=65 \times 5+45 \times 5$, illustrates the distributive property. The above approaches share the same feature: helping
students make sense of the abstract ideas $[a-(b+c)=a-b-c ;(a+b) c=a c+b c]$ through word problems contexts.

The current study, focusing on AP of multiplication, $(a b) c=a(b c)$, examines how elementary textbooks may support students' initial learning of this abstract idea. This focus is based on two considerations. First, textbooks have been shown to shape learning and teaching in significant ways (Ball \& Cohen 1996; Nathan, Long, \& Alibali, 2002). Its significant role warrants exploration. Second, students' initial learning experiences predetermine the later transfer. Without meaningful initial learning, students may not be able to activate the learned knowledge to solve new problems (NRC, 1999, 2005). Meaningless initial learning may also result in misconceptions which become a major barrier to later learning (Carey, 2001). It is important to note again that in this study, we refer to initial learning of AP as the first formal introduction to this property in a textbook series. In particular, we focus on worked examples where initial learning mainly takes place.

Worked examples are problems with given solutions. The worked example effect on learning has been recognized for a long time (Sweller, 2006). Thus, worked examples are often incorporated in textbooks and are presented before practice problems. Worked examples can help students build on schematics that are useful for later problem solving, thus reducing students' cognitive loads for learning (Sweller, 2006; Zhu \& Simon, 1987). Chick (2009) viewed teachers' effective use of worked examples as a window of teachers' mathematical knowledge for teaching. However, how teachers present worked examples may be strongly correlated with how textbooks present these examples (Nathan et al., 2002).

To explore sound textbook approaches to initial formal presentation of AP, this study employs a cross-national perspective by comparing a few representative U.S. and Chinese elementary textbooks. Cross-cultural perspectives often bring unexpected findings that may be otherwise unavailable within one's own culture (Stigler \& Hiebert, 1999). Indeed, existing comparative studies (e.g., Cai \& Moyer, 2008; Ding \& Li, 2010a; Li, Ding, Capraro \& Capraro, 2008; Murata, 2008; Ng \& Lee, 2009) have already identified important differences in textbook presentations between U.S. and high-achieving East Asian countries. Based on the textbook differences, researchers have provided insights into developing students' algebraic
thinking in early grades (Cai \& Moyer, 2008), ways to foster deeper understanding of fundamental ideas such as the concept of equivalence and the distributive property (Ding \& Li, 2010a; Li, Ding, Capraro \& Capraro, 2008), and ways to use powerful schematic representations in supporting students' problem solving (Cai \& Moyer, 2008; Murata, 2008; Ng, \& Lee, 2009). It appears that comparative textbook studies have a potential to identify useful approaches to prompt students' sophisticated mathematical understanding in the elementary school. In this study, we focus on the AP of multiplication and particularly ask: How is AP of multiplication presented in various textbook series and how are word problems and illustrations used to support students' initial learning of this property?

## METHODS

## Textbook Selection

We examined three U.S. textbook series, Everyday Mathematics (EM, University of Chicago School Mathematics Project, 2005), Houghton Mifflin (HM, Greenes et al., 2005), and Scott Foresman - Addison Wesley (SF-AW, Charles et al., 2004) because the first one is a reform textbook series and the later two are widely used traditional textbooks. We compared the U.S. textbooks to one prominent Chinese textbook series, Jiang Su Education Press textbook (JSEP, Su, \& Wang, 2005) to identify the alternative approaches to teaching and learning AP. JSEP was used in prior studies in terms of presenting fundamental mathematical ideas such as the concept of equivalence (Li et al., 2008) and the distributive property (Ding \& Li, 2010a) so it was used again to build on the research base.

## Data Coding and Analysis

In order to locate the lesson(s) that contained the first formal introduction of the AP of multiplication, we examined textbook pages starting from the introduction of multiplication (usually beginning in $2^{\text {nd }}$ grade). We closely examined the lessons and worked examples that formally introduced the term, "associative property of
multiplication." If we did not locate such introduction, we continued the textbook examination until the last elementary grade (grade 6). Once worked examples were identified, we analyzed the nature of the context. First, we asked if a context appeared to be concrete or abstract. We considered computation problems as abstract and word problems (and/or illustrations) as concrete. Second, we further analyzed the purpose and function of a word problem used to introduce AP. We differentiated the purpose of helping students make sense of AP from simply applying AP to find an answer. For instance, if a word problem was not actually utilized to illustrate AP but to generate a number sentence for computation, we considered the nature of such a context as abstract.

The first author coded all instances across textbooks. The second author recoded $50 \%$ of the textbooks and attained full agreement with the first author. However, no further evidence was found in the EM textbook so the third and forth authors coded and recoded the textbook and achieved the same results with the exception of the teacher's reference book which included an explanation in the appendix. This indicated a necessity for re-examination of this reform textbook series one more time. After a re-examination of all the EM textbooks across grades, we still did not find any instances that formally introduced AP.

## RESULTS

## US Reform Textbook

EM did not formally introduce the AP of multiplication in either the student textbooks or teacher's lesson guides across all elementary grades. Although the Appendix (Vocabulary and Index sections) of the 2nd grade teacher's lesson guide included the term "associative property," when tracing back the main text based on the given page numbers, it turned out that the idea of AP was not mentioned as it has been in other series. In addition, although one supplemental text titled Teachers' Reference Manual (grades 4-6) included a brief explanation of AP along with one arithmetic example and an algebraic expression, the main student texts did not formally introduce AP. There were a few tasks that implicitly conveyed such a
principle. For instance, the 4th grade textbook contained a lesson about factoring (e.g., $6 \times 2=3 \times 4$ ). However, the transformation process involving AP $6 \times 2=(3 \times 2) \times 2=$ $3 \times(2 \times 2)=3 \times 4$ ] was not made explicit. As such, EM did not treat the AP as something that teachers should formally introduce.

## U.S. Traditional Textbooks

Both traditional U.S. textbooks formally introduced AP in the 3rd grade. Figure 1 presents the worked examples from each of the textbooks.

At first glance, the above textbooks appeared to be different. SF-AW presented three number expressions side by side under the definition of AP to find " $3 \times 2 \times 4$ ": $(3 \times 2) \times 4,3 \times(2 \times 4)$, and $3 \times 4 \times 2$. While the first two ways together show AP, the third expression involves the commutative property. Such a presentation is likely confusing, given some teachers themselves may possess a misconception between associative and commutative properties (Zaslavsky \& Peled, 1996). In contrast, the HM text introduced two ways to find the answer for $5 \times 2 \times 3$ : $(5 \times 2) \times 3$ and $5 \times(2 \times 3)$, which was a more accurate use of AP. Moreover, while the SF-AW textbook began with a computation problem involving the use of AP with illustrative pictures at the end, the HM textbook started with a word problem involving mangos, plates, and tables. In this sense, the sequences of textbook presentations of the two worked examples in both textbooks were different because one was "abstract-concrete" while the other was "concrete-abstract."

Both traditional textbooks demonstrated similarities. In both the HM and SFAW textbooks, AP was simply defined and immediately applied to a computational format (either $3 \times 2 \times 4$ or $5 \times 2 \times 3$ ). Although the HM text started from a word problem about mangos, the function of this mango problem was only to lead to a number sentence " $5 \times 2 \times 3$ " to which AP could be applied to find an answer in two ways: $(5 \times 2) \times 3$ and $5 \times(2 \times 3)$. As such, the HM example is similar to the SF-AW example because both directly presented AP to students.

## SF-AW (grade 3, p. 342)

How can you multiply 3 numbers?
When you multiply 3 numbers, you can choose which 2 numbers you want to multiply first.
The Associative (grouping) Property of Multiplication says that you can change the grouping of the factors, and the product will be the same.

Show three ways to find $\mathbf{3} \times \mathbf{2} \times \mathbf{4}$.

1) Jeremy multiplied 3 and 2 first.
$3 \times 2 \times 4=$
$(3 \times 2) \times 4=$ $6 \times 4=24$

$3 \times 2 \times 4=24$
2) Rachel multiplied 2 and 4 first. $3 \times 2 \times 4=$ $3 \times(2 \times 4)=$ $3 \times 8=24$

$3 \times 2 \times 4=24$
3) Lily changed the order and multiplied 3 and 4 first.
$3 \times 2 \times 4=$
$3 \times 4 \times 2=$
$(3 \times 4) \times 2=$
$12 \times 2=24$

$3 \times 2 \times 4=24$

HM (grade 3, p. 252)
Mr. Levin's students are tasting foods grown in rainforests. He put 5 pieces of mango on each plate and put 2 plates on each table. There are 3 tables. How many pieces of mango are there?


Associative property of multiplication
The ways factors are grouped does not change the product.

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You can multiply 5x2 first 
(5\times2) \times3=
10\times3=30
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$5 \times(2 \times 3)=$
$5 \times 6=30$

No matter which two factors are multiplied first, the product will be the same.


Figure 1. Worked example introducing the AP of multiplication in the US traditional textbooks.
When analyzing how the illustration in SF-AW and the word problem in HM illustrated AP, we discovered shortcomings in both textbooks in terms of following the meaning of multiplication. According to the U.S. convention of representing the meaning of multiplication, " 3 groups of 2 " $(2+2+2)$ was represented as $3 \times 2$ rather than $2 \times 3$ ( 2 groups of 3 ) (NCTM, 2000). This convention should be used consistently to enable students to learn mathematics meaningfully (Schwartz, 2008). When
considering the illustrations in the SF-AW textbook (see Figure 1), the first picture does not illustrate $(3 \times 2) \times 4$ but $4 \times(3 \times 2)$ because there are 4 groups of " $3 \times 2$ " rather than " $3 \times 2$ " groups of 4 . Therefore, the first two pictures together do not illustrate why $(3 \times 2) \times 4=3 \times(2 \times 4)$.

Similarly, the HM textbook presented a solution, " $5 \times 2 \times 3$ " for the word problem. The order of the three numbers was consistent with the order of how the numbers appeared in this word problem. Although this U.S. textbook provided referents for the three numbers $(5,2$, and 3 ) as "pieces of mango," "number of plates," and "number of tables" respectively, each of the steps in $5 \times 2 \times 3$ could not be matched to the context of the word problem. For example, this word problem involves only " 2 groups of 5" (2 plates with 5 mangos on each) and thus a meaningful representation should be $2 \times 5$ rather than $5 \times 2$. The same reasoning can be applied to the other steps. Because of similar reasoning involving multiplication, the two given expressions, $(5 \times 2) \times 3$ and $5 \times(2 \times 3)$, lack meaning because they could not be referenced back to the word problem context. As a result, the HM text approach is essentially similar to that of the SF-AW example. That is, the word problem context was not used meaningfully to help students make sense of AP.

## Chinese Textbooks

Similar to the example in the HM textbook but different from the SF-AW example, the Chinese textbooks formally introduced AP of multiplication in a word problem context in 4th grade. Figure 2 illustrates the original textbook pages along with a translation.

Comparing this word problem with the HM mango problem, it was found that both contexts shared the same features. Both were two-step problems with each step representing the "equal group" meaning of multiplication. While the HM word problem structure can be simplified as " 3 tables of 2 plates of 5 mangos," the Chinese worked example can be simplified as "6 grades of 5 classes of 23 participants." However, a closer inspection revealed that the presentation of the Chinese example was radically different from that of both U.S. traditional textbooks, as indicated by four key steps:
solving the word problem in two ways, comparing the two solutions resulting in an equation, posing more arithmetic equations, and generalization.


Figure 2. The first formal introduction of AP in a Chinese textbook.
Solving the word problem in two ways. The Chinese textbook guided students to reason about this problem in two different ways. First, students could initially find the number of students in each grade $(23 \times 5=115)$ and then the total number of students in all 6 grades ( $115 \times 6=690$ ), resulting in the first solution, $(23 \times 5) \times 6$. Second, students could find how many classes in total $(5 \times 6=30)$ and then the number of students in all 30 classes, $23 \times 30=690$, resulting in the second solution, $23 \times(5 \times 6)$. Different from the aforementioned U.S. textbook presentation, the Chinese textbook ensured each step of the solution had meaning and thus both solutions were mathematically meaningful in representing the total number of students.

Comparing the two solutions resulting in an equation. Because both solutions represented how many students in total, the Chinese textbook expected students to compare two solutions and then write an equation, $(23 \times 5) \times 6=23 \times(5 \times 6)$. In addition, the textbook also asked students to compare both sides of the equal sign to find similarities and differences. The JSEP teacher's manual reminded teachers to help students understand the equation by referring back to the context of the word problem. It also alerted teachers not to limit students' understanding to the word

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[^1]problem context but to expand students' thinking by discussing the nature of the equation (e.g., the left side was first computed using the first two numbers while on the right side one should first compute the last two numbers).

Posing more arithmetic equations. Based on the discussions of the above worked example including the related equation, students were asked to pose similar equations and share their findings and discoveries in small groups. Because students' proposed equations would be contextual-free, it was safe to infer that the concreteness in the worked example gradually faded and students were expected to reason at a more abstract level.

Revealing AP through generalization. Based on the worked example and students' self-generated examples, the Chinese textbook suggested using letters a, $b$, and $c$ to represent the three numbers which naturally lead to $(a \times b) \times c=a \times(b \times c)$. The textbook then formally revealed AP, "This is the associative property of multiplication." The above generalization process was likely to develop a more formal and abstract understanding of AP.

## Mapping the Chinese Textbook Approaches to the US Textbooks

The Chinese textbook approach offers insights regarding how to support students in learning fundamental ideas. As reported in this study, the traditional U.S. textbook (HM) has already presented a promising AP word problem, the mango problem (3 tables of 2 plates with 5 mangos each, see Figure 3). Using this word problem as an example, we illustrate how the Chinese textbook approach may be adapted to other cultural contexts to maximize the use of existing curriculum to support students' meaningful initial learning of the fundamental ideas.

According to the Chinese textbook approach, the HM mango problem can be discussed through four-steps: solving, comparing, posing and generalizing. First, one can initially find the total number of plates $(3 \times 2=6)$ and then the total number of mangos $(6 \times 5=30)$, resulting in the first solution, $(3 \times 2) \times 5$; or one can initially find the number of mangos on one table $(2 \times 5=10)$ and then the total number of mangos on three tables $(3 \times 10=30)$, resulting in the second solution, $3 \times(2 \times 5)$. These solutions differ from what is presented in the U.S. textbook [e.g., $5 \times 3 \times 2$, $(5 \times 3) \times 2$, and
$5 \times(3 \times 2)$ ]. Our suggested solutions [e.g., $(3 \times 2) \times 5 ; 3 \times(2 \times 5)$ ] are mathematically meaningful because each step can be matched back to the context of the mango problem and align with the U.S. convention of representing multiplication.


Figure 3. Illustration of the mango problem.
Second, one can compare both solutions, $(3 \times 2) \times 5$ and $3 \times(2 \times 5)$. When referring back to the mango word problem context, it is relatively easy for students to find that both solutions represent the total number of mangos, resulting in an equation $(3 \times 2) \times 5=3 \times(2 \times 5)$ which illustrates AP. Similar to the approach used in Chinese textbooks, U.S. teachers can also guide students to discuss the similarities and differences between both sides of the equal sign.

The last steps in the Chinese textbook are posing and generalizing. It might be useful for U.S. textbooks to adopt the posing and generalizing steps because it would function as a formative assessment for the teacher and provide students a chance to formalize their knowledge. Depending on the students' levels of learning, teachers can merely ask students to verbalize the observed pattern and help them refine their verbal representations of AP; teachers can also present an algebraic expression like $(a \times b) \times c=(a \times b) \times c$ as an enrichment to develop students' generative thinking.

## DISCUSSION

Our study focused on an initial introduction of the fundamental idea, AP of multiplication, examining three sets of U.S. textbooks in comparison with the widelyused Chinese textbook. The U.S. reform textbook in this study did not explicitly present AP possibly because it emphasized process standards over computations and the properties for computation. There are no previous studies examining the importance of AP from explicit instruction or inferential and experiential instruction; thus, it is not possible to determine if the EM approach is more effective. However, it

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is doubtful that teachers who use EM textbooks will explicitly discuss AP or similar fundamental concepts with students. Given this lack of explicit instruction and the possibility of a negative teacher factor about AP (e.g., Ding \& Li, 2010b; Zaslavsky \& Peled, 1996), it might be unlikely for students to receive meaningful initial learning experiences about AP.

The two traditional U.S. textbooks explicitly introduced AP through worked examples. Both textbooks directly explained what AP was and then taught the application of this property for computation. The accompanying word problem and illustrations were not meaningfully utilized to help students make sense of AP. However, as emphasized by cognitive psychologists (e.g., Goldstone \& Son, 2005; Goldstone \& Wilensky, 2008), when abstract ideas like AP are initially learned without perceptual and contextual support, students' learned knowledge may become cognitively inert and may be hard to retrieve for future use in higher level mathematics classes. As such, the worked examples in U.S. textbooks are likely to have limited effect (Sweller, 2006; Zhu \& Simion, 1987).

The Chinese textbook approach shares similarities with the traditional U.S. textbooks in terms of explicitly introducing AP through a worked example. However, the Chinese textbook approach sharply differs from the U.S. textbooks and appears to be more effective in supporting students' learning. This is because the Chinese textbook grounded the learning of a fundamental idea into a concrete word context requiring students to solve the problem two ways that together illustrate AP. This approach contains at least three positive aspects for students' learning. First, it illustrates an abstract idea through a concrete context which supports students' sense-making. The word problems along with illustrations may activate students' familiar experiences to make inferences (Koedinger \& Nathan, 2004) and thus serve as sources of meanings of the formalism (Resnick et al., 1987). Second, the process of comparing two solutions facilitates students' discovery of the embedded big idea. Comparison techniques develop students' flexibility in problem solving (Star \& RittleJohnson, 2008) and direct students' attention toward the key features of an example (Hattikudur \& Alibali, 2010). Our findings additionally suggest that a comparison of two solutions of the same problem may naturally lead to an identification of a fundamental principle that is instantiated by a word problem situation. Such a
discovery process, in comparison to "being directly told" as in the U.S. textbooks, is more meaningful for students. Third, the inductive sequence, from a concrete example to an abstract principle, is effective for learning (Koedinger \& Nathan, 2004; Nathan et al., 2002). The Chinese textbook did not limit the discussion to the word problem itself. Rather, it prompts a shift from one example embedded in a rich story situation to more arithmetic examples and eventually to a formal statement using letters. Such a process - targeting the same mathematical principle but gradually fading the concreteness into the abstract - well aligns with a recent instructional method, concreteness fading (Goldstone \& Son, 2005; Goldstone \& Wilensky, 2008). This method takes advantages of both concrete and abstract representations and is found to be most effective in supporting learning and transfer. Given the above reasons, the Chinese textbook approaches likely offer students meaningful initial learning experiences that may potentially support their future learning.

In this study, we have offered an example of how word problems and illustrations may be used meaningfully to support students' learning of AP of multiplication. We expect the Chinese textbook approach can showcase effective ways to support students' initial learning of fundamental ideas through well-designed worked examples. It is also our expectation that our study can initiate discussion regarding how the U.S. textbook examples and others may be revised, redesigned, and properly used to more effectively support students' initial learning of fundamental mathematical ideas. As discussed, there is a feasibility to adapt Chinese textbook approaches into existing U.S. curriculum by rearranging and reanalyzing information in textbooks.

This study's limitations are due to its narrow focus. Both the U.S. and Chinese examples provided in the textbooks are limited to equal groups (repeated addition) model of multiplication. However, other models such as volume (area model of multiplication) can also be used to illustrate AP (NRC, 2001). Nevertheless, we think the "approach" recommended can be transferred to other models (see detailed discussion about a "volume" model in Ding \& Li, 2010b). An additional limitation of this study is that, the Chinese textbook approach has not yet been tested within other cultural contexts. Future research can focus on experimental studies to test the
effects of the Chinese-like approaches supporting students' learning of fundamental ideas like AP.

## FOOTNOTE

1 " 5 groups of $65 \neq$ " is represented as $65 \times 5$ according to Chinese convention.

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