Perceiving Patriotism: China's Patriotic Education Campaign

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The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) implemented the Patriotic Education Campaign (PEC) in 1991 in pursuit of a new ideological tool that will serve as an agent of social integration for China in general. Although the CCP has crafted the PEC in such a way that it will promote a particular type of patriotism that will favor its objective of legitimation, the construction of patriotism perceptions among the Chinese citizens is quite a unique process. Utilizing a semi-structured interview involving twelve Chinese respondents who have experienced the PEC for a year or more as well as analyzing content of various articles about the PEC's content and implementation, this study aims to: (1) understand the nuances of China's perspectives on patriotism and (2) analyze how the Chinese define and express patriotism in light of their experience under the PEC. Data from the interviews were organized into themes, analyzed, and compared with the results of the content analysis of various articles. Results from the study showed that most of the participants exhibit a symbolic aspect of patriotism. Also, the school was always mentioned as a contributor to the process of construction of Chinese perceptions of patriotism.

Keywords: Patriotism, Patriotism in Education, Education, China

Introduction

Given China's rise as an economic, political, and military power, the last two decades have coincided with a resurgence of Chinese nationalism through a nationwide "patriotic education campaign" (PEC) across mainland China (Wu, 2012). This study explored features of the PEC through different articles and analyzed how the Chinese define and express their patriotism by respondent interviews. From this, the value of the study is to identify teaching strategies that seem to be effective in inculcating patriotism.

China's Patriotic Education Campaign

By shoring up its legitimacy in the form of nationalist support, the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) hoped to re-educate the new generation of youth in the appropriate type of patriotism — love for the Party and for the state. With this new binding force, the CCP put into being a new campaign that will not only aim at producing patriotic citizens but also serve as an arm of the party for ideological re-education, thus, the Patriotic Education Campaign began in 1991 (Wang, 2008). The Patriotic Education Campaign is a nationwide mobilization effort, mainly targeting the Chinese youth. As a central part of the campaign, the government called upon the entire nation to study China's humiliating modern history and how much it had been changed by the communist revolution (Wang, 2008). Zhao (1998) sums up four major themes in this education campaign: (1) China's unique national condition; (2) the linkage between the Communist state and China's non-communist past; (3) the Communist state as the defender of China's national interests; and (4) national unity as a theme against ethnic nationalism. The Patriotic Education Campaign blamed the West and Japan for China's development woes and praises the CCP's role in establishing sovereignty and economic ascendancy (Jacobs, 2014).

Implementation of the Patriotic Education Campaign in Schools

According to Zhao (1998), specific "guidelines" were offered for teaching the youth "correct" patriotism. The guidelines spelled out a curriculum to be used in a patriotic classroom, of which the following was a condensed list: (1) Chinese history (especially modern history and the rise of the CCP) and tradition; (2) China's characteristics and realities and their incompatibility with Western values; (3) CCP legendary and heroic stories of revolutionary martyrs; (4) CCP's fundamental principles and policies; (5) the great achievements of the party rule in China's modernization process; (6) socialist democracy and rule of law in contrast to the Western conception of rule of law; (7) national security and defense issues in the context of preventing a peaceful evolution and fighting against external hostile forces; and (8) the peaceful reunification of the nation and the theory of "one country, two systems." Zhao (1998) notes that the emphasis was China's *quoqing* (national conditions) in the historical, economic, political, military, diplomatic, social, and cultural fields and areas of population and resources. The purpose was to help the young people understand where China was strong, where it lagged behind, and its favorable and unfavorable conditions to enhance their sense of historical mission and responsibility (Zhao, 1998).

Promoting history education regarding China's resistance to foreign aggression was a vital aspect of the new nationalist propaganda wherein the new history education curriculum centered on the conflicts between the Chinese nation and foreign nations that invaded China in the past (He, 2007). The Party has conducted significant revisions of its schools' history textbooks since 1991 (Wang, 2008). In the newly revised textbooks, a patriotic narrative replaced the old class struggle narrative and that the official Maoist "victor narrative" (China won national independence) was also superseded by a new "victimization narrative," blaming the "West" for China's suffering. For Gary (2012, p.25), patriotic education serves to establish the "chosen trauma" (foreign humiliation) and the "chosen glory" (the Party's defeat of the imperialists).

Gary (2012) adds that the Party was able to identify a singular national enemy — a faceless imperialism. Through the nationwide education campaign, the government has dramatically used history education as a tool to glorify the party, to consolidate the People's Republic of China's (PRC's) national identity, and to justify the political system of the CCP's one-party rule (Wang, 2008). The crucial element of this process is the statesponsored historical education aiming at the construction of collective memory, which serves as the basis of national identity (Jaskulowski & Surmiak, 2015). Gary (2012) considers patriotic education as a campaign of "historical re-education" (p. 23) designed to establish the Party as the sole inheritor of Chinese patriotism wherein the Party is responsible for the construction of an "official" (p. 23) account of history. Public education is vital in spreading and reinforcing nationalism through the construction of a national collective memory (Gellner, 1983; Hosbawm, 1983, as cited in Jaskulowski & Surmiak, 2015). History and civics textbooks play a significant role in the construction and reproduction of national narratives since they convey a uniform, approved, and official version of history. Both the school and the textbooks serve as "arms of the state" or "agents of memory," which aim to ensure the transmission of the "approved knowledge" to the young (Wang, 2008, p. 786). Jaskulowski and Surmiak (2015) state that, through schools, the state attempts to establish a sense of belonging to an imagined community by imposing collective consciousness through the shared hegemonic meaning of symbols and common national representation of the past, which could translate to a collective national identity.

The campaign embraced (and continues to embrace) a wide range of media — from film and television to school textbooks, and most recently the Internet (China Patriotic Education Net, 2006, as cited in Vickers, 2007). From the start, museums and monuments were assigned a central role. The State Education Commission named critical sites as One Hundred Patriotic Education Bases, which are mostly historical sites and museums. A series of pocket guidebooks to the original one hundred bases were subsequently issued, and considerable

state resources were assigned to the protection and renovation of key sites. The CCP Central Propaganda Department issued the *Notice about Conducting* Education of Patriotism and Revolutionary Tradition by Exploiting Extensively Historical Relics in 1991 (Wang, 2008). Using the rich historical relics as resources to educate the masses about loving the motherland, loving the party, and loving socialism has the characteristic of a convincing visualization. In some aspects, this approach has better educational effectiveness compared with that of regular oral lessons and written propaganda materials. Wang (2008) notes that sixty-four percent of the bases are actually memory sites of past wars and conflicts and observes that the remaining sites are categorized into two: myths and heroes. Twenty-one are wonders of ancient Chinese civilization, including ancient architecture such as the Great Wall, museums of ancient civilizations, and relics marking exceptional achievements of ancient civilizations. Those left represent memories about Chinese heroes (e.g., memorial halls for Chairman Mao and Premier Zhou), memory buildings for the Party's "model workers or soldiers" and the "patriots" — people who were not members of the Party but have made remarkable contributions to the Chinese revolution (Wang, 2008, p. 795).

The implementation of the Patriotic Education Campaign in schools was strengthened in October 2004 when ten government ministries and CCP departments issued a document, Opinions on Strengthening and Improving the Work of Patriotic Education Bases (Wang, 2008). The document sought government agencies and educational institutions to "liberate thoughts" and improve teaching methods and mentioned that officials should try and "make entertainment a medium of education" (Wang, 2008, p. 796). Wang (2008) adds that in that same month, the government put forward a new patriotic education project *Three* One Hundred for Patriotic Education, wherein 100 films, songs, and books having a patriotic theme were recommended by seven PRC ministries and CCP departments, including the Ministry of Education and the Propaganda Department.

According to Zhao (1998), soon after the Outline was issued in September 1994, the former Secretary of the Beijing Municipal Party Committee reported that diverse forms of patriotic education activities were adopted in Beijing and that at the preceding stage, the municipality exhibited and showed 100 patriotic education films, established patriotic education bases, and launched the activities of raising national flags in primary and middle schools. Meanwhile, the activities of strolling around Beijing, loving Beijing, and building Beijing developed in the activities of singing about Beijing, talking about Beijing, writing about Beijing, sketching Beijing, and picturing Beijing (Zhao, 1998). The mass discussion activities such as I Am the Policeman of the Capital's People, I Am the Public Servant of the Capital's People, and I Am the Teacher of the Capital's People also spread gradually throughout the municipality (Zhao, 1998). Because of these vivid and lively mass patriotic education activities, the citizens of Beijing's sense of glory, responsibility, and pride, and their idea of patriotism have been enhanced (Ding, 1994, as cited in Zhao, 1998).

For Jiang Zemin, patriotism was to permeate all Chinese curricula in all levels, which will be accompanied by the creation of a special patriotism course and the application to regular subject education. He added that it must be taught with varying difficulty levels with an emphasis on the content of history, focusing on the Hundred Years of Humiliation and the CCP's leading role in overcoming national humiliation (Jacobs, 2014). Patriotic education must go beyond the classrooms where the media also promote patriotism through state news as well as films and songs that the CCP recommends for students (Gary, 2012). By funding patriotic films and TV series, the CCP blurs the lines between what is Party-sponsored and what is privately-driven and disseminates patriotic education far beyond the confines of school buildings (Jacobs, 2014).

Aspects of Patriotism

Patriotism is considered to have three aspects. The first aspect is an uncritical patriotism wherein there is an unwillingness both to criticize and accept criticism of the nation (Huddy & Khatib, 2007). This first aspect of patriotism does not reason but acts from the impulse of faith and sentiment and relies heavily on unquestioning loyalty (Worthington, 2013). For this first aspect, blind patriotism, criticism, questioning, and protests are considered as cultural pollution and detrimental to the country (Barnes, 2010, as cited in Öztürk et al., 2016). The second aspect of patriotism features the interpretation of the nation's history from different aspects (Öztürk et al., 2016). The second aspect of patriotism has at its center the maintenance of democratic values (Worthington, 2013). It does not idealize the nation but criticizes the national policies, and supports them as long as they comply with the national goals and democratic values (Öztürk et al., 2016). Worthington (2013) adds that in an attempt to maintain an effort to promote positive change and consistency with the nations' ideals, it is necessary to critique and question to ensure that notions of equality and liberty are upheld. Parker (2009) perceives the third aspect of patriotism as one that is closely associated with the emotional attachment and sentimentality directed at the flag, national songs, and the performance of patriotism.

Purpose of the Study

The CCP created the PEC in 1991 to pave the way for stronger Chinese patriotism and lasting Party legitimation. While the CCP, through the PEC, seems to adhere to a particular type of patriotism, an individual's construction of meaning regarding patriotism draws from the interaction of various factors with the patriotic education that the individual received. This process of constructing meaning has a wide room for scholarly scrutiny. In this light, the research seeks to elucidate the perceptions on the patriotism of Chinese nationals who experienced the Patriotic Education Campaign. The study raises the following research questions:

- 1. How do the Chinese, who went through the Patriotic Education Campaign, perceive and negotiate patriotism?
- 2. How are these perceptions constructed?

Methodology

The research was qualitative in nature, wherein there was exploration and description of the phenomenon of the implementation of the Patriotic Education Campaign in China. A qualitative research approach for this study was chosen because qualitative methods are especially useful in uncovering and understanding the meaning that people give to events that they experience (Merriam, 1998, as cited in Grundmeyer, 2012). A phenomenological study describes the collective meaning for several individuals of their lived experiences of a concept or a phenomenon (Cresswell, 2013). This research identified the perceptions of the Chinese regarding their definition of patriotism.

In a phenomenological study, the participants are asked two broad, general questions (Moustakas, 1994, as cited in Cresswell, 2013): "What have you experienced in terms of the phenomenon?" and "What contexts or situations have influenced your experiences of the phenomenon?". Other open-ended questions may be asked, but these two focus attention on accumulating data that will lead to a textual and structural description of the experiences and ultimately provide an understanding of the shared experiences of the participants (Cresswell, 2013). The semi-structured interview was constructed, taking in the importance of these two questions in consideration. The interview guide (Appendix) contains 12 questions. The gueries were mostly open-ended and allowed the respondents to discuss their experiences freely. The questions were constructed and ordered according to a constructivist framework wherein the experience of the phenomenon of learning/strengthening patriotism of each respondent is explored. The respondents were first asked about their definition of patriotism. In light of the Patriotic Education Campaign in China, the respondents were then asked about the different factors, which influenced their perception of patriotism, specifically focusing on education as a factor in constructing patriotism perceptions.

The research utilized convenience sampling. A convenience sample is a non-probability sample wherein the researcher chooses the subjects that are nearest and available to engage in the research study (Crossman, 2019). The researcher contacted teachers working in Chinese schools in the Philippines and China to have access to possible participants. The researcher also contacted several educational institutions known to have Chinese as faculty members. The view of Creswell (2013) about sample size is that usually, within qualitative research, it is typical to look at a small number of respondents or cases. Guest, et al. (2006) argue that 12 interviews suffice for most researchers when they aim to discern themes concerning common views and experiences among relatively homogenous people (Charmaz, as cited in Baker & Edwards, 2012). Twelve Chinese citizens, who studied in China between 1992 up to the present, were interviewed for the study. The age range of the respondents is 21-38 years old. All respondents studied in China from their primary school/ elementary school years until college.

In this study, after the gathered data were processed and organized into themes, the researcher identified how the respondents perceive and express patriotism. These perceptions and expressions of patriotism were then related to the factors identified by respondents as elements that influenced their construction of patriotism perceptions. The answers were organized into themes and were analyzed in conjunction with the reviewed discourse. The researcher looked at the answers of the respondents on whom/what they attribute patriotism to and analyzed whether the PEC has made an impact on their perception about patriotism. There is limitation in the data collection because most of the respondents interviewed are now based in the Philippines and most are teachers. The researcher employed manual processing and organizing of data which could be a limitation in analysis.

Findings and Discussion

The findings of the study regarding Chinese patriotism were organized into three themes.

The first theme, respondents' definition of patriotism, addresses the first research question and is divided into two subthemes: (1) definition of patriotism and (2) expressing patriotism. The second theme, factors in constructing patriotism, addresses the second research question and is divided into two subthemes: (1) factors shaping Chinese patriotism and (2) influence of education in constructing patriotism perceptions. The third theme, teaching patriotism in China, is key in identifying which teaching strategies seem to be effective in inculcating patriotism. It has three

subthemes: (1) teaching patriotism in China, (2) most effective ways in teaching patriotism, and (3) effectiveness of the PEC.

Respondent's Definition of Patriotism

Definition of Patriotism

In general, the respondents indicated four definitions of patriotism. Table 1 summarizes the respondents' four definitions of patriotism and their answers that fall under each definition.

Table 1
Respondents' Definition of Patriotism

Definition of Patriotism			
Theme	Answers		
Patriotism as loving your country	 Loving the country Loving your country's people even the foreigners in it Do not betray the country, be loyal Respect the country, be proud Be rationally supportive 		
Patriotism as influencing others to be aware or love China's history and culture	 Influence others to be aware of China's culture and history Influence others to love China's culture and history 		
3. Patriotism as being a good person	 Be a good/better person Do not lose face Exhibit good behavior Have virtue Be a responsible family member Be honest with friends Be grateful to the school Support the government Listen and supervise the media 		
Patriotism as contributing to your country	 Use your knowledge to contribute to the country Use life for China Do good for the country to make society better Finish your responsibilities/tasks properly Love your job Work hard Succeed through legal means to help the country develop 		

The researcher indicated in Table 2 whether their "definition" of patriotism is indeed a definition or just a manifestation/expression of patriotism.

Table 2
Characterizing Respondents' Definition of Patriotism

Respondent	Respondents' Answer (What is your understanding of patriotism?)	Definition	Expression
1	Cannot do something bad in another country, good behavior		
2	A feeling, love your country		
3	A feeling, loving your country, influence others to love China		
4	Love my country, make others aware of China's history and culture, contribute to China		
5	Use life for China		
6	A feeling of community, love your country, do good for the country		
7	Love your country, be a good person, finish your own tasks properly and well		
8	Work hard, help the country develop		
9	How people show love and loyalty to country		
10	Love and loyalty to your country		
11	Being rationally supportive and genuinely loving your country		
12	An attitude of the citizen toward the country and society, expressed in principle or behavior		

□-answer given for that field

It is noticeable that ten of the respondents focused more on the expression of patriotism than discussing what the concept is. Those who defined patriotism mentioned that patriotism is loving one's country and being loyal to it. The respondents, in general, did not find it easy to give their definition of patriotism. The respondents may still be trying to construct their own definition or they had a hard time finding the right words that fully encapsulate the emotions that they have about patriotism. Even if the respondents

were challenged to discuss their perception of patriotism, it is clear that each of them has a different definition and expression of the concept.

Expressing Patriotism

The respondents' definition of patriotism is closely linked to how they show their own patriotism and how they see other Chinese express patriotism. Table 3 presents the answers of the respondents regarding this subtheme.

Table 3 *Chinese Expression of Patriotism*

How the Respondents Express Patriotism	How other Chinese Express Patriotism (as observed by the respondents)
 Represent country well while abroad Remember and appreciate the country's history and culture Don't hate on other nationalities Change social media profile picture to/with the flag Sing along to the anthem Celebrate/ commemorate national holidays/ important events Feel bad/angry when others say something bad about China Feel proud/excited if there's a good comment on China Feel proud when China wins in sports Be rational Help foreigners who are in China Make country strong Influence foreigners to love China's culture and history Help eliminate misunderstandings Join if there is a war Buy China-made products Help/support each other during calamities Obey the law, do what is right Love your parents Love your work, study hard, do your best Respect old people Listen to/supervise the media 	 Bow to the flag Attend flag-raising activities Commemorate/remember important events Remember and be proud of China's history and culture Study abroad but go back to China to work Help the country learn Help make country strong and prosperous Participate actively in social media discussions about China Buy China-made products Reject those who insult China/Chinese

Although the Chinese have different ways of expressing patriotism, all of them considered themselves and their fellow Chinese as patriotic. A common expression of patriotism for the respondents is to contribute to China's development. Respondents 1 and 4 said that they feel the responsibility to help make China stronger, so those previous events (e.g. The Century of Humiliation) will not happen again.

Respondent 1: We learned that we must not hate them [Japan and America] or hate the country; just want us to remember the history and because we are weak before we have to be strong now so no one can hurt us, it won't happen again.

Respondent 4: We studied that in the past, the Chinese are not very powerful and not very developed.

Other countries bully us, so we need to stand together to make China stronger.

The establishment of what Gary (2012) calls the "chosen trauma", which is foreign humiliation is also evident in the previous statements. It seems that the CCP and the PEC are successful in imparting an official account of history which makes the Chinese feel the need to protect their country from a "faceless imperialism" or the need to protect or uphold themselves from outsiders/foreigners.

Another frequent answer that almost all the respondents gave when asked about how they express their patriotism is to educate or influence others to be aware of and love China's culture and history. Respondents 3 and 11 expressed their patriotism by letting other people know China's history and culture so that misunderstandings will be eliminated.

Respondent 3: If there's a war, maybe I can join and do something to help my country. In my life, I can try my best to influence foreigners to love China's culture and history.

Respondent 11: I'm proud of being Chinese from inside so I'm willing to share my culture and the long history to people from other countries. Letting more people know and understand the true situation of China and eliminate misunderstandings is my way to express my patriotism.

From these answers, it can be inferred that the Chinese are aware that other people misunderstand China; hence, the Chinese want to lessen or resolve these misunderstandings. The Chinese want others to understand that they experienced traumatic events in their history that made them want to make their country strong. Another way for them to resolve and correct misunderstandings about China is to express their patriotism through good behavior, especially when they are abroad.

Parker (2009) states that the symbolic aspect of patriotism is more closely associated with the emotional attachment and sentimentality directed at the flag, national songs, and the performance of patriotism. The answers of the respondents to how they express their patriotism reflect this aspect of patriotism. They gave answers concerning how they perform patriotic acts rather than how they follow (first/uncritical aspect) or criticize (second aspect) the nation and national policies.

Factors in Constructing Patriotism

Factors Shaping Chinese Patriotism

The respondents mentioned various factors that help shape their perception of patriotism. In Figure 1, the factors, which are inside the bolder circles, were mentioned by two or more respondents and were said to have influenced them greatly than other factors.

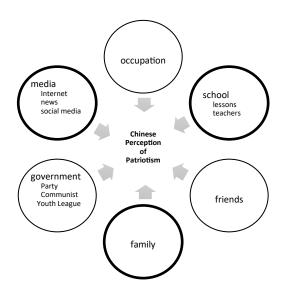


Figure 1: Factors Influencing Chinese Perceptions of Patriotism

The media, the family, and the school are the most mentioned factors and are identified as the most influential in the respondents' understanding of patriotism. In addition, all the respondents identified the school as a factor in shaping their patriotism alongside other factors. It is also important to note that the respondents seem not

to see the school and media as arms of the state in inculcating patriotism since only one respondent identified the government as a factor. This could be due to what Jacobs (2014) stated that the CCP has successfully blurred the lines between what is Party-sponsored and what is privately-driven when it comes to disseminating patriotic education.

Table 4Factors Influencing Respondents' Construction of Patriotism

Respondent	Family	School	Media	Friends	Government	Occupation
1						
2						
3						
4						
5						
6						
7						
8						
9						
10						
11						
12						
Total	8	12	6	2	1	1

^{□-} factor identified by the respondent

Influence of Education in Constructing Patriotism Perceptions

The respondents established education as a prominent factor in their understanding of patriotism. All of the respondents were influenced by education when it comes to their patriotism perceptions and they recognize the importance of education when it comes to teaching and strengthening Chinese patriotism. Respondent 2 credited education for making them learn about patriotism:

If we were not made to study this [patriotism] in school, I would not have another opportunity to learn this, and I will not care about the news about China that I see now. It is important to know patriotism.

Respondent 9 believes that education is crucial because it is a significant source of patriotism knowledge for the Chinese:

I would say it [education] is very important because most Chinese citizens get patriotism from school.

Respondent 5 believes that education is essential because it gives importance to history, thus teaching citizens about patriotism:

Yes, it [education] is important. Schools teach history. We celebrate National Day to remember our history. The schools play a big role in teaching aiguozhuyi [patriotism].

Teaching Patriotism in China

Teaching Patriotism in China

The methods listed in Table 5, which were mentioned by the respondents, reflect the content of the significant notices and memoranda issued for the implementation of the PEC as discussed by Zhao (1998). The respondents noted that they were taught patriotism and patriotism was incorporated in their lessons since primary school up to college, which follows Jiang Zemin's mandate that patriotism should permeate Chinese curricula in all levels and in varying difficulty. Some respondents were able to observe that patriotism was slowly introduced while they were young, and their knowledge about it was gradually built upon as they grew older. The lessons became more rooted from simple memorization to comparisons and analyzing and reflecting on the different topics that promote patriotism. The methods and strategies that were used were also adjusted based on their age. When they were younger, the students were asked to memorize simpler things, to draw to express themselves and so on. When they were in high school, they were made to watch movies and documentaries that are about the wars from which they have to reflect and write their reactions and realizations. The subjects listed in Table 5 are similar if not the same as the CCP's specific guidelines/curriculum for a patriotic classroom. Also, the methods mentioned by the respondents reflect the call of the CCP to embrace a wide range of media, from the use of the traditional textbooks to utilizing photographs, films, and songs (three one hundred), visiting patriotic education bases, and other educational activities such as drawing, flag raising, and discussions.

Most Effective Ways in Teaching Patriotism

Table 5 also shows which ways to teach patriotism made a mark to the respondents and are therefore deemed as effective. The lessons that were labeled as most memorable and effective are those that are related or are talking about historical events such as history and achievements of each dynasty, heroes in history, Chinese culture, World War II, Nanjing Incident, unfair treaties, and China's relationship with other countries. In this theme, the set of answers given by the respondents again highlights the importance of the school and history education in teaching patriotism. History education and patriotic education in China

Table 5Different Ways to Teach Patriotism in China

Subjects Incorporating	Lessons Promoting Patriotism	Methods/Strategies/
Patriotism		Approaches
Subjects Incorporating Patriotism History (Ilshi)* Chinese Language* Patriotic Education* Moral Education and Policies Politics Geography Social Studies Political History	History and achievements of every dynasty* Heroes in history* Chinese culture* Mao Zedong Thought* Deng Xiao Ping Theory* Confucius Philosophy* World War II* Nanjing Incident* War against Japan* China's relations with other countries (e.g., Japan, China, United States of America)* Unfair treaties* Chinese leaders Chinese texts Life of Mao Zedong Patriotism (as a stand-alone lesson)	 Showing/using photographs* Visiting museums, parks, monuments, cemeteries* Watching movies, documentaries* Writing reflection papers* Drawing on the board to show patriotism* Celebrate national holidays/ commemorate historic events* Display and memorize the Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces and the Core Socialist Values and have patriotic classroom displays* Flag-raising ceremonies, general assemblies* Singing the anthem and other patriotic songs* Fund-raisers* Hold outreach programs in orphanages/home for the aged* Tree planting activities*
	1	<u> </u>
	lesson)	
		Wearing the honglingjin*
		Tests/examinations
		Class discussions
		Compare and contrast China with other countries

^{* -} considered by the respondents as a memorable way to teach patriotism

are successful in constructing a national collective memory, which makes the Chinese proud of their ancient tradition and determined not to let something like the century of humiliation happen again.

Respondents 1, 5, and 7 recalled the approaches as mentioned earlier and strategies, and it is evident how up to the present time, they are still emotionally affected by these lessons and activities:

Respondent 1: I watched the documentary about Japan and China, Nanjing, the Japanese killed a lot of people, and I cried. The soldiers killed pregnant women and the baby. At first, I thought it was boring, but when I saw the killings, I was focused, and I cried.

Respondent 5: There was an earthquake [2008] before which was terrible. It made me sad because there were a lot of Chinese who died. I was sad even if I just young then [grade 6 student]. So many children lost their parents. Many soldiers helped others; When I remember this, I am so sad, my heart hurts. I wrote a letter to the Red Cross for their assistance. The feeling is almost the same as what I feel about the Nanjing incident, but I wasn't able to witness Nanjing, this one I did experience. My teachers had a hard time telling us what happened because they were crying, news reporters are crying also. We were so young, but we were also crying. We held a fundraiser so we could help the victims.

Respondent 7: In history, we were taught what things happened through stories; we analyzed the situation and the people's character. These stories were sometimes about famous people, but usually, they are just about normal people, but these normal people are heroes. [tears up] They sacrificed a lot, even their lives. They are dead, but we memorize/remember their stories. Their stories are sad, but we are very thankful for their efforts. In every country, if they don't have these heroes without names, then World War 2 cannot be won.

It is important to note that the strategies that were identified as effective by the respondents are strategies that appeal to an individual's emotions. When educators want to teach patriotism to their students, the objectives of the lesson must be geared towards tapping the affective domain of learning. The affective domain (Krathwohl et al., 1973, as cited in Clark, 2015) includes how people deal with things emotionally. Table 6 shows Krathwohl's taxonomy of the affective domain.

Table 6 *Krathwohl's Taxonomy of Affective Domain*

	Description	Examples
Characterization by Value Set	to act consistently in accordance with one's internalized values	to revise, to require, to be rated high in the value, to avoid, to resist, to manage, to resolve
Organization	to relate the value to those already held and bring it into a harmonious and internally consistent philosophy	to discuss, to theorize, to formulate, to balance, to examine
Valuing	willing to be perceived by others as valuing certain ideas, materials, or phenomena	to increase measured proficiency in, to relinquish, to subsidize, to support, to debate
Responding	committed in some small measure to the ideas, materials, or phenomena involved by actively responding to them	to comply with, to follow, to commend, to volunteer, to spend leisure time in, to acclaim
Receiving	being aware of or sensitive to the existence of certain ideas, material, or phenomena and being willing to tolerate them	to differentiate, to accept, to listen (for), to respond to

Adapted from: Science Education Resource Center (2020)

Krathwohl's taxonomy is organized according to the principle of internalization, which refers to the process whereby a person's affect toward an object passes from a general awareness level to a point where the affect is incorporated within oneself and consistently guides or controls the person's behavior (Seels & Glagows, 1990, as cited in Bilash, 2011). The goal then of the patriotic education lessons is not just to have the Chinese receive certain ideas like the history of China, but also to respond to it and eventually express it in their everyday lives as patriotic behavior. To ultimately reach the highest level of internalization, appropriate instructional strategies must be utilized. Table 7 shows instructional strategies that fit every level on the taxonomies of the different learning domains.

Table 7 *Instructional Strategy Selection Chart*

Instructional Strategy	Cognitive Domain (Bloom, 1956)	Affective Domain (Krathwohl, Bloom, & Masia, 1973)	Psychomotor Domain (Simpson, 1972)
Lecture, reading, audio/visual, demonstration, or guided observations, question and answer period	1. Knowledge	1. Receiving phenomena	1. Perception 2. Set
Discussions, multimedia CBT (computer-based training), Socratic didactic method, reflection. Activities such as surveys, role-playing, case studies, fishbowls, etc.	Comprehension Application	2. Responding to phenomena	3. Guided response 4. Mechanism
On-the-Job-Training (OJT), practice by doing (some direction or coaching is required), simulated job settings (to include CBT simulations)	4. Analysis	3. Valuing	5. Complex response
Use in real situations. Also may be trained by using several high-level activities coupled with OJT.	5. Synthesis	4. Organize values into priorities	6. Adaptation
Normally developed on their own (informal learning) through self-study or learning through mistakes, but mentoring and coaching can speed the process.	6. Evaluation	5. Internalizing values	7. Origination

Source: Clark, D. (2010)

Using Table 7, we can see how the most effective strategies mentioned by the respondents made them internalize the feeling of patriotism in varying ways. Using photographs, visiting museums, parks, monuments, cemeteries, watching movies and documentaries, and having patriotic classroom displays (e.g., Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces, Core Socialist Values) are strategies that are included in the lowest level of the affective domain taxonomy—receiving phenomena. Writing reflection papers is an instructional strategy included in the level of responding to phenomena. Drawing on the board to show patriotism, celebrating national holidays and commemorating historical events, flag-raising ceremonies, singing

the anthem and other patriotic songs, and making the students strive to wear the red scarf (honglingjin) are strategies included in the level of valuing. Holding fund-raisers and outreach programs and joining in tree planting activities are strategies included in the level of organizing values since there is an application of the values learned in real-life situations. While there is no instructional strategy identified by the respondents that can fall under the highest level of internalization, the previously discussed ways of the respondents in expressing their patriotism is evidence that they have attained the highest level of internalization, which is a characterization of the value of patriotism in their behavior in their everyday lives.

 Table 8

 Definition and Expression of Patriotism in Relation to Memorable Lessons

Respondent	Definition/Expression of Patriotism	Memorable Lessons/Activities
1	Cannot do something bad in another country, good behavior, influence others to know China's history and culture, help the country be strong	Japan and China-Nanjing incident, US and China-unfair treaties, "bad history"—we must be strong so that we won't be hurt again
2	A feeling, love your country, love Chinese culture, feel bad/angry when reading something bad about China,	Eight Honors and Eight Disgraces, 24 Words (Core Socialist Values), Nanjing incident, history (WWII)
3	A feeling, loving your country, influence others to love China, sing the anthem, feel proud when watching Chinese sports teams, feel angry when some say bad things about China	The teacher told us to study Chinese history and culture because we are Chinese, visited a park named after a hero
4	Love my country, make others aware of China's history and culture, join celebrations/ commemorations, sing the anthem, obey the law, contribute to China, help others	Movies, songs, commemorate soldiers who died in the wars, in the past, China was not powerful and developed, China was bullied, we need to make it stronger
5	Use life for China, help the country, help others, study hard, hold fundraisers	Nanjing incident, wars, a fundraiser for earthquake victims
6	A feeling of community, love your country, do good for the country, educate others about China	General assemblies, sing national songs, Chinese traditional culture
7	Love your country, be a good person, finish own tasks properly and well, remember history, introduce Chinese history to others (Nanjing), make the country strong, commemorate historical events	Visit orphanages, history especially WWII
8	Work hard, help the country develop, commemorate national events, serve the country, support the country, donate	Ideological politics, visits to cemeteries, monuments for martyrs
9	How people show love and loyalty to the country, buy stuff made in China, respect old people	Patriotic education, Chinese history, and culture, patriotic movies
10	Love and loyalty for your country, choose China first	
11	Being rationally supportive and genuinely loving your country, share culture and history to others, eliminate misunderstandings	School mottos that all say we must be patriotic
12	An attitude of the citizen towards the country and society, expressed in principle or behavior	Today's China is hard-won, China is now a stable, prosperous country, history class, visits to historical exhibitions

Looking at Table 8, one can easily see that the memorable lessons may have influenced the respondents' definition and expression of patriotism. For example, Respondent 1 identified the lessons about China's "bad history" wherein other countries hurt China; thus, Respondent 1 wants to help China develop and be a strong country. Another example is Respondent 2, who identified the Nanjing incident and World War II as memorable lessons. They express patriotism by feeling bad or angry when something negative is said about China.

In Table 8, three respondents (Respondents 3, 8, and 12) mentioned visiting historical exhibitions, parks named after a hero, cemeteries, and museums for martyrs. Looking back at the discussion about the affective domain of learning, since these patriotic education bases let the students situate themselves in a specific event in

history, the students can empathize and value the phenomena presented to them. Respondents 3, 8, and 12 experienced visiting patriotic education bases, and this contributed to their expression of patriotism by commemorating national events in history and acknowledging that the China of today is hard-won by the heroes and martyrs of the past. The patriotic education bases offer the students the opportunity for discovery learning, more specifically through the models of guided discovery and simulation-based learning.

Effectiveness of the Patriotic Education Campaign

Table 9 shows the reasons why the respondents deem education as an effective and ineffective medium to teach patriotism. The same table also shows the respondents' suggestions for the betterment of the Patriotic Education Campaign.

 Table 9

 Chinese Education's Effectiveness in Teaching Patriotism

The colored is the control of the content of	- Chinasa adusation avan natriatic adusation
 The school is the only source of knowledge to learn and develop patriotism Chinese education is enough and well-developed to teach patriotism Education is a good way to preserve and pass on the culture Chinese education is more than how it should be especially for those who go to public schools Patriotism was taught in the most effective and critical way in schools Patriotic education adapts to the changing times 	 Chinese education even patriotic education puts emphasis on tests Teachers focus on textbooks Teachers do not usually explain or elaborate, they just let students memorize Patriotic education has not influenced as much as it is supposed to because of the emphasis on grades

Suggestions for Improvement

- Patriotism should not be taught as a graded subject
- Incorporate more activities (e.g., field trips)
- Hold authentic classroom discussions
- Give more weight to studying history and not just on the sciences
- Support the promotion of folk culture, carry forward good Chinese culture
- Ensure that patriotic education is updated according to the needs and development of Chinese society
- Other stakeholders must contribute (e.g., students must study hard, families should be a positive influence)

Except for Respondents 1 and 11, the respondents believe that the education they received was enough to teach, develop, instill, and strengthen their feelings of patriotism. Respondent 9 noted that patriotic education is doing more than what is enough, especially in public schools, while for Respondent 12, patriotic education is not just enough; it is the most effective.

Respondent 9: Actually, it is more than it should be. Everyone who goes to public school would immerse the feeling of patriotism.

Respondent 12: Patriotic education is very important in China, and patriotism is taught in schools is one of the most effective and critical ways.

Respondents 1 and 11 deemed their education as ineffective when it comes to teaching patriotism. Respondent 1 said so because of the emphasis on memorization and tests and also on the teachers they had, who did not explain and elaborate discussions for students' deeper understanding:

Chinese education just focuses on tests so when you meet a good teacher maybe he should teach you not only about the test but want you to learn more not only focus on the textbooks, but also make you research more and show more videos and Powerpoint. But most Chinese teacher just wants you to pass the test. Most teachers focus on the textbook. All the schools have the same textbook, same things, same contents. When we ask the teacher why the teacher would just say that we don't need to know why we just need to remember. Which is bad, I have to change that now that I am a teacher.

Respondent 11 shared similar sentiments as Respondent 1 when it comes to teaching patriotism and measuring students' patriotism through tests:

For me, it has not influenced me as much as it is supposed to. I do not think patriotism should

be taught as a subject and require students to pass tests to show that they are patriotic. It is more like a quality that people feel like doing voluntarily to show, rather than something people are brainwashed since they are young and forced to do and being judged upon.

Respondents 1 and 11 tagged Chinese education as ineffective, mostly because of the strategy in which it was taught. They find memorization, test-taking, and grading one's patriotism as ineffective.

Based on the answers of the respondents to the questions for their interviews, it can be said that the PEC is effective. All of the respondents consider themselves and other Chinese patriotic. They all identified the school as one of the factors that contributed to the construction of their patriotism perception. The lessons they recalled as most memorable are reflections of the implementing guidelines released by the CCP for the successful implementation of the PEC. The respondents highly internalized these lessons in school to strengthen their patriotism, and this internalization is reflected in their expressions of patriotism. The respondents who said that education was ineffective in teaching patriotism still developed patriotism; they still attributed part of their perception from the contributions of the school. They just tagged education as ineffective in teaching patriotism because of the strategies used in delivering the lessons.

Although the respondents usually define and express patriotism in its symbolic aspect, some still exhibit the other two aspects. For example, even if Respondent 11 usually defines and expresses patriotism in its symbolic elements, they were also able to demonstrate the second aspect of patriotism by being critical of information presented by having well-thought-of decisions/ actions. Respondent 11 is also critical of the government to help China's betterment.

[Patriotism is] Being rationally supportive and genuinely loving one's own country. Yes [I am

patriotic], but a rational patriot. Because I have the basic sense of telling right from wrong instead of following whatever the government wants us to believe without thinking. I think it has been quite successful and effective for Chinese education in teaching patriotism. In fact, I think it's more than enough. What the government needs to do is to keep developing the whole country in all different areas instead of focusing on the education of patriotism to her people. People would automatically show their patriotism once they are convinced that their living conditions are improving due to the development of the country.

Another example is Respondent 5. Even if news outlets showed the tension between China and Japan, Respondent 5 thought well on how to process this event and did not participate in riots or trashing of Japanese businesses in China.

Before with Japan, others won't buy products from them, I think that is crazy, that is not loving your country. I think we should respect everyone. Some throw their iPhones away; doing this is crazy. We should do something that everyone can follow/should follow. There's no more war; the countries are friends now. China just wants more respect, and it is very determined in this regard. Doing something for my country can simply mean choosing what is right over what is wrong inside my heart.

Although not directly stated, because of the notion of the respondents that they have to think before doing what the government mandates and that they are those affected by the news from state-run media about Japan-China tensions, the first uncritical aspect of patriotism is also present among the Chinese. The difference in the aspect of patriotism that is dominant in each respondent can be attributed to the factors influencing the construction of patriotism perceptions of the Chinese and the process of learning as described by social constructivism.

Conclusion

The study aimed to determine how the Chinese who went through the Patriotic Education Campaign perceive and negotiate patriotism. To achieve this, Chinese who went through the PEC were interviewed about their definition and expression of patriotism, the factors that contributed to their perception, and the ways they were taught patriotism in schools. This study contributes to a better understanding of China as a neighboring country. Furthermore, this study offered a multidisciplinary approach by examining policy and exploring the narratives of the people to discuss the phenomena of patriotism in China. Apart from this, this study can serve as a tool in making reflections about cross-country perspectives on patriotism in education.

Chinese citizens usually exhibit the symbolic aspect of patriotism. Although most definitions and expressions tap the affective attachment of the Chinese to China, the other two aspects are also present. The Chinese have different perceptions of patriotism. The Chinese consider themselves patriotic regardless of differences in how individuals subscribe to patriotism. They define patriotism as love for the country, as being a good person, as influencing others to learn about Chinese history and culture, and as contributing to the development of China. The Chinese believe that the correct expression of patriotism is in accordance with both the law and the interests of the CCP. The study found out that history education in schools is crucial to the construction of patriotism perceptions since it constructs a collective memory leading the people to have an identity and an official history shared among fellow Chinese. The CCP and the PEC successfully ingrained this "official history" in their citizens, which in turn resulted in the Chinese feeling the need to protect or uphold their country from foreigners. Most of the memorable lessons and strategies that the respondents identified appeal to the affective domain of learning. For the Chinese, the factors that helped shape their patriotism always include the school (as the most influential) in combination with other factors such as the media, the family, the government, among

others. The CCP and the PEC are again successful in using the school and the media as an arm for patriotic education without the citizens realizing it.

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Appendix

Guide Questions for Respondents

- 1. What were the years you spent in China for elementary, high school, college, and graduate studies? [state the range of years for each level e.g. 1994-1998]
- 2. From which schools did you study in China? [i.e. state the name of the school for each level]
- 3. What is your understanding of patriotism? How would you define it?
- 4. What factors contributed to your understanding of patriotism? (e.g. family, friends, school, government, media) Please state how each factor contributed to your understanding of patriotism.
- 5. How do you express your patriotism?
- 6. As a Chinese citizen, do you consider yourself patriotic? Why or why not?
- 7. In your opinion, are most Chinese citizens patriotic? Explain your answer.
- 8. How important is Chinese education in teaching patriotism?
- 9. How is patriotism taught in schools in China?
- 10. As far as you can remember, what lessons, activities, or programs in school were instrumental in your understanding of patriotism? [e.g. courses, field trips, projects] If any, what lessons strengthened/shaped your patriotism?
- 11. How has Chinese education influenced your practice of patriotism?
- 12. What do you think about the effectiveness of Chinese education in teaching patriotism? Do you think that it is enough? What are your suggestions for its betterment, if any?

About the Author

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