

From Politics to Morality

A case study comparing the *Ideology and Morality* textbooks and the *Ideology and Politics* textbooks in mainland China

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Abstract:

The political and moral curriculum is the one of the most important curriculum for children in school because it is the curriculum that governments use to civilize young citizens. The Chinese political and moral curriculum had been taught in junior middle school (from grade 7 to 9) since the anti-Japanese war in 1937. Until 1992, the political and moral curriculum was named the “Ideology and Politics” curriculum in junior middle school. However, in 2011, Chinese education bureau implemented a national curriculum reform in all schools in China. The “Ideology and Politics” curriculum was renamed the “Ideology and Morality”. The textbooks of the “Ideology and Politics” curriculum were revised at this time. This thesis will focus on the political and moral textbook reform in 2011 to examine how and why the government of the People Republic of China (PRC) reformed political and moral textbooks. Textual analysis will be used as the main method in this thesis. The thesis will analyze and compare the former *Ideology and Politics* textbooks and the new *Ideology and Morality* textbooks and identify the similarities and differences. Theoretically, this thesis draws mainly on Børge Bakken’s *The Exemplary Society*, and Marie Lall and Edward Vickers’ *Education as a Political Tool in Asia*. As suggested by the title, the thesis explores how the PRC government has changed its approach to the Chinese political and moral education of young people in contemporary China, and moved the focus of the textbooks from “politics” to “morality”.

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1. Introduction:

With China's announcement in 1978 of its "reform and opening" (改革开放) policy, the Chinese social reform was implemented, economy reform started, and the Chinese economy boomed. At the same time, Chinese social competition became much fiercer. Therefore, the social competition asked for more high quality individuals. From 1982, Hu Yaobang presented the theory of "two civilizations" (两个文明) including "material civilization" (物质文明) and "spiritual civilization" (精神文明)¹. Later, in 1985, following Deng Xiaoping's ideals, the Chinese government had implemented comprehensive education reform.² The educational reform focused on improving the quality of Chinese citizens. As Børge Bakken said, inculcating morality is the core of education.³ Marie Lall and Edward Vickers also see education as a political tool used by the governments to maintain their regime.⁴ Chinese education history recognizes that political and moral education has been a very important part of the Chinese educational history.

Politics and morality are normally merged in one curriculum in Chinese schools and never distinguished clearly in Chinese education history. "Morality, politics, and 'human quality' are seen as closely interlinked in the PRC."⁵ In different periods and on the different studying level, the political and moral curricula had different names. The political and moral curriculum was one of the national compulsory curriculums in junior middle school beginning in the 1950s⁶. It was mandated in all schools throughout China. In 1992, the political and moral curriculum for junior middle school was named "Ideology and Politics"⁷ (思想政治) and it was called the "Ideology and Morality"⁸ (思想品德) in primary school. Normally, the political and moral curriculum was taught twice a week in junior middle school. It was important for students because they took two exams in the subject twice in every semester.

¹ Bakken 2000, p54

² Leith, Hui, Little, Zheng 1994 p6-8
Zou 2008, p1

³ Bakken 2000, p85

⁴ Lall and Vickers 2009, p1-9

⁵ Bakken 2000, p1

⁶ Lee 2006, p160; Shen and Liu 2004, p108

⁷ Ideology and Politics: 思想政治 (*Sixiang zhengzhi*) It is also translated as *Thought and Politics*. It was a part of Chinese modern political education curriculum and was offered in junior middle school before 2011 in mainland China. The textbook for this curriculum is *Ideology and Politics*.

⁸ Ideology and Morality: 思想品德 (*Sixiang Pinde*) It is also translated as *Thought and Value*. It was taught in junior middle school in China from 2011.

However, in 2011, the Chinese educational bureau implemented a national curriculum reform. The “Ideology and Morality” curriculum (hereafter, referred to as the moral curriculum) was moved from primary school to junior middle school, moving the former “Ideology and Politics” curriculum (hereafter, referred to as the political curriculum) from Grade Seven to Grade Nine.

Meanwhile, the textbooks were reedited as well. The “Ideology and Morality” textbooks (hereafter, referred to as the moral textbooks) replaced the “Ideology and Politics” textbooks (hereafter, referred to as the political textbooks) in junior middle school. The textbooks changed their focus from a mainly political to a mainly moral message. Therefore, it seems that the government had become interested in attempting to distinguish between morality and politics. Politics remained a part of the new moral textbooks. In fact, ‘school textbooks are the dominant definition of the curriculum in schools and are a representation of political, cultural, economic and political battles and compromises.’⁹ School textbooks are not simply neutral introducers of knowledge or ‘delivery system’ of ‘facts’. They represent the ideology of governments.¹⁰

Therefore, this thesis will focus on the reform of the textbooks in 2011. It will examine how and why the Chinese government reformed the textbooks from a focus on politics to a focus on morality, and how the ideology component of the curriculum was reformed in textbooks of junior middle school. Textual analysis will be used as the main method in this thesis. I will analyze and compare the new moral textbooks which were published in 2011 and the former political textbooks which were published in 2001. The two sets of textbooks that were chosen for this thesis were both published by the People’s Education Press (人民教育出版社---- hereafter, PEP). Theoretically, I will mainly draw on Børge Bakken’s *The Exemplary Society* and Marie Lall and Edward Vickers’ *Education as a Political Tool in Asia*. As argued by Bakken (2000) and Lall and Vickers (2009), the Chinese government used the textbooks as a political tool to build exemplary models, civilize exemplary personalities and form exemplary social relationships.

Consequently, the thesis explores how the PRC government has changed its attitude towards young people in contemporary Chinese political and moral education, and moved the focus of the textbooks from politics to morality.

⁹ Crawford 2003, p5

¹⁰ Apple 1992, p1

1.1 The introduction of “ideology” in textbooks

The ideology part of the two curriculums was not changed. “Ideology” is called “思想” in Chinese and means thoughts, thinking, ideas or ideals. As Terry Eagleton said ‘the word ‘ideology’, one might say, is a text, woven of a whole tissue of different conceptual strands; it is traced through by divergent histories, and it is probably more important to assess what is valuable or can be discarded in each of these lineages than to merge them forcibly into some Grand Global Theory.’¹¹ There are many meanings for ideology. For instance, ideology can be a body of ideas characteristic of a particular social group or class; it can refer to identity thinking; it can mean a socially necessary illusion; it can also suggest systematical correct or incorrect ideas.¹²

Ideology can refer to one person’s thought or speaking. However, it does not mean that everyone’s thought is ideology. For thought or speech to be considered ideology, it should be systematic, logical, meaningful and significant. It can be announced by a person, agency, organization or government. The ideologies of some renowned people, such as Hegel, Marx, Confucius and Mencius, were written in textbooks.¹³ The ideology in textbooks can be explored from two different angles, that of the producer of the textbooks, the government and that of the recipients of the textbooks, the students. From the first perspective, ideology is a body of ideas characteristic of Chinese socialism, an ideal which helps to legitimate the political power of the Chinese government, create identity thinking and maintain Chinese social illusion. As Sun Longji mentioned, ideology describes a state of harmony and discipline; it seeks to make thoughts alike to achieve harmony.¹⁴ From the other perspective, that of the readers of these textbooks, ideology means the thinking or thoughts of the students. The ideology, then, is not the ideas within the textbooks but rather the thoughts of the students as influenced by the textbooks. But ideology in this sense is very difficult to measure or determine. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the ideological content of the textbooks, and not the ideology of the students.

Ideology cannot be exactly distinguished from politics and morality. This is because ideology refers to various areas of society. Of course, these concepts cannot be separated in these

¹¹ Eagleton 1991, P1

¹² Ibid. p1-2; Tran, Shen, McLean, Shen 1991, p125

¹³ Lall and Vickers 2009, p64

¹⁴ Sun referred to in Bakken 2000, p86; Sun 1983, p314

textbooks either. Whereas the textbooks changed focus from political to morality, some parts of the ideology were actually retained while other parts were changed. For example, ideology as a kind of education tool to propagate government's dominant political power was never changed. Similarly, ideology as a way to build a student's personal virtue was never changed. But the ideology of the history of society was deleted, and the ideology of law was reduced in the moral textbooks. Therefore, the ideology in these textbooks was changed when the textbooks were reformed to emphasize morality rather than politics.

1.2 The structure of this thesis

The first chapter will be background. It will have three parts. The first part is the social background and it will discuss the development of education system reform in mainland China. In this part, the history of the educational system from 1977 to 2011 will be discussed. This time frame was chosen to avert the need to examine the period of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). This is a very complex period of great turmoil and disruption of the educational system. It is extremely difficult to locate material about the development of political and moral education in these years. After the Cultural Revolution, Chinese education system recovered. Therefore, this thesis will focus on the period during 1977-2011. The second part of the chapter offers the theoretical background and it will discuss the theoretical framework and review the literature. The main discussion will be about *the Exemplary Society*, "education as a political tool in China" and "human quality" education. The third part of the chapter provides the overview of educational reform and it will discuss the political and moral curriculum reform in China.

The second chapter will be analysis. It will compare both the form and content of the political textbooks and the moral textbooks. The aim is to find out the similarities and differences in the form and content between the political textbooks and the moral textbooks. Through an analysis of the cover page, interior page, language, words and printing, this chapter will discuss how the PRC government reformed the textbooks. The third chapter will discuss what kind of exemplary citizens the textbooks seek to foster. The analysis will look at two concepts: comes from two aspects: exemplary models and exemplary personalities. The fourth chapter will discuss the exemplary relationships presented in different textbooks. The exemplary relationships will include the relationship between individual and individual, individual and family, individual and collective, individual and nation, and individual and society. The fifth chapter will examine the exemplary norms in the textbooks. The last chapter is the conclusion.

In this chapter, I will summarize the similarities and differences between the two sets of textbooks and conclude why the PRC government reformed the curriculum, changing the emphasis from politics to morality.

2. The background of the political textbooks reform

When Chinese social economic reform started in 1978, educational reform was implemented as well. As Apple mentioned,

*“Education is deeply implicated in the politics and culture. The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize a people. [...]The decision to define some group’s knowledge as the most legitimate, as official knowledge, while other groups’ knowledge hardly sees the light of day, says something extremely important about who has power in society.”*¹⁵

The educational reform included curriculum reform, teaching method reform, textbook reform, teaching environment reform and so on. It involved all courses, classes, subjects, grades, students and teachers. However, the textbook reform was one of the most important reforms in the whole education system reform process. It is because textbooks are a collection of definitions, terms, cases, theories, ideologies, politics and cultures and they are published within the political and economic constraints of markets, resources, and powers.¹⁶ They are the main material of the curriculum which was used to teach students directly.

The school textbooks were published by official entities, such as the biggest Chinese textbook publisher, PEP. Moreover, different textbooks present different ideologies, such as government ideology, official ideology, political ideology, moral ideology and education ideology.¹⁷ From this point of view, Chinese political and moral textbooks are the same. They are the most direct tool for the government to propagate the official ideology to students.¹⁸ For instance, Marxist ideology is used to explain the social development and the essence of social relationships; Chinese political ideology is used to explain Chinese political policies

¹⁵ Apple 1993, p1

¹⁶ Allan 1988, p viii

¹⁷ Eagleton 1991, p1

¹⁸ Lall and Vickers 2009, p66

and strategies; and Confusion ideology is used to prove the exemplary morality in history and traditional culture.

Chinese society is a sort of exemplary society.¹⁹ The PRC government created exemplary models and exemplary personalities in the textbooks to teach students how to be exemplary citizens. The textbook is thus best understood as a sort of political tool used by the PRC government to explain the government's ideology. In other words, the textbook represents the ideology of the government.

2.1 The development of education system reform in mainland China

'Over the past decade there has been radical reform at all levels of China's education system as it attempts to meet changing economic and social needs and aspirations.'²⁰ Since 1978, when Chinese government implemented economic reform, the Chinese social economy has been growing extremely fast. In 1977, the Chinese university entrance exam was restarted; that the same year, the first generation of students since the Cultural Revolution graduated from Chinese universities. In 1978, the Chinese economic system reform and opening-up policy was implemented. China's education started to boom along with Chinese economic development. Furthermore, 'now China has 12% of graduated students in the world's big economies, approaching the share of the UK, Germany and France put together'.²¹ Chinese education has become very important. Therefore, to make education fit to high speed economic development is an important matter for the government.

In 2008, Chinese social sciences academic press published “*改革与发展的蓝皮书*” (*The Blue Book of Development and Reform*). It is the report on China's economic development and institutional reform and mainly talked about China's 30 years of reform and opening-up (1978-2008).²² The blue book collected 30 years of reform including economic reform, political reform and educational reform. The twenty-fourth chapter discussed educational reform and development. It said that Deng Xiaoping in 1977 announced that education would have a very important place in the work of the central government. Then, late of 1977, the

¹⁹ Bakken 2000, p1-3

²⁰ Ryan 2011, p 1

²¹ Accessed BBC News web Page: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/education-14949538>, 28 September 2011

²² Zou 2008

Chinese national unity university entrance examination was restarted. This was also the start of modern educational reform in China.²³

The reform of the educational system occurred in four stages.²⁴ The first stage, 1977-1984, is called “to bring order out of chaos, recover and rectifying” (拨乱反正). To bring order out of chaos means to stop the chaos of the Cultural Revolution and create a new social order.²⁵ Therefore, the educational system was restored. The university entrance examination was reinstated, the Chinese young pioneers were recreated, and universities, junior middle schools, high schools and primary schools were all reopened. Students started again to go to school regularly and were allowed to go abroad to study. So in this stage, Deng Xiaoping tried to restore the educational system before the Cultural Revolution and to fix the gaps that had been created by the Cultural Revolution.²⁶ In this initial state of educational reform, Qian Xueseng²⁷ expressed a new theory for the social and educational reform, which was “spiritual value” (精神价值).²⁸ The “spiritual value” asked for the construction of a spiritual civilization (精神文明建设) and a moral construction (道德建设).²⁹ The core of moral construction is moral education in school. Therefore, moral education was developed during this stage.

As Bakken mentioned, there is another theory which explained the “spiritual value” more clearly. It is the “two civilization” (两个文明) theory. This “two civilizations” theory was announced by Hu Yaobang³⁰, after Qian Xueseng’s ‘spiritual value’ had been announced. Hu

²³ Zou 2008, Chapter 24, lesson 1

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ 钱学森 Qian Xueseng (1911.12.11—2009.10.31): He represents the highly influential elite of Chinese technocrats. He earned a Ph.D. in aerodynamics at the California Institute of Technology, and taught at MIT as a professor of aerospace engineering in the 1940’s. He returned to China in 1955, later serving as China’s leading expert on guide missiles and space technology. He also has been a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, and in 1990 became Vice Chairman of the National Committee of the Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference, as well as Chairman of the Chinese Association for Science and Technology. Actually, he had a very good job in California and could have enjoyed a very prosperous and peaceful life there, had he wanted. However, his patriotism pushed him to return to China. So he is an outstanding member of China’s technological elite and a very important person for China’s reform.

²⁸ Bakken 2000, p50

²⁹ Ibid. P51-55

³⁰ 胡耀邦 Hu Yaobang: (20 November 1915 – 15 April 1989) was a high-ranking official of the People's Republic of China. He achieved his most senior status within the Communist Party of China from 1981 to 1987, first as Party chairman from 1981 to 1982, then as General Secretary of the Communist Party from 1982 to 1987. Hu joined the Chinese Communist Party in the 1930s, and rose to prominence as a comrade of Deng Xiaoping. During the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976), Hu was purged, recalled, and purged again, following the political career of Deng.

Yaobang was the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist party in 1982. He reported the theory of “two civilizations” at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China in September 1982.³¹ The “two civilizations” theory encompassed “material civilization” (物质文明) and “spiritual civilization” (精神文明). “Material Civilization” means the development of productive forces, the economy and society. Material is one of the basic conditions of the development of society. “Spiritual civilization” is linked to “spiritual value”. As Hu Yaobang mentioned,

*“Socialist spiritual civilization consists of two aspects, the cultural and ideological permeating and promoting each other. The cultural aspect refers to the development of undertakings such as education, science, art and literature, the press and publication, broadcasting and television, public health, physical culture, and libraries and museums, as well as raising the level of the general knowledge of the people. Ideology education in the party is the pillar for building spiritual civilization in the whole society, and party members should, first of all, play an exemplary role morally and ideologically. Ideological and political workers, workers in culture, in the sciences and in education of all types and levels from kindergartens to graduate schools-all shoulder especially heavy responsibilities in building a socialist spiritual civilization.”*³²

Therefore, ideological and political education became a very important part of Chinese socialism construction.

The second stage in the educational system reform lasted from 1985 to 1989. The education system reform had been implemented comprehensively during the second stage. May of 1985, “*The decision of the Communist Party of China on the Reform of China’s Education Structure*” (中共中央关于教育体制改革的决定) was published by the Central Communist Party (CCP, hereafter), which was also called the “1985 decision”. The “1985 decision” was seen as the real starting point of the modern education system reform.³³ At the same time, the CCP published the decisions regarding reforms of the economic system, the science and technology system and the education system reform. All these decisions made up Chinese social system reform.³⁴ The “1985 decision” pointed out that the economic construction should be the core

³¹ Bakken 2000. P52

³² Hu 1982, p10

³³ Zou 2008, Chapter 24

³⁴ Ibid.

of the educational system reform and the new educational policy needed to follow Chinese political line (政治路线). The new educational policy says that education has to serve socialist construction; socialist construction, in turn, has to depend on education. Therefore, education as a very important political tool for the CCP has been used by the central government to maintain its regime. The PRC government included education in their political policies and made the development of educational part of a political strategy. Then *The “Compulsory Education Law”* (义务教育法) was published in 1986. From then on, the educational system could be said to have recovered and the educational reform had been implemented comprehensively. However, in 1989, the Tiananmen event stopped the education reform.³⁵

The third stage lasted from 1990-2003. In 1992, Deng Xiaoping’s southern tour speech started education system reform again. During this stage, education reform had two features: the industrialization of education (教育产业化) and the great leap forward for education (教育大跃进). The industrialization of education regards education as a property. The campaign to treat education as a property was intended to improve social economic development and generate more economic benefits.³⁶ It was to be not only an undertaking for the government, but also one for individuals. The government started to foster education as a personal undertaking. Private educational institutions were now allowed to be opened by individuals. This led to the creation of private kindergartens, primary schools, junior middle schools, high schools and even universities. ‘Education is of course also used by the government as an “economic tool”.’³⁷ The great leap forward for education referred to the development and spread of education as a property. All these developments came from the education system reform. The educational system reform encompassed the school system, teaching system, examination system, textbooks and so on. For example, the textbook was the most important teaching materials in school. It had always been officially published by PEP and is the most direct way to propagate the ideals of the party and the government to students. And the textbook was seen as the most scientific and formal studying material. It provided the guide and teaching criteria. Therefore, the Chinese school textbooks were always decided upon and chosen by the central government in schools. However, in the middle of 1990s, the Central Government decentralized the right to choose textbooks to the local governments and schools.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Liu and Jiang 2001, p175-177; Zhang 1999, p 14-17

³⁷ Lall and Vickers 2009, p2

Schools or local governments now have the right to choose which textbooks can be used in junior middle school.³⁸ This decision was a huge reform in the history of Chinese educational reform. Therefore, the PEP textbooks were no longer the only version of textbooks used in schools.

The two basic topics of primary school and junior middle school education reform were announced during this stage. One was to overcome “exam-oriented” education (应试教育) and implemented “quality-oriented” education (素质教育); the other one was to reform the key school system (重点学校制度), including university and high school. Exam-oriented education is called China’s test-driven educational system as well. The only aim of this sort of education is to pass examination. In other words, the exam is the most important element of the exam-oriented education.³⁹ Quality-oriented education is “sushi” education. It is to help students as they learn what interests them, rather than learn just what is needed to pass an exam, and to offer them an environment where they are able to practice what is learned.⁴⁰ “Quality-oriented” education gradually became the Chinese educational system reform’s main content. Gradually, in the middle of the 1990s, “Suzhi” (素质) education became an official term and was written into Chinese education policy. Until 1999, “*the decision of comprehensively improve “Suzhi” education and deepen education reform by the CCP and State Council*” (中共中央国务院关于深化教育改革, 全面推进素质教育的决定) was published, “Suzhi” education became a sort of educational theory which was used very often in modern Chinese education system reform.⁴¹

In 2003, Chinese education system reform entered the fourth stage. During this stage, the main goal was to implement scientific concept of development and public education policies. The central government sought to improve the legalization of education policies and clean ‘exam-oriented’ education and industrialization of education. In other words, the government started to realize that it needed to end ‘exam-oriented’ education and improve “Suzhi” education if it wanted to foster good citizens. The industrialization of education had been a useful policy for early China. It had created a lot of social wealth, helped the Chinese

³⁸ Pan 2011, p1-3

³⁹ Yang Zhifu 1997, p15-16

⁴⁰ Rachel Murphy 2004, p1-3; Andrew Kinips 2006, p296-298

⁴¹ Zou Dongtao 2008, Chapter 24, 2

economic reform flourish, and made a number of people richer. However, more and more people were using the policy solely to make money, ignoring the original aim of education.

2.2 Theoretical framework and literature review

I will use Børge Bakken's work on the exemplary society, and Marie Lall and Edward Vickers' work on education as a political tool to provide the main theoretical framework of my thesis. In addition, I will use the concept of "Suzhi" education, which plays an important role for understanding how China functions as an exemplary society.

Børge Bakken's *The Exemplary Society* describes that China as an exemplary society. This means that the Chinese government uses the exemplary models to civilize exemplary citizens in the exemplary society, with the aim of maintaining the perfect social order.

Marie Lall and Edward Vickers' *Education as A Political Tool in Asia* mainly argued that education is used by the government to propagate the political policy and foster citizens in Asian countries. China is one of the cases was discussed in the book. Edward Vickers mainly analyzed the political and moral textbook used in China's junior middle schools and high schools. He clearly explained the patriotism and the patriotic education in Chinese school and society.

2.2.1 The meaning of "Suzhi" and "Suzhi" education

Literarily, "Suzh" consists of two words in Chinese language. One is "Su" (素), which means "simple, nature, plain, white and essence". The other one is "Zhi" (质), which means "nature, character and matter". Using the term "Suzhi" to refer to human qualities or population qualities (人口素质) was not clearly concrete before the late 1970s.⁴²

However, the meaning of human qualities could be derived from about 100 years ago, the late 19th century. Yan Fu⁴³ introduced Darwinism into China through his work *On the Heavenly Play* (天演论).⁴⁴ In this work, he mentioned that human natures are different, some, for examples are good, some are bad, some are strong, and some are weak. In other words, human natures are the first prototypes of human qualities. What is more, in his other article, named

⁴² Anagnost 2004, p199

⁴³ 严复 Yan Fu (8 January 1854 — 27 October 1921) was a Chinese scholar and translator, most famous for introducing western ideas, including Darwin's 'natural selection', to China in the late 19th century.

⁴⁴ Yan Fu 1898

On Strength (原强)⁴⁵, he called for improving the morality, intelligence, and physique of citizens to make China stronger. Improving the morality of the citizenry meant discarding despotism and acting honorably. Improving the intelligence of the citizenry meant learning from western countries. In other words, citizens had to learn or receive new knowledge from western countries. Improving the physique of the citizenry meant developing strong and healthy bodies. Therefore, Yan Fu actually pointed out that it is very important to strength the human qualities of citizens from inner to outer for building a strong nation. Inner “Suzhi” is morality and intelligence. Outer “Suzhi” is physique. In 1902, another scholar Liang Qichao⁴⁶ wrote *The discourse of New citizen* (新民说)⁴⁷. He explained the term new citizen and emphasized that national development depended on good and strong new citizens. Therefore, at that moment, China urgently had to civilize new citizens, morally and physically. Actually, to improve the morality, intelligence and physique of citizens is to develop the qualities of citizens.⁴⁸ However, the aim of both Yan Fu and Liang Qichao was to point out that national strengthen has to depend on improving the “Suzhi” of citizens.

In Mao’s era, Mao also stressed the importance of improving the “sushi” of citizens. As Rachel Murphy discussed,

*“Mao Zedong announced the promotion of the all-round moral, physical, aesthetic and intellectual development of individuals. The moral development is almost like a spiritual development. This kind of moral refers to Confucianism. The physical development is to have a healthy body. The intellectual development was to study scientific knowledge. The aesthetic development is a new term about value ideology. It demanded that people can distinguish good and bad, beauty and ugliness. All these Mao’s pronouncements can be seen as a ‘Suzhi’-like approach.”*⁴⁹

In contemporary China, through the influence of Qian Xuesen’s theory of “spiritual wealth”, China started to build ‘material civilization’ and “spiritual civilization”. Roughly, “material civilization” refers to technology, society, economy and politics; “spiritual civilization”

⁴⁵ Yan Fu 1895

⁴⁶梁启超 Liang Qichao (February 23, 1873–January 19, 1929) was a Chinese scholar, journalist, philosopher and reformist during the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911), who inspired Chinese scholars with his writings and reform movements. He died of illness in Beijing at the age of 55.

⁴⁷ Liang referred to in Lall and Vickers 2009, p 53; Liang Qichao 1902

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Rachel Murphy 2004, p2

includes science, education, culture and morality.⁵⁰ Since 1978, when the Chinese economic reforms were implemented, Chinese social economy has been growing extremely fast. By 1990s, the Chinese government announced that improving the quality of the Chinese population was the key to Chinese modernization. Finally, the term “Suzhi” education is concrete and embodied.⁵¹

“Suzhi” education refers to a curriculum and method of instruction that extends beyond passing exams and rote learning to emphasizing creativity, civic responsibility and overall personal development.⁵² This means students need not only to pass the exam, but also they have to develop their specific skills to prove their “Suzhi”. In other words, “Suzhi” does not only ask for external quality, but also ask for internal quality. For political education, “Suzhi” education means a change, where the political curriculum turns into a “student-orientation” (以学生为中心) approach. It means the core of study and education has to be the student, not examination.⁵³ It means political education for students involved not only memorization, but also had to be understood.⁵⁴ The reform of the political and the moral textbooks was a reform which was based on the “student-orientation”. The moral textbooks reduced some dull parts of political textbooks for students in junior middle school, such as the history of the social development, the legal content, and the theory of socialism. The government made the moral textbooks easy to understand and relevant to students’ daily life.

2.2.2 Exemplary model, exemplary norm and exemplary society

The exemplary society was written by Børge Bakken and published in 2000. It mainly expressed the fact that the Chinese society is a very complex exemplary society in the midst of reform and modernization. Børge Bakken discussed norms, rules, and strategies, tradition and modernization, education and morality, socialization and “human improvement”, as well as discipline and social control in this book. Bakken writes:

“The exemplary society can be described as a society where ‘human quality’ based on the exemplary norm and its exemplary behavior is regarded as a force for realizing a modern

⁵⁰ Børge Bakken 2000, p63

⁵¹ Rachel Murphy 2004, p5

⁵² Murphy 2004, p4

⁵³ Vickers 2009, p 526-528

⁵⁴ Bakken 2000, p148-151

*society of perfect order. It is a society with roots and memories in the past, as well as one created in the present to realize a future utopia of harmonious modernity.”*⁵⁵

In other words, the exemplary society is a sort of society which retains the history and past traditions, in order to build a clearly exemplary social norm for improving “human quality”. What is more, the exemplary norms limit the individual’s behaviors to the exemplary model. The aim of building the exemplary model by exemplary norms and exemplary behaviors is to realize a modern society of perfect order or a future utopia of harmonious modernity in the present.

*“Exemplarity is in China seen as based on an objective ‘moral science’, operating as a binding as well as a transforming ‘moral force’ in society. We might speak of the ‘production’ of individuals in line with ‘objective standards’ of exemplarity. The exemplary society is both educative and disciplinary, and we shall look at both its educational methods and its disciplinary techniques or ‘technologies’ for rewarding virtue and punishing evil.”*⁵⁶

The concept of exemplarity operates on both the individual level and the society level. In other words, the exemplary model is not only a personal idol; it also refers to virtuous models and exemplary persons for the whole society. It is influential within a society’s range. It can be a hero, a “model-worker” (劳模), or a “model- teacher” (模范教师) in China. “We can look at the exemplary model as a “narrative” or a “myth” serving social memory and social cohesion.”⁵⁷ This means the exemplary model is a kind of model with exemplary behaviors and exemplary personalities. The exemplary behavior is from the history, traditions, or culture and it is correct, good and positive. In this way the exemplary behavior becomes moral. The Chinese society is also both educative and disciplinary. The exemplary personalities are the personalities that the government really wants to build among citizens by textbooks. In other words, the exemplary personalities are the standard personalities of the exemplary citizens. China used to educate people with exemplary models to create a high “Suzhi” social individual. “Moral science” in China could be developed as a “science of morality” or “science of moral facts”, as Børge Bakken said.⁵⁸ It means China has a history of using morality to educate citizens and presenting it as based in fact. The exemplary behavior and

⁵⁵ Ibid. P1

⁵⁶ Ibid. p1

⁵⁷ Ibid. P170

⁵⁸ Ibid. P114

exemplary model is the element of “moral science”. The moral fact of moral education has “moral force” which can reward virtue and punish evil by educational methods and disciplinary techniques, such as examinations, law, rules and norms.⁵⁹

Norms were formed in the long history of the society. We can define and improve norms in society through building exemplarity with the power of the government. This power is shown in discipline and law. The focus of ‘norm’ is actually in the root of tradition or traditional culture. It is “a measurement and a means of producing a common standard, but such a standard may be constituted in various ways.”⁶⁰ However, it is not a simple average. “Norms are embedded in the memories of the past, but are actively constructed to serve the dreams of the future. The norm establishes itself as an order, and the whole society is defined by this order.”⁶¹ “The norm must be distinguished from, as well as linked to the techniques of discipline and power that follow in its wake.”⁶² “The norm is a measurement and a means of producing a common standard, but such a standard may be constituted in various ways. Models have been used to set standards and to increase the salience of norms. Norms can be enormously durable.”⁶³

As Bakken described, “A norm can be seen as a river which forces its way through any obstacle that tries to control it or obstructs its path. Exemplarity can be seen as an instrument to dam up this river of social norms. In contrast to the fixity of the exemplary norm, the modern norm is characterized by relativity, contradicting the idea of absolute norms.”⁶⁴ Therefore, the political and moral education is actually used by the authority to define and explain the exemplary norm to individuals, in order to foster exemplary personality and exemplary mode and build an exemplary social relationship. The tools for protecting exemplary norms are discipline and law.

In other words, “the norm is a measurement which is used to measure the correctness of behavior, and a standard which is used to define the social order by the techniques of discipline and power. However, discipline and law are two different terms. Discipline is a

⁵⁹ Ibid. P114-120, p169-200

⁶⁰ Ibid. P214

⁶¹ Ibid. P214

⁶² Ibid. P214

⁶³ Bakken 2000, p214

⁶⁴ Ibid. P219

shapeless regularity, and law is a sort of tangible regularity”.⁶⁵ The shapeless regularity is used to work in people’s minds through the repeated moral training, in order to influence people’s conduct. In other words, the shapeless discipline is formed by people’s experiences and customs, in order to form people’s self-determination. The punishment of shapeless discipline comes via public opinion and individuals themselves. The punishment is not actually applied to the body of an individual, but rather to the heart of an individual. It can also be seen as a sort of self-punishment or introspection. Durkheim argued that: “morality is basically a discipline. All discipline has a double objective: to promote certain regularity in people’s conducts, and to provide them with determinate goals that at the same time limit their horizons.”⁶⁶ The discipline is formed in the social history and traditional culture and is based on morality. People pass down discipline from generation to generation. Some of it will be lost in the history; some of it will be kept in the future; and some new discipline will be added as well.

On the other hand, the tangible regularity is the norm which is made by power or authority and has a clear aim to limit the conduct of people and to punish the crime.⁶⁷ The punishment of the tangible regularity can actually be applied to the body of individual. The form of this tangible regularity is the law or constitution which is clearly and strictly written on papers by the authority. The law is used to resolve social problems, punish crime, maintain social order and consolidate power. Therefore, both discipline and law protect the exemplary norms in society. However, discipline is formed by society and public opinion and law is made by the authority. Discipline punishments are received from oneself or society and law punishments come via national force.⁶⁸

Therefore, Børge Bakken described China as a complex exemplary society. The Chinese exemplary society is not a simple educative and disciplinary society. The authority, using its power and ideals, builds exemplary norms from traditional exemplary behavior and exemplary model, in order to foster standard citizens. The way to implement exemplary norms is to view moral education as a “moral science”. The exemplary norm is never natural. It implies the aim of the authority. However, the political curriculum is one of the methods that the authority or the Chinese government uses to implement the exemplary norm in China.

⁶⁵ Durkheim 2002, p17

⁶⁶ Emil Durkheim 2002, p47

⁶⁷ Ibid. p213-214

⁶⁸ Durkheim 2002, p47-50; Bakken 2000, p213-218

The textbook is used to propagate the moral science. The government puts the exemplary model into textbook to teach junior middle school students the exemplary behavior and exemplary norm. The government uses the exemplary nom as a moral force to achieve stability, harmony and order in Chinese society. So the Chinese government puts the exemplary model in the political textbook to propagate exemplary norms and foster “high-quality” citizens in the Chinese exemplary society.

2.2.3 Political and moral textbook as a political tool

Education is deeply implicated in the politics of culture. “The governments have long used education and the school curriculum amongst other vehicles for disseminating political ideologies with a view to transforming societies and subjecting them to more effective state control.”⁶⁹ For example, the political and the moral textbooks were used to systematically teach civic morality, preliminary Marxism and social science. They were the main teaching socialism in junior middle schools in China.⁷⁰ Schools used them to create excellent morality, good behaviors and correct views of life and world. The government used them to propagate policies, Marxism, Maoism, Deng Xiaoping’s theories, and theories of socialism and patriotism.

Edward Vickers has written much about political education and historical education. In this textbook analysis of the “thought and value” curriculum and the “thought and politics” curriculum in Chinese high school, he issues, two important caveats:

*“First, despite the CCP’s obvious attempts to shape and manipulate popular patriotic sentiment, patriotism in contemporary China should not be seen simply as the product of official discourse. The second caveat concerns the relationship between representations of patriotic ideology in school texts, and the development of student identities as patriotic Chinese citizens.”*⁷¹

This means that the Chinese government gradually reformed content of the political education, including political textbooks, curriculum, ideology and theory. However, the government did

⁶⁹ Lall and Vickers 2008, p1

⁷⁰ National Education Committee of the People’s Republic of China 国家教育委员会, 1997, “九年义务教育小学思想品德和初中思想政治课课程标准（试行）”（*Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion for ideology and morality curriculum in elementary school and ideology and politics curriculum in middle school (Trial)*）, p3-4

⁷¹ Ibid. P77

not change the goal of political education. The aim education is still to foster high quality and standard citizens. The political textbooks are still a tool of the government to civilize standard citizens.

Edward Vickers also explained clearly the difference between patriotism and the patriotic education from the perspective of nationalism. He discussed:

“The period from 1991 to 1994 witnessed the launch of a concerted Patriotic Education Campaign that continues to this day. While [...] some of the content of patriotism as conveyed through the school curriculum, it needs to be borne in mind that the campaign extends well beyond the school classroom, and that it intersects at many points with popular discourse in the media, literature, film and the arts.”⁷²

Patriotism was mainly used directly by the CCP in China to stress national identity and foster loyal citizens. “The drive for patriotic education has complemented a focus in education policy more broadly on the demands of modernization and economic development.”⁷³ It means patriotic education was focused on national pride and national developments. Both patriotism and patriotic education are basics to the national condition. Patriotism was emphasized to strengthen the nation in the face of foreign hostility. However, patriotic education is used to create national pride in national developments in economic, political and cultural area.

Education is not only a kind of political tool; it is also an “economic tool” as well as “a tool for social justice”.⁷⁴ Education can influence the development of the economy. When the social economy is developing rapidly, skilled talents will be needed. Education is used to foster talents needed for social economic development. Education can also create an economic benefit for social development. What is more, in 1985, the government announced that every citizen has the same right to receive education and every one in society is equal according to the law in “*the national education law*”.⁷⁵ Therefore, education can bring about social justice to some degrees.

However, this thesis will use the theory about “education as a political tool” to analyze the reform of Chinese political and moral textbooks. The political textbook is actually a political

⁷² Lall and Vickers 2009, p62

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid. P2

⁷⁵ Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p 30-39

tool for the PRC government to propagate political policy and foster directly high quality and standardized citizens. The government implemented the textbook reform as part of a larger educational reform that was aimed at supporting economic reform and ameliorating phenomena. Finally, the aim of reform was to maintain social stability and consolidate of political power.

2.3 The political and moral curriculum and textbooks

The political curriculum was implemented in Chinese junior middle schools during the anti-Japanese war run by the Kuomintang in the late 1930s. The political curriculum was called “Citizens”. Later, when it was renamed “Political common sense”, the real modern political curriculum was established in junior middle school. After 1949, the CCP reformed the old political curriculum and established a new political and ideology curriculum in junior middle school. In 1950, the junior middle school political curriculum was called “Chinese revolution common sense” (中国革命常识). In 1957, the CCP reformed the political curriculum, replacing the “Chinese revolution common sense” curriculum with the “Politics” (政治) curriculum.⁷⁶

The development of the political curriculum was stopped during the Cultural Revolution from 1966-1976.⁷⁷ After the Cultural Revolution, the “politics” curriculum was implemented again in junior middle school. It was not named “Ideology and Politics” until 1992.⁷⁸ The content was gradually changing from 1977 to 1992. The main content included a brief history of social development, building socialism ideas and civilizing morality in China during this period.⁷⁹ The political curriculum gradually became one of the most important compulsory courses in the contemporary Chinese school system. It was very different from literature and language, mathematics, English and other compulsory subjects. This is because the score of the political exam directly decided the future of every student. All exams, including the exams in the middle and at the end of the semester, the entrance examination of high school, university, college, and the civic service, tested knowledge of the political curriculum. A student’s mastery of this subject matter was essential. If a student who took one of these exams did not pass the political subject exam, this student was failed. And the political

⁷⁶ Shen and Liu 2004, P107-108

⁷⁷ Ibid. p109

⁷⁸ Zhan, Ning 2004, p513

⁷⁹ Chan 2006, p125-128

curriculum was not only tested in school, but also at work, such as in army, and in society. Therefore, in Chinese society, political curriculum was and is a very significant curriculum and subject. The same is true with the moral curriculum.

Until 2011, the moral curriculum, rather than the political curriculum was implemented in junior middle school. However, the moral curriculum was set in primary school in primary school in 1957.⁸⁰ It was used for guiding school children who were between 5 to 13 years old. It did not develop or improve very much until the 1980s, because the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976 stopped educational development.⁸¹ With the education reform in 1985, the moral curriculum was stressed in primary school. The PRC government especially highlighted political and moral education after the Tiananmen Event in 1989. In 2011, the PRC's ministry of education announced that the moral curriculum was being moved into junior middle school and would replace the political curriculum. The textbook had to be reformed as well.⁸² The new moral textbook for junior middle school was a kind of innovation in the history of political education. Replacing the study of politics with the study of morality meant reducing the difficulty of the subject and changing politics into morality. The new moral curriculum is a sort of comprehensive curriculum which forms the basis of junior middle school students' daily life. The fundamental purpose is to guide and improve the development of junior middle school students' ideology and morality.⁸³

Both textbooks are five volumes. Junior middle schools are three years and there are six semesters. There are two semesters each year. One volume is used each semester; the last semester of junior middle school involves no new course work so a textbook is not needed. In this last semester, teachers make all the students review all the previously learned information. Then students have to take a final examination which is also the high school entrance exam. This exam is the most important exam during the whole junior middle school period.

⁸⁰ Wu 2006, p53-54

⁸¹ Zou 2008, Chapter 24

⁸² The ministry of education of the People Republic of China 中国教育部, 2011, “关于印发‘九年义务教育小学思想品德课和初中思想政治课课程标准（修订）’的通知” (*The note of ‘Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion for ideology and morality curriculum in elementary school and ideology and politics curriculum in middle school (revised)’*).

⁸³ The ministry of education of the People Republic of China 中国教育部, 2001, “关于印发‘九年义务教育小学思想品德课和初中思想政治课课程标准（修订）’的通知” (*The note of ‘Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion for ideology and morality curriculum in elementary school and ideology and politics curriculum in middle school (revised)’*).

The political textbook discussed many subjects, including how to develop good morality, how to civilize a strong personality, how to form good relationships with others, how to be a person with very good behavior and patriotism. It also explained national law, responsibilities, rights and obligations, the history of human society, socialism, socialism with Chinese character, and China's national conditions. The first two volumes were mainly focused on how to foster good personalities and what good personalities are. The third and fourth volumes were mainly dedicated on introducing law and punishment, and citizens' responsibilities and obligations. The last volume discussed theories about social history, socialism with Chinese character, and national conditions in China.

The moral textbook discusses how to start a new junior middle school life, how to love yourself, how to make your life interesting, healthy and safe, how to have self-esteem and be self-confident, how to be independent and strong, how to be a law-abiding person, and how to behave in relation to family and to teachers, how to be a good friend to the others. It also covers rights and obligations, justice and equity, social responsibility and role, national condition, social mission and social common ideal. The first two volumes focus on how to foster good personalities and what good personalities are. This is the same as the political textbooks. The third volume discusses relationships between individual and family, student and teacher, and individual and others. The fourth volume mainly discusses the rights and obligations of Chinese citizens. The last volume discusses the responsibilities of citizens and national conditions and policies.

Information about laws, responsibilities, rights and obligations and national conditions, as well as advice on how to foster good personalities are still the main subjects in the moral textbooks. The theories about social history and information about some parts of the law have been cut from the moral textbooks. And some new information about life and relationships has been added to the texts. I will analyze the texts in details in later chapters.

2.4 The political and moral education reform

The Chinese school textbook is made by the Ministry of Education of the PRC. The curriculum criterion is SET at the same time. The criterion is named "The Curriculum Criterion" (课程标准). The Ministry of Education announced that "The Curriculum criterion

is the regulation according to which the state guides teaching, evaluation, and standards. It is also the standard which is used to edit and censor textbooks.”⁸⁴

The government has to follow this criterion when writing and editing the textbook. The national primary and junior middle school textbooks approval committee⁸⁵ (全国中小学教材审定委员会) which was led by the Ministry of Education of the PRC has to censor the textbooks according to this criterion before they are published. All the textbooks which were published by different publishers and in different places have to follow this same criterion. The teacher has to teach in class according to this criterion as well. The curriculum criterion clearly illustrates the aim of curriculum, the character of curriculum, the content of curriculum, the teaching method, the process of teaching, and how to examine students. Therefore, the first step of curriculum reform is the reform of the curriculum criterion. In order to reform, the curriculum has to follow the new criterion. The criterion is the guide and outline of the curriculum. Therefore, the political curriculum is no exception.

The reform of the criterion of the moral curriculum was based on the criterion of the political curriculum in junior middle school in 2001. The criterion which was made in 2001 illustrated that the aim of the political curriculum reform is to strengthen and improve the political education of students, to improve students’ ideological and political quality, and to make schools better play the main role of the moral educators, according to the report demanding a comprehensive improvement of “Suzhi” education.⁸⁶ The basic principle of the political curriculum is “adhere to Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong’s Thought and Deng Xiaoping’s Theory as guides, conscientiously implement the important thought of ‘Three Represents’ (三个代表), adhere to the socialist direction.”⁸⁷ The goal of the political education for grade 7 to

⁸⁴ 中国教育部 The ministry of education of the People Republic of China, 2011, “关于印发‘九年义务教育小学思想品德课和初中思想政治课课程标准（修订）’的通知” (*The note of ‘Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion for ideology and morality curriculum in elementary school and ideology and politics curriculum in middle school (revised)’*). From:

http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_711/200408/618.html

⁸⁵ Access: the ministry of the education of the PRC,

http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_621/201005/88490.html, 7th June, 2001

⁸⁶ 中华人民共和国教育部 The ministry of education of the People Republic of China, 2001, “关于印发‘九年义务教育小学思想品德课和初中思想政治课课程标准（修订）’的通知” (*The note of ‘Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion for ideology and morality curriculum in elementary school and ideology and politics curriculum in middle school (revised)’*). From:

http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_711/200408/618.html

⁸⁷ 三个代表 The “Three Represents”, an important thought adumbrated by former President Jiang Zemin, was enshrined as a feature of Communist Party orthodoxy at the 16th Party Congress in 2002. This idea was explained as an assertion of the principle that Party ideology should represent the interests of “advanced social

9 is to combine mental quality (心理品质), moral education, and healthy personality together, in order to improve the character and self-cultivation of students. The report also demanded that the curriculum increase the content devoted to the law, national condition, national education policy, socialism, socialism with Chinese character, “Three Represents”, “without the CCP, without New China” (没有共产党就没有新中国), national basic political system, “one state, two systems”, and “science and education” (科教兴国).⁸⁸ The curriculum criterion in 2001 implied that politics is the main part of the political curriculum and it had to be strengthened considerably. The main task of the political curriculum was to teach the central political policies and patriotism, in order to foster high quality citizens.

However, the curriculum criterion of 2011 in fact reforms the junior middle school political curriculum into the moral curriculum. The curriculum criterion of the moral curriculum illustrates that the moral curriculum is basic to the junior middle school students’ daily life, in order to guide and improve the development of junior middle school students’ ideology and morality. The basic principle is guiding students according to the socialist value system (社会主义的核心价值体系), and the core of the curriculum is to foster responsible citizens who are “with ideal, morality, civilization, discipline” (有理想, 有道德, 有文化, 有纪律).⁸⁹ The main content is to deal with relationships correctly, when it comes to individual and self, individual and others, individual and collective, individual and nation, individual and society; and to combine morality, mental health, law and national condition well.⁹⁰ Morality becomes the core of the moral curriculum. The government reduces some political ideologies and

productive forces”, “advanced culture”, and the interests of the overwhelming majority of the Chinese people. It was widely interpreted as signaling a further move in the transformation of the Communist regime into a broad-based ruling party tasked with promoting modernization and an enhancement of national strength, and away from its former self-definition as a revolutionary vanguard prioritizing the interests of workers and peasants. In this respect, it was significant that the adoption of the Three Represents as official Party ideology was accompanied by a move to legitimize the granting of Party membership to businessmen—though in practice many “capitalists” had long been Party members.

Vickers 2009, p525

⁸⁸ 中华人民共和国教育部 The ministry of education of the People Republic of China, 2001, “关于印发‘九年义务教育小学思想品德课和初中思想政治课课程标准（修订）’的通知” (*The note of ‘Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion for ideology and morality curriculum in elementary school and ideology and politics curriculum in middle school (revised)’*). From:

http://www.moe.edu.cn/publicfiles/business/htmlfiles/moe/moe_711/200408/618.html

⁸⁹ 中华人民共和国教育部 The ministry of education of the People Republic of China, 2011, “义务教育思想品德课程标准” (*Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion of ideology and morality curriculum*), Beijing moral university press, Beijing. P1

⁹⁰ 中华人民共和国教育部 The ministry of education of the People Republic of China, 2001, “义务教育思想品德课程标准” (*Nine years compulsory education curriculum criterion of ideology and morality curriculum*), Beijing moral university press, Beijing.

socialist theories in the moral curriculum and still keeps some important political ideology. The moral ideology has been increased a lot. It mainly stresses the relationships between individual and individual, collective, nation, and society. The only social theory that was mentioned in the moral textbooks is the one about national condition. However, this does not mean patriotism has been cut from moral textbooks. The government uses the relationship between individual and nation and individual and society to explain patriotism to junior middle school students.

3. From serious politics to emotional morality

*“If we view politics at its core as the exercise of power, then there is a necessary and unavoidable impact on education. And the connection is reciprocal, as education systems both have an impact on the political system and are themselves a product of a prevailing socio-political content.”*⁹¹

In this chapter, I will analyze two sets of textbooks, including their form and content, in order to explore how the PRC government reformed textbooks. I choose both sets of textbooks that are published by the PEP. It is because, as Lall and Vickers write “most school textbook are published by the PEP in Beijing, until the 1990s a monopoly, and still by far the largest publisher of school textbooks in China. Moreover, PEP retains close links with the Education Ministry of the Central government, with its editors also sitting on Ministry curriculum committees. PEP textbooks thus set a benchmark of ideology correctness as well as of the direction and pace of pedagogical reform for other textbook publisher.”⁹² Both of them were national textbooks and used in almost all junior middle schools all over China.

First, the form of textbooks that will be analyzed includes the cover page, the words, the language, and pictures. Second, when it comes to the content of the textbooks, I will mainly compare three aspects: exemplary citizens, exemplary relationships and exemplary norms. The exemplary citizens must have exemplary personalities which they can develop by learning from the exemplary models. The exemplary citizens also have to make exemplary relationships among themselves, others, family, nation and society. The political and moral textbooks use the exemplary norms to civilize citizens’ behaviors.

⁹¹ Lall and Vickers 2009, p83

⁹² Ibid, p55

3.1 The patriotism on cover pages of textbooks

Readers get the first sight of book from the cover page. What is more, the cover page will sometimes represent some parts of the content in the book, and sometimes it could be an image summary of the book. For the political textbooks and the moral textbooks, the cover page is not only a summary and a represent of the textbook, but also an expression of the government.

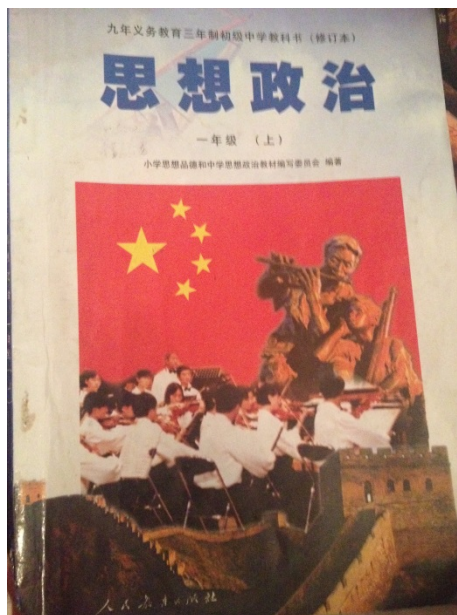
First, political textbooks have five volumes which were published by the PEP in 2001. They were edited by the textbook editing committee for ideology and morality in primary school and for ideology and politics in junior middle school (小学思想品德和中学思想政治教育编写委员会)⁹³. They were printed in black and white. Only the cover page was colorful. There were some pictures, quotations, stories, numbers and questions beside text. After the text, there were a few exercises and questions for practice. There were actually only three cover pages for five volumes of political textbooks. This was because the first two volumes had the same cover page and they were used for grade 7. The cover pages of the third and fourth volumes were the same and were also used for grade 8. The fifth volume, used for grade 9, has its own cover page.

On the cover page of the first two volumes (see page 26), there are Chinese national flag, the Great Wall, the Chinese Central Conservatory of Music Symphony Orchestra, and a very famous sculpture which shows an old soldier playing a bamboo flute for a child soldier who holds a gun, when they have a rest during the famous Twenty-Five Thousand Kilometers Red Army March (红军两万五千里长征)⁹⁴. The red flag with five yellow stars forms the background of the whole picture, representing the PRC of China. The sculpture is standing in the front of the flag. It shows the old Red Army soldier (红军), who was a Chinese soldier during the national war and the child, who looks very emaciated and tired. Their clothes are

⁹³小学思想品德和中学教材编写委员会 (The textbook editing committee of ideology and morality in primary school and ideology and politics in middle school), 2001, 九年义务教育三年制初级中学教科书 (实验本) *思想品德政治* (The textbook of Three years middle school in Nine year's compulsory educational system (Trial) *Ideology and Politics*), People's Education Press, Volume 1-5, Beijing.

⁹⁴ The Long March (October 1933-October 1935) was a military retreat undertaken by the Red Army of the Communist Party of China, the forerunner of the People's Liberation Army, to evade the pursuit of the Kuomintang (KMT or Chinese Nationalist Party) army. The Communists, under the eventual command of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, escaped in a circling retreat to the west and north, and reportedly traversed over 9,000 kilometers (6,000 miles) in 370 days. The route passed through some of the most difficult terrain of western China by traveling west, then north, to Shaanxi.

worn, and do not even cover their bodies very well. However, the old Red Army soldier looks very serious. The child is looking at him and listening to him carefully and calmly. This sculpture represents the Long March, which took place from 1933 to 1935. The Long March was during the civil war in China. Chinese communists could not continue fighting the Kuomintang. Mao Zedong decided the Red Army must move to Yan'an in North and West China on foot. In her book, *The Long March*, Su Shuyun uncovers shocking stories of starvation, disease, and desertion, of ruthless purges ordered by party leaders, of the mistreatment of women, and of thousands of futile deaths.⁹⁵ The Red Army walked over mountains covered with snow, crossed the high grasslands, through the permafrost, and traversed some uninhabited areas. They ate the roots of grass, the skin of trees, the belts that they were wearing, and whatever they could find.



On 22th October, 1996, the CCP held the memorial conference of the 60th anniversary of the victory of the Red Army Long March. During the conference, Jiang Zemin said, “the Long March is an unrivaled revolution and behavior in history; it is the miracle that is made by the Chinese Communist Party and the Red Army made by workers and farmers who were leaded by the party; it is the great hero in her history of China.”⁹⁶ On 25th July, 2006, at the 33th collective studying meeting of the CCP, Hu Jintao said, “The long march is the great

⁹⁵ Sun 2006, p1

⁹⁶纪念红军长征胜利 60 周年大会(The report of the meeting of the 60th anniversary of the victory of the long march) <http://dangshi.people.com.cn/GB/151935/176588/176597/10556548.html>

historical poem of heroic revolution that was made by Chinese people and led by the CCP.”⁹⁷ In other words, the spirit of the Long March was seen as the representing of the traditional spirit of the CCP by the Chinese government. The CCP believed the Long March established the spirit with which the CCP could withstand difficult; they had very strong stamina and they were the exemplified of China. Therefore, the sculpture of the Long March actually represents the history and tradition of the CCP, and the history of building the PRC. The Long March spirit is a part of Chinese patriotism education. This is also linked to the two parts of the content of the political textbooks. In the first volume, the textbook illustrates building strong determination and stamina (坚强意志)⁹⁸; learning to withstand setbacks (承受挫折)⁹⁹; and bravely improving and developing self (勇于进取)¹⁰⁰. The second volume emphasizes fostering patriotic sentiment (爱国主义情操)¹⁰¹ and building lofty ideals (崇高理想)¹⁰².

What is more, the Chinese Central Conservatory of Music Symphony Orchestra is in the middle of the picture. Players in white shirts and black trousers are playing their instruments and looking very seriously and with complete absorption at the director. They represent the people who have high skills and high human quality. They are top talents in their professional area. The people, who are playing in the central conservatory in China, must be the best players and have the best skills. To be a such a good player and to be able to paly such good music means that the person has to spend a lot of time and energy to practice and must pass up a lot of enticements to concentrate on practicing. He or she must fight against laziness and tiredness and insist on constant practicing. The people who are sitting in the middle of the picture are the exemplary models who have superb artistry, elegant emotion and good concentration. These are the personalities and characters that the textbook seeks to develop in junior middle school students. In the first two volumes of textbooks, the character and personality have been described as very important content. It says that it is necessary to build good habits, foster good behaviors, and have elegant emotions in order to improve personal high quality. Obviously, the government regards the central conservatory as the standard exemplary model for students in junior middle school.

⁹⁷ Hu 2006

⁹⁸ Political textbook 2001: Volume1, p40

⁹⁹ Ibid. p57

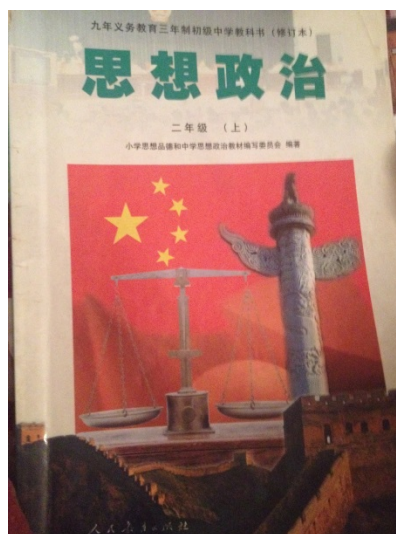
¹⁰⁰ Ibid. p66

¹⁰¹ Political textbook 2001: Volume2,p55

¹⁰² Ibid. p67

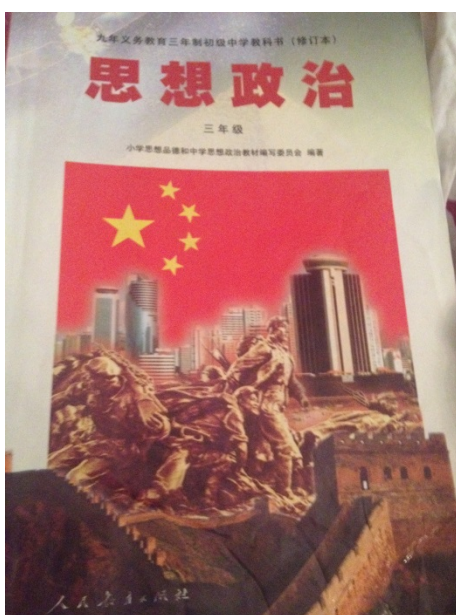
At the bottom of the picture is the Great Wall. It represents China as does the red flag with five stars. However, the national flag offers a political representation of the PRC. The Great Wall represents Chinese traditional culture and history, suggesting that both are as interesting as this famous place¹⁰³. The national flag and the Great Wall are the only two fixed elements on the cover pages. In other words, only these two are on every cover page of the political textbooks. They are the main elements of the cover page. They provide a link to the theme of patriotism. Patriotism is absolutely the main content of political textbooks. The political ideal and traditional culture are both important for patriotism.

On the cover pages of the third and fourth volumes (see page 28), there is a little difference. The central conservatory and the sculpture are changed into a Libra and a Marble Pillar. The Libra actually represents law and justice. The Marble Pillar, which is called “华表” in Chinese, is from Tiananmen Square. “Hua” means China or Chinese, for example, 中华 means China, 华夏 means China, and 华人 means Chinese people. “Biao” means represent, outer, watch, and appearance, as in 表率, 代表, 外表. Here, it means “representative”. The Marble Pillar is also a representation of Chinese traditional culture. On the top of the pillar, there is a stone lion standing on a lotus set above a piece of lucky cloud. On the body of the pillar, there are many carved dragons, which look as if they are flying in the sky. The stone lion, lucky cloud and dragons all represent Chinese traditional culture. Moreover, the content of the textbooks mainly discusses law and Chinese civic responsibilities and obligations, traditional subjects.



¹⁰³ Lall and Vickers 2009, p62

The cover page of the fifth volume (See the picture below), shows a picture of Shenzhen, which was the first Special Economic Zone in China, established in 1992. There are a lot of modern tall buildings and a famous sculpture of the Anti-Japanese hero (抗日英雄), which shows soldiers moving forward and following the leader. The content of the textbook includes the history of China's social development, the presentation of socialism as the choice of the Chinese people, the theory of socialism with Chinese character, and the historical task of the youth of contemporary China. The tall buildings represent the process of Chinese modernization and urbanization. The sculpture shows the history of China.



The cover pages of the political textbooks make clear that patriotism is the main content of the textbooks. The national flag and the Great Wall are standing in the same places on every cover page. The flag provides the background for the whole picture and the Great Wall is always shown at the bottom of the picture. Even though the textbooks mainly explain how to build high human quality and what are citizens' responsibilities and obligations, and presents theories of socialism, the aim of the political textbooks is to inculcate patriotism and the foundation for achieving this is Chinese traditional culture.

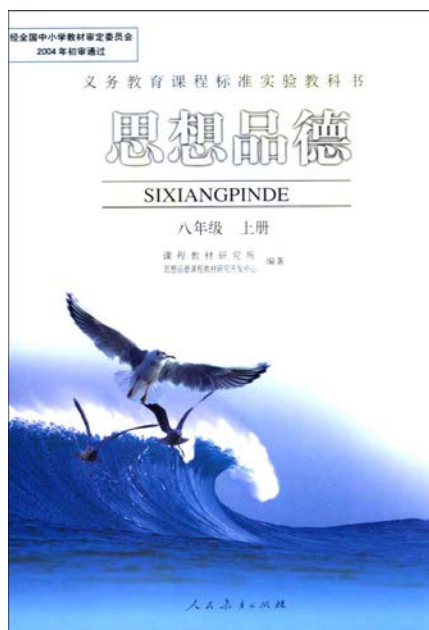
However, the cover pages of the reformed moral textbooks from 2011 are different. (See picture below) Each volume of the moral textbooks has a different picture on the cover page. The first volume's cover page shows a group of junior middle school students who are standing on the Great Wall. There is one student who holds the school flag and stands in the back. Every student looks very happy. They are smiling sweetly and jumping with their hands in the air.



On the second volume's cover page is a picture of a big sailing fleet on the sea. There are many ships with big and colorful sails. There is a team on the nearest ship. The members of the team appear united. This volume mainly discusses how to be an independent individual and also an individual member of the collective. (See the picture below)



On the third volume's cover page, there are three sea gulls over sea; one is flying ahead, and the others are following the first. The sea is blue but the surge wave in the background looks very dangerous. Sea gulls are sparing no effort to fly away from the surge wave. The volume focuses on relationships between individuals and others. This relationship includes individual and individual, individual and family and individual and friends. (See the picture below)



The fourth volume's cover page shows a peaceful view of a lake. There are many lotus flowers and leaves on the near side of the lake. Two people sit in a little yellow boat on the lake and look like they are enjoying themselves. On the other side of this lake, there are a lot of tall buildings, which suggest a very developed city. The main content of this volume is responsibility and obligation. (See the picture below)



The cover page of the fifth volume's features the Great Wall and the cenotaph of the Young Pioneers (少先队队碑). The cenotaph looks like a huge knife that bears the sign of the Young Pioneers which is a torch with a star. (See the picture below)



Thus, between two sets of textbooks, the atmospheres of the cover pages are quite different. The atmosphere of the political textbooks is very strict and serious. The colors in the pictures are dark and simple. The red color of the national flag stands out. Every face that appears on the cover pages is serious and unsmiling. The cover pages of the moral textbooks are totally different. They depict happiness and look relaxing. The pictures are very colorful and bright. Actually, politics is a formal, strict and serious subject. Morality, as a subject, is more informal than politics. Politics is always linked to regime, power, dominance, and nation. Morality is presented as being formed through China's long social and culture history, and shaped by education and discipline.¹⁰⁴ The national flag, the Red Army, the Marble Pillar, and the cenotaph of the Young Pioneers all represent a very clear political ideology about the nation and the CCP. All these images represent objects of Chinese patriotism. In addition, the pictures on the cover pages of the political textbooks are of same size, shape and style. They can be seen as a unit. This unity implies both the national unity and state control. In other words, these images, all in the same form, together represent the "One China Policy".¹⁰⁵ This is Chinese nationalism. In contrast, the images on the cover pages of the moral textbooks are not in the same form. Each is different and all are lack a border. The pictures look free, unlimited and informal.

There is still something similar about them, however. It is the Great Wall and the peaceful view of a city. These elements represent traditional culture and modernization and urbanization, and these subjects are discussed in the moral textbooks. The red flag is still in one of the picture of the moral textbooks, even though it is not the national flag, but it is red

¹⁰⁴Durkheim 2002, p3-4

¹⁰⁵ Lall and Vickers 2009, p65

and it is a flag which represents the collective. The red color is very important for the CCP. It can even be regarded as a sort of political color, as seen by its use by the Red Army, in the Long March and in the Chinese national flag. Thus, red can be seen as a representative of the CCP and the PRC.

From the different atmospheres of the cover pages, it appears that the government chose to change its approach toward educating students. The cover pages of the political textbooks present the government as a political policy announcer, and the attitude is stern and serious. The cover pages of the moral textbooks are more closely connected to students' daily lives and experiences. The moral textbooks look more interesting and emotional than the political textbooks. However, both textbooks are fundamentally about traditional Chinese culture and patriotism.

3.2 From “we” to “I” and “self”

“I” (我) and “We” (我们) are two ordinary personal pronouns which are used in books and oral communications. However, the political textbooks use different personal pronouns for expression than do the moral textbooks. This suggests that, in creating each set of textbooks, the government had different aims and attitudes. “I” represents individual self (自己) or the only person who is speaking. “We” is the plural and represents the collective that includes, but is not limited to, “I”. As Børge Bakken quoted from Durkheim’s work, “there is a pleasure in saying ‘we’ rather than ‘I’, because anyone in a position to say ‘we’ feels behind him a support, a force on which he can count.”¹⁰⁶ And he also said, “the ‘we’ totally dominates the ‘I’, and signifies the social bond. The ‘we’ is an integrating force in society, while the ‘I’ might be seen as a disintegrating entity.”¹⁰⁷ “We” actually includes “I”. “I” belongs to “we”. “I” is an individual, but “we” is collective. The different personal pronouns represent different person or persons. However, ‘self’ is normally seen as a sign of “selfishness” or “egoism” in China, especially during Mao’s era.¹⁰⁸

First of all, in the political textbooks, “I” is very rarely used as a subject. The political textbooks often use “we”, “people”, “citizen” or “every one” (人人) as a subject. Here are several examples,

¹⁰⁶ Bakken 2000, p 104-107; Durkheim 2002, p240

¹⁰⁷ Ibid. P107

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. P110

“我们要得到健康成长，就要了解自己的内心世界，规范自己的言行，培养良好的心理品质和健康的人格，以便更好地适应现代社会的需要” (If we want to get healthy growth, we have to know well our inner world; regulate our words and deeds; foster good mental quality and healthy personality, in order to fit well to the needs of modern society.)¹⁰⁹

“我们生活在一个改革开放和社会主义现代化建设的伟大时代，社会主义祖国的明天等待着我们去建设，任重而道远。” (We are living in a great era of reforming and opening and social modernization; the tomorrow of the socialist motherland is waiting for us to build. This is a heavy task and will take a long time.)¹¹⁰

“每个人由于在社会生活中担任的角色不同，得到的锻炼不同，也就容易形成不同的性格。” (Every person can easily have different personalities, because of the different roles people play in social life, and the different exercises they have.)¹¹¹

The government uses “we”, “our”, and “us” as subjective nouns. In doing so, the government puts both the readers and government into the collective. All people here become one group. And this group is the nation. The government has created these textbooks using a first-person narrative perspective. This is notable because the government usually expresses itself from third-person narrative perspective. For example,

“一个人自呱呱坠地依法成为我国公民起，就与法律结下了不解之缘” (When a person is born and becomes by law a citizen of our nation, he has a complex relationship with the law.)¹¹²

“公民有受教育的权利和义务；公民有义务维护国家的统一和保卫国家的安全” (A citizen has a right to education and an obligation to be educated; a citizen has obligations to safeguard national unity and protect national safety.)¹¹³

“世界上的任何一个人，从他一出生开始，就与一个国家发生了天然的联系。” (Anyone in the world, since the time he was born, is naturally connected to his country.)¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁹ Political textbook 2001: volume1, p2

¹¹⁰ Ibid. P49

¹¹¹ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p5

¹¹² Political textbook 2001: Volume 3, p1

¹¹³ Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p2

¹¹⁴ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p59

The government is actually a speaker who declaims theories and definitions to students. Whether the government used first or third person narrative perspective, the core of all the texts is the collective. “Foster good mental quality and healthy personality is in order to feed the need of society, to build our nation, and to make our nation be united.”¹¹⁵ Society and nation are not a single individual. Both of them are collectives. Every personal pronoun and subject noun used in the texts, such as “we”, “people”, “citizen”, are linked to the collective as well.

However, the situation is different in the moral textbooks. In these textbooks, individual (个人), self or “one person” (一个人) are used very often. “I” becomes one of the key words in the texts. In the introduction to the first unit of volume 5, there are two sentences, which are “I have a responsible heart” (我有责任心)¹¹⁶ and “I am a responsible citizen” (我是一个责任心强的公民)¹¹⁷. These two statements are presented as “the most positive and emphatic declarations for young people”¹¹⁸ are announced in the very beginning. These two sentences use “I” as the subject. Also, the key word “I” appears in the titles of several sections of the moral textbooks. They are “who am I responsible for and who is responsible for me” (我对谁负责; 谁对我负责)¹¹⁹; “my role and my responsibility” (我的角色; 我的责任); “I take on and I don’t regret” (我承担; 我无悔)¹²⁰ and “I am one of the collective” (我是集体的一员).¹²¹ “I” signifies an individual, a single person, and not a collective. Thus, the government in these textbooks becomes one of the readers and expresses itself as an individual. This means the government consciously guides the reader as an individual. In other words, when the government created the textbook, it sought to appeal to the reader’s feelings and present the text from a reader’s point of view. It did not do this with the political textbook. The political textbook only stressed the collective, but the moral textbooks pointed out every individual self. Of course, the individual can not only be a single individual in society. The individual belongs to the collective, and the collective is made up of every individual. To confirm the individual as a single unit of the society, as the moral textbooks do, is a change for Chinese political and moral education.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.* p10

¹¹⁶ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, p2

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, p4

¹²⁰ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, p15

¹²¹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, p19

Thus, it is actually a process of individualization that made a change from “we” to “I”. When the government used “we” and the third-person narrative perspective in the political textbooks to express itself, the collective ideology was obviously being stressed. However, when using “I” instead of “we”, the government confirms the individual as a basic unit that exists in society and the collective. Of course, the individual is not alone, but it is one unit in the collective. The collective is not the only aim of the individual; the individual can also be the aim of the collective. In other words, the collective and the individual have to be mutually oriented. They have to depend on each other. As the moral textbook mentioned, “to recognize the self”, “one must treasure life” and “one must take care of the self”¹²². Here the “self” becomes the point of these expressions. An important way in which the political and moral textbooks were reformed was the addition of the focus on the self and the concept of the self as a single basic unit in society.

However, this does not mean the collective is not important any more. The collective is still the aim of the individual. “Only the one, who takes responsibility for self, could have rights, confidence, and capacity to take over the responsibility towards others’ and the society.” (只有对自己负责任的人，才有资格、有信心、有能力、承担起对他人对社会的责任。)¹²³ The collective is still very important in both textbooks, but the moral textbook confirms individual and self. “Self” is now endorsed in Chinese society. It does not only mean “selfishness”. The government actually stresses “I” and “self” in order to make the individual and collective closer to each other and to let the individual recognize the fact that he is member of the collective. The final aim of the government is to improve the collectivism among individuals. Meanwhile, the government changes the focus from the government to the reader and from the writer to the reader as well. In other words, the government is really concerned about how the reader feels about the texts. The textbook is a vehicle to deliver political and moral ideology to readers. . It also seeks to speak directly to the reader and stress the importance of each individual. The individual student thus becomes the center of the moral curriculum, whereas knowledge itself is the center of the political curriculum.

Actually, the relationship between the individual and the self is also mentioned in the political textbooks, in discussions about how to build a high quality self. The textbook says that an individual has to have high moral character, positive emotions, strong determination, bravery

¹²² Moral textbook 2011: Volume 2, p1

¹²³ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, P9

in the face of setbacks, self-respect, self-confidence, self-discipline, and elevated interest (高雅的兴趣). These are the tasks that individual has to do for self. The aim of these tasks is to bring the individual into society and build socialism. However, the individual in the political textbook is never mentioned as an important unit and element of the collective and society. Even though the government uses many famous individuals' stories to support its opinion, the aim of these stories is to guide readers to improve themselves and participate in socialism construction. For example, the story of the famous old revolutionary Wang Ruofei ¹²⁴ who was set in jail by the enemy, is used to prove that setting the right goal in life can help an individual overcome a setback.

Wang Ruofei insisted on doing gymnastics and exercising to remain healthy. He said, “even though the enemy will kill me in the next second, I still treasure my body in this second. I am not living in this world for my enemy, but for our business (事业).”¹²⁵ This business is in fact the socialist cause. Wang Ruofei is exercising in jail not for himself, but for the nation. He was a very exalted purpose. He is an exemplary model who has high purpose and who overcome the obstacle to achieving his purpose. The individual and self here are one part of the collective. The existence of the individual is for and with the collective.

However, in the moral textbooks, the individual has to take care of self and treasure the life of the self (自己的生命). First, the personal pronouns in the moral textbooks are different from those in the political textbooks. “Self” and “I” are used more often in the moral textbooks. Here are two examples, “protect self by the law” (用法律保护自己)¹²⁶, and “one should take care of one’s own business” (自己的事情自己做)¹²⁷. “Self” becomes the main subject in the texts. “I” becomes a single individual appearing in society. “I” has to learn how to protect “self” and treasure the life of “self”. The fifth lesson of the first volume exemplifies this:

“Who creates the value of our own lives? It is the ‘self’. We are the host of our lives and comprehensively know ourselves, in order to develop our potential power, to achieve self-realization, and to make life of the self more wonderful.” (我们是自己生命的主宰，全面地

¹²⁴ 王若飞 Wang Ruofei: (1896—1946) famous outstanding communist revolutionist

¹²⁵ Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p63

¹²⁶ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 2, p 108

¹²⁷ Ibid. p34

认识自我，使自己潜在的能力得到充分地发挥，就可能实现自我的价值，让自己的生命更精彩。) ¹²⁸

“Every individual is living in the collective. The evaluation from the collective normally is more objective and comprehensive.” (每个人都生活在一定的集体中。集体往往对个人的评价更全面，更客观。) ¹²⁹

“Self” and “life” (生命) are highlighted in the moral textbooks. To care for self and treasure life is correct conduct and behavior. The term, “self”, does not convey egoism in the moral textbooks. Thus, it appears that the PRC government recognizes and affirms that to protect and care for self and life is a sort of moral behavior. The political textbooks, in contrast, do not stress the importance of life.

Thus, the government uses the moral textbooks as a tool to guide junior middle school students to recognize that the individual is a single unit in the collective. Every individual is important to the collective. The individual and life should be protected and taken care of as well. The collective improves when the individual improves. The PRC government affirms the individual in the moral textbooks.

3.3 Colorful pages and colorful words

Except for the cover page, the political textbooks are printed in black and white. The moral textbooks are totally different. Not only are the cover pages colorful, but also the whole book is colorful. What is more, the expression is totally different between the political and the moral textbooks.

The political textbooks are made up of text. There are some notes, simple pictures, and questions beside the text. Some notes are statements that were made by famous politicians, scientists, musicians and writers. For example, the first note in the political textbook is “learning is bright; ignorance is darkness” from Ivan Sergeevich Turgenev ¹³⁰, who is a famous realist writer. The second note is “all books are writing for your thinking, but are not a replacement for your thinking” from Qu Qiubai ¹³¹, who is a very famous revolutionist of the

¹²⁸ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 1, p45

¹²⁹ Ibid. p50

¹³⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p2

¹³¹ Ibid.

CCP. Both notes are used to discuss the importance of being a person who has strong personality. There is also a quote from the musician Ludwig van Beethoven: “One of the advantages of excellent people is that they become even stronger through adversity and difficulty”¹³² This is part of the discussion of how to deal with difficulties or setbacks. The scientist Thomas Alva Edison said, “Good character is better than excellent wisdom.”¹³³ And Vladimir Lenin said, “Making a big business must start from tiny things.”¹³⁴

Some notes are questions which are used to spur students to think more deeply or to learn how to apply the theory that is being discussed in the text. For example, in the fourth volume of the political textbooks, there is a question which asks: “Why is the right to choose solemn and sacred?”¹³⁵ Others ask why free speech is not limitless, and what does it mean when common people complain to an official of the government.¹³⁶ There are also some pictures and short introductions in addition to the text, but all of them are in black and white. Most of the information in the books is in the form of text. Even the pictures are accompanied by a long big paragraph explaining the significance of the picture. Therefore, the textbooks appear to be very uninteresting, dry and serious.

These textbooks are actually like traditional Chinese textbooks. The traditional textbooks used in Chinese traditional school were *三字经* (three characters classic), *四书* (four books), *五经* (five classic) and *千字文* (thousand characters classic).¹³⁷ All these books refer to the history, morality and the traditional Chinese culture. “Sishu” (私塾)¹³⁸ was actually the traditional private school which was opened before the PRC. In these earlier, private schools, there was normally one teacher, one bare room with some desks, and some students. Everyday the teacher would read the classic books to the students and the students were expected to repeat what they heard and memorize all books. These books mainly discussed how to be a good person, what the moral norm in society was, what had happened before, and how people resolved problems, and what the famous wise men had said.¹³⁹

¹³² Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p61

¹³³ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p6

¹³⁴ Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p50

¹³⁵ Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p65

¹³⁶ Ibid. p70

¹³⁷ Ibid. P19

¹³⁸ Sishu: it is a kind of traditional private school that existed in China before the PRC was founded in 1949. Thøgersen 2002, p20

¹³⁹ Ibid. p24-25

The relationship of the student and teacher to the political textbooks is somewhat different. The students are expected to read the books themselves, rather than listen to the teacher read them. They also are not expected to memorize the text. However, the similarities are also notable. The political textbooks contain a lot of text and memorize some parts, such as definitions and terms. For example,

“我国社会的主要矛盾，是人民日益增长的物质文化需要同落后的社会生产之间的矛盾”
(The main contradiction of our national society is the contradiction between the growing material needs of the people and the declining social production.)¹⁴⁰

“公有制是我国社会主义经济制度的基础。公有制经济包括国有经济和集体经济。”
(Public ownership is the basis of our national socialist economic system. The public ownership economy includes the national economy and the collective economy.)¹⁴¹

“受教育权，是指公民有从国家接受文化教育的机会，以及获得受教育的物质帮助的权利。”
(The right to education means citizens have the opportunity to receive civilization and education from the nation and the right to get material educational help.)¹⁴²

The terms that are used in these sentences are dry, academic, objective and official. All these terms appear very often in official documents, such as, “public ownership”, “socialism”, “socialism economy”, “economic system”, and “citizens”. However, the readers of these textbooks are young –only 12 or 14 years old. These terms are most likely dull and meaningless to them. Even if these young people cannot understand all these terms, they have to memorize them. Most likely these terms do not have any real meaning for these young people but they must learn them because they will be tested on them. Studying for exams thus becomes mechanical memorizing. The object of studying is not to understand the content but rather to pass a test. The textbooks become a sort of burden to young people. The textbooks seem dull, difficult, boring and far removed from the daily life of students. However, students cannot avoid memorizing all these words, because they have to pass the exam in order to demonstrate high ideological and political quality.¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume 5, p59

¹⁴¹ Ibid. P82

¹⁴² Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p30

¹⁴³ Bakken 2000, p276-281; Dello-Iacovo 2009, p241-245

The moral textbooks are revised. Colorful print appears not only on the cover page, but also in the text. Declarations have been reduced. Pictures, stories and exercises take up a large part of the content. Almost every picture is accompanied by a short story and some questions or exercises. The statement of “to care for the collective and everyone has a responsibility” (关心集体，人人有责)¹⁴⁴, is explained with a simple picture. The picture shows two boys standing in a dirty classroom. One boy says, “It has to be cleaned once more, because the floor is too dirty”. The other says “You are so annoying” (多管闲事). Beside the picture, there is a short story telling the background of the picture. It says that there is a student named Li Zequn and classmates call him “the king of annoyance”. He asks classmates to bring flowers from home and he borrows cleaning tools to decorate the classroom for a school match. He remembers to return all the tools and go to the noteboard to check the result for his class. When he finds out the result, he will immediately tell his classmates in order to save others time. Once, he demanded that a classmate clean the classroom floor. The classmate cried, “Are you the cleaning committee? You are so annoying!” The question following this story is “Is Li Zequn annoying?”¹⁴⁵ Actually, this story describes a situation that often happens in school. Thus, students can relate to the story because they may have experienced something similar. Every student can feel what the story tells. So the textbooks are not difficult to understand. In this way, the textbooks seem more colorful and interesting.

The language of the moral textbooks has been changed as well. There are many adjectives which are used in the text. These adjectives make the language of the moral textbooks colorful. Here are some examples:

“丰富多彩的生命装扮了美丽的世界。在这个世界中，人的生命因为智慧而闪烁着夺目的光彩。生命是一篇昂扬的乐章，也是一副精美的画卷。” (Colorful lives decorate the beautiful world. In this world, human life is brightened through wisdom. Life is a piece of spirited music, and a piece of a beautiful picture.)¹⁴⁶

“不同的人生，有不同的色彩，有的绚丽，有的平凡。” (Different lives have different colors; some are beautiful; and some are common.)¹⁴⁷

¹⁴⁴ Moral textbook 2011, Volume 5, p20

¹⁴⁵ Moral textbook 2011; Volume 5, p20

¹⁴⁶ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 1, P23

¹⁴⁷ Ibid.

“集体，一个温馨的词语，它离不开个体而存在。同时个体也只有紧紧地依靠集体，才能有无穷的力量。” (“Collective”, is a warm word and it cannot exist without the individual. At the same time, only if the individual depends heavily on the collective can, he can achieve infinite power.)¹⁴⁸

“教育关系子孙后代，涉及千家万户，和广大人民的生活息息相关。” (Education relates to the future generations, involves thousands of families, and is closely related to the lives of many people.)¹⁴⁹

The language of the moral textbooks was changed from academic statements into colorful expressions. No adjectives are spared in describing how precious and beautiful life is. All these adjectives create beautiful images in students' mind. The language makes the content of the moral textbooks easy to understand and interesting for young people. Compared with “我国的社会主义的主要任务” (the main task of our national socialism), “计划生育” (birth control policy), “社会主义初级阶段的理论” (the theory of primary-stage socialism), and “公有制” (public ownership) in the political textbooks, the language in the moral textbooks is more attractive. These political, academic and official phrases and terms were deleted from the moral textbooks.

Therefore, it can be found that the revised textbooks provide interesting, relaxing and easy way to learn about politics and morality, in marked contrast to the earlier textbooks which were academic, strict and dull.

3.4 The reasons for reforming textbooks

The forms of the political textbooks and the moral textbooks are different. One is black and white, stern, dull and difficult to understand; the other is colorful, relaxing, close to life and emotional in its form. The reform obviously led to a big difference of the form between the political textbooks and the moral textbooks. Why did the government reform the textbooks? In this thesis, I bring up two reasons: a political one and a social one.

The first reason is political. The textbook reform had to fit reform of the educational system. The educational system reform in China asks for “Suzhi” education. To foster high quality

¹⁴⁸ Moral textbook 2011; Volume 5, P19

¹⁴⁹ Ibid. p61

students is the main task according to “Suzhi” education. This is a sort of ‘student- oriented’ education. The student is to be the center of the educational system. Particularly, political education has to foster high political and moral “Suzhi” students. Therefore, the textbook has to follow the curriculum criterion, which was itself determined by the reform policy of the PRC government. The curriculum reform asks for efforts to overcome formalism, to avoid using only state knowledge, which is far from schoolchildren’s daily life, to pay close attention to the mental development of schoolchildren, and to make schoolchildren the center of education.¹⁵⁰ Junior middle school students are still children. They have just graduated from primary school and have not joined adult society yet. They are just starting to get know society and to try to resolve problems by themselves. They have very strong capacity to learn and they are curious. But the political textbook is made up black-and-white text. For these schoolchildren, it is formal and boring. However, the moral textbook is colorful and uses fewer words. To some degrees, it looks like a sort of a story book. The emotional language makes the content easy to understand and relevant to students’ lives and experiences.

There is another change in the moral textbooks. There is an additional page in each volume. The additional page is set in the front of the list of content and text. It is used to introduce the “Socialist concept of honor” (社会主义荣辱观) which was announced by the chairman of the PRC, Hu Jintao, in 2006.¹⁵¹ The concept has a short name which is “八荣八耻” (eight honors, eight shames). It states eight behaviors that are honorable and eight that are shameful. To love the nation, to serve people, to believe in science, to work hard, to be sympathetic (团结互助), to be loyal, to abide by the law, and to lead a simple life and work hard (艰苦奋斗) are honorable behaviors. To endanger the nation, to betray people, to disbelieve science (愚昧无知), to be lazy (好逸恶劳), to hurt others’ lives, to damage others’ possessions, to be selfish and unscrupulous (见利忘义), to break the law, and to be extravagant and dissipated (骄奢淫逸) is a shame.¹⁵²

Hu summarized these sixteen behaviors, placed them into two groups and wrote a poem in order to facilitate their memorization. At the same time, he emphasized that the key work of the PRC government is to improve the human quality of the whole Chinese nation (民族), to

¹⁵⁰ The curriculum standard 2011

¹⁵¹ Access Xinhua news net: http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2006-04/27/content_4482754.htm, 27th April, 2006

¹⁵² Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5

reinforce the development of ideology and morality, to foster huge numbers of excellent elites, and to build a good social civilization and moral landscape.¹⁵³ Therefore, morality was emphasized by the PRC government and the CCP. Following the political announcement, the textbooks were revised.

The second reason is social. With rapid social modernization, science and technology developed quickly as well. The young generation is living and growing up with different kinds of colorful and interesting media and technology. The traditional political textbook seems rather boring and dull in comparison. The textbook which is only in black and white and made up of dull texts is probably not sufficiently attractive to the new generation. The form of the political textbooks is too simple and boring to young people. However, morality is actually very important for them and for the nation.¹⁵⁴ If the moral textbook is only seen as a sort of composed of information that must be memorized and cannot be understood by young people, the textbook will become a burden on, and not make any sense to, young people. Then the moral education will mean nothing. Therefore, the PRC government followed the “Suzhi” policy and decided to think about the young people’s needs and to make the textbook interesting and easy to understand. The aim of the textbook is to let students understand texts and make them relevant, rather than only to explain official knowledge.

Thus, the Chinese governments changed the form of the political, in order to make the curriculum interesting and easy to understand for junior middle school students.

4. Exemplary citizens in textbooks

As Børge Bakken mentioned, the authority of *The Exemplary Society* is used to make an exemplary model for the society. He looks at the exemplary model as a “narrative” or a “myth” serving social memory and social cohesion.¹⁵⁵ In other words, the exemplary model represents the good history or rational tradition of society. It is the best representation of society. It is also seen as a model with ‘supernatural’ or ‘sacred’ or the highest moral standard. The exemplary model represents the good memory in social history and leads to social cohesion. In the exemplary society, the authority uses traditional culture and history to create a sort of charismatic authority and “super society”. As Bakken quote from Weber:

¹⁵³ Hu 4th March, 2006. Access Xinhua news: http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2006-04/27/content_4482754.htm, 27th April, 2006.

¹⁵⁴ Durkheim 2002, p 1-5

¹⁵⁵ Bakken 2000, p170

*“The social relationships directly involved are strict personal, based on the validity and practice of charismatic personal quality. If this is not to remain a purely transitory phenomenon, but to take on the character of a permanent relationship forming a stable community of disciples...it is necessary for the character of charismatic authority to become radically changed. Indeed, in its pure form charismatic authority may be said to exist only in the process of originating. It cannot remain stable, but becomes either traditionalized, rationalized, or a combination of both.”*¹⁵⁶

China has the same tradition of creating exemplary models in society to serve social memory and social cohesion. Through repetition, moral education propagates the idea of and stories about the exemplary person. The exemplary person can be a hero, such as charismatic hero in Chinese history and mythology. Here are two examples:

“Liu Bocheng”, was the captain of the Chinese national protection army (护国军) during the national war. Once, he was hurt during the war and he had to undergo an operation and have his damaged eye removed without any anesthesia. He said, “Just do it! It is my business if I cannot bear the hurt, but it is your problem if you are afraid of doing it.” (做吧！敢不敢做手术，是你的问题；受不受得了是我的问题)¹⁵⁷;

“Guan Yu” played a significant role in the civil war that led to the collapse of the Han (汉) dynasty and the establishment of the state of Shu Han (蜀汉) in the Three Kingdoms period (三国时期).¹⁵⁸

The hero also can be someone who became famous person by doing something noteworthy, as the following examples illustrate. “Jiao Yulu” was a Chinese officer in a small county of China in 1960s. He worked very hard and helped the common people with farming and fighting poverty. However, in the end, he was so tired that he became deathly ill.¹⁵⁹ “Lei Feng” was a young soldier in the 1960s. He did many small things for people whom he did not know and whom he never told his name.¹⁶⁰ “Zhang Haidi” was a strong girl. She could not walk

¹⁵⁶ Ibid. P196; Weber 2009, p363-364

¹⁵⁷ Political textbook 2001: Volume2, p10

¹⁵⁸ Political textbook 2001: Volume1, p44

¹⁵⁹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume5, P122

¹⁶⁰ Reed 1995, p101

when she was born. But she studied very hard, got a Ph.D. from the University of York in England and became a very famous writer in China.¹⁶¹

Each of these individuals represents the charismatic exemplary model in China. However, these charismatic exemplary models have not proved to be stable in today's China. However, 'in traditionalized charisma emerges the memory or nostalgia of order, while the rationalized charisma represents the dreams of future order. The exemplary model has been both rationalized and traditionalized.¹⁶² In other words, the exemplary model in today's China is someone who is of good moral quality from traditional Chinese culture and history, who also represents a standard that represents dreams for the future.

There are many exemplary models from Chinese history and traditional culture. Although they have lost their original and context, they still serve an important role in Chinese society.¹⁶³ In fact, the exemplary model is very clearly presented in political and morality textbooks. The text offers many exemplary cases. However, some of the exemplary models have not been carried forward from the political textbooks to the moral textbooks. For example, the first case from the political textbook was deleted from the moral textbook. It was about a boy who sacrificed his life to save many other lives on 11th September, 2011, in New York.¹⁶⁴ Also omitted were the story of Liu Bocheng, and some real legal cases (that appeared in the third and fourth volumes of the political textbooks). Some of the exemplary models were retained in the moral textbooks, such as Jiao Yulu, Zhang Haidi, and many of the scientists. Regardless of which individuals are presented as exemplars, all are models or high moral qualities and good behaviors. They are the model citizens. They are the exemplary models.

On the other hand, the exemplary citizen is also a model or standard for the future of a common person. This person is an aggregation of good behavior, high moral quality, strong personality, and correct political ideology. This exemplary model of citizenship has been created by official state authority. This chapter will mainly discuss what sorts of exemplary citizens, including exemplary models and exemplary personalities, are presented in textbooks.

4.1 The changing of the exemplary models in textbooks

¹⁶¹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 2, p77

¹⁶² Bakken 2000, p196

¹⁶³ Ibid. P196-198

¹⁶⁴ Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p1

The exemplary model can be good examples but it can also be a bad model. The good exemplary model shows people what behavior to emulate. The bad exemplary model is used to warn people not to behave as this model did. The state authority believes that social stability by prizing the good exemplary models and showing that the bad exemplars are published.

The exemplary model is built and propagated in a variety of ways by the government. This occurs as well in China. The PRC government puts the image of exemplary models in posters, walls and advertisement boards. It propagates the exemplars through media such as television, radio, newspapers and the Internet. It repeats the story in schools, factories, army, and other public places. However, the most direct way to propagate these stories is to put them in textbooks and present them to students. The Chinese government actually used to put exemplary models in all textbooks, not just moral textbooks. For example, history textbooks are used to tell stories about exemplary models; language and literature textbooks are used to discuss some famous person or stories conveying a moral; and mathematics textbooks may present the story of an exemplar as a case study.¹⁶⁵ Of course, moral textbooks take the most important responsibility for creating exemplary models and guiding students' behaviors. There are many exemplary models in these textbooks. However, the political textbooks are different from the moral textbooks. Even though they discuss the same theories, they use different exemplary models to illustrate them.

First, the first two volumes of the politics textbooks contain a total of 105 cases which discuss exemplary people. Thirty-six of cases involve scientists, artists, writers, chemists and physicists. The stories relate how they overcame many difficulties to discover or create something new and of a great value to human society. For example, Danish Astronomer Tycho Brahe overcame his pettiness and embarked on research about the universe.¹⁶⁶ Italian science, thinker, and philosopher Giordano Bruno insisted on his "Heliocentric theory" and never gave up until he died.¹⁶⁷ The old Chinese water expert, Li Bing, built "都江堰" (Dujiangyan) a dam with his own hands to stop floods.¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁵ Lall and Vickers 2009, p 64-65

¹⁶⁶ Political textbook 2001:Volume1, p10

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. P64

The political textbooks offer twenty-six cases about students and common people. They are mainly about someone who does a small thing that sets a good example that others can learn from. For example, there is a boy named Yu Min. His family is known in his village for planting apple trees. His family members like to drink. But Yu Min believed that it is bad for people to drink too much. Therefore, when Chinese New Year came, he told his family that he would not drink. Later he told this story to his teacher. The teacher said he is a very good boy who was able to control himself very well. He is an example for young people.¹⁶⁹ There is another case about Little Xu. He is a student librarian of his school. One day, his friend Little Wang returned a book he had borrowed. But the book was damaged. Xu told Wang that he could not borrow another book. However, Wang loved the books and really wanted to borrow another one. He was sad. After school, Xu gave Wang the book that he wanted to borrow and they walked together home. Xu said he is a librarian and he has the responsibility to take care of the books and follow the library rules. So he borrowed the book for Wang. He is an example of the one who strictly follows the rules.¹⁷⁰

Twenty-eight of the cases are about heroes in revolutions and wars. For example, during the National War, Liu Shaoqi and Deng Xiaoping led soldiers who were tired and hurt after fighting the enemy without any rest. They had fewer people than the enemy, but they were not afraid. Finally, they won.¹⁷¹ Another case is about General Ye Ting, who was captured by enemy. The enemy's commander, Jiang Jieshi, tried to bribe Ye with money and other enticements to join his army and fight against the CCP. Ye indicated that he would rather die than accept.¹⁷² All of these people became the heroes and founders of the PRC. They are exemplary models of patriotism.

Fifteen cases are about famous people in Chinese history. For example, Zhang Zhu was a famous officer during the Yuan Dynasty. When he was young, he seemed to be very talented. However, he did not like to read and study. He only liked to play football and musical instruments. His father was worried about him and was very sad. After Zhang Zhu discovered that his father was not happy with him, he realized that he should not just play but that he should also study. He started to study hard and finally he became a very famous officer, thus

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* P44

¹⁷⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p 32-33

¹⁷¹ Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p 46-47

¹⁷² Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p82

glorifying his ancestors.¹⁷³ Another case study tells the story of Yang Zhen, an incorruptible officer in Jing Zhou province during the Dong Han Dynasty. He had recommended Wang Mi to be an officer in Changyi County. When he visited Changyi, he met Wang Mi again. Wang Mi was very happy and gave some gold as a gift to Yang Zhen. But Yang Zhen refused the gift and said, “I know you very well. Therefore, I recommended you to be an officer. But why do you not understand me?” Wang Mi said, “I just want to give you a small gift. Now it is night and dark. No one will see what has happened tonight.” Yang Zhen answered seriously, “You know, I know, the sky knows, and the Earth knows (你知我知, 天知地知). If the thing is a sort of secret that you are afraid to let the others know, it is not a good thing.” Wang Mi felt very ashamed and took back all the gold. Then Yang Zhen’s old house became known as the “Four Knows Hall” (四知堂) in recognition of the virtue of Yang Zhen.¹⁷⁴

And the rest of the cases are about Olympic champions, model workers, and some good national leaders. For example, there is one about Deng Yaping, who was a famous Ping Pong player and Olympic champion who had received many golden metals playing formidable opponents. Her success is attributed to her ability to control herself very well, to her diligent practicing at her own insistence.¹⁷⁵ Another case focuses on Mao Zedong and his studies in No.1 Normal school of Hunan. When he was studying in school, his motto was “a juvenile has to be energetic.” This means that a young boy should be active in doing something useful. Afterward, he changed his motto: “To be a self-confident person for two hundred years and to be able to swim for three thousand kilometers.” By this, he meant that if you want to have a great future and be a powerful person, you have to be a self-confident person.¹⁷⁶

Most of the cases are about scientists and artists. The next most common type of exemplar in these cases is heroes in the revolutions and wars. Case studies about students and common people come in third place. Scientists and artists represent people who like studying and researching and people who practice hard and as a result, become highly skilled. The heroes represent Chinese history, the people who sacrificed themselves to protect the nation, and the spirit of patriotism. The cases of students are linked to the readers’ daily lives. These stories normally referred to as the readers’ experiences. These exemplary students can be people who have good virtue and demonstrate good behavior. They offer the readers examples to learn

¹⁷³ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p81

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. P92

¹⁷⁵ Political textbook 2001: Volume 1 p11

¹⁷⁶ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p 89

from. The first two volumes of the political textbooks mainly discuss how to foster good virtue, good mental health, strong personalities and patriotism.

Second, the first two volumes of the moral textbooks present a total of 134 cases. Twenty-one of the cases are about scientists and artists. Fifty-seven cases are short stories about common people and students. Eight cases are myths. Six cases are historical stories. The rest of the cases are about model workers, soldiers, and famous officers in history. In the first two volumes of the textbooks, there were no stories about the heroes in wars and revolutions, a significant difference from the political textbooks. Instead, there are many cases about common people. In fact, they accounted for half of the total number of cases. These cases are almost all related to students' daily lives. For example, there was a case that said "Xiao Hai came into the world, and his father and mother got a son; his father's parents got a grandson; his mother's parents got a grandson. His parents hoped he would be a useful person for the nation; his father's parents hoped he would be a doctor and take on the family business; his mother's parents hoped he could learn techniques to help construct his hometown."¹⁷⁷

This case is used to discuss the value of every life. Xiao Hai represents every child in every family. When everyone is born, that child is the baby of their parents and the grandchild of their grandparents. When readers read this case, they can easily understand the meaning of it and its relevance to their lives. This is because this case relates directly to the readers' lived experience.

The number of cases about scientists and artists has been reduced in the moral textbooks. There are only twenty-one cases in texts. Actually, scientists and artists are seen as people who have special powers and skills. They can find and create new things; they know more things than the average person, and they study hard and do a lot of research. They are good exemplary models for students. However, only a few people become scientists and artists. Therefore, there are still twenty-one famous cases kept in the textbooks. For example, a famous director Herbert von Karajan saw that two-thirds of the seats at his concert were unfilled. He still smiled at the audience and told them that they were lucky to get three seats each, while paying for only one.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁷ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 1, p30

¹⁷⁸ Moral textbook 2011: Volume2, p9

Cases about heroes in war and revolution cannot be found in the first two volumes of the moral textbooks. The textbooks still discuss the heroic spirit and the importance of fighting against difficulties and hardships, but instead of demonstrating this concept with stories of war heroes, the textbooks present stories about students. For example, the political textbooks used the story of the Long March to discuss the Red Army's strong spirit. The Red Army walked over mountains covered with snow and ice; it traversed without anything to eat; and it lacked proper winter clothing. And yet the Red Army persisted and looked forward to the Spring. This is because their aim was to finish the Long March and arrive in Yan'an. But the moral textbooks used another case to discuss heroism. They offer the case of the Sichuan earthquake. There was a girl named Song Xue, whose duty it was to watch classmates during the midday rest. Suddenly, the earth started to shake. She cried to her classmates to run out of the classroom. But she herself did not get out from the classroom.¹⁷⁹ This case happened during the students' life and the readers could have the memory about the event. However, the Long March was actually far from children's lives and hard for them to imagine. Using only some words to describe how hard and terrible the situation in which these heroes found themselves makes the story hard for children to grasp. Compared to the Long March, the case about Sichuan earthquake is closer to their own experience and directed towards the children's understanding.

Therefore, when comparing the political textbooks and the moral textbooks, it can be found that the student cases increased in number, the number of cases about scientists and artists were reduced (although they still occupy an important place in the moral textbooks), and cases about heroes in war and revolution have disappeared entirely from the first two volumes of the moral textbooks, which discuss personality. The exemplary models that were presented in the textbooks are different. The exemplary models in the political textbooks are scientists, artists and revolutionaries. In the moral textbooks, the exemplars are model students. Scientists and artists are the second most common type of exemplary model. "The war and communist heroes who are still featured in textbooks accounts generally receive rather superficial treatment-school texts do not probe deeply into their motives or beliefs, and generally stress their 'patriotism'."¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁹ Ibid. P71

¹⁸⁰ Lall and Vickers 2009, p65

The exemplary models have been revised from great saints and heroes into common students. These student models are not only good exemplary models, but student models are also offered as bad examples. For example, there is an old lady who appeared at a big recruitment fair. She walked among the representatives of different companies and young people. She filled out more than 60 job applications. Some young job seekers asked her why she had come and was searching for a job. She said she was searching on behalf of her son, who was 26 years old. Everyday, her son did nothing but chat online, playing cards, eat and sleep. He did not do anything else. He offers a bad example. The good exemplary models normally display good virtue and high moral quality. The bad exemplary models are lazy and behave contrary to traditional morality. The bad exemplary model is used to alert readers to avoid doing the same things.

All these imply that the PRC government changed its policy from and chose to use common rather than sacred examples. The government chose exemplary models that are close to students' experiences and easy to comprehend. Some stories even offer students' the opportunity to experiment because the students can choose to imitate the exemplary models. Thus in changing the exemplary models from saints to common people, the government moved from theory and principle to practice and "text" to "life". As stated by Bakken, who quotes from Zhu Jiang and Zhang Yaocan' work,

*"Models are also linked to the issue of self-cultivation, and personal behavior should be adjusted in line with the model's behavior. A model is regarded as a mirror where one can see one's own insufficiency and shortcomings, one's strong points and achievements. Such social correction and guidance is said to 'uninterruptedly strengthen the confidence in going forward'."*¹⁸¹

Finally, it can be found that the reform of the political textbooks created the model of the exemplary citizens in the moral textbooks. This new exemplary model is the one drawn from daily life. It is a person who has good or bad personality traits. The government offers these models to guide and alert young citizens, to help them learn the theories in the text and apply them in life. In other words, the government makes the exemplary more common and easier to reach for young people. In offering a model of the exemplary citizen, young people can really

¹⁸¹ Bakken 2002, p179; Zhu and Zhang 1986, p 242

understand how to be good citizens, instead of only memorizing the information in textbooks in order to pass exams.

4.2 The different exemplary personalities in textbooks

The exemplary personality discussed in this thesis is actually the personality of good exemplary models. In other words, the exemplary personality is the personality that governments present in textbooks for young people. The exemplary personality is descriptive but also prescriptive; it is the personality that the exemplary citizens should have, according to the government.

The first two volumes of the political textbooks mainly discuss the exemplary personality. This includes good mental character, high moral quality, an optimism mood, strong willpower, self-confidence, self-respect, good communication skills, elevated interests, patriotism and self-determination (自律). All of these are the basic elements of a good personality.¹⁸² In contrast, the moral textbooks concentrate less on discussing personality. All five volumes of the moral textbooks have statements about personality. The exemplary personality in the moral textbooks is good at controlling one's mood (很好地控制自己的情绪), has elevated interests (高雅的兴趣), is able to refuse bad enticement (拒绝不好的诱惑), has self-respect (自尊), displays self-confidence (自信), is independent (自立), has a strong sense of self (自强), is able to bravely face failure(敢于面对失败), seeks to be stronger, is honest, and acts responsibly. In terms of the content, the political textbooks and the moral textbooks are almost identical. Both of them discuss self-confidence, self-respect, strength (坚强), and elevated interest, mood and good morality. However, the big difference is when it comes to the subjects of patriotism, self-determination and responsibility.

First, patriotism is one of the most basic topics in Chinese political education. As Li Maosen mentioned, patriotism has been emphasized in schools from 1950s to today. The aim and purpose of political education in primary and secondary schools are defined as the all-round development and patriotic education of the younger generation.¹⁸³

¹⁸² Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p9

¹⁸³ Li 1990, p 162-163

Alisa Jones found that “the crisis in 1989 led the Party to try to reaffirm its patriotic credentials as China’s past, present and future savior. This prompted an intensified focus on ideological education: on strengthening patriotism, faith in the Party, and cultural pride.”¹⁸⁴

Hughes says that the political curriculum in the mid-1990s continued to grant considerable prominence to Marxist or revolutionary as well as vehemently patriotic themes, although by then the ideological content had already shifted decisively from socialism to patriotism.¹⁸⁵

Edward Vickers found that the texts of the moral curriculum suggested that the “Patriotic Education Campaign” had been reviewed in school curriculums. And he found “some potential implications of the combination of patriotic political socialization with a highly labor-repressive developmental model, setting the case of China in comparative and historical context.”¹⁸⁶

Therefore, patriotism has been playing a very important role in political education in schools in China. The political textbooks offer one lesson to discuss patriotism. It can be found in the section the exemplary personality. Even though it is presented in only one lesson, the lesson makes clear patriotism is clearly and directly an aspect of personality. It said,

“爱国主义情操是高尚的道德情操” (The patriotic sentiment is gracious moral sentiment)¹⁸⁷;

“爱国情操是由深刻的爱国认知、强烈的爱国情感和坚定地爱国行为紧密结合在一起而形成的” (The basis of patriotic sentiment is deep patriotic recognition; the core of the patriotic sentiment is strong patriotic emotion; the destination of patriotic sentiment is uncompromising patriotic behavior; these three elements mainly made up patriotic sentiment and they are connected with each other and indispensable)¹⁸⁸;

“爱国是无条件的，他不应该因祖国的贫富强弱而有所差异” (Patriotism is unconditional and should not be due to the strength and richness of the motherland)¹⁸⁹;

“爱国情操能使我们的行为符合祖国的需要；能推动我们努力为祖国作出贡献；能使我们树立起高尚的个人理想，使之与祖国需要相融合；能使我们成为一名正直的，有明

¹⁸⁴ Jones 2002, p559

¹⁸⁵ Hughes 2006, p75; Vickers, 2009 p526

¹⁸⁶ Vickers 2009, p524

¹⁸⁷ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p56

¹⁸⁸ Ibid.

¹⁸⁹ Political textbook 2001: Volume2, p65

确方向和责任的公民” (Patriotic sentiment can improve our behavior to fit the national needs; can push us to efforts to contribute to the construction of the motherland; can help us to build gracious personal ideals; can help us to become an honest, brave, directed and responsible citizen.)¹⁹⁰

The textbook actually directly explains that patriotic sentiment should be unconditional for young people. The textbooks clearly state that the aim of patriotic sentiment is to make a strong nation and to be a responsible citizen. Patriotism was announced clearly and directly in the text.

What is more, there is a case in the text to illustrate strong patriotic emotion. The case talked about a thirteen years old girl who was a member of anti-Japanese unit of the Children's Corps in 1931. She was put on trial on the bank of the Songhua River by Japanese aggressors for organizing a Chinese language course for children in the village. One Japanese enemy asked her why she had done this. She said, “Because I am Chinese.” Japanese soldier was angry with her and said, “Don’t you know if you disobey orders, you have to be killed?” She answered loudly, “You cannot kill my patriotic heart.” The Japanese soldier changed his tone and said, “If you promise not to organize the Chinese language course for children, I can send you to Tokyo to study. Otherwise, you will die here.” She did not say anything again and just jumped into the river.¹⁹¹ This young girl became a patriotic hero and a patriotic exemplary model in textbooks.

Thus, the importance of patriotism has been stated very directly in the political textbooks. The word “love” appears many times in the texts of the political textbooks, as a verb, an adjective and a noun. This is the only lesson of the whole political textbooks in which the word “love” is used. In contrast, when the political textbooks discuss the self-respect and self-love, the word “love” rarely appears. But “love” is used very often in the patriotic lesson. In fact, the political textbooks use the word “love” so often to express patriotic emotion that the patriotic expression sounds like a sort of slogan or propaganda presented directly to citizens by the government. And students have to memorize all these terms and definitions of patriotism to pass their exams and to show their patriotism. However, the statement of patriotism is not easy for young people to understand and memorize. They have to distinguish which is patriotic sentiment and which is patriotic emotion.

¹⁹⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume2, p74

¹⁹¹ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p58

The young girl's story is a classic war hero's case study in Chinese history. She actually represented the spirit of Chinese war heroes she devoted their lives to protect the motherland. However, she was a particularly significant case because of her age. She was 13 years old and she could be a junior middle school student in today's China as well. But the political textbooks stressed the individual's sacrifice and devotion. The importance of patriotism is announced in the text by the PRC government. The government used exams to force young people to memorize these announcements, with the aim of making patriotism integral to their personalities.

However, the moral textbooks do not have any single lesson discussing only patriotism, as do the political textbooks. The patriotism chapter has been reduced in length and added into the lesson about the national condition. What is more, all of the patriotic terms, such as "patriotic sentiment", "patriotic emotion", and "patriotic reorganization" are gone. But this does not mean patriotism has been ignored in the moral textbooks. There is still one paragraph on patriotism in the unit on the construction of spiritual civilization. Thus, patriotism becomes part of the national spirit (民族精神) in the moral textbooks. Hu Jintao said, "it is important to insist on developing and fostering the great national spirit, of which patriotism is the core."¹⁹² The term of patriotism becomes an extra knowledge beside main texts. It said,

“爱国主义有着鲜明的时代特点，他总是随着时代的前进和历史的进步而不断丰富，向人民提出新的要求。在当代中国，爱国主义和爱社会主义是统一的，它主要表现为爱社会主义祖国，拥护中国共产党，拥护祖国统一，把个人的理想和事业融汇于祖国的社会主义现代化建设的伟大事业中，为实现中华民族伟大复兴而努力奋斗” (Patriotism has distinctive characteristics of the times. It is always constantly enriched with the progress of the times and history, and makes new demands of people. In contemporary China, patriotism is the same as loving socialism. It refers to the effort to love the socialistic motherland; to sustain the CCP's leadership; to sustain the goal of reunifying of the motherland; to put ideals to work and spur individuals to help construct of socialist modernization, and greatly rejuvenate the Chinese nation.)¹⁹³

This paragraph concisely explains what patriotism is in contemporary China, according to the Chinese government. It stresses that loving the nation is the same as loving socialism and the

¹⁹² Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, p71

¹⁹³ Ibid. P69

CCP. The final aim of patriotism which is shown in the textbooks is to build a great Chinese nation. Thus the patriotism in the moral textbooks is similar to the patriotism in the political textbooks. However, the mood of expression is different in two sets of textbooks. The political textbooks discussed patriotism as a sort of policy or political order as illustrated by the following phrases:

“To foster patriotic sentiment; to build lofty ideal”; “patriotism is unconditional and not due to the strength and richness of the nation”, and “to defend the respect of motherland”. The government used many imperative sentences to explain patriotism and how to be a patriotic person. The imperative sentences are lack a subject. They are essentially orders. The sentences are short and clear. What is more, there are many terms relevant to patriotism, such as patriotic emotion, patriotic behavior, and patriotic recognition which appear in the text. Therefore, the text sounds very academic and official. Patriotism is presented as a sort of “unconditional behavior” (无条件的行为) in text of the political textbooks. Therefore, sacrifice and devotion has been emphasized in the political textbooks.

In contrast, the moral textbooks explain patriotism as a part of the Chinese national spirit (中华民族精神). The national spirit is used in place of patriotism as a main term in the text of the moral textbooks. The national spirit is explained as a sort of Great Spirit of the great nation (伟大民族的伟大的精神).¹⁹⁴ The textbook said,

“在五千多年的发展历程当中，中华民族不仅创造了辉煌的历史和灿烂的文化，而且形成了以爱国主义为核心的团结统一、爱好和平、勤劳勇敢、自强不息的伟大民族精”
(The national spirit has 5000 years of civilization and history. The core of the national spirit is patriotism. The national spirit is constituted by unity, peace, self-improvement, braveness and diligence.)¹⁹⁵

So the national spirit is the spirit from the Chinese history and traditional culture. Patriotism has been put into modern context and taken on a new guise. Patriotism is not only an official announcement that asks for sacrifice and devotion, but it also becomes a representation of the national spirit. The exemplary model for national spirit has been changed as well.

¹⁹⁴ Moral textbook 2011: volume5, p69

¹⁹⁵ Ibid. p69

The new model in the moral textbook is a group of Chinese junior middle school students. They come to Lyon, France, to visit a museum of red wine. There are six national flags standing on a box which looks like an oven. One of flags is the Chinese national flag. The representative of France tells students that the box is a radio which can play national songs. But there is no Chinese national song on the radio. Then the teacher of the Chinese group suggests that the students to sing the Chinese national song together. All the Chinese students and teacher sing together and everyone else stops to listen to them.¹⁹⁶

And the text explains, “Every Chinese son and daughter has the responsibility and obligation to improve, develop and foster the great national spirit”. The students represented Chinese sons and daughters and the motherland represented all mothers. The expression in this text is close to the lived experiences of young people. To love the nation as one loves his mother and to be a son or a daughter of the nation is totally different from “to foster patriotism” and “to improve national spirit”. This analysis also supports Kinips’ discussion that nationalism as a legitimizing discourse is one of the important aspects of “Suzhi” discourse in the contemporary socioeconomic context in post-Mao China.¹⁹⁷ What is more, political order becomes poetic expression. The young students sing for the nation, instead of jumping into the river for the nation like the young girl who was mentioned before. To foster patriotism by propagating sacrifice and devotion has been changed into expressing the national spirit by showing pride in the nation.

Second, the discussion of self-determination and responsibility has been changed in the textbooks. There is one lesson on self-determination in the political textbooks. However, this lesson has been cut from the moral textbooks. Self-determination is presented in the section on responsibility instead. Self-determination is almost like autonomy. It means one can control oneself very well. This ability derives from the spirit of discipline and attachment to social groups. The spirit of discipline, attachment to social groups and self-determination are the three elements of moral education, as Durkheim discussed in *Moral Education*.¹⁹⁸ Self-determination is the third element of moral education. It depends on clear discipline and law of the social groups. Discipline is a clear norm of society. Social groups provide reward and punishment according to social discipline. Finally, self-determination has been formed by

¹⁹⁶ Ibid. P71

¹⁹⁷ Kinips 2006, p 300-310

¹⁹⁸ Durkheim 2002, p1-16

individuals of social groups.¹⁹⁹ Self-determination can be seen to be the aim of moral education. In other words, the government uses moral education to foster good citizens with the self-determined personalities. The political textbooks clearly stated that self-determination was made up of self-love (自爱), self-examination (自省) and autonomy (自控). Self-love is to love self, life (生命) and others.

Self-determination also asks for self-respect and self-strength. Self-examination is to examine oneself often and to know oneself well. Autonomy is to control oneself very well and avoid doing anything dangerous and illegal. The functions of self-determination are to know oneself, master oneself, foster good behavior, achieve freedom in behavior and be noble. The method of self-determination is to select a model to emulate, pick a motto to remind oneself of one's goal, examine oneself and understand discipline and law.²⁰⁰ The political textbooks discussed self-determination clearly and comprehensively. However, the moral textbooks do not mention self-determination. The term "self-determination" has disappeared from the moral textbooks. Even though the moral textbooks do not mention self-determination directly, they still discuss the meaning of self-determination in different parts of the text. For example, in the lesson on responsibility, the text reads, "to be responsible for self, to learn how to refuse enticement and to protect self".²⁰¹ To be responsible for self means to take responsibility for one's own behavior proactively. To refuse enticement is to control self and avoid bad influences. To protect oneself implies to keep oneself far away from illegal actions.²⁰² All these ideas are linked to self-determination. Responsibility in the moral textbooks is used instead of self-determination. The political textbooks announced self-determination as an aspect of personality to teach students how to be self-determined. In contrast, the moral textbooks discussed responsibility instead of self-determination as an aspect of personality. Self-determination in the moral textbooks became the topic and the aim of moral education. This means that the government reformed the teaching method, moving away from presenting knowledge to be memorized and toward providing-guidance imperceptibly.

Third, both textbooks mainly discuss the exemplary personalities who have self-respect, inner strength, independence, self-confidence and the ability to control their emotions. This is also what both textbooks have in common. The political textbooks said,

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.* p80-128

²⁰⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume2, p 78-93

²⁰¹ Moral textbook 2011: volume 5, p4; volume 2p 108;

²⁰² Moral textbook 2011: Volume1, p 81-93; volume5, p 2-30

“自尊自信，是勇于开拓进取者不可缺少的积极的心理品质，也是做人的重要品格”
(Self-respect and self-confidence together form the essential positive psychological character of the brave pioneer, and the important human personality).²⁰³

“自律，表现为懂得自爱，用于自省，善于自控。” (Self-determination expresses the knowledge of self-love, applying self-examination, and self-determination)²⁰⁴;

“调节和控制情绪，要求克服不良情绪，保持乐观、开朗的心情” (To adjust and control one’s emotions asks for enduring the bad emotion, and retaining optimism and cheerful emotions).²⁰⁵

The moral textbooks discuss the importance of being a self-confident person and believing in the words “I can”. All these expressions actually explain what kind of citizens the government wants to foster. The government really wants to foster exemplary citizens with the characteristics, such as self-confidence, inner strength, self-respect and self-determination. The text reads,

“所谓快乐人生三句话，就是‘太好了’，‘我能行’，‘我能帮你吗’” (There are three expressions for a happy life. They are “Great”, “I can”, “Can I help you”)²⁰⁶;

“既然我们的自尊经常受到他人的呵护与关爱，我们当然也有责任去关注他人的自尊，维护他人的尊严” (Because other people respect and care about our self-respect, we of course have responsibility to care about the respect of others.)²⁰⁷;

“自己的事情自己干” (One’s own things have to be acquired by oneself)²⁰⁸;

“相信自己行，是一种信念，也是一种力量。一句‘我能行’，体现了相信自己、必定成功的态度” (To believe in “I can” is a sort of belief and power. “I can” implies I believe in myself and it is a successful attitude.)²⁰⁹

²⁰³ Political textbook 2001: Volume1, p78

²⁰⁴ Political textbook 2001: Volume2, p78

²⁰⁵ Political textbook 2001:Volume 1, p28

²⁰⁶ Moral textbook 2011: Volume2, p2

²⁰⁷ Ibid. p9

²⁰⁸ Ibid. P34

²⁰⁹ Ibid. P18

The three sentences about happiness in fact mean to respect others, be self-confident and to care for others. “Great” is a positive evaluation. It guides students to give other people positive evaluations. In other words, it means to focus on other people’s virtues and strengths. ‘I can’ is to believe that I can do it. This is a very strong phrase for self-confidence. It confirms that I have the capacity to finish something by myself. It is an encouragement to self and from oneself. “Can I help you” is a sentence to show one’s care for others. All these sentences form the core which is the self and belief.

By comparing two sets of textbooks, it can be found out that the mode of expression and the government’s attitudes differ but that the contents remain the same. The political textbooks discuss self-confidence and self-respect as aspects of psychological character and personality. The moral textbooks say self-confidence is “I can”, a sort of belief and power. The political textbooks explain that self-determination involves self-control and control over one’s emotions. The moral textbooks describe self-determination as doing anything that you can do and doing your own thing. The political textbooks actually strive to explain these terms. The aim of the political textbooks is to clearly explain the different terms to students. However, the moral textbooks take the explanations from the political textbooks and make them practical and real. They use the sentences that students use in daily life to explain the terms that the students have to learn. This means the moral textbook used students’ lived experiences to explain the moral phrases in the text. This will make these terms easy to understand. The attitudes of the government, as expressed in the two sets of textbooks, are different. The authorial voice of the political textbooks is that of an official knowledge speaker. But the government seems like one of the readers in the moral textbooks. The subject pronouns used in the two sets of textbooks are different. The political textbooks use the third-person. The moral textbooks use the first-person. The authorial voice of the moral textbooks sounds closer to that of the students’, and more emotional. However, the content of two sets of textbooks is the same; both explain exemplary personalities. The exemplary model of the national spirit has been changed as well.

5. The different exemplary relationships in textbooks

There are many kinds of relationships in society. Political or moral education actually discusses how to deal with the different relationships correctly. The traditional Chinese moral

education mainly discussed two things: to be “loyal” (忠) and to be “filial” (孝)²¹⁰. To be loyal means to be faithful to the nation or regime. It can also mean to be an honest person. To be filial is to take the responsibility for the elder generations. “Loyalty” and “filial piety” are often put together as one word. “Loyalty” refers to the relationships between citizen and dominator, between lower and higher, and between subordinates and superiors. “Filial” refers to the relationship between individual and family, and younger generations and older generations. “Loyalty” and “filial piety” are also the core of traditional Chinese culture. They are part of the exemplary relationships in Chinese tradition. The exemplary relationships are the correct relationships that were presented in textbooks or in public by the government. In other words, the exemplary relationship is a sort of model for people to follow in learning how to deal correctly with the relationships in society. Therefore, to be “loyal” and “filial” was the correct way to deal with the relationships between individual and nation, and individual and family in the old days.²¹¹

However, during the process of individualization, the individual became the focus of the different social relationships. As Yan Yunxiang argued, Chinese individuals were dependent on the collective under Maoist socialism.

“At the surface level, Maoist China was a highly developed collectivist society where the individual almost entirely had lost her/his freedom and autonomy. At a deeper level, however, the Chinese individual was also disembodied, in many cases forcefully, from the traditional networks of family, kinship, and community and the constraints of the traditional, mostly Confucian and patriarchal, values and behavioral norms. More importantly, the individual was called upon to participate in party-state-sponsored political, economic, and social campaigns in public life and to reinvent herself/himself as a citizen of the nation-state instead of merely as a member of the family.”²¹²

The individual could only be a social and political individual. Self was very easily ignored in China. Individuality was seen as a sign of selfishness and individualism, which is contrary to collectivism and the collectivist ideal was concentrated primary focus under Maoist socialism. Benefitting collective came before everything else. Benefitting of the individual occurred only through benefitting of the collective. In other words, the individual could only exist as one

²¹⁰ Kutcher 1999, p11

²¹¹ Ibid, p 11-24

²¹² Yan 2010, p492-493

member of the social collective. The exemplary relationships at that time were the social relationship and the collective relationship. The process of individualization began in the late 1970s in post-Mao China. This occurred along with the opening-up policy which pushed the development of China's market economy and privatization. The private sector began to grow in China. "The direct impact of the rise of the private sector on Chinese society was the ending of the party-state monopoly over resource allocations and life chances."²¹³ The exemplary relationship was changed to comport with the new economic and social development. The individual is now officially affirmed in society. The individual as a single unit appeared in Chinese society as well. The individual has been included among exemplary relationship.

Therefore, the textbooks of political and moral education start to discuss the individual and relationships which include the individual. Today, the government writes and propagates the exemplary relationships in textbooks for young people to propagate the exemplary relationship. The political textbooks mainly discuss the relationships between individual and individual, the individual and the collective, the individual and the nation, and the individual and the society. The moral textbooks focus on the same relationships as the political textbooks. However, there are still some differences between the two types of textbooks in the content of these relationships.

5.1 Individual and individual

The relationship between individual and individual includes the relationships between individual and self, and the relationship between individual and other individuals. This other individual in textbooks actually refers to a friend, a classmate and a teacher. The political textbooks mainly explain the relationship between individual and self, and individual and friend or classmate. However, the moral textbooks do not only explain these relationships, but also the relationship between student and teacher.

First, the relationship between student and teacher was stressed in traditional moral education. "尊师重道" clearly explains the relationship between students and teacher. It means a teacher should be respected and the knowledge should be emphasized in school. There is also "一日为师终身为父". It means that even though someone becomes my teacher for only one day, I

²¹³ Ibid, p496

will treat him as my father my whole life. What is more, Han Yu who was a spokesman for cultural traditionalism during the Tang dynasty, later known as neo-Confucianism²¹⁴ said “Teacher is the person who can propagate the doctrine, impart professional knowledge, and resolve doubts.” (师者所以传道授业解惑也)²¹⁵ Confucius said, “Among three people, there must be one who can be my teacher, (三人行，必有我师焉) I pick out people's good and follow it. When I see their bad points, I correct them in myself. (择其善者而从之，则其不善者而改之)”²¹⁶ This means that the teacher is the person who has or knows something better than the others, no matter whether the person is young, poor or low. In other words, any one can be a teacher. If this person is your teacher, you should respect him. Therefore, the teacher in this relationship is at a higher place than the student and students should respect the teacher. Teaching was seen as a great and sacred profession.

However, the Cultural Revolution broke the traditional relationship between student and teacher. Teachers were seen as the enemy of socialism. Intellectuals and young students were seen as the people who did not know how to work and should be sent to countryside to be reeducated by farmers. There were even many teachers who were killed by students who were the activists of the Cultural Revolution. Many schools were destroyed by students.²¹⁷ For example, the Vice-Chancellor of the Women’s High School of Beijing Normal University was beaten to death by students in 1966 in Beijing. The only reason was that she had been born into an intellectual family and this made her the enemy of socialistic revolution. After her death, one of the students who killed the Vice-Chancellor went to Tiananmen to meet Mao Zedong and put red armbands on Mao’s arm. Mao praised her and said “We need force!” (要武嘛!)²¹⁸ The relationship between student and teacher became extreme. Teachers and students with different backgrounds became enemies. Teachers were looked down on by students. The exemplary relationship during this stage of China’s history was the relationship between different classes. Everything was decided by birth. After Mao died, the Cultural Revolution ended. Deng Xiaoping started to correct errors and restore order. Later, the government decided to protect teachers and recover the ideology of “尊师重道”. In 1985, they declared Teachers’ Day was to be recognized every 10th of September from 1985.

²¹⁴ Hansen 2013, p 62

²¹⁵ Yan 1975

²¹⁶ Waley 2005, 7:23

²¹⁷ Zhou 1997, p 35-37

²¹⁸ Accessed to Sina news <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/2014-01-13/023929223918.shtml> 13th January, 2014

“*People's Republic of China Teachers Law*” was found in 1993 and implemented in 1994.²¹⁹ From then on, the relationship between student and teacher was again different.

The political textbooks did not discuss the relationship between student and teacher very much. It was only mentioned in the section on the educational rights and obligations of citizens. The educational rights and obligations mainly argued that “education is the citizens’ basic right, and the basic obligation”²²⁰; “compulsory education is nationally mandated, and universal and free for the nation”²²¹; and “Chinese compulsory education lasts for nine years”²²². There were only four words linked to teachers which were “*尊师重教*”.²²³ “*尊师重教*” means to respect teachers and to esteem education. This phrase appeared in the social responsibilities parts of the political textbooks. In fact, “*尊师重教*” was mentioned as a social responsibility. There were also two pictures which referred to teachers. One showed the good teachers of the nation being recognized by the law; the other one showed a lot of new buildings for teachers.²²⁴ Therefore, it can be found that the political textbooks did not devote space to the relationship between students and teachers. Teachers seemed not to be elements which should be discussed in texts. However, the relationship between students and teachers is a very important relationship which happens is central to education. The relationship is also linked to politics and morality.

Therefore, the moral textbooks have added one lesson about the relationship between students and teachers. A teacher in the moral textbooks has been defined as a leader who leads student to walk on the way of life; a communicator who works on developing human civilization; a cooperator and participant in the process of studying; and a friend to students.²²⁵ What is more, “the relationship between students and teachers is built on the basis of democracy and equality. The relationship should be reflected in equality of personality, respect for each other, learning from each other, and teaching and learning together.”²²⁶ The textbooks also mentioned that communication is a good way to resolve mistakes and contradictions, and to

²¹⁹ Zou 2008, Chapter 24

²²⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume4, p31

²²¹ *Ibid*, p34

²²² *Ibid*, p43

²²³ Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p30-38

²²⁴ *Ibid*. p37

²²⁵ Moral textbook 2011: Volume3, p42-48

²²⁶ *Ibid*. P48

improve the emotion between students and teachers.²²⁷ It is very interesting to read the text of the moral textbooks. “尊师重教” or “尊师重道” has been changed into “爱生尊师” (to love student and to respect teacher) in the text. It actually does not only stress the behavior of students, but also the behavior of teachers. Teachers should love and care for students as well. Students have been put on the same high level as the teacher. What is more, the moral textbooks describe the relationship using the word “love” (爱) instead of “respect” (尊重). The texts repeatedly emphasize that the relationship between students and teachers is based in “love”. For example, “我知我师， 我爱我师” (I know my teacher, I love my teacher)²²⁸ ; “我们爱老师， 是因为老师有一个金子般闪闪发光的心” (we love our teacher, because she has a heart bright as gold)²²⁹; “我爱我的老师” (I love my teacher).²³⁰ “Love” as a main verb appeared many times in text of the moral textbooks.

However, the political textbook discussed the relationship between teacher and students in just a few sentences. For example, “应当履行遵守学校纪律， 尊敬教师， 努力完成规定的学习任务的义务” ((students) should perform the obligations to follow school discipline, to respect the teacher, to do their best to finish their educational tasks)²³¹, “尊师重教” (respect teacher and stress education)²³². These are all sentences which were used to discuss the relationship between teachers and students in the political textbook. The relationship is stressed as a relationship that is written in the law. Therefore, the political textbook emphasized the relationship between teachers and students according to the law.

To “love” and to “respect” have very different meanings. As the texts declare, the teacher was seen as an authority by the students and the students were in the role of following the leadership of the teacher for a very long time.²³³ The picture beside the texts also showed that there were many students who were afraid of the teacher. They viewed the teacher as distant from them. They would not speak to their teacher or they were scared to speak.²³⁴ One reason can be found in China’s history. It is because traditional Chinese culture makes the teacher play a sacred and great role for the student. The teacher had been given an elevated standing

²²⁷ Ibid. P49-53

²²⁸ Ibid. P43

²²⁹ Ibid. p45

²³⁰ Ibid. p45

²³¹ Political textbook 2001: Volume4, p43

²³² Ibid. P38

²³³ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 3, P48

²³⁴ Ibid. p48

to show respect. The traditional role of the teacher was to take charge of the student. The teacher used to correct students strictly. In the Chinese language, the word “严师出高徒” means “strict teacher makes high quality student”. This implies if the teacher could strictly control students, this teacher would be seen as a good teacher. Otherwise, the teacher was seen as a bad teacher. Therefore, traditional Chinese teachers looked very serious to their students. The communication between teachers and students conveyed this “seriousness”. However, love is different. Love is expressed to parents or the person whom one really likes and wants to be together with, as in love for, parents, friends, and classmates. Love implies a closer relationship than respect does. Love makes the relationship between students and teachers closer. The other reason can be found in China’s one-party leadership. This kind of leadership requires loyalty from its citizens. Similarly, students have to be loyal to their teachers and obey their teacher’s orders and instruction.²³⁵

Here it can be found that the exemplary relationship between student and teacher has been changed by the government from respecting teachers to loving teachers and loving students, from a legal relationship to an emotional relationship. The new relationship in the moral textbooks has also shown the change which emphasizes the equality of students and teachers. The exemplary relationship between students and teachers has been reformed from “尊师重教” into “尊师爱生” and from “up-down” to equal. The role of teacher has also been changed from serious teacher to friend. The tensions between students and teachers have been eased in the moral textbooks by the government.

Second, the relationship between individual and self is actually linked to the question how individuals treat themselves. Both textbooks discuss that individuals, on their own, should foster exemplary personalities, for example, becoming self-confident, developing self-respect, and building inner strength. The political textbooks stressed how to build exemplary personalities. However, the moral textbooks did not only stress how to build exemplary personalities, but also stress that individuals have to love themselves and take care of their own lives. This is called self-love (自爱) in the Chinese language. What is more, the political textbooks highlight the meaning of life in order to explain that life should be treasured. The term “self-love” actually appears in both textbooks. However, the definitions are different. The political textbooks state that self-love is one of elements of self-discipline.

²³⁵ Hansen 2013, p5

“自爱，还要求自尊和自强。例如，爱惜自己的名誉，不容许自己的言行玷污自身形象；不屈服于艰难困苦的打击，能始终以希望之火去照亮生活的道路；珍惜生命，热爱生活，绝不轻生。” (Self-love demanded self-respect and strengthening of the self. For example, treasure the reputation of oneself; do not allow the tarnish of one's self-image by one's own words and behaviors; do not succumb to hardships; one can always use the fire of hope to illuminate life's path; treasure lives; love life; and never commit suicide.)²³⁶

These were all discussions of self-love in the political textbooks. Life is at the end of this statement. In the first place is the reputation of self. This means that the government is saying that reputation, self-image, self-respect and self-strength are more important than life and living. In fact, this is a sort of historical and traditional ideology of collective socialism in China. As Yan Yunxiang stated, “the authorities under Maoist socialism led constant ideological campaigns promoting the Maoist morality of class struggle, revolution, and self-sacrifice to achieve a Communist utopia.”²³⁷ This self-sacrifice included life, freedom, force, benefit and all else. The government stressed the importance of the collective for Chinese socialism and demanded that individuals sacrifice for others, for the collective and for the party-state. In other words, “I” should be put in the last place with individual self after all the others. The nation and the collective come first. Even family should be placed at the end.²³⁸ What is more, this sacrifice of “I” and “family” for others, for the collective and for the nation is a source of pride. The case of Lai Ning illustrates this perspective. In 1988, Lai Ning, a fourteen year-old boy, went up into the mountains to put out fire and sacrificed his life. The government created propaganda about his heroic deeds. His pictures were hung on the walls of school, in order to let students learn from him. The propaganda stressed that he did not care about his own life, but that he treasured and protected the nation's welfare.²³⁹

This perspective had been also implied in the political textbooks. The first case study in the political textbook shows this. The story says Xiao Zeng was a Chinese student who studied in the USA. When the “9/11” event happened, he had just finished his working and got out from the World Trade Center safely. However, when he saw that so many people needed help, he returned to the building again and joined the rescue work. Suddenly, the building collapsed and he was killed. The texts state that “he was the person who forgot himself completely. His

²³⁶ Political textbook 2001: Volume2, p79

²³⁷ Yan 2010, p492

²³⁸ Ibid. P499

²³⁹ <http://baike.baidu.com/view/55974.htm>

behavior is the performance of a true hero.” The text comments his behavior was the graciously justice, self-sacrifice, and selfless morality.²⁴⁰ This case appears at the beginning of the first lesson to introduce the topic of “锻炼心理品质，加强品格修养” (Exercising Psychology Quality; Strengthen the Moral Consciousness). This means the case is intended to guide students to learn this kind of gracious morality. The text of the political textbook actually emphasizes justice, self-sacrifice and selfless as evidence of high human qualities and good moral consciousness. Another relevant case, which has already been mentioned, is the one of the thirteen year-old girl jumped into the river to show her patriotism.²⁴¹ The text explains,

“多少祖国儿女，把对祖国母亲的这份强烈情感，融化在生命中，化为生命的一部分，而决不允许她受到亵渎和伤害” (Many national sons and daughters meld their patriotic feeling for their motherland into their lives, and never let the motherland be dishonored or hurt)²⁴²

All these cases present models of selflessness and self-sacrifice. In other words, to be selfless and show self-sacrifice are aspects of the exemplary personality that students learn about from these heroes and models in the textbooks. The political textbook encouraged self-sacrifice of the kind that involves saving others' lives and the motherland. However, whereas, the texts announced that it is important to “treasure lives” and to “never commit suicide”, they also offer cases in which these heroes lost their lives by being selfless and sacrificed themselves for young people. In this way, the political textbooks contain a contradiction.

The moral textbooks use one lesson to explain self-love and life. The text states “生命属于我们每个人只有一次” (Each of us has only one life)²⁴³; “珍爱生命吧！” (Treasure life)²⁴⁴; “人的生命的独特性” (Every life is special)²⁴⁵; “生命可以很平凡，也可以异常精彩” (Life should be ordinary, and it also could be wonderful)²⁴⁶; “肯定生命，尊重生命” (Life should

²⁴⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume1, p5

²⁴¹ Political textbook 2001: Volume 2, p58

²⁴² Ibid. p57

²⁴³ Moral textbook 2011: Volume1, p23

²⁴⁴ Ibid.

²⁴⁵ Ibid. p27

²⁴⁶ Ibid. p24

be affirmed and respected)²⁴⁷; “真爱生命就是去爱每一个生命并且决不放弃生的希望” (Every life is a treasure to be loved; never give up the hope of life.)²⁴⁸

The moral textbook actually affirmed and emphasized that individuals should treasure the life of every individual. What is more, individuals should not only love their own lives but also love others' lives. “Treasure”, “love” and “never give up” are concept stressed very clearly in the textbooks. However, the cases about self-sacrifice and life-sacrifice in the political textbook were deleted from the moral textbooks. Instead, there is a case which offers a picture of a piece of a leaf and a big tree. The aim is to let students find out the particular character of one leaf and the other leaves. Then the text guides students to find out their own specific characteristic and compare it to those of other students. The aim is to teach students that “正如世界上没有两片完全相同的树叶一样，每个人都是独一无二的，有自己独特的风格 and 特点。” (Just as there are no two leaves that are totally the same, every individual is unique and has his own character and feature)²⁴⁹

In addition, the case of Xiao Hai, that was mentioned earlier, is also presented Xiao Hai was a common student and represents all students. He was also the most important part of his family and his life was very meaningful for them.²⁵⁰ The textbooks use these common and emotional cases to highlight the commonality of life for individuals. This means that the government affirms the relationship between individual rather than celebrating propagate the concept of self-love and the importance of life itself to young people.

Third, the link between the relationship between the individual and friends or classmates is friendship. Friendship is an important social relationship for everyone in society. Everyone needs friends and friendship. One lesson, found in the second volume of the political textbooks, discusses friendship. The title of this lesson is “待人真诚热情，建立真挚友谊” (to treat others sincerely and fervently, to build sincere friendship)²⁵¹. It includes three parts which were called “生活需要友谊” (life needs friendship); “交友要讲原则” (friendship depends on principle); and “发展真挚的友谊” (to develop sincere friendship).²⁵²

²⁴⁷ Ibid. p30

²⁴⁸ Moral textbook 2011: Volume1, p32

²⁴⁹ Ibid. P27

²⁵⁰ Ibid. p30

²⁵¹ Political textbook 2001: Volume 1, p19

²⁵² Political textbook 2001: Volume4, p19-29

The reasons for “life needs friendship” were as following: “友谊是一种正常的心理需要，使人分享更多的欢乐和幸福，有助于排解烦恼和忧愁，促进我们的进步。” (Friendship is a normal psychological need; friendship allows people to share joy and happiness with others; friendship is useful to resolve troubles and sorrows, and to improve us.)²⁵³

The principle of friendship was “善交益友，不交损友，‘以我为中心’难交长久的友谊，圈子太小难建广泛的友谊，‘哥们儿义气’不是真的友谊。” (To make a good friend, not to make bad friend; if one is self-centered in a circle of friends, the friendship cannot last long; too small a circle of friends cannot build broad friendships; and buddy loyalty is not really friendship.)²⁵⁴

The development of sincere friendship meant “以真诚换取友谊，以热情培养友谊，以宽容维护友谊，以原则纯化友谊，以恰当的方式表达男女同学的友谊。” (To build friendship through sincerity; to foster friendship through enthusiasm; to maintain friendship through tolerance; to purify friendship through principles; and to express the friendship between boys and girls in a right way)²⁵⁵

The political textbooks discuss the friendship from three aspects: why, what and how. It clearly explains friendship from different points of view in an academic way. However, the moral textbooks are different. Three units in the third volume of the moral textbooks discuss friendship. They mainly discuss classmates, friends, boys, girls, the international friendships, the Internet friendships and how to make friends. Classmates, friends, boys and girls are included in the same unit. It is stressed that classmates and friends should be improved together and that a big circle of friends should be made. It reads,

“在与同学的交往中，如果封闭自己，只会使我们的‘人际关系树轮’萎缩，使自己陷入孤立；如果保持积极开放的心态，我们会接触更多的人，分享更多的经验和快乐，同时也会被更多的人接纳。” (When we make friends with others, if we close our minds, our interpersonal relationships will be narrower and we will be isolated; if we keep an open

²⁵³ Ibid. P20-21

²⁵⁴ Ibid. P24-29

²⁵⁵ Ibid. P19-33

and positive attitude, we can meet more and more people, share more and more experiences and happiness, and be make more friends)²⁵⁶

“朋友和友谊是人生的永恒的话题，我们渴望友情，寻找朋友，探求友谊的真谛。”
(Friends and friendship are eternal topic in everyone’s life, we desire friendship, look for friends, and pursue the true meaning of friendship)²⁵⁷

“朋友带给我们温暖，支持和力量，让我们感受生活的美好。在人生的旅途上，朋友伴我们同行，友谊照亮我们的生活之路。” (Friends give us warmth, support and power to let us feel the beauty of life. On life’s journey, friends go with us together and friendship lights our way to life)²⁵⁸

Thus, friendship is explained in both textbooks in the same way. Both textbooks use “emotion”, “warmth”, “beauty” and “openness” to explain that everyone needs friendship and that friendship makes people feel close, happy and warm. However, they used different modes of expression to convey the same thing in the texts. The political textbook said friendship was a normal psychological need, but the moral textbook said friends and friendship were eternal topics in everyone’s life. “Normal psychological need” is an academic and professional phrase from psychological science. It sound very objective and factual. But “the eternal topic” sounds more poetic and emotional. The explanation of the moral textbook is more typical of the way people speak on a daily basis and it is easy to understand for young people.

What is more, when comparing the two textbooks, we see that the political textbooks use only one lesson to explain friendship. The aim of this lesson is to explain what exemplary friendship is. Exemplary friendship, according to the political textbooks, means to build sincere relationships between good friends by applying sincere principles for improving self and friends. On the other hand, the moral textbooks add information, including international friendships and Internet friendship. They mainly discuss how to make good international friendship between Chinese young people and foreigners and how to make good friendships on the Internet.²⁵⁹ The explanations in the moral textbooks are more detailed and also broader than those in the political textbooks. Particularly, the relationship between boys and girls is

²⁵⁶ Moral textbook 2011: Voume3, p36

²⁵⁷ Ibid. p32

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

²⁵⁹ Ibid. P65-75

mentioned in a clear way. The topic of love between boys and girls is been discussed in the moral textbooks.²⁶⁰

Actually, love affairs are a very sensitive topic in Chinese society, especially in Mao's era. As Yan argued,

*“The prevailing Communist asceticism during the Mao era molded the selection of a spouse into a political action by which two individuals made a union to better serve socialism by production and reproduction. Romantic love was denounced as corrupt and reactionary, and sexuality was simply taboo.”*²⁶¹

Romantic love was even seen as spiritually polluting in Chinese society. In 1979, the silent sex revolution was started. Until the 1990s, “sexual love gradually replaced romantic love among Chinese youth to express their longing for more sexual freedom.”²⁶² Then love affairs became an open topics in Chinese society. Of course, young people are interested in this subject. However, there was another Chinese phrase connected to young people called “早恋” (fall in love too early). As the political textbooks said, ‘boys and girls should communicate with each other in a normal way, and build a pure friendship.’²⁶³ “早恋” (zao lian) was seen as an important and serious problem among young people in Chinese society. “Zao lian” was forbidden in family and in school. However, there were actually still many “Zao lian” problems in Chinese society. Romantic love is in fact a common and normal feeling. After all, everyone can love and be loved. But romantic love between boys and girls was not viewed as a good thing in Chinese society. Therefore, the traditional textbooks did not actually mention love between boys and girls.

However, the moral textbooks are different. One chapter discusses the relationship between boys and girls, and another explains the relationship between girls and boys. The text reads:

“异性同学间的交往是学校生活的一个重要内容，它能让我们获得更加丰富的友谊。”
(The communication between boys and girls is one of the most important aspects of school life. It can enrich our friendship.)²⁶⁴

²⁶⁰ Moral textbook 2011: Volume3, p29-41

²⁶¹ Yan 2010, p503

²⁶² Ibid. p503

²⁶³ Political textbook 2001:Volume4, p34

²⁶⁴ Moral textbook 2011: Volume3, p36

“随着青春期的到来，我们的生理和心理都发生了一系列的变化。我们开始关注异性，渴望接触、了解异性，甚至可能萌发对异性的好感或爱慕之情。这是正常、自然而又美丽的事” (As we grow, our bodies and minds change and develop very much. We start to pay attention to the opposite sex, we desire to communicate and know them, and we even start to like and love them).²⁶⁵

The moral textbook confirms that pure friendship can develop between boys and girls. Meanwhile, it stresses that love and appreciation are normal phenomena between boys and girls. And the title of the chapter about love is “把握青春，把握情感” (To grab the youth, to grab emotion). This word “把握” means to grab, to catch, or to hold. It can be understood as the government telling readers to treasure and care for youth and emotion. The textbook explains, ‘we start to pay attention to the opposite sex, to desire to know and recognize the opposite sex, and even to generate good feelings and affection. These are normal, natural and beautiful things. However, the emotions between boys and girls have to be treated cautiously and rationally.’²⁶⁶ Love affairs are seen not only as part of normal relationships between boys and girls, but also as natural and beautiful. This is the first time that a love affair as a natural relationship between young boys and young girls was called a beautiful thing in textbooks for junior middle school. This means that the government affirms that romantic love can occur in junior middle school. The government does alert students to be cautious and careful but at the same time, guides students to face and recognize love affairs, instead of forbidding them or ignoring the subject.

International friendships and Internet friendships were not mentioned in the political textbooks. These two kinds of friendships are new youth friendships that are occurring in the Chinese society. International friendship means Chinese young people have made friends with young people from other countries. The moral textbooks mention protecting and introducing good Chinese culture to the world and learning from and respecting other cultures.

With the “opening-up” policy implemented in 1978 and with China joining the WTO (World Trade Organization) in 2001, the Chinese people have more and more chances to go abroad, and citizens of other countries have opportunities to come to China. A report about the trend in studying abroad showed there to be around 400,000 Chinese people going abroad for study

²⁶⁵ Moral textbook 2011:Volume3, p36-38

²⁶⁶ Ibid. p 39-40

in 2012. In 2001, there were only 50,000. Of those people, many were 18 years old. The number of young people going abroad in 2012 was over 30% greater than it was in 2011.²⁶⁷ Another report about foreigners living in China showed that until the end of 2012, there was a total of 633,000 foreigners living in China.²⁶⁸ This suggests that Chinese young people have more chances than ever to meet and get in touch non-Chinese cultures, not only in China, but also abroad. Therefore, the government stresses Chinese culture and international friendships in the moral textbooks.

For example, the first case in this chapter on this subject is about a foreigner who was eating dumplings in a Chinese restaurant in China. He used his fork and knife to separate the outer and inner side of the dumpling and put them on different plates. Then he ate them carefully. A Chinese person asked him how he liked the dumplings. He said, “Good, but if you put in some jam and butter, they will be better.”²⁶⁹

Another case was about language. A teacher who was teaching English wrote a piece of a Chinese poem,--“欲穷千里目，更上一层楼”-- on the blackboard and asked students to translate it into English. The sentence means that if a person can travel to different places, see more things and meet more people, this person will be improved by these experiences. But one student offered the following translation : “If you want to watch more, please go upstairs”. Then this sentence sounded strange.²⁷⁰

In addition, the textbook introduced many countries, such as, Belgium, Denmark, England, Brazil and so on. It also mentioned Japan. It said, “提到日本，人们会想到和服，寿司，樱花。” (When we talk about Japan, people will think about Kimono, Sushi and Sakura.)

Event though the political textbook did not discuss the international friendship between Chinese young people and young people from other cultures and nations, it still said something about links to foreign countries and the West. For example,

²⁶⁷ Access to Renmin net : <http://edu.people.com.cn/n/2013/1105/c1053-23442041.html> 5th November 2013
Chinese Eeuctaion Online: <http://www.eol.cn/html/lx/report2012/report1> 19th November 2012

²⁶⁸ http://news.xinhuanet.com/world/2013-09/17/c_125403113.htm

²⁶⁹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume2, p55

²⁷⁰ Ibid. p58

“世界文明丰富多彩，彼此间存在差异，这是历史现象。” (International civilization is rich and colorful; there are differences among civilizations; this is a historical phenomenon.)²⁷¹

“中国对外开放的实践证明，实行对外开放，学习和吸收国外的先进技术和科学文化，是符合当今时代特征和世界文化发展规律的，也是中国特色社会主义先进文化的必然要求。” (Chinese reform and open policy proved that it is fitting to the character of contemporary era, to the development and regulation of international civilization and to the necessity of socialism with Chinese character, that China learn from and receive the foreign developed technology and science.)²⁷²

“霸权主义一直是威胁世界和平与发展的主要根源。在当代，霸权主义和强权政治又有新的表现。” (Hegemony always threatens peace and development in the world. In the contemporary world, hegemony and power politics have new appearances.)²⁷³

Comparing the two sets of textbooks, the similarity is that both textbooks actually discussed the relationship between China and other countries, Chinese culture and other cultures, and the Chinese people and citizens of other countries. However, the political textbooks discuss the different cultures and civilizations from a national point of view. The moral textbooks discuss the different cultures and civilizations from an individual's point of view. The political textbooks discuss the different civilizations from a political point of view. The moral textbooks keep the focus on the communication between the Chinese individual and the individual from an outside of China. What is more, the moral textbook used a very humorous and interesting way to show how these different civilizations appear to young people, especially, when it comes to Japan. The moral textbooks discuss Japan in an objective way and from relaxed point of view. The text shows a positive interest in other countries in the world and attributes no political meaning to this interest. This is totally different from the political textbooks.

In addition, Internet friendship was added to the topic addressed in the moral textbooks. This kind of friendship has developed with the development of Internet skills and technology and the national economy. Internet friendship is a sort of friendship which is built online. This

²⁷¹ Political textbook 2001; Volume5, p108

²⁷² Ibid. p109

²⁷³ Ibid. p122

means that people meet each other via online software. The moral textbooks discuss Internet friendship in terms of the relationship between the Internet and the individual and the relationship between individual and individual. It regards the Internet as a useful tool that facilitates communication across space, generations, age, positions and racial barriers. However, it is also a big bad enticement to people. The point of the lesson about Internet friendship is to explain the Internet problems of young people. The textbook mentions “to enjoy healthy Internet communication, to protect oneself online, and to follow the principle of the Internet.”²⁷⁴ The Internet has developed really fast in recent years all over the world. China is no exception. After computers and the Internet came into every family and school, young people had many chances to learn, get in touch, use and play computer games on the Internet. The moral textbook quoted the report about young people online from Xinhua.net on 15th June 2003. It said, “there are 0.4 billion Chinese people online. It is equal to 6% people of the total population of the world.”²⁷⁵ Today, the number has to be bigger.

The moral textbook says that Internet friendships can be a good aid to individuals and others, but this can also be a bad thing if it encourages people to be lazy or bad. The two examples are offered. One is about Xiao Heng, who was too shy to speak in public. But he was very good at the computer and the Internet. Then his classmates asked him a lot of questions and get a lot of help from him. Gradually, Xiao Heng became active and liked to talk to others. His studying became better than before as well.²⁷⁶ The second case is about Xiao Bo, who was a very clever boy and interested in new things. He liked Internet games very much and went to the PC bar very often. One day, his Internet friends asked if he would like to make some money to play games. He agreed. They enlisted him in helping them use the Internet to steal people’s money. Finally, the police caught them.²⁷⁷

The exemplary Internet friendship which was explained in the moral textbooks showed the importance of following moral principle and law when using the Internet, in order to protect oneself. The examples demonstrate the content of Internet friendships from both positive and negative sides. The moral textbooks present the cases to young people to teach them about the exemplary friendship. This implies that the PRC government reformed the content of the textbooks to make them applicable to China’s social development.

²⁷⁴ Moral textbook 2011: Volume3, p65-75

²⁷⁵ Moral textbook 2011: Volum, p67

²⁷⁶ Ibid. p68

²⁷⁷ Ibid. p70

Finally, the government reformed the exemplary relationship between individual and individual, from other-oriented into self-oriented in the moral textbooks. To be other-oriented means an individual has to think about others first and only afterwards, or never, think about self. Self-oriented does not mean egoism or thinking only about oneself. It means that the self can be also an important part for consideration and that self should not be ignored. Especially, importance of the life of the self and others has been highlighted in the textbooks. The government stresses life is important to everyone, including the self and others. Individuals should care about life and protect and treasure it both in reality and online. The new exemplary relationship between individual and individual for young people is based on treasuring their own lives and those of others to build honest and respected communication with each other in reality and online.

5.2 Individual and collective

The relationship between the individual and the collective is an important respect of moral education. As Durkheim mentioned, the second element of morality “consists in the individual’s attachment to a group of which he is a member. It is important to establish the general principle that the domain of the genuinely moral life only begins where the collective life begins-or, in other words, that we are moral beings only to the extent that we are social beings.”²⁷⁸ He pointed out that the second element of moral education is attachment to a group. This group is a collective which is composed of individuals. The individual is one of the members of this group. He also discussed that the group can be “the family in which one is born, the nation or the political group, and humanity.”²⁷⁹ In other words, the collective has different forms, including family, nation, society, organization, institution, school and class. All these collectives have a particular and unified collective interest. The main forms of the collective in moral educations which will be mentioned in this thesis are family, nation and society.

The exemplary relationship between the individual and the collective is the relationship that has been shown in the texts, to instruct the individual in how to deal with the collective interests and an individual’s interests. As Yan, quoting from Francis L.K. Hsu and Fei writes:

²⁷⁸ Bakken 2000, pDurkheim 2002, p64

²⁷⁹ Ibid. p74-74

*“Chinese culture places group interest over individual interest and the individual belongs and remains secondary to the group or the collective. At least at the level of ideology, the group (be it the family or the state) does not exist to support the individual; it is the other way around – the individual exists to continue the group. In this sense, there was no individual identity in traditional China as the individual only existed in relationship to and on behalf of the social groups, such as the family, lineage, or a network of ranked social relations.”*²⁸⁰

The relationship between the individual and the collective under Maoist socialism was stressed as a socialist moral principle. “The socialist moral principle is collectivism which requires the people to work in any condition for the collective first, so that they may have a powerful shelter where they may have their needs securely met.”²⁸¹ This means collective interest has been given priority over an individual’s interest for a very long time under Maoist socialism.

*However, “the various practices of Maoist socialism did nothing less than detraditionalize, disembed, and re-embed the individual, shifting the individual from an individual–ancestor (read: family) axis in social relations to a new axis between the individual and the party-state. Out of the shadow of the ancestors but re-molded as a rust-less screw in the machine of the Chinese revolution, the individuality, independence, and desires of the Chinese individual at the tail end of Maoist socialism were both weakened and strengthened to certain degrees, depending on the specific aspects of the life in question.”*²⁸²

This enforced collectivism during the Mao era actually paved the way for individualization because it also forced people to strengthen their close connections to family and community. This collectivism still influences moral education in China today.

“The collectivist rhetoric which continues to permeate school texts has clashed with a widening urban–rural and class divide in the world outside the school gates and, indeed, within them as well.”²⁸³ For example, the first lesson of the moral textbooks mentioned “building a new collective” (建立一个新的集体) in a new class of a new school; “to make a unified goal and forward momentum” (共同的目标前进的动力); and “unity and cooperation,

²⁸⁰ Yan 2011, p 493; Hsu, 1948; Fei, 1948.

²⁸¹ Durkheim 2002, p 162

²⁸² Yan 2011, p493

²⁸³ Pepper 2000, p530

help and improve” (团结协作, 互助前行).²⁸⁴ The political textbooks stressed “socialist public ownership” (社会公有制)²⁸⁵, “to be rich together” (共同富裕)²⁸⁶, and “common ideals” (共同理想)²⁸⁷. These ideologies reflected the collectivism which is still a very important part of Chinese political and moral education.

Thus, both of the political and the moral textbooks discussed the relationship between the individual and the collective in the texts. However, the political textbooks mainly discussed the relationship between the individual and the nation, and the relationship between the individual and the society. The relationship between the individual and the family was ignored in the political textbooks. On the other hand, the moral textbooks focused on the family and the individual clearly, and reduced the content devoted to the nation and the society.

5.3 Individual and family

The family is a special unit and collective in society. It is a small social group for individuals. Family is much closer to the individual than are other collectives or groups in society. Family provides less impersonal and less lofty goals than collectives such as the nation. Family interests are in large measure the same as individual interests.²⁸⁸ Particularly, family for young people is the first collective to which they belong. The relationship between individual and family is a kinship tie which is determined by genetic relation. The classic traditional Chinese family relationship stressed “filial piety” (孝) and “obedience” (顺). This meant young people had to respect and obey their elders.²⁸⁹ What is more, the younger generation and the older generations were not equal in traditional Chinese culture. In other words, the relationship between parents and children was hierarchal in the tradition Chinese culture. Parents and other older generations were above later generations. This was a very formal and unchanging ideology of family hierarchy in traditional Chinese moral education.

²⁸⁴ Moral textbook Volume 1, p7-9

²⁸⁵ Political textbook: Volume 5, p82

²⁸⁶ Ibid. p85

²⁸⁷ Ibid. p119

²⁸⁸ Durkheim 2002, p74

²⁸⁹ Bakken 2000, p89

However, under Maoist socialism, the individual was emphasized as a citizen of the nation-state instead of merely as a member of the family.²⁹⁰ Since the 1990s, “sushi” discourse tends to locate ultimate responsibility for raising educational achievement with individuals and families, rather than with the state.²⁹¹ However, the political textbooks did not mention the family relationships very much. In the texts, there was only one section that mentioned family relationship, which discussed the obligations of a citizen in a family relationship. In other words, this section mainly focused on the rights and obligations of citizens. A member of a family was still seen as a citizen of nation state. The texts focused on the obligations of a citizen instead of on the family relationship. The text reads,

“从法律上看，父母子女关系的产生，有两种情况：一是子女出生，包括婚生和非婚生的；二是原来没有直系血亲关系的公民之间，经过合法手续，建立起父母子女之间的权利义务关系。” (According to the law, there are two ways to produce the relationship between parents and children: one is birth both within a marriage and without marriage; the other one is that citizens who do not have kinship with each other, build up the family obligation relationship through a legal procedure)²⁹²;

“婚姻法规定，父母对子女有抚养教育的义务” (According to the constitution and marriage law, parents have the obligation to raise children)²⁹³;

“婚姻法明确规定，成年子女有赡养扶助父母的义务” (According to the constitution and marriage law, grown up children have the obligation to take care of the parents.)²⁹⁴

The relationship between individual and family was explained as a matter of law and the family member was mentioned as citizen in the political textbooks. Only four pages of text were used to explain the family relationship. The relationship between parents and children should be a really close one for young people. However, the textbook did not mention any family emotion in the texts. It clearly explained how to resolve family problems according to the law and what the rights and obligations of citizens in their families are. The government emphasized that the exemplary relationship between individual and family is presented by legal rights and obligations. This is a typical kind of political ideology. In fact, family

²⁹⁰ Yan 2010, p 492

²⁹¹ Lall and Vickers 2009, p63; Murphy 2004, p17

²⁹² Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p23

²⁹³ Ibid. p24

²⁹⁴ Political textbook 2001: Volume4, p 23-25

relationships are not only legal relationships or social relationships, but they are also kinship and emotional relationship.

However, the political textbook actually discussed another family relationship in the texts-- patriotism. The political textbook compared the motherland to an individual's mother in order to make young people understand patriotic emotion. The text reads,

“祖国是个人成长的摇篮，她以自己的土地、山川，养育了一代又一代儿女；她以自己的文化、历史，熏陶着一代又一代儿女。” (The motherland is the cradle during an individual's growing; she raised up generations and generations of sons and daughters with her earth and mountain; she civilized generations and generations of sons and daughters with her civilization and history)²⁹⁵

“多少祖国的儿女，把对祖国母亲的这份强烈情感，融在生命中” (Many national sons and daughters meld the strong emotion for the national mother into their lives)²⁹⁶

“世界上各个国家的人民，无不对养育自己的祖国怀有崇敬和依恋之情，把自己的祖国视为最神圣、最亲爱的母亲，把自己的智慧和力量贡献与祖国” (People of every country in the world, respect and love their nation, see their nation as the most sacred and beloved mother, and devote their own power and knowledge to their nation)²⁹⁷

The political textbooks say that the nation is like the mother of every citizen. Citizens are like sons and daughters of the nation. The nation is a big family to which every individual belongs. Therefore, the political textbook actually compared the nation to family, in order to encourage citizens to love their nation. Family is actually close and familiar to individuals. Therefore, from the patriotic point of view, the political textbooks stress the relationship between individual and nation as a family relationship. What is more, the expression of the relationship between individual and the nation is the most beautiful part of the whole political textbook. This lesson is the only part of the political textbook that employs so many adjectives and metaphors. It would seem that the PRC government stressed the relationship between the individual and the nation as being the same as the relationship between the individual and the family in order to propagate patriotic sentiments.

²⁹⁵ Political textbook 2001: Volume2, p57

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Ibid. p59

The moral textbooks reformed the family relationship. They refocused the family relationship on kinship. One unit included two lessons to explain the relationship between the individual and the family. The title of this unit was “Love each other in one family” (相亲相爱一家人). The first lesson discussed “家” (family or home). The second lesson discussed “parents”. The moral textbooks said, “家与家庭有关，一般说来，家是由婚姻关系、血缘关系或收养关系结合成的亲属生活组织” (Family is linked to family, and it is the kinship and family group which was made by a marriage relationship, blood relationship, and adoptive relationship)²⁹⁸; “家是我们成长的摇篮，我们的港湾和第一所学校，父母是我们最亲的人，也是我们的第一任老师。” (Family is our cradle for growth, our harbor and first school. Parents are our the people we are closest to, and our first teachers)²⁹⁹; and ‘家，是我们情感的栖息地，是我们物质生活后盾，安全健康保障，还是我们的娱乐天地，天然的学校和今后发展的大本营。我们在家中享受亲情和温暖，我们热爱自己的家’ (Family, is our emotional habitat, our material life backing, protection for safety and health, source of entertainment, natural school, and the camp of our development. We enjoy family’s love and warmth at home, and we love our home or family)³⁰⁰

Family went from being a legal relationship in the political textbooks to becoming a kinship and natural relationship in the moral textbook. Family returned to being an institution which provides individual safety, emotion, and kinship tie. The first thing that was stressed in the texts was love in family. The relationships in the family should be built on love. This unit was the first unit of the third volume of the moral textbooks. This means that the first relationship that was discussed in the moral textbooks was the family relationship. Therefore, the family relationship was highlighted in the moral textbooks. Particularly, the texts confirmed that the closest people to an individual are one’s parents. This is a totally different discussion from that found in the political textbook. The political textbook emphasized that the closest person to any individual was the national mother. However, the moral textbooks very clearly stresses maternal love and fatherly love. The text reads,

“母爱是最无私的。母爱是温暖的太阳，奉献着七色的光芒；母爱是辽阔的海洋，坦露这宽广的胸怀；母爱是肥沃的土壤，哺育儿女茁壮成长；母爱是无限的宇宙，任儿女

²⁹⁸ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 3, p2

²⁹⁹ Ibid. P8

³⁰⁰ Ibid. P11

自由翱翔。” (Maternal love is the most selfless kind of love. It is the warm sun, devoting colorful sunshine; it is the vast sea, candidly revealing a broad mind; it is fertile land, feeding the children so they thrive; and it is the infinite universe, to let children fly free.)³⁰¹

“父爱如山，深沉严格。父亲粗大的手，撑起整个家；父亲宽阔的肩，是子女的靠山；父亲辛勤的劳作，总是无怨无悔；父亲教导子女，为人应当自强。” (Fatherly love is as a mountain, deep and strict. A father holds the whole family with his thick and big hand; father's wide shoulders are children's backing; a father never regrets labor and a father teaches children to inner strength.)³⁰²

The moral textbooks clearly explained maternal love and fatherly love, stating that parents are guided in their raising and teaching of children not just by legal obligation or traditional morality but also by the emotion of love. Young people should receive love from their parents and in return give their love to their parents and families. This is different from the old family relationship that was mentioned under Maoist socialism. An individual now is not only a citizen of the nation, but also a member of his or her family. A child does not only belong to the nation, but also to a family. The parents' love has also been affirmed in the moral textbooks and its importance has been stressed. This is because parental love has been somehow ignored by some sons and daughters.

The moral textbooks stresses that the young generation must respect the older generation in the family. However, the text mentioned that: “我们对父母的孝敬，不是古代的愚孝，也不是盲目地服从，而是在平等基础上对父母的尊敬和侍奉。” (We have to be ‘filial’ towards our parents, but this “filial” piety should not be traditional blind “filial” piety or “obeying”. It should be on the basis of equality in order to show respect and care for parents.)³⁰³ From this point of view, parents and children become equals. In other words, parents and children are standing on the same level in a family. This is, in fact, totally different from the traditional Chinese family ideology. Traditional Chinese family relationships were hierarchal between elders and youngsters. Young people had to listen to their elders. Therefore, “filial” and “obeying” were announced in the traditional Chinese culture. “Obeying” means to listen to some one without making any conditions or asking any questions. It means whatever the elder said the younger has to obey, even if it is wrong.

³⁰¹ Ibid. P9

³⁰² Ibid. p9

³⁰³ Moral textbook 2011: Volume3, p17

However, the moral textbooks clearly stresses that the exemplary family relationship is not traditional blind obeying, but an equal relationship. Even in the second lesson, the title was “跟父母交朋友” (To make friends with parents).³⁰⁴ The relationship between individual and family has become one of friendship. To make friends means to understand each other and to have increased communication. Therefore, it can be found that the government actually used the textbooks to announce a new exemplary family relationship for young people, which is to change from the strict hierarchal relationship to a close friendship between young people and their parents.

5.4 Individual and nation

Education is also a tool for social justice and it has a political aim. In particularly, the political aspects of education are shown through the curriculum and the textbooks.³⁰⁵ The relationship between the individual and the nation is the basic relationship in political and moral education. Therefore, the political and moral education is not neutral either. One of the most important functions of political and moral education is to provide texts that propagate the national ideology, and foster national identity and national pride. In fact, both the political textbooks and the moral textbooks clearly discuss the nation and the relationship between the individual and the nation. The contents of both textbooks were the same, but the form was different.

First, both textbooks discussed the national condition, basic national policy, national development strategy, Chinese political life, economic development strategy and patriotism, in order to explain the relationship between the individual and the nation. The political textbook discussed the relationship between the individual and the nation in discussions about the national condition, socialism, socialism with Chinese character and the historical responsibility in particular. For example,

“社会主义是中国人民的历史选择，只有社会主义才能救中国，只有社会主义才能发展中国” (Socialism is the choice of Chinese people, only socialism can save China, only socialism can develop China)³⁰⁶

³⁰⁴ Ibid. p19

³⁰⁵ Lall and Vickers 2009, p2-3

³⁰⁶ Political textbook 2001: Volume5, p36-37, 47

“接受中国共产党的领导，走上由新民主主义革命到社会主义革命的道路，是中国人民自己做出的决定性的选择，具有历史必然性” (It is the decisive choice of Chinese people to receive the leadership of the CCP, to get on the way of socialistic revolution starting from the new-democratic revolution. This is a historical inevitability.)³⁰⁷

“从总体上看，现阶段我国社会主义生产力水平还比较低；科学技术水平、民族文化素质还不够高；社会主义具体制度还不完善，我国社会主义社会仍然处于初级阶段” (Overall, our national socialist productivity level is still low at this contemporary stage; scientific and technological levels and the national cultural quality is not high enough; socialist policy is not completed and perfect; therefore, our socialist society is still at the primary stage)³⁰⁸

“建设中国特色社会主义经济，公有制经济是主体；建设是中国特色社会主义政治，人民当家作主的法治国家；建设中国特色社会主义的文化，坚持马克思主义、毛泽东思想、邓小平理论和‘三个代表’重要思想的指导地位，是我们立党立国的根本” (When building a socialistic economy with Chinese character, public economy is a principal part; when building socialistic politics with Chinese character, the nation is led by people under the rule of law; when building socialistic culture with Chinese character, it is essential to our CCP is to insist on guidelines from Marxism, Maoism, Deng Xiaoping’s theories and the important thought of the ‘Three represents’)³⁰⁹

“做社会主义事业的建设者和接班人” (To be the builders and successors of the socialist business)³¹⁰

“中华民族面对着两大历史任务：一是求得民族独立和人民解放；一是实现国家繁荣和人民共同富裕” (The Chinese nation faces two important historical tasks: one is to gain national independence and people’s liberation; the other one is to achieve national prosperity and people’s common prosperity)³¹¹

The political textbook explained Chinese history and contemporary national conditions to young people, in order to make them patriotic. The aim of the textbook is to encourage young

³⁰⁷ Ibid. p43-44

³⁰⁸ Ibid, p59

³⁰⁹ Ibid, 105

³¹⁰ Ibid, p114

³¹¹ Ibid, p135

people to take on the national task and to become the next generation of the builders of socialism with Chinese character. What is more, in the second volume of the political textbooks, one lesson was offered to discuss why and how to be patriotic citizens. Therefore, the political textbooks emphasized people as the masters of the nation, in order to improve the patriotic emotion among young people. Thus, the basis of the relationship between the individual and the nation is actually patriotism.

The moral textbooks also stressed the relationship between the individual and the nation. The text reads,

“我们的社会主义祖国，世界舞台上的中国” (Our socialistic motherland, China, is on the world stage)³¹²

“改革开放以来，我们取得一切成绩和进步的根本原因，归结起来就是：开辟了中国特色社会主义道路，形成了中国特色社会主义理论体系” (Since the time when the reform and open policy was implemented until today, our achievements and progresses have due to: establishing the way of socialism with Chinese character, and forming the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese character)³¹³

“灿烂的中华文化，弘扬和培育民族精神” (Splendid Chinese culture, developing and fostering national spirit)³¹⁴

“融入社会，肩负使命，参与政治生活” (To join society, to take on the historical task, and to have a political life)³¹⁵

“作为国家的主人，关心国家的事，参与国家管理，依法行使监督权，既是我们参与政治生活的表现，也是对国家应尽的责任。” (As the master of the nation, to pay attention to national events, to join the national management, to implement the right of legal supervision create not only the appearance of the political life which we join, but also the responsibility we take on for our nation)³¹⁶

³¹² Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, p32

³¹³ Ibid, p35

³¹⁴ Ibid, p66

³¹⁵ Ibid, p64,68

³¹⁶ Ibid, p73

“造福人民的经济制度，充满生机的经济制度，走向共同富裕的道路” (The economic system for the benefit of the people, the economic system with hope and opportunity, is the way to the common prosperity)³¹⁷

What is more, the moral textbook also discussed the national condition. Therefore, both textbooks mainly discussed that the relationship between the individual and the nation means that the individual is the master of the nation; that the individual chose the socialist way for China; that the individual takes on the national task to make the nation stronger and individual needs to be richer together. This is actually a sort of patriotic education. However, two sets of textbooks used different forms to explain the same content. The political textbooks present official documents and political slogans, such as “only socialism can save China”, “only socialism can develop China”; and the content of the national condition and the socialism with Chinese character. These sentences are very manifestly political in character.

That patriotism as the exemplary relationship between the individual and the nation is explained clearly and precisely in both textbooks. The political textbooks used one lesson to explain what patriotism is, how to love the nation and why. One volume of the political textbooks was used to explain the national condition, national policies and strategies and the historical task for young people. Patriotism was announced in the political textbooks as a political slogan as well as a concept. Individuals have to take on the historical responsibility of being the builders and successors of the socialistic business for their nation.³¹⁸

However, the moral textbooks mentioned patriotism only in one title which was “to know the motherland, to love China”.³¹⁹ The moral textbooks did not offer any lessons discussing directly how to be a patriotic person. This does not mean that patriotism is not important in contemporary Chinese education. The government promotes national pride instead of patriotism to young people. As Marie Lall said, “the political aim of creating and cementing a national identity for a government is often to instill pride in the self, and quite often, to distinguish this proud self from the ‘other’.”³²⁰ Vickers also mentioned that “patriotism in contemporary China should not be seen simply as the product of official discourse.”³²¹ The simple patriotic official discourse has been reformed into national pride. “Pride is derived

³¹⁷ Ibid, p88, 89, 93

³¹⁸ Political textbook 2001: Volume 5, p 114-139

³¹⁹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume5, p30

³²⁰ Lall and Vickers 2009, p4

³²¹ Ibid. P77

from China's long history, glorious traditional culture, phenomenal growth and technological progress of recent years, international respect, and memories of past victories against foreign aggressors.”³²² For example, the moral textbooks said,

“我们抓住历史机遇，实行改革开放，集中精力进行经济建设，中国人民富了起来，国家强了起来。当今世界，中国是发展最快、变化最大的国家之一。中国的国际地位日益提高，在国际舞台上发挥着越来越重要的作用，一个和平、合作、负责任的中国形象已经为国际社会所公认。” (We seized the historical opportunity, implemented the opening-up policy, concentrated on economic development. Chinese people are rich, and the nation is strong now. China is one of the nations in contemporary world which has changed the most and grown the fastest. China's international status is increasing everyday; China is playing an increasingly important role in the international arena; and China has an image in the international community as peaceful, cooperated and responsible.)³²³

What is more, the textbooks presented many cases to illustrate these developments. These included “China was admitted to the WTO in 2001”³²⁴, “Professor Yuan Longping successfully cultivated hybrid rice”³²⁵, “the spirit of the Long March”³²⁶, “the spirit of a manned spaceflight”³²⁷ and “five thousand years' traditional culture”³²⁸. The government presented these successful cases in the texts in place of official patriotic discourse, in order to foster national pride in young people's minds. The official patriotic statements worked as political slogans in the political textbooks. Students had to memorize them in order to pass their exams. These discourses for students were just something that they had to memorize. Their relationship to these discourses was passive. However, the government actually wanted to turn students from passive into active learners and tried to use national pride to stimulate patriotic emotions in young people. This has been achieved by replacing official patriotic discourse with stories that evoke national pride.

In addition, both textbooks explain that people are the hosts of the nation. The relationship between the individual and the nation is a master-slave relationship. However, the political

³²² *Ibid.* P79

³²³ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 5, p32

³²⁴ *Ibid.*, p48

³²⁵ *Ibid.*, p59

³²⁶ *Ibid.*, p70

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ *Ibid.* p71

textbooks mainly stated people that became the hosts of the nation through the People's Congress; the texts describe the system and the nation as a harmonious united family.³²⁹ On the other hand, the moral textbooks discussed the People's Congress System, national law, participation in political life and the exercise of the legal rights of citizens.³³⁰ The government added the topics of law, political life and the rights of citizen to the moral textbooks. This suggests that the government is using the textbooks to guide young people to enter the political life and exercise their rights, as a way of turning political discourses into practical behaviors. In other words, the government wants to move students from being passive recipients of political discourses into young people who apply their knowledge and become actively involved in the life of the nation.

Second, the difference between the political textbooks and the moral textbooks is shown by the different expressional methods. The political textbooks brought up many political conceptions and explained them clearly. Some examples, "only socialism can save China"; "only socialism can develop China"; "building socialism with Chinese characteristics", "building socialist economy, politics and culture with Chinese characteristics", and "historical responsibility of contemporary youth is to be builders and successors of socialist business". The moral textbooks reformed these terms into "our socialist motherland", "the economic strategy for the benefit of the people", "splendid civilizational flowers", "choosing hopeful life" (选择希望的人生)³³¹ and "to be a responsibility citizen" (做一个负责任的公民)³³².

The government took the political slogans or conceptions from official documents and put them directly into the political textbooks. However, the moral textbooks changed these slogans into descriptive language for young people. The descriptive language sounds more emotional, relevant and easy to understand. Sections titled "Choosing hopeful life" and "to be a responsible citizen" actually discussed the same concepts as "historical responsibility of contemporary youth is to be builders and successors of socialist businesses". The main point of these phrases is to achieve common Chinese ideals. This reform implies that the government changed its attitude towards young people when it came to the political and moral education. The attitude in the political textbooks was formal and serious. The government seemed to write the political textbooks for adults who can easily understand political concepts.

³²⁹ Political textbook 2001: Volume 5, p94-100

³³⁰ Moral textbook 2011: Volume5, p 73-86

³³¹ Ibid, p124

³³² Ibid, p26

In other words, the government treated young people in junior middle school as adults. They believed young people could receive and understand these political concepts. On the other hand, the moral textbooks reflect a changed attitude. The tone of these textbooks is relaxing and emotional. The readers are no longer presumed to be adults, but only school children.

Therefore, the new exemplary relationship between the individual and the nation I mean to build national pride in individuals' minds in order to stimulate active patriotism and guide young people to actively participate in national political life. The government tried to change its approach to political and moral education and reform the expressional method employed in textbooks to explain political discourses, in order to turn the passive and mechanical task of memorization into a proactive practice for young people.

5.5 Individual and society

There is also another important relationship--that is between the individual and society--which is mentioned in the textbooks. The individual is the basic unit of society. The society is composed of individuals. The relationship between the individual and society actually refers to the relationship between the individual and the collective. However, society is not a neutral collective, but a collective with special aims or functions, such as, employment, defense, survival and development. The individual and society have to depend on each other.

Therefore, the political textbooks state that the relationship between individual and society is a rightful and obligatory relationship. In other words, the textbooks mainly explained the correct rights and conscious obligations of citizens in society. The relationship between the individual and society is the relationship between citizens and society in the political textbooks. The rights and obligations in the political textbooks were “人身权利” (personal rights)³³³, “婚姻家庭关系中的权利与义务” (rights and obligations to marriage and family relations)³³⁴, “受教育的权利与义务” (educational rights and obligations)³³⁵, “经济生活中的权利与义务” (rights and obligations in economic life)³³⁶, “政治生活中的权利与义务” (rights in political life)³³⁷, “维护国家统一、保卫祖国安全的义务” (obligations to safeguard

³³³ Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p2

³³⁴ Ibid, p19

³³⁵ Ibid, p30

³³⁶ Ibid, p47

³³⁷ Ibid, p65

national unity and safely defend the motherland)³³⁸, “依法同违法犯罪作斗争, 维护自己的合法权益” (fighting with criminals and safeguarding one’s own legitimate rights)³³⁹, and “正确行使公民权利自觉履行公民义务” (correctly applied citizen rights and consciously exercising citizen obligations).³⁴⁰ All these rights and obligations were clearly explained in the political textbooks. Particularly, the texts seriously stressed that all these rights and obligations were protected by national law. The contents of rights and obligations were explained as legal terms. For example,

“我国宪法和妇女权益保障法等法律明确规定, 对妇女人身权利予以特殊保护” (Our constitution and women's rights protection act clearly stipulate that women have equal rights with men, and provide special protection for the personal rights of women)³⁴¹

“家庭在实施义务教育中应负的责任包括: 使适龄子女按时入学; 保证适龄子女接受规定年限的义务教育” (The responsibility of family in compulsory education includes: let school-age children go to school on time; ensure school-age children receive the prescribed years of compulsory education)³⁴²

“我国宪法第 33 条规定: ‘中华人民共和国公民在法律面前一律平等’。” (Article 33 of our Constitution stipulates that citizens of the PRC are equal by law)³⁴³.

The contents of the texts about rights and obligations sound objective and serious. The textbook seems to be a law book. Students had to memorize these legal terms as well.

The moral textbooks also stressed rights and obligations of citizens. They differ from the political textbooks in that they use the descriptive language and examples to explain the rights and obligations. Particularly, notable is that the examples offered come from students’ daily lives. The political textbooks also used many examples, but those examples almost all came from real legal cases. First, descriptive language was used much more frequently in the moral textbooks. For example, to explain “personal rights,” the textbooks used “生命健康权利与我

³³⁸ Ibid, p80

³³⁹ Ibid, p101

³⁴⁰ Ibid, p117

³⁴¹ Ibid. P13

³⁴² Ibid. P39

³⁴³ Ibid. P 117

同在” (I always have rights to life and health)³⁴⁴ and “同样的权利， 同样的爱护” (the same rights, and the same love)³⁴⁵ ; To explain ‘educational rights’, they used “知识助我成长” (knowledge helps me to grow)³⁴⁶ and “珍惜学习的机会” (treasure the opportunity of studying); and to explain “economic rights”, they used “我们享有‘上帝’的权利” (we enjoy and have ‘God’s’ rights)³⁴⁷. The contents are the same in both the political textbooks and the moral textbooks. The rights and obligations of citizens are the same. The only difference is the words that are used in the texts. Some were objective and serious; the others vivid and emotional.

Thus, it would appear that the aims of the two textbooks are different. The political textbooks were used to introduce the knowledge of the legal rights and obligations of citizens. The aim was to clearly explain what the legal rights and obligations are. The clearly content of the textbook is the most important for the government. In the moral textbooks, the content of the legal rights and obligations has been changed. The textbook only retained the main information, but used another way to express the same knowledge. It seems that the accuracy of the legal terms is not as important as it in the political textbooks. In other words, the moral textbooks were not used to introduce the knowledge. The aim of the moral textbooks seems to be to arouse students’ attention and interest in learning.

Second, the examples were changed in the moral textbooks. For example, the political textbooks used one case to explain life and health rights. The case was about a seventh grade junior middle school student who was called Long. One night after school, he found some friends beating another student, Lu, in the classroom. Unfortunately, Lu was hurt too seriously and died in hospital. Long and his friends were arrested by the police and processed in the court. Finally, parents of Long and his friends provided some money in compensation to Lu’s parents. Long was sentenced to seven years. His friends were sentenced to six years.³⁴⁸ This case is a real legal case. The textbook quoted it in its entirety. The presentation is official and objective.

³⁴⁴ Moral textbook 2011: Volume4, p24

³⁴⁵ Ibid, p28

³⁴⁶ Ibid, p58

³⁴⁷ Ibid, p86

³⁴⁸ Political textbook 2001: Volume 4, p4

However, the moral textbooks changed the case in the texts. It said, “Jun and Zhe are 16 years old and in the same class. Jun is introverted and wants to be an IT engineer. Zhe is outgoing and wants to be a lawyer. One day during a physical education class, they came into conflict. Jun beat Zhe first. Then the teacher and classmates stopped the fight. Later, Zhe felt so aggrieved that he went to Jun and wanted to talk with him. However, they renewed their fight. Suddenly, Zhe stabbed Jun with his knife. Jun died in hospital. Zhe was sentenced to seven years. His parents had to pay a lot of money to Jun’s parents. Zhe lost his dream of being a lawyer as he took other’s personal freedom and life.”³⁴⁹

Actually, these two cases were used to explain the same topic and they are actually the same case. The moral textbooks changed names, the details of the crime and the expressional method of presenting the case. The moral text also clearly stressed the dreams of the two boys. The texts state that when Zhe took another’s freedom, he lost his own freedom and dream. What is more, the second case clearly expressed that the case began as a small conflict in PE class. The conflict could be a small collision or a small disagreement. These problems are very normal and could happen in every student’s daily life. Almost every student has seen or experienced something like this before. However, the first case was more serious than the second case. From the changes in the second case, it seems that the government wished to emphasize the consequence of the case described in the political textbooks. The integrity of the case was very important in the texts. The original case was quoted in the texts. However, the moral textbooks stressed the dreams and freedom of two boys. The consequence of the case was not as important in the presentation of the first case in the political textbooks. Also, the government adapted the original case in the moral textbooks. Therefore, the political textbooks stressed the accuracy of knowledge. The aim of the textbook is to introduce the exact knowledge that the government possessed. However, the moral textbooks did not stress the case, but rather the dreams and freedom. Here, the government is trying to guide young people to think about the essence of this case. In other words, the government changed the focus from simply teaching knowledge and receiving it back in the form of completed exams to understanding the essence of the knowledge. In the reformed textbooks, understanding has become more important than knowing the legal terms.

What is more, the political textbooks clearly discussed the social history and social theories in the texts. It discussed the course of development of human society from primitive society,

³⁴⁹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume4, p29

slave society, feudal society to capital society and socialistic society. The discussion included productive forces, relations of production, political system and economic system, and the ruling class and the ruled. From example,

“在生产过程中所形成的人与人之间的关系，叫做生产关系。” (The relations that formed in the process of production between people are called production relations.)³⁵⁰

“地主阶级剥削农民阶级的主要方式是榨取地租。” (The main way for landlords to exploit peasantry is to extract rents.)³⁵¹

“在阶级社会里，国家是阶级统治的工具。” (The State is the tool of class rule in a class society.)³⁵²

The focus of the political textbooks was on theories of socialistic society. The texts said, “socialism is Chinese people’s historic choice; only socialism can save China; and only socialism can develop China”; “China now is in the primary stage of socialism; this the basic national condition of China”; “to construct socialist economy, politics and culture with Chinese characteristics”; and “to be builders and successors of socialistic businesses”³⁵³

Therefore, the exemplary relationship between the individual and society in China meant an individual constructing socialism with Chinese characters. Socialism was one of the most important theories in the political textbooks. However, the moral textbooks had almost deleted the part about social history. They retained the socialist theories, but it replaced socialist economy, politics and culture with national condition, national political strategy, national economy and national culture. For example, “认清基本国情” (to realize basic national condition)³⁵⁴; “了解基本国情和发展战略” (to understand basic national policies and developing strategies)³⁵⁵; and “弘扬和培育民族精神” (to improve and civilize national spirit)³⁵⁶ What is more, the moral textbooks stressed that the relationship between individual and society meant that the individual has to take responsibility for society and emphasized that the individual has to take responsibility to love the collective. At the same time, the texts

³⁵⁰ Political textbook 2001: Volume5. p6

³⁵¹ Ibid. P14

³⁵² Ibid. P9

³⁵³ Ibid. P37-139

³⁵⁴ Moral textbook 2011:Volume5, p31

³⁵⁵ Ibid, p46

³⁵⁶ Moral textbook 2011: Volume5, p31-118

discussed that the individual does not only take over the responsibility, but that society also has to take on the responsibility towards individual. In other words, the relationship is reciprocal; the individual must put forward effort but the effort will be recognized and repaid by the society.³⁵⁷

Therefore, the political textbooks stressed that the individual has to pay attention for socialism with Chinese characters and to be a builder of and successor to socialism. The government emphasized the history of human society for to prove to young people the excellence of socialism. However, the moral textbooks gave up these histories. Instead they stressed the nation and the individual's responsibility to society. Actually, the main contents of both textbooks are the same. The moral textbooks only changed a point of view in order to express the same things. The change makes the information that is presented seem relevant to students' lives and experiences. All these political terms --socialism, production relations, productive forces, and Chinese characters-- are abstractions to young people. However, nation, society, responsibility and reward are concrete and students can understand and experience these terms. It is clear that the government reduced the difficulty in the moral textbooks. Meanwhile, the focus of political and morality education in junior middle school from the excellence of socialism and the need to build Chinese socialism to nation pride and the need to assume responsibility towards society. The exemplary relationship between the individual and society in the moral textbooks meant that individuals must show responsibility toward society and society must show responsibility for the individual.

6. Exemplary norms in textbooks

The political textbooks clearly stated the content of the law and explained the rights and obligations of citizens, and reprinted portions of the legal code in the texts. In particular, the political textbooks add a detailed explanation of the legal punishment. For example,

“刑法第 240 条规定：拐卖妇女、儿童的，处 5 年以上 10 年以下有期徒刑，并处罚金；情节严重的处 10 年以上有期徒刑或者无期徒刑，并处罚金或者没收财产；情节特别严重的，处死刑，并处没收财产。” (Article 240 of the criminal code said: Trafficking of women and children, will be sentenced by imprisonment of over 5 years and less than 10 years, and fined; in serious cases, it will be sentenced by imprisonment of at least over 10

³⁵⁷ Ibid. P26-29

years or life imprisonment and fined or confiscation of all property; particularly serious cases, death penalty will be sentenced, and confiscation of all property.)³⁵⁸

“义务教育制度是依照法律规定，由国家强制力保证推行和实施的。法律所规定的义务教育的规则，全社会必须遵守，不能违反。凡不履行其应承担的各项义务的行为，都要受到强制性的处罚制裁。” (Compulsory education system is according to the law, and published and implemented by national force. Society as a whole must comply and not violate the regulations of the compulsory education in law. The behavior of the one, who does not fulfill his obligations, will be subject to mandatory penalties.)³⁵⁹

All these words sound serious and strict. They are from the national constitution. The political textbooks also mentioned “法律和道德都是人们的行为规范，但法律不是一般的行为规范，而是由国家规定或认可，并靠国家强制力保证实施的行为规范。” (Law and morality are both people’s behavioral norms, but law is not a common behavioral norm. It is made and defined by the nation, and implemented by the national mandatory force.)³⁶⁰

Law was emphasized in the political textbooks. The government used two volumes of the political textbooks to discuss what law is; what the content of law is; and how to punish the criminal behavior. Hence, the aim of the government in clearly discussing law and the punishment in textbooks for young people is to control their conduct by shocking and intimidating the conduct of young people. The attitude of the government is serious and stern. Young people are seen as adult citizens to be taught. Meanwhile, the political textbooks also stressed that the exemplary norm must be protected through discipline and law. Young people have to know clearly the content of the law and the punishment. At the same time, they also have to foster their morality to create exemplary personalities as well as build the exemplary model in society.

However, the moral textbooks are different from the political textbooks. Even though the moral textbooks discussed the law as well, they did not clearly mention the legal punishment. They simply introduce of the law while omitting many details about the law. They provide the main content of the law, but do not offer clear and detailed discussions. For example, both textbooks discussed the life and health rights in law, but the moral textbooks only discussed

³⁵⁸ Political textbook 2001:Volume 4, p14

³⁵⁹ Ibid. P34

³⁶⁰ Political textbook 2001:Volume3, p7

how to protect life and health by the life and health by not hurting others and through recourse to the life and health legal rights.³⁶¹ But the political textbooks discussed what the life and health rights are and how these rights are implemented. The text explains that the right refer to personal respect, to keeping property safe, to free communication; it also describes the punishments.³⁶² The moral textbooks did not maintain this focus on the content of the law or punishment. Instead, these texts introducing the law, in order to let young people know the common sense of the law. Though the text of the moral textbooks did not clearly discuss the punishment the case study accompanying the text did explain the punishment, as in the case of Jun and Zhe.

Zhe got seven years imprisonment and provided a lot of money in compensation to Jun's parents for killing their son. At the same time, he lost his dream and his freedom. The real punishment in this case was that Zhe lost his dream. This means the moral textbooks focused on the feelings of the individuals, in the stories, instead instilling fear of national force being wielded to uphold the law. The discussion in the moral textbooks was not used to shock and intimidate young people, but instead to let them know the consequence of their behavior. What is more, the moral textbooks consider the the young people's point of view and discuss whether if someone infringes on the rights of another, that person is obligated to pay recompense. The aim is to let young people really understand what wrong behavior is, rather than require them to memorize the content of the law. However, the political textbooks were really concerned about how to clearly and precisely explain the law and punishment to young people, in order to regulate their behavior. The aims of both textbooks are to build the exemplary norm in young people's minds, but one stresses self-discipline which is linked to self-reflection, while the other stresses law, which is linked to national force.

Therefore, the exemplary norm that was created in both textbooks is the same. Both textbooks want to create exemplary moral norms for society to maintain social order and they do so by emphasizing the exemplary model who has an exemplary personality. However, the political textbooks form the exemplary norm to control young people's behavior by presenting shock and intimidate. This can be seen as a sort of political method. On the other hand, the moral textbooks changed their method. These texts were concerned with the inner feelings of the young people. Their purpose is not to explain the content of law; much of this material has

³⁶¹ Moral textbook 2011: Volume 4,p24-32

³⁶² Political textbook 2001:Volume4, p4-16

been deleted from the moral textbooks. This indicates that the government changed its strategy toward providing young people with political and moral education from an emphasis on mandatory memorizing to the encouragement of self-reflection.

7. Conclusion

Chinese educational system reform had been gradually improved. It began more than 40 years ago in 1977. However, political and ideological education was always an important aspect of education reform. One aim of the educational system reform is still to build spiritual civilization and high “Suzhi”.

The political textbooks from 2011 were used by the government to propagate the official political knowledge and teach patriotic values to junior middle school students in China. The government presented a lot of official expressions and terms in the texts to teach young people the official political ideology. The accuracy of the knowledge seemed the most important element of the education process. The language of the political textbook was academic, official, objective and dull. There were very rarely emotional words in the texts.

However, the moral textbooks used a large number of adjectives to describe different terms and principles, such as “beautiful”, “colorful”, and “bright”. “Love” is stressed in the texts, for example, in exhortations to love one’s parents, love the nation, love others, love life and love one’s teacher. The political textbooks used law to explain the relationship between people, explaining, for example, that parents should raise children, adult children should care for parents, students should listen to and respect their teachers, and teachers should teach their students.

What is more, when patriotic emotion was discussed in the political textbooks, many emotional adjectives were used in the texts. Even ‘love’ became the key word in the texts in order to explain the relationship between the individual and the nation. The government actually used the word “love” only four times to explain self-respect and self-love, even though “love” was the key word of self-love in the political textbooks.

Only rarely are “socialism”, “party”, “communist”, and “communism” found in the moral textbooks. In their place, these textbooks use words such as “nation”, “national spirit”, and “national condition”.

Therefore, the political textbook comes across as academic, objective and serious, like an official political announcement. The attitude of the PRC government in the political textbooks towards young people was actually serious, stern and didactic. The political textbooks were the political tool for the government to declaim patriotism to young citizens. The government played a serious dominator role in the political textbooks to young people. However, the moral textbooks become more emotional and interesting. The government uses young people's experience to explain the dull political ideology, in order to let young people really understand and practice the texts. The attitude of the government in the moral textbooks is gentler, friendlier, and kinder than in the political textbooks. As all political orders and announcements disappear in the moral textbooks, the PRC government seems like a moral guide to young people.

The reason that the 2011 political textbook reform occurred is for a number of reasons. The quality-oriented education reform had been implemented comprehensively. It stressed improving the human quality--especially the high moral quality-- through education instead of examination.³⁶³ New textbooks were needed to convey this new emphasis. Also, there was a shift in the political policy. The CCP stressed the need to develop the Chinese socialist spiritual civilization. Hu Jintao also announced the "socialist concept of honor". In addition, the Chinese moral landscape had been changing.³⁶⁴ What is more, even though the Chinese exemplary society is regulated by strict norms, and citizens knew the norms and regulations clearly, a more leisurely attitude of citizens towards the norms can be seen.³⁶⁵ Meanwhile, young people of school age are the future of the nation. They will be the main human power of the nation in around ten or fifteen years. Therefore, the PRC government reformed the political textbooks into the moral textbooks from political announcement to moral guide.

However, both the political textbooks and the moral textbooks are used by the government to create high quality young citizens, foster patriotism and propagate the patriotic emotions and national pride. The patriotic education in both textbooks seeks to reinforce the message that while raising the quality of the people is essential for the strength of the state, a strong, modern and united Chinese state is the supreme embodiment of the aspirations of all the people.³⁶⁶ Even though the PRC government changed the method of expression, the attitude

³⁶³ Kinips 2006, p296

³⁶⁴ Yan 2009

³⁶⁵ Bakken 2000, p226

³⁶⁶ Lall and Vickers 2009, p63

towards the students and its tone in the moral textbooks, the aim of the two sets of textbooks is the same. It is to maintain the perfect social order.

Finally, from the political textbooks to the moral textbooks, the PRC government changed its focus from politics to morality. What is more, the PRC government used national pride instead of direct patriotic education in the moral textbooks. National pride became a variety of morality as did the traditional Chinese national spirit. In other words, the PRC government sought to use morality to cover and present political discourses to young people, in order to make serious political discourse a common moral principle. The final aim of the reform was to emphasize national pride and patriotism among Chinese young people. In this way, the political and the moral textbooks were used as political tool by the PRC government to foster exemplary citizens and maintain the exemplary social order. Furthermore, in changing its emphasis from political education to moral education, the PRC government changed its attitude toward young citizens, moving from serious political didacticism to emotional moral explanations. Meanwhile, the role of the PRC government in patriotic education was changed from a political controller to a moral guide to young citizens. The individual was seen as the main element of the educational process, instead of the accuracy of official political knowledge.

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