



SOCIO-CULTURAL CHANGES AND CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN CHINA: A HISTORICAL REVIEW

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This paper divided Chinese history into four major periods, and reviewed the socio-cultural contexts and citizenship education in each period respectively. It demonstrated that culture was always related with citizenship education: the goal of citizenship education reflected the state orthodoxy, which was decided by the ruler; the contents of citizenship education reflected the cultural background at that time; culture in citizenship education was useful in building up students' culture (and national) identity, which was useful in consolidating political stability and maintaining social harmony.

Keywords: Culture, Social change, Citizenship education, Historical review.

Introduction

This paper traces the socio-cultural changes and the development of citizenship education in China from a historical perspective. Through the historical review, this paper aims to provide specific contexts for understanding the role of culture in China's citizenship education. It first reviews China's socio-cultural changes and the development of citizenship education in different historical periods. Then, based upon the historical facts, it briefly discusses the role of culture in China's citizenship education.

In this paper, Chinese history was divided into four major periods: the ancient and imperial China (pre-1911), the Republic of China (ROC) (1912-1948), the People's Republic of China (PRC) in Mao Era (1949-1976), and PRC in Post-Mao Era (after 1977). For each period, this paper explores China's socio-cultural conditions, the cultural impacts on China's citizenship and citizenship education, and the continuities and changes as compared with the previous period.

This paper argues that throughout Chinese history, culture was selectively integrated in Chinese citizenship education for cultivating Chinese student's cultural (and national) identity, which was regarded as a key to consolidate political stability and maintain social harmony. Besides, this paper highlights the tension between Chinese and foreign cultures. It explains how Chinese culture and citizenship education were challenged by the foreign culture, and how Chinese culture and citizenship education responded and developed in different historical periods.

Period I: Ancient and Imperial China in Pre-1911

This section reviews China's socio-cultural contexts and the cultural implications on citizenship education in the ancient and imperial China in pre-1911. It first introduces China's socio-cultural contexts in Period I. Then, it introduces Chinese citizenship education in this period.

Socio-Cultural Contexts in Period I

The pre-1911 China consists of the ancient China and the imperial China. The ancient China refers to the historically recorded Pre-Qin Era (*Xianqin Shidai*) China, which consists of three dynasties: Xia (2000-1600 B.C. E.), Shang (1600-1046 B.C.E.), and Zhou (770-221 B.C.E.). The imperial China refers to China from Qin Dynasty (221-206 B.C.E.) to Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 C.E.). This section discusses the three major features of China's socio-cultural contexts in Period I. In particular, it focuses on the foreign culture's challenges and Chinese culture's responses.

The first feature of China's socio-cultural contexts in pre-1911 was related to China's monarchy, which led to legitimating Confucianism as the state orthodoxy (Law, 2011). Since the first unification in Qin Dynasty (221 B.C.E.) and Qin Shihuang became the very first emperor of China, China had been implementing monarchy in Period I until Xin Hai Revolution (*Xin Hai Geming*) broke out in 1911 and the last emperor of Qing Dynasty, Pu Yi, abdicated in 1912. In most instances, the emperor was regarded as the "son of heaven" (*Tian Zi*), and enjoyed the supreme power to rule the nation. As it was said in the Book of Songs (*Shi Jing*), "Under the wide heaven, all is the emperor's land; and within the sea-boundaries of the land, all are the emperor's servants" (*Pu Tian Zhi Xia, Mo Fei Wang Tu; Shuai Tu Zhi Bin, Mo Fei Wang Chen*), everything on earth belonged to the emperor, including the land, the people and their properties (Hsiao, 1979). The emperor was regarded as the final authority in China. Common people were expected to obey the emperor's will absolutely.

To rationalize the emperor's dominance and maintain political stability, Confucianism was legitimated as the state orthodoxy. Confucianism, which could be dated back to the Spring and Autumn Period (*Chunqiu*), originally was focusing on the ethical relationship between people. It emphasized on Five Cardinal Relationships (*Wu Lun*) between ruler and subject, father and son, husband and wife, between brothers and between friends. Based upon the previous Confucian theories, Dong Zhongshu (179-104 B.C.E.), the chief minister in Han Dynasty came up with his theories of the Three Cardinal Guides (*San Gang*) and the Five Constant Virtues (*Wu Chang*). The Three Cardinal Guides referred to "ruler guides subjects, father guides son, and husband guides wife" (*Jun Wei Chen Gang, Fu Wei Zi Gang, Fu Wei Qi Gang*); and the Five Constant Virtues referred to Benevolence (*Ren*), Righteousness (*Yi*), Courtesy (*Li*), Wisdom (*Zhi*), and Fidelity (*Xin*). Dong's theories were helpful to govern the nation and to maintain social and political stability, therefore was accepted by the Emperor Han Wu (156-87 B.C.E.) as the sole sacred state doctrine. From then on, Confucianism was placed as the state orthodoxy, and made profound impacts in China's society and culture.

The second feature of China's socio-cultural contexts in pre-1911 was related to China's agricultural production, which shaped Chinese cultural values such as "natural rules" (*Tianli*), "observing rules" (*Shou Ze*) and "harmony" (*Hexie*). In the ancient and imperial China, agriculture was the pillar of China's economy. Benefited from the geographic and climatic condition, China started to conduct agricultural production from ten thousand years ago. The experiences from agricultural production greatly affected Chinese people's living habits and their philosophical thinking, and gradually formed Chinese agricultural culture, which interacted with the Confucian culture in many aspects (Feng & Yang, 2000).

The ideas of "natural rules" and "observing rules" from Chinese agricultural culture made significant impacts on China's society and citizenship. In agricultural production, the timing is very important. All the agricultural activities must be conducted according to the solar terms, weather and other natural conditions. Therefore, observing the natural rules was regarded as a guideline in Chinese society. Under the influence of these ideas, Chinese people were expected to accept the existing conditions and to observe the rule of the emperor (as the son of heaven). As for the emperor, he was expected to govern the nation behalf of the heaven, and his words and deeds were expected to be in line with the natural virtue and rules (fuqin, 2011).

Besides, the idea of "harmony" also greatly influenced Chinese society and citizenship. In agricultural production, the relationship between nature and human was not of confrontation, but of coordination instead. Therefore, Chinese agricultural culture treasured the status of "harmony between the nature and human" (*Tian Ren He Yi*). As the impact of the cultural idea of harmony, Chinese people love

peace, and pursued the harmony between man and nature, between man and society, and between man and man (Xia, 2012).

The third feature of China's socio-cultural contexts in pre-1911 was related to China's "dynastical cosmology" (*Tianchao Xingmo*) (Yin, 2009), which helped to explain how China responded to the challenges from the foreign cultures. In China's dynastical cosmology, Chinese people (from the emperor to the common people) viewed China as the economic, political and cultural centre of the world and other nations as peripheries. From the dynastical cosmology, China used to regard itself as a self-sufficient system, in which everything was superior and there was no need to seek anything else from the outside. In the cultural aspect, many Chinese people used to believe in the superiority of Chinese culture and the backwardness of other nations' cultures.

China's dynastical cosmology was useful to understand China's responses to the foreign cultures' challenges. In pre-1911, China experienced two major cultural challenges from the foreign cultures (Y. Liu, 2008). The first challenge was from the Indian Buddhism culture, which was introduced into China in the Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E-220 C.E.). The Buddhism challenged China's dynastical cosmology, for it depicted a world system much bigger than the one in China's cosmology; and it indicated that the world centre is India instead of China (Wang, 2010). Besides, the unworldly Indian Buddhism culture conflicted with the worldly Chinese Confucianism culture. In the early days, Buddhism was only spread in the nobility as an immortal art. In order to get popularized in China, the Indian Buddhism had to adapt itself to China's socio-cultural background. For example, catering to Chinese Confucianism, Buddhism put forward that "one can become a Buddha through being loyal to the emperor and being filial to the parents" (Shi Jun Shi Qin, Yi Neng Cheng Fo). The adaptation process lasted from Han Dynasty (206 B.C.E-220 C.E.) to Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.) (Xu, 2008); and finally the Buddhism accepted the influences of original Chinese culture, and grew into Chinese Buddhism.

Meanwhile, Buddhism made influences on China's culture, politics and citizenship as well. In the cultural aspect, Buddhism greatly influenced Chinese original philosophy, literature and aesthetics (Monju Master, 1975), and became a part of Chinese culture. In the political aspect, the rulers combined the Buddhism with Confucianism, and asked the people be loyal subjects with few desires. From this point, the Chinese Buddhism helped to benefit the interests of the rulers, consolidate the rulers' political power and shape obedient citizens.

The second challenge was from the European and American culture (Y. Liu, 2008). With the rise of maritime traffic in Ming Dynasty (1368-1644 C.E.), the European and American culture was introduced into China. However, the European and American culture did not make many challenges on China until the Opium War broke out in 1840s in Qing Dynasty (1644-1911 C.E.). Before the Opium War, China believed in its dynastical cosmology and regarded its culture as superior to the foreign culture. However, the fact that China been defeated by the foreign countries in Opium War forced China to re-evaluate its status in the world and the usefulness of Confucianism in governing the country (Law, 2011).

This challenge from the European and American culture was tremendous, and it made huge impacts in China's society in both cultural and political aspects. Unlike the circumstance when China met the first cultural challenge from Buddhism, this time China was in a very passive position politically and economically. Under the pressure of national subjugation, China lost its national-confidence. In the cultural aspect, many Chinese scholars abandoned Chinese culture and started to learn foreign cultures actively. They promoted the advanced European and American cultures in Chinese society, aiming to revive the nation and to resist against the foreign aggression, as it was indicated in the popular slogan at that time "learn from the advanced foreign culture and technology in order to resist the foreign invasion" (*Shi Yi Chang Ji Yi Zhi Yi*). As to the political aspect, China also conducted the Hundred Days' Reform (*Wu Xu Bianfa*) which aimed to turn China into a constitutional monarchy so that to maintain Qing government's reign, however still failed in the end.

To sum up, in Period I, China was a hierarchical conceited monarchy, the economy of which was dominated by agriculture. Accordingly, Chinese culture was featured as Confucianism-oriented. China accepted two major challenges from foreign culture and made different responses.

Citizenship Education in Period I

This section reviews how citizenship education was conducted in pre-1911 China. In particular, it focuses on the connection between culture, citizenship, and citizenship education. China's citizenship education in pre-1911 could be divided into the traditional Chinese citizenship education and the late Qing citizenship education. This section deals with each of the two respectively by introducing their educational goals and contents.

The traditional citizenship education referred to the citizenship education which had been conducted in China for centuries before the Opium War. The goal of the traditional Chinese citizenship education was to cultivate Confucian virtuous men (Confucius, 2013), who were able to “cultivate their personal lives, regulate their families, and govern the state, and spread peace and harmony throughout the world” (*Xiu Shen, Qi Jia, Zhi Guo, Ping Tianxia*). Accordingly, the contents of traditional Chinese citizenship education were Confucian Classics (Mao, Qu, & Shao, 1979). The most primitive textbooks used were the Confucian “Five Classics”, which include: the Book of Songs (*Shi*), the Book of History (*Shang Shu*), the Book of Changes (*Zhou Yi*), the Book of Rites (*Li Ji*) and the Spring and Autumn (*Chun Qiu*). Later then, the number of the textbooks continued to increase and reached “Nine Classics”, “Twelve Classics” and “Thirteen Classics”, because a few more Confucian classics were added in the textbooks in the subsequent dynasties. After the Song dynasty, with the rise of the Song Ming Neo-Confucianism, some Neo-Confucianism writings were also included in the textbooks, such as Zhou Dunyi's Tai Chi Diagram (*Tai Ji Tushuo*), Cheng Yi's Yichuan Quotations (*Yichuan Yulu*), and Wang Yangming's Teaching and Learning Record (*Chuan Xi Lu*).

The late Qing citizenship education referred to citizenship education which was conducted in China after the Opium War in the 19th and early 20th century. As introduced earlier, the late Qing government was facing a pressure of national subjugation. Under this circumstance, on the one hand the late Qing government learned from Japan, Britain and the United States, reset its citizenship educational goal as to produce “a patriotic and hard-working and united citizenry as a cause of national strength” (Bailey, 1990, p. 2). On the other hand, the late Qing government emphasized fostering Chinese citizens' Confucian-oriented national identity (Law, 2011). Therefore, the contents of the late Qing citizenship education included both the foreign technology and techniques, such as arithmetic, science, and commerce, and Chinese Confucian writings, such as the Five Classics, Great Learning, and the Classic of Filial Piety.

In general, Chinese citizenship education in the pre-1911 were Confucian-oriented, although the educational contents extended as time changed and included foreign cultural elements in the late Qing dynasty.

Period II: ROC from 1912 to 1949

Having examined China's socio-cultural contexts in pre-1911, this section turns to focus on the Period II, the ROC from 1912 to 1949. Following the structure of the previous section, this section reviews China's socio-cultural background and citizenship education practices in ROC sequentially.

Socio-Cultural Contexts in Period II

The ROC was established in 1912 by Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925). From then on, China ended the over-2000-year-old monarchy in politics and went into a new era of “democratic republic”. The ROC's rule of the mainland China ended shortly in 1949, and moved to Taiwan afterwards. This section analyses China's socio-cultural features in ROC period. In particular, it highlights the tensions between two different political powers – Chinese Nationalist Party (CNP) and Communist Party of China (CPC) - which were active in this period, and their different cultural orientations.

The first feature of the socio-cultural contexts in Period II was related to China's backwardness in economy and technology, which resulted in China's eagerness in seeking solution from the foreign

countries. Though the ROC replaced the imperial China, the old economical and political problems from the late Qing dynasty still existed. In At the beginning of the ROC, China's economy was in a very poor situation. The financial markets and the circulation of currency were in a mess. In the politics, the ROC's regime was in an unstable status. The warlord Yuan Shikai (1859-1816) had once dominated power and led to a revival of the monarchy in 1910s (Spence, 1999). Besides, China still suffered severely from the foreign countries' (typically Japan's) invasions. The Japanese aggressions exacerbated China's economic and political crisis.

With a strong demand to develop China's economy, enhance national strengths and maintain political stability, the ROC continued to learn from the foreign countries in their science and technology, and politics, as it was in the late Qing Dynasty. In the May Fourth Movement, many Chinese citizens (represented by students, and businessman) strongly expressed their will to reject the traditional Confucian values which they believed was the reason for the political weakness, and to adopt the foreign ideals of "Mr. Science" and "Mr. Democracy" so that to strengthen the national power (Spence, 1981). The advocating of the foreign culture and values in Chinese society was helpful for China's modernization and democratization on the one hand. The rejection of traditional Chinese culture and values, however, resulted in the Chinese people's confusion in their cultural (and national) identities on the other hand.

The second feature of the socio-cultural contexts in Period II was related to China's internal divisions between the CNP and the CPC and their different cultural orientations. The CNP, which was founded by Song Jiaoren (1882-1913) and Sun Yat-sen (1866-1925), was the ruling party of the ROC. However, because of the warlords' influences, it did not succeed in unify much of China until 1928. As to CPC, it was founded in 1921 by Chen Duxiu (1879-1942) and Li Dazhao (1888-1927), much later than the CNP. However, it grew quickly and finally forced the CNP to give up its leadership in 1949 and moved to Taiwan, and thus gain the role of the ruling party in China.

Both of the CNP and CPC aimed to build China into a modern state; however they adopted different ways and had different cultural propositions: The CNP took the capitalist way and set Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles (*San Min Zhuyi*) as its official ideology; while the CPC relied on the Marx's thoughts from German and Leninism from the Soviet Union, and took the socialist way. Similar to the imperial China used Confucianism as the state orthodoxy, the CNP and CPC also used the Three People's Principles and the Marxism-Leninism as their political ideologies respectively, so that to foster their ruling power (Law, 2011). CNP's The Three People's Principles of Nationalism (*Minzu*), Democracy (*Minzhu*) and People's living hood (*Minsheng*) was a selective combination of the foreign (Anglo-American) values and Confucianism. While the Marxism-Leninism advocated by CPC was a total rejection of Chinese Confucianism and a full acceptance of the foreign (namely Soviet Union) culture.

The third feature of the socio-cultural contexts in Period II was related to Japan's aggression in the 1930s, which inspired the revival of Confucianism unexpectedly (J. Liu, 2009). Japan had been implementing its imperialist policy for decades, and it finally resulted in the Sino-Japanese War, which broke out in 1937. From then on, to fight against Japanese aggression, to seek for the national independence, and to rejuvenate Chinese nation became the most urgent missions in China. Facing both the external Japanese aggression, the ROC's ruling party CNP decided to selectively use Confucianism to construct its ruling ideology and to highlight the national character of its regime so that to buy support from the broad masses.

Adopting the idea of "Rejuvenating Chinese Nation" (Zhonghua Minzu Fuxing), President Chiang Kai-shek (1887-1975) from the CNP preached that the key of rejuvenating Chinese nation was to restore national morality and culture (Chiang, 1934). Chiang explained that his advocating of Chinese culture was aiming to resist foreign aggression in the cultural aspect and to establish the national defense in spirits. In June 1934, the national government set August 27th as Confucius's Birthday; and held a grand ceremony in Confucius's hometown Qufu to show the respect to Confucianism in August 1934. Beside the CNP's advocating Confucianism for political reason, some Chinese scholars, namely Liu Boming (1887-1923), Wu Mi (1894-1978) and Mei Guangdi (1890-1945) also advocated reviving Confucianism (He, 2005), for they identified the deficiencies in the Western (Anglo-American) culture, and believed

that Confucianism was irreplaceable in its role to cultivate morality among Chinese people and maintain their national (and cultural) identity.

To sum up, in Period II, the ROC ended Chinese monarchy and striving for democratic republic. However, resuming the late Qing's problem, the ROC was still facing the economical backwardness and foreign aggression. In plus, it had to deal with the newly inner division between the CNP and CPC. In the cultural aspect, the national government used Three People's Principles as its official ideology to consolidate its political power, just as the imperial China used Confucianism. Besides, there were a variety of different cultural aspirations in China's society, such as rejection of Confucianism, revival of Confucianism, Westernization, and Communism.

Citizenship Education in Period II

Being affected by China's socio-cultural circumstances, Chinese citizenship education in this period should be divided into the early and the late two stages; and for the late stage, China's citizenship education were divided into CNP's citizenship education model and CPC's citizenship education model. This section explores the citizenship education's goals and contents in different stages and models in the ROC from 1912 to 1949.

The early stage referred to the 1910s when the ROC was just founded. In this stage, the national government adjusting school systems to meet the European-American trend by changing the length of the primary and secondary schools (Law, 2011). Besides, the national government ruled by CNP also enacted new educational goals and teaching materials (Tan, 2010). As indicated by Cai Yuanpei (1868-1940), who served as the first ROC's Minister of Education, China's citizenship education aimed to cultivate "all-round-developed people" (Jianquan De Ren) who was "with republican spirits" (Cai, 1984, pp. 131-137). By "all-round-developed people", Cai meant the people who was well-developed in five aspects including Virtue (*De*), Wisdom (*Zhi*), Health (*Ti*), Collective (*Qun*), and Beauty (*Mei*). By "republican spirits", Cai meant the spirits of liberty, equality and fraternity, which was borrowed from the French Revolution. In particular, Cai "equated some emphases of Chinese education with Western learning" (Law, 2011, p. 48). For example, Cai connected the spirits of liberty, equality and fraternity from the French culture with the Confucian virtues of righteousness (*Yi*), reciprocity (*Shu*) and benevolence (*Ren*). Also, in accordance with the moral education traditions in Confucianism, Cai valued moral education, believed that "moral education should be core in citizenship education" (Cai, 1984, p. 263). In this stage, to cultivate all-round-developed citizens, the teaching contents were very inclusive covering the all domains. It abandoned the subject of Chinese Classics from Qing dynasty, and added new subjects such as Moral Cultivation, Legal System and Economy (Law, 2011). In particular, it set a specific subject on citizenship education named civics, in which touched the relationship between students and his family, and the local, national and international communities.

The late stage referred to the time period after 1920s. After CPC was founded in 1921, it became a confronted power of the CNP. In this stage, China was divided into the area govern by the CNP and the area govern by the CPC. These two kind of areas implemented citizenship education differently. As to the CNP's citizenship education, to foster its political power in China and to resist the Japanese aggression, it emphasized more on the CNP's political ideology Three People's Principal and added military trainings in citizenship education. In this stage, the aims of the CNP's citizenship education was to mobilize people to fight in the war for the national government (Tan, 2010). Therefore, the education contents also changed in accordance with the education goal. The CNP set up military training subjects in junior and senior secondary schools. Besides, the CNP issued a Youth Training Syllabus (*Qingnian Xunlian Dagang*) which put great effort in cultivating traditional Confucian virtues among students (Zhang, 1994), such as "Loyalty" (*Zhong*), "Filial" (*Xiao*), "Benevolence" (*Ren*) and "Righteousness" (*Yi*). The changes helped to produce more obedient citizens and strengthen students' cultural and national identity as the same time.

As to the CPC's citizenship education, it was rather "fragmented" (Law, 2011, p. 58), because the CPC's citizenship education did not have regular teaching materials or facilities. During the anti-Japanese

war time, CPC's citizenship education was mainly focusing on resisting foreign invasion. After the war, CPC's citizenship education turned its focus on liberating China. Generally, CPC's citizenship education was replaced by political education (Tan, 2010), it mainly sold CPC's communist thoughts and ideas to students so that to build their confidence in CPC. As to education content, different from the CNP's citizenship education, CPC's citizenship education focused more on national and local domain, and did not touch much on students' relationship with society and with the international world (Law, 2011).

Despite the above differences in educational goals and contents, the CNP's citizenship education and CPC's citizenship education shared the similarity of planting their party's ideology on students' mind, so that to foster their power and strengthen students' identification with them.

In short, citizenship education in Period II was influenced by the internal confrontations between the CNP and the CPC and the external Japanese aggression. CNP's citizenship education promoted the Three People's Principle in combination with some Confucian values selectively; while CPC's citizenship education promoted Communism and rejected traditional Chinese culture. Still, both CNP and CPC used their party ideology to foster their political power as the imperial China used Confucianism.

Period III: PRC in Mao Era from 1949 to 1976

After the foundation of PRC in 1949, the CPC gained its legal leadership in China and became the solo ruling power. The PRC history from 1949 till today could be divided into two major stages. The first stage referred to the time period from 1949 to 1976 when China was governed by Mao Zedong (1893-1976), and was called Mao era. The second stage referred to the time period after Mao's death till today, and was usually called Post-Mao era. These two stages differed from each other in many aspects including economy, politics, foreign policies and culture.

This section focuses on PRC in Mao Era from 1949 to 1976. Following the structure in the previous two sections, this section introduces the socio-cultural contexts first, and then the citizenship education.

Socio-Cultural Contexts in Period III

In Period III, the PRC was under CPC's rule. As mentioned earlier in the previous section, the CPC forced the CNP to give up its leadership in the mainland China and moved to Taiwan in 1949. From then on, the CPC, as the ruling party of PRC, became the sole ruling power in mainland China; and Mao as the leader of CPC became the highest authority in China.

Under Mao's governance, the PRC adopted a socialist way for Modernization. As it was clearly stated out in the Constitution, PRC claimed to be "a socialist state under the people's democratic dictatorship" (National People's Congress, 1954). In the economic aspect, copying the Soviet Union's developing mode, CPC conducted a series of economic reforms in the 1950s. As a result, China built a socialist economic system featured by public ownership and centralized planned economy (Zhu, 2009). However, because of the deficiencies of the public ownership economy and the frequent reform and movement, the PRC was extremely backward in economy and people's living standard was poor. In the aspect of international relationship, the PRC classified itself into the socialist camps. At that time, the world was divided into the socialist camp and the capitalist camp, which confronted with each other. As a member of the socialist camp, the PRC in the Mao era took a dualistic world view, which classified other countries in the world as friends and enemies. The countries from the socialist camp were regarded by CPC as friends, such as Soviet Union and the North Korea; while those from the capitalist camp were regarded as enemies, such as the USA and the Great Britain.

In the cultural aspect, the PRC in the Mao era "replaced the Confucianism and Three People's Principle from the ROC with socialism" (Law, 2011, p. 65). Socialism, which was borrowed from the Marxism from German and Leninism from the Soviet Union, was legitimated by the CPC as the PRC's state orthodoxy. However, as to other foreign cultures, typically the cultures from those capitalist countries were regarded as poisons and were strictly despised and restricted in Chinese society. For the

traditional Chinese culture, such as Confucianism, CPC regarded it as the decayed residues from the feudal and imperial China. The traditional Chinese culture was regarded as backward as compared to the socialist culture. Therefore, socialist culture was the only admitted culture in China in this period. The CPC expected the socialist culture to make positive influences on China's society and Chinese citizenry, such as to build socialism with greater, faster, better and more economic results (*Duo Kuai Hao Sheng Jianshe Shehui Zhuyi*) and to achieve absolute equality among people.

To sum up, in Period III, China was a socialist country ruled by CPC, the economy of which developed in a slow pace. The PRC in Mao era rejected both the cultures from capitalist countries and the traditional Chinese culture, and set the socialist culture was the state orthodoxy.

Citizenship Education in Period III

This section reviews information concerning China's citizenship education in Mao era. It introduces the citizenship education goals and contents. Besides, it discusses the citizenship education's relationship with culture at that time.

In Mao era, the PRC's citizenship education aimed to cultivate "New Socialist Persons" (*Shehui Zhuyi Xin Ren*), who was "red" and "expert" (Law, 2011, p. 99). By "red", it meant "with a political consciousness of letting socialist ideology take command in their lives". And by "expert", it meant "with academic knowledge and technical skills" which were useful in economic development.

However, in educational practice, China's citizenship education in this period was replaced by the ideology and political education (Tan, 2010). The education contents were focusing on socialist political theories and the current political events and policies. The CPC government set the Common Political Knowledge (*Zhengzhi Changshi*) subject in junior secondary schools, and the Common Political Knowledge (*Zhengzhi Changshi*), the Common Economic Knowledge (*Jingji Changshi*) and Common Knowledge on Marxist Dialectical Materialism (*Weiwu Bianzheng Zhuyi Changshi*) in the late 1950s. These subjects were used to promote socialism to Chinese students, aiming to make students affiliated with the party and state ideology. However, China's citizenship education in Mao era was called off in the Culture Revolution.

To sum up, citizenship education in Period III was socialism-orientated, which served CPC's, typically Mao's aim to cultivate socialist new people. Other cultures, such as traditional Chinese culture and culture from capitalist countries were restricted.

Period IV: PRC in Post-Mao Era since 1977

This section is focusing on the new period of PRC in Post-Mao Era after 1977. It first introduces China's socio-cultural contexts since 1977 as background information. Then, it introduces the information concerning Chinese citizenship education after 1977.

Socio-Cultural Contexts in Period IV

After Mao's death in 1977, facing the backward and chaotic social reality in China after the Cultural Revolution, the new CPC leader, Deng Xiaoping (1904-1997) issued new policies to revive the PRC. In the economic aspect, Deng started a market-driven economic reform, which aimed to gradually liberalize the state control and to stimulate production and consumption. In the aspect of foreign affairs, Deng issued the new policy of opening to the world, which eased the restrictions on foreign trade and gradually built up relationship with countries from the capitalist countries. It turned out that Deng's new policies were effective. Since 1980s, Chinese economy has been developed very fast and China's international status also improved.

The cultural aspect was also influenced by the new economic policies. As to the Western culture, with the opening up policy, the cultures from the capitalist countries, which were restricted from China,

finally reached the Chinese society. China was more and more connected to the outside world. In 1980s, pop music was introduced into mainland China. And In 1990, the first McDonalds restaurant was opened in Shenzhen. In the 2000s, China entered WTO in 2001 and successfully held Beijing Olympic Games in 2008.

As to the traditional Chinese culture, which was playing down in Mao era, gradually regained its status in PRC in the post-Mao era. Since 1980s, after witness the chaotic social circumstance in the Culture Revolution, many Chinese scholars started to reflect on the role of traditional Chinese culture, especially Confucianism, in cultivating morality and maintain social harmony, and advocated to revive traditional Chinese culture. In 2000s, CPC also started to integrate traditional Chinese cultural values in its national documents and policies, such as “governing the nation with virtues, the campaign for Chinese values of honor and shame, and an emphasis on harmony as a means to resolve social conflicts, and construct a harmonious society in China by 2000” (Law, 2011, pp. 87-88).

In sum, China in Period IV was changing dramatically in economy, foreign relationship and culture. The Western culture was introduced into China as the result of economic reform and opening up policies. The traditional Chinese culture also regained reorganization of its usefulness in maintaining social harmony and governing the state.

Citizenship Education in Period IV

After reviewing the socio-cultural contexts in PRC in Post-Mao era, this section introduces the new changes in Citizenship education in this period. It focuses on the cultural influences in the new era, and introduces the change of educational goals and contents.

In the new era, with CPC’s new economy and political policies, the PRC’s citizenship education adjust its citizenship education’s goals timely. As indicated by Deng Xiaoping, China’s citizenship education aimed to cultivate “a new generation of people with lofty ideals, moral integrity, good education and a strong sense of discipline” (*Si You Xin Ren*) (People Daily, 1982).

In accordance with the enrichment of multiple cultural elements in society, in this Period, the education contents of China’s citizenship education also gradually got enriched. A variety of cultural elements from multiple levels (local community, nation and world) all showed up in the teaching materials, for example, English language, the foreign customs festivals, literature, fine art and music. The promoted foreign culture aimed to get students a basic awareness of foreign nations so that to facilitate the communication. As to the local culture, it was also written out in the national syllabus that while conducting citizenship education, it is advocated to integrate more local cultural elements, so that to enhance students emotional attachment towards the local community. In particular, in schools’ citizenship education in the new era, Confucianism could also be found: the Chinese textbook selected some paragraphs from the *Analects (Lun Yu)* and the Confucian virtues, such as Filial and the idea of Harmony were also integrated in citizenship education classes.

To sum up, citizenship education in Period IV adjusted itself to the new situation in China. Unlike the Mao era, Chinese citizenship education in the post-Mao era integrated both traditional Chinese culture and foreign cultures from capitalist countries, aiming to maintain social harmony and to facilitate its economic development respectively.

Role of Culture in China’s Citizenship Education

On the basis of reviewing the socio-cultural background and the citizenship education development routes in China’s history, the section shortly discusses the role of culture in Chinese citizenship education.

First, the cultural contexts in Chinese society in different periods influenced the goals and/or the contents in citizenship education then. For example, in the ancient and imperial China in Period I, Confucianism was the selected by the rulers as the state orthodoxy; accordingly, the goal of citizenship education was to cultivate Confucian virtuous men. Similar was the situation in the Period III (PRC in

Mao era), in which socialism was selected by the rulers as the state orthodoxy and the goal of citizenship education was to cultivate socialist new people. The contents of citizenship education were also influenced by the cultural contexts in China's society. For example, in Period I in the late Qing dynasty, facing the challenges of foreign cultures, the rulers reformed the citizenship education contents to include the foreign science and technology, economy and geography, so that to consist the foreign challenges.

Second, the culture integrated in citizenship education was related to students' cultural (and national) identity. For example, in Period II, facing the dual pressure from the external Japanese aggression and internal confrontation from the CPC, the CNP integrated Confucianism in its citizenship education, so that to enhance Chinese citizens' Chinese cultural (and national) identity, which further worked to mobilize their positivity in fighting against the Japanese aggression. In Period III, as the CPC did not integrate any Western and traditional Chinese culture in citizenship education, it in return resulted in citizens' more negative attitudes towards this two kind of culture, as it was showed in Culture Revolution..

Third, national (and cultural) identity played a key role in fostering political stability and maintains social harmony. For example, in Period II, the CNP's party ideology Three People's Principal was promoted in CNP's citizenship education so that to enhance citizens' identification of the CNP's political ideology, which further strengthened the CNP's ruling power and fostered ROC's political stability. In Period III, the CPC also used this method by integrating socialism in citizenship education, thus leading to citizens' identification with the CPC and its political ideology, which further strengthened the CPC's ruling power and fostered PRC's political stability. As to maintaining social harmony, in Period I and IV, the integrated Confucianism enhanced Chinese citizens' identification with Confucianism, which emphasized the idea of harmony.

In conclude, throughout Chinese history, culture was selectively integrated in Chinese citizenship education for cultivating Chinese student's cultural (and national) identity, which was regarded as a key to consolidate political stability and maintain social harmony.

Summary

This paper divided Chinese history into four major periods, and reviews the socio-cultural contexts and citizenship education in each period respectively. It demonstrated that culture was always related with citizenship education: the goal of citizenship education reflected the state orthodoxy, which was decided by the ruler; the contents of citizenship education reflected the cultural background at that time; culture in citizenship education was useful in building up students' culture (and national) identity, which was useful in consolidating political stability and maintaining social harmony.

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