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Luo, Tao, Ph.D.

The Ohio State University, 1990
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An Analysis of American Perspectives of
Social Studies Education in China (1976-1988)

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

* * * * *

The Ohio State University
1990

Dissertation Committee:

Dr. M. Eugene Gilliom
Dr. Richard Remy
Dr. Steve Miller

Approved by

M. Eugene Gilliom, Adviser
College of Education
DEDICATION

To my parents: Luo Chao-qun and Yuan Hui-rong!
I would like to express sincere appreciation to all those who assisted me with this research.

I am especially grateful to my academic advisor, Dr. M. Eugene Gilliom, for his continued advice and support in more ways than I can identify—not only during the dissertation phase but also throughout the doctoral program. My appreciation also goes to other members of my dissertation committee, Drs. Steve Miller and Richard Remy, for their valuable guidance, encouragement, and comments for the research. In addition, I would like to thank Dr. David M. Lampton, for his recommendations at the early stage of this study. Also, my thanks go to all other faculty members at The Ohio State University who have given me advice and suggestions.

Heartfelt gratitude goes to my family—Chuan, Xi, and Yu, for their love, support, and financial assistance.
VITA

1978-1981 ..... B.A. In Education
   South China Normal University
   Guangzhou, China

1981-1982 ..... "Prospective Overseas Student"
   East China Normal University
   Shanghai, China

1983-1983 ..... M.S. in Education
   State University of New York College at Buffalo
   New York, U.S.A.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Education

Studies in Curriculum and Instruction—Dr. Gail McCutcheon

Studies in Teacher Education—Dr. Frederick R. Cyphert
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DEDICATION .......................................................... ii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .................................................. iii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VITA ................................................................ iv</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF TABLES ....................................................... viii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LIST OF FIGURES ...................................................... x</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## CHAPTER

### I. INTRODUCTION ..................................................... 1

- Historical Background of Education in China ................ 2
- A Description of Education/Social Studies in China Between 1949-1966 .............................................. 10
- A Description of Education/Social Studies in China During the Cultural Revolution ........................................... 13
- Changes in Social Studies Education in China after 1976 .......................... 16
- Process of Changes in Social Studies Education Since the Cultural Revolution ........................................ 17
- Criticism and Repudiation of the Gang of Four ........................................ 17
- The Two Conferences ............................................... 20
- Searching for a New Order of Education ........................................ 21
- Statement of the Problem ............................................. 23
- Significance of the Study .............................................. 24
- Methodology of the Study .............................................. 25
- Assumptions and Limitations of the Study ........................................ 26
- Definition of Key Terms .............................................. 27
II. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE ............................................. 28

American Perceptions of Education in China During the Cultural Revolution ................................................................. 28
American Perceptions of Changes in Education in China after 1976 .............................................................................. 30
Changes in the Criteria for Admissions ................................................. 33
Changes in Curriculum ................................................................ 34
Changes in Teacher-Student Relationships ...................................... 34
The Reemergence of Key Schools .................................................. 35
Changes in Centralization of Education in Order to
Prescribe Quality Standards at All Levels ................................. 35
Strong Reemphasis on Discipline and Overt Academic
Competition .............................................................................. 36
American Perceptions of Social Studies Education in China
since 1976 ................................................................................ 36

III. METHODOLOGY .................................................................. 38

Rationale .......................................................................................... 38
Design of the Study ........................................................................ 43
Data Collection ................................................................................ 43
The Design .................................................................................. 43
Selection of Respondents ................................................................ 45
Data Analysis .................................................................................. 45
Interpretation of Data and Trustworthiness of the Study .............. 47
Delimitations of the Study ................................................................. 48

IV. PRESENTATION OF DATA ....................................................... 49

A(1) Major Reasons for American Scholars/Educators to Study Education in China ..................................................... 49
A(2) Major Means by Which American Scholars/Educators Study Education in China ........................................... 51
A(3) What Additionally Do American Scholars/Educators Wish to Know About Education in China? ............... 51
B(1) American Perceptions of Social Studies Curriculum Materials ........................................................................ 52
Course Arrangement ...................................................................... 53
Characteristics of Social Studies Curriculum Materials ............... 54
Curriculum—Local/Teacher-developed Materials ......................... 56
Curriculum—Hidden Curriculum ................................................... 56
Other Curriculum Materials ........................................................ 57
B(2) Instructional Methods Used in Social Studies ......................... 60
Lecture ............................................................................................ 61
Social Studies Instruction: Child-centered Activities ................. 62
Social Studies Instruction: Using Educational Media ................ 62
Social Studies Instruction: Other Methods or Approaches 63
B(3) Teacher's Role in Social Studies .................................................. 65
B(4) Students' Roles in the Study of Social Studies .......................... 68
B(5) The Goal of Social Studies Education in China ....................... 69
   The Goal of Education in China in General ............................ 70
   Changes in the Goals of Education in China Through the Years ......... 70
   The Goal of Social Studies Education ..................................... 71
B(6) Extracurricular Activities ............................................................. 74
B(7) Other Characteristics of Social Studies Education in China ......... 81
B(8) Most Significant Changes in Social Studies Education in China ........ 90
B(9) Strengths of Social Studies Education in China and Their Applicability 92
   The Strengths ................................................................................. 92
   The Applicability of the Strengths ............................................. 94
B(10) Weaknesses of Social Studies Education in China .................... 95
B(11) Expected Changes in Social Studies Education in Future .......... 98
B(12) Suggestions Offered by American Scholars/Educators to Change or Improve Social Studies Education in China ......................... 100

V. DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION ....................................... 104

What Do American Scholars/Educators Think They Have Learned About Social Studies Education in China and How Accurate Are the Perceptions? ......................... 105

A. Social Studies Education Curriculum Materials in China .............. 105
   1. What Has Been Learned ..................................................... 105
   2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions? ............................ 106
B. Instruction of Social Studies Education in China ........................ 106
   1. What Has Been Learned ..................................................... 106
   2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions? ............................ 106
C. Teachers'/Students' Roles in Teaching/Learning Social Studies in China ..................................................... 110
   1. What Has Been Learned ..................................................... 110
   2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions? ............................ 110
D. The Goals of Social Studies Education in China ...................... 111
   1. What Has Been Learned ..................................................... 111
   2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions? ............................ 112
E. Social Studies Taking Place in Extracurricular Activities ............. 115
   1. What Has Been Learned ..................................................... 115
   2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions? ............................ 115
F. Other Characteristics of Social Studies Education in China .......... 116
   1. What Has Been Learned ..................................................... 116
   2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions? ............................ 117

- vii -
G. The Most Significant Changes in Social Studies Education Since the End of the Cultural Revolution
1. What Has Been Learned
2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions?

Which Aspects of Social Studies Education in China Have Been Adequately Explored and Which Have Been Explored the Least?
A. Social Studies Curriculum Materials
B. Instruction of Social Studies
C. Teachers'/Students' Roles in Teaching/Studying Social Studies
D. The Goals of Social Studies Education in China
E. Social Studies Taking Place in Extracurricular Activities
F. Other Characteristics of Social Studies Education
G. The Most Significant Changes in Social Studies Education Since the End of the Cultural Revolution

Suggestions Offered by American Scholars/Educators to Change or Improve Social Studies Education in China

Other Findings
A. Major Reasons for American Scholars/Educators to Study Education in China
B. Means by Which American Scholars/Educators Studied Education in China
C. What in Addition Would American Scholars/Educators Like to Know About Education in China?
D. Strengths of Social Studies Education Noted by American Scholars and Educators
E. Weaknesses of Social Studies Education Noted by American Scholars and Educators
F. Expected Changes in Social Studies Education in China

VI. SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Summary
Implications
Recommendations for Future Research

APPENDICES
A. A QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA .................................................. 149

B. TABLES OF CONTENT OF A SET OF HISTORY TEXTBOOK USED IN CHINA BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION .......................................................... 156

- Upper primary school textbook—History (Volume I) .............. 156
- Upper primary school textbook—History (volume II) .............. 157

C. TABLES OF CONTENTS OF THREE SOCIAL STUDIES TEXTBOOKS USED IN CHINA AFTER THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION ................................................. 159

(A) Dialectical Materialism (experimental edition—1982): A Text for the Full-time Senior High School .............. 159
(B) A Brief History of Social Development (1986—vol. 1): A Text for Fulltime Junior High School .............. 160
(C) A Brief History of Social Development (1986—vol. 2): A Text for the Full-time Senior High School .............. 161

BIBLIOGRAPHY .................................................................................................................................. 163
# LIST OF TABLES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TABLE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Major Reasons for American Educators to Study Chinese Education:</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Teacher's Roles in Teaching Social Studies in China:</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FIGURE</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. The Educational System in China before 1949</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cartoon Criticizing the Educational Policy of the Gang of Four</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Representation of the Domain of Inquiry</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The United States and China have had a long and varied history of contacts with each other. Contacts between the United States and the People's Republic of China, however, are a relatively recent development. The People's Republic essentially closed its door to the outside world, especially to the United States and other Western countries, from its founding in 1949 until early in the 1970s.

In 1972 President Nixon made his historic trip to Beijing, and in 1979 the two countries established diplomatic relations. Since the reopening of China in 1972 the country has been explored by hoards of visitors from the outside world. In turn, Chinese increasingly have traveled to various countries around the world. Contacts between the two countries, both governmental and nongovernmental, have become more and more frequent since the end of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). During the last decade Americans, full of curiosity, have made various efforts to explore China and have obtained significant findings regarding all walks of Chinese life.

This study focuses on Americans' perceptions of education in China in the post-Cultural Revolution period. It especially reviews and analyzes literature written by American scholars about developments in social studies education in China during the last dozen years.

This chapter will provide a general introduction to the present study, beginning with a brief description of the history and the current situation of the educational system in China.
HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF EDUCATION IN CHINA

Although China has a history of about five thousand years, formal schooling did not appear until Xia dynasty (2100-1600 B.C.). Since the Western Zhou dynasty (1066-771 B.C.), there have been both state-run and locally supported schools, both of which were for children of the upper classes. Educational institutions did not extend to children of the common people until the Spring and Autumn period (770-475 B.C.), an age when Confucius lived. Confucius devoted his life to academic activities and played a distinguished role in extending education to common people. He and his followers opened a new era in the history of education of the country.

Confucianism dominated China's intellectual life after the Feichu Baijia, Duzun Rushu (which dethroned all other schools of thought except Confucianism) movement in the Han Dynasty (221 B.C.-220 A.D.). The domination of Confucianism in China's education from the Han to the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) could be seen in two respects. First, scholars other than Confucians were expelled from the state-run educational institutions. Thus, the content of education and the methods of teaching were dominated by Confucians. Second, students who did well in learning or explaining Confucian doctrine were selected as civil officials. Throughout the years, Confucianism dominated education, as well as other aspects of culture in China.

In Confucius' eyes, there are five relations of utmost importance under Heaven: the relations between prince and minister; between father and son; between husband and wife; between elder and younger brothers; and between friends. His theory was to teach people of different statuses to play their own roles properly. It was believed by the rulers of all dynasties in China that Confucian theory in the long run would keep a society running smoothly. Confucius' words and works were then respected as doctrines (Jing) that were studied in all levels of schools. These doctrines served as standards by which to judge the success of the students.
According to Confucius, "A good scholar will make an official." (Mao, L., 1979, p. 44) Thus the purpose of education was to train rulers. To become an official, one must possess wisdom (zhì), goodness (rén), and courage (yǒng); to become an obedient citizen, one must successfully carry out his own role in society, such as the "three cardinal guides" (The ruler guides subjects, father guides sons, and husband guides wives), and the five constant virtues (benevolence, righteousness, propriety, wisdom and fidelity).

The content of education emphasized by Confucius consisted of two parts, moral education and academic learning. For example, Confucius insisted that scholarship, right conduct, loyalty to duty, and sincerity (wen, xing, zhōng, and xìn) be taught in school (Mao, L., 1979, p. 46). Of the four aspects, the latter three were closely related to moral education. More importantly, according to him, morality and conduct should be placed above the learning of academic knowledge: "Young men should be filial when at home and respectful to their elders when away from home. They should be earnest and faithful. They should love all extensively and be intimate with men of humanity. When they have any energy to spare after performance of moral duties, they should use it to study literature and the arts." (Price, 1977, p. 288) He also said, "The practice of right learning is the highest of all arts. Other arts are of minor importance. First to be aimed at is the moral life; all else is subordinate. This was understood by the ancient royal sages, who knew how to assign all human activities to their proper places, the higher and the lower." (Johnston, 1934, p. 29)

As regards the curriculum usually used by Confucius and his disciples, they included books such as: The Book of Poetry (Shi Jing), The Book of History (Shù Jing), The Book of Propriety (Li Jing), The Book of Music (Yue Jing), The Book of Change (Yì Jing), and The Annals of Spring and Autumn.
This curriculum was used throughout the long history of China’s feudal societies, with certain minor changes or revisions made by Zhu Xi, a famous philosopher in the Song Dynasty (960-1279).

Confucius himself was a master of teaching methods. His practice of teaching has been summarized as several teaching principles that are seen as a precious heritage of education in China. Here are some of his key principles. First, integrate study with thinking. Confucius said, "Learning without thought brings ensnarement. Thought without learning totters." (Ware, 1960, p. 27)

Second, education should have no class division; he accepted and taught children of all social classes, regardless of their family origins (Ware, 1960, p. 103).

Third, teach students in accordance with their aptitudes. The following is a good example of this principle. When Zilu, a student of his, said to Confucius, "Should a man act immediately on what he hears?" Confucius replied, "You have a father and an elder brother alive. Why should you act on what you hear?" Another time, Ran You, another student, said to Confucius, "Should a man act on what he hears?" Confucius said, "He who hesitates is lost." Gongxi Hua, a third student, having overheard both conversations, asked Confucius, "Why do you give contradictory advice to these two men?" Confucius responded, "Ran You drags his feet, so I tried to speed him up a little. 'The Sprout' (Zilu) is hyperactive, so I tried to slow him down." (Ware, 1960, p. 73)

Fourth, use elicitation or the heuristic method (Mao, L., p. 54). Confucius was a master of using simple examples to explain complex thoughts. He taught students to draw inferences about other cases from one instance (ju yi fan san).

Fifth, review old knowledge in order to study new (Mao, L., pp. 57-58). He encouraged his students to gain new insights through restudying old material by
saying that "to learn it you must study it and restudy it hard again." Confucius believed that, "If the other man tries once and is able to do it, I'll try a hundred times. If the other man tries ten times and is able to do it, I'll try a thousand times." (Central Institute of Educational Research, 1981, p. 158)

Sixth, study with an open mind. "If you know it," Confucius said, "know you know it; if you don't know it, know you don't know it — that is to know." (McNaughton, 1974, p. 96) He also said, "When I walk along with two others, they may serve me as my teachers. I will select their good qualities and follow them, their bad qualities and avoid them." (Legge, 1960, p. 202)

Due to the overwhelming influence of Confucianism in the over two thousand years of Chinese history, education in China formed four important characteristics: First, Confucian classics dominated the content of education. Throughout history, it was believed, the knowledge of the classics would help build personal virtue, foster morality, and produce a contagious goodness in the scholar that would infect others and ultimately create a harmonious world. Along with classical learning went an eclectic study of Chinese history designed to show the advantages of adhering, and the dangers of diverging from, Confucian principles in the exercise of statecraft.

Second, the civil service examinations dominated education. Without exception, all students attending schools aimed at passing the examinations so as to be assigned positions at government institutions. Private tutors, public teachers, and state educational officials bent their efforts toward training men to pass the tests and to fill the requirements of the bureaucracy. Many people spent their whole lives attending schools but never passed any level of the examination.

The third characteristic was teaching without considering students' age characteristics and psychological development. Although Confucius was a master of education, his
arts of teaching were not used or carried on by succeeding educators. Part of the reason was that Confucius' works were written and his words were recorded in classical Chinese, which is not used in daily life. Many abstract ideas were embraced in the classics. This made it extremely difficult for young children to understand. However, they were expected to learn the classics by heart, for it was believed that they would understand them in the future even though the classics were beyond their understanding at the time when they were studying.

Finally, there were several kinds of schools in ancient China: the old-style private school, the local or county school, the imperial college, and Han-lin Academy. An old-style private school was usually operated by a wealthy family to teach one or more boys of the family. Normally a child had to study ten to fifteen years to pass the test leading to the first degree (xiu-cai) of the civil service examination system. He then could go on to attend a county school or the imperial college in the Capital to prepare for the next examinations, if his family was able to provide enough financial support. The Han-lin Academy, the supreme institution for both research and teaching, recruited the best scholars and students all over the country.

Since Confucianism was treated as the only truth by rulers and scholars in China for many centuries, educated people tended to reject other schools of thought, especially natural sciences which were then viewed as deviltries. Thousands of scholars spent their whole lives studying and re-studying Confucian classics instead of creating their own ideas. Meanwhile, natural sciences developed rapidly in Western countries. The development in the West and the backwardness of China were not recognized by the Chinese until China's door was forcibly opened by the British in the mid 19th century.
As China opened to the outside world, Chinese scholars and government officials started searching for the causes of China's backwardness. They finally found out that the educational system, dominated by the civil service examination, had played a passive role in developing science and technology and that the system of education could no longer meet the demands of new situations. Thus, from the Ming and Qing Dynasties on, they urged reform of the educational system and the elimination of the civil service examination. Through their tireless efforts, the importance of the civil examination was disputed. After the Opium War in 1940, foreign culture and educational ideas started to influence those of China. The foreign influence came chiefly from such countries as Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France (Mao, L., 1979; Chen, Q., 1969; Chen, J., 1979; Chen, Y., 1979; and Hayhoe & Bastid, 1987). As a result, certain basic subjects such as mathematics and physics were included in the examination, which obviously forced schools to teach new subjects. Finally the examination system was completely abandoned in 1905, five years before the last feudal dynasty (Qing) was overthrown by the 1911 Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen and the founding of the Republic of China.

The abolishing of the civil service examination marked the end of the old style education and the beginning of the "new education" in China. The purpose of establishing the new education was to raise new generations prepared to cope with the Western invaders and to build a new China. By the time of the establishment of the People's Republic in 1949, an education system had been formed with apparent American characteristics. (See figure 1.)

The curriculum was also organized along American lines. In the elementary schools it covered the following areas: Chinese language, arithmetic, citizenship, history, geography, hygiene, industrial arts, imaginative arts, gardening, and physical educa-
Figure 1: The Educational System in China before 1949

In the lower elementary schools citizenship, history, and geography were offered under the subject "social studies." This seemed to be the first time the term social studies was ever used in China's curriculum arrangement. Similar subjects were offered at secondary schools, with foreign language(s), philosophy, and some vocational or practical studies added to the curriculum. A credit system was introduced at the secondary level to facilitate some diversification of courses.
Following visits paid by American educators such as John Dewey, Paul Monroe, George Twiss, Helen Parkhurt, and W. A. McCall, and many of their students who had returned from the United States, experimental teaching methods such as the project method and Dalton plan were tried in an attempt to break away from the rigid and ceremonial recitation style of teaching that had been so common in Chinese classrooms (Chen, T., 1979, pp. 75-79).

Compared with the old-style education, the new education had four significant features. First, the goal of education became to train not only government officials, but also natural scientists and technicians.

Second, while the learning of Chinese culture and Chinese morality occupied a major portion of the school work, subjects such as foreign languages, mathematics, physics, chemistry, and the like were introduced into the classrooms.

Third, more advanced Western pedagogical methods that took students' psychological characteristics into consideration began to replace the traditional teaching-learning methods emphasizing mechanical memorizing.

Finally, a relatively complete school system was formed, which included elementary school, secondary school, college and university, and vocational school. The establishment of such a system was a result of the interaction between China and the West.

In short, the so-called "new education" in China in the early 20th century was basically a copy of the Western school system, which is known today as traditional education. Between 1915 and the early 1920s, a number of returned students who had studied John Dewey's theories started introducing his educational ideas in China. Dewey himself even spent months lecturing about his ideas in the country. Though many intellectuals agreed with and accepted his theories, no immediate, significant
outcomes in Chinese education were seen because of the continuous wars and because a larger proportion of people considered his theories too radical to put into practice in China at that time.

Thus, the new education experienced a stable stage from its establishment in the beginning of the 20th century to the founding of the People's Republic in 1949 with the exception of the Bai-Hua-Wen (using plain words in writing) movement. This movement, brought about by the May 4th Movement in 1919, made China's written language closer to the oral language. In addition, both the Guomindang (the Nationalist Party) and the Gongchandang (the Communist Party) tried to use schools to serve their own purposes during the Civil War (1927-1937 and 1945-1949), which forced education in China to carry heavy political colors.

A DESCRIPTION OF EDUCATION/SOCIAL STUDIES IN CHINA BETWEEN 1949-1966

After Liberation (1949), the new government maintained not only the school structure of the Guomindang tradition but also most of the school curriculum. For instance, the "Decision on Textbooks for Middle and Primary schools," promulgated by the Ministry of Education on July 5, 1950, stipulated that the old Guomindang textbooks would continue to be used except in language and history. On August 1 of that year, it was stipulated that the Guomindang curriculum would basically be adhered to, but new political courses would be substituted for the old "citizenship courses." (Lofstedt, 1980, p. 69)

The political courses in the 1950s were filled with the Communist Party policies and basic theory of Karl Marx introduced from the Soviet Union. The term social studies was no longer used. Systematic knowledge and basic skills were emphasized
in all subject matter. Moreover, besides politics and social sciences, all other school subjects were required to reflect or follow a "correct" political line. This characteristic of Chinese education was known as "Red and Expert." To help assure the Party line, youth organizations such as Young Pioneers and the Communist Youth League, which had been set in the liberated regions under the Chinese Communist Party, were introduced into schools.

In addition, a new "Temporary Work Regulations for Full-time Middle and Primary Schools," which had been prepared and ratified in 1962, was put into effect in 1963. These regulations stressed basic knowledge and skills, and stability and uniformity in teaching. It stated that full-time middle schools must guarantee nine months of teaching a year, one month of labour and two months of summer and winter vacations. Middle schools should offer courses in the Chinese language, mathematics, foreign languages, politics, history, geography, biology, physics, chemistry, knowledge of production, physical education, and labour (music and drawing were taught in junior middle school). Some differentiation was allowed, however, and the senior middle level "may offer optional courses in agricultural, scientific and technical knowledge, mapmaking, historical anthologies, logic, etc." (Lofstedt, 1980, p. 113)

Few changes in the school structure had been undertaken before the Cultural Revolution. Primary and secondary schools were each six years in length. Secondary education was divided into junior high school and senior high schools, three years each, which were sometimes administratively combined and sometimes separated (Shirk, 1982, p. 24).

Schooling during the three years of junior high school and three years of senior high school was very intensive and time-consuming—much more so than for American students. Classes were held five and a half days a week, from 8:00 a.m. until 4:30
p.m. Most students remained at school until dinner time for sports, cultural activities, labor chores, and political meetings, many of which were mandatory (Shirk, 1982, p. 35).

Students entering school were divided into classes of approximately fifty students each. In order to foster collective loyalties, the members of each class studied all subjects together and usually remained together for several years. Each class had assigned to it one teacher who was responsible for the students’ overall development—their academic, social, political, and moral progress. This teacher, called the class director (ban zhu ren), supervised all class activities, including political discussions and labor stints. The class director was supposed to guide the political development of individual students and was responsible for evaluating their political character and behavior every term. These evaluations of conduct were recorded in students’ permanent dossiers and formed an important basis for university selection and job assignment upon graduation.

The students stayed in the classroom while teachers of different subjects came in turn to instruct them (Shirk, 1982, p. 36). Because of the disappearance of the American experimental methods, the tradition of Chinese teaching/learning, and the influence of Soviet education, instruction came back to traditional rote recitation, and classroom discipline was strict. Students rose to greet the teacher at the beginning of each class period, and at the end of the class period they could not leave the room before the teacher without permission.

In summary, although the school structure and most science courses in the 1950s and early 1960s remained similar to those previous to 1949, the social science courses changed considerably. The theme of education in the People’s Republic thus shifted to a socialist one. Its purpose was to enable everyone who received an education to
develop intellectually, morally, and physically, and become a worker with both social-
ist consciousness and culture. The schools' primary task was to serve proletarian poli-
tics combined with productive labor. The teacher was supposed to dominate the
teaching/learning process which took place basically in the classroom, and the students' academic development was guided by the textbooks—a characteristic of the "three cen-
tralities."

A DESCRIPTION OF EDUCATION/SOCIAL STUDIES IN CHINA DURING THE
CULTURAL REVOLUTION

The high tide of the Cultural Revolution was from 1966 to 1969. Thus some
Western scholars in the early 1970s considered 1969 as the end of the Revolution, a
division of the Cultural Revolution also reflected in literature written in that period. However, due to the fact that the Cultural Revolution was not declared ended and that the theme of the Cultural Revolution did not ease until the death of Mao
Zedong and the fall of the Gang of Four in 1976, the Cultural Revolution has been widely viewed as lasting from 1966 to 1976. This study also accepts this division of the period.

On May 7, 1966, Mao Zedong made his famous statement on education (in a let-
ter to Defense Minister Lin Biao):

While the students' main task is to study, they should also learn other things, that is to say, they should not only learn book knowledge, they should also learn industrial production, agricultural production, and military affairs. They should also criticize and repudiate the bourgeoisie. The length of schooling should be shortened, education should be revolutionized, and the domination of our schools by bour-
geois intellectuals should not be tolerated any longer. (Peking Review, 1/1976)

A notice issued on June 13, 1966 by the Communist Party and the Government made public the decision to postpone for half a year the 1966 enrollment into higher
educational institutions so that universities and senior middle schools would have time
to carry out the Cultural Revolution. But this postponement lasted at least three
years, thus affecting not only higher education, but also secondary and elementary
education in significant ways. For example:

1. All elementary and secondary schools were forced to close their doors for
about a year (1966-1967), and the school administration was replaced by
"Worker/Peasant's Propaganda Teams" during 1968-69 and by "Revolutionary
Committees" afterward until the end of the Cultural Revolution.

2. Schools were to teach concepts that were relevant to industrial and agricultur­
al work, and were to downplay the systematic teaching of theory. Most
schools offered only five subjects under titles such as: arithmetic, Chinese lan­
guage and literature, industrial/agricultural/military, politics, and labor. But
even the arithmetic book largely contained quotations from Mao Zedong's
works.

3. Overall, the shaping of attitudes was to carry far greater weight in the edu­
cation system than the imparting of knowledge.

4. Learning was to be combined with more labor than before; all students had to
adopt the half-work and half-study system.

5. Schooling was shortened to a universalized eight or nine years (five years at
the elementary level and four years at the secondary level.

6. Old textbooks were destroyed and abolished; new ones were composed and
published. Mao's works, anti-revisionist articles or similar materials were incor­
porated in the new books. All examinations, such as annual, terminal and
primary school examinations, were virtually abolished.
7. A student's academic excellence was no longer to be rewarded or even permitted to be an important source of informal prestige in the classroom. Among other things, learning was to be simplified and slowed, narrowing the gap between good and poor students.

8. School graduates were assigned directly to jobs, and the work units held the right to determine which of their young personnel deserved university or technical-school training.

Although most primary and middle schools resumed in 1967 and 1968, tertiary institutions did not reopen until about two years later. Under the new regulations, students lost their interest and enthusiasm for study because "it is useless to study" and because their future was not related to their schoolwork.

The disorder of schooling during the Cultural Revolution can be seen most clearly in the cases of Zhang Tie-sheng and Huang Shuai:

Zhang was an unknown young man who had been 'sent down' to an agricultural commune in 1968 after graduation from an urban junior middle school. After five years of rustication he applied for admission to a college in Northeastern China. In compliance with the regulations then in effect, he obtained the recommendation of the peasants in his unit of work and the approval of the Party authorities. The last step of the admissions procedure was the fairly easy entrance examination of the college, which he failed. The examination questions in physics and chemistry were completely beyond his knowledge and he had to turn in a "blank paper." On the back of the examination paper, however, he wrote a letter protesting the unfairness of expecting a rusticated youth to know the content of courses normally taught in a senior middle school, which he never attended. He sent a copy of his letter to Liaoning Daily News, which published it on July 19, 1973 with an editorial note urging serious consideration of the important questions raised in the letter.

A month later the People's Daily (9/10/73) published an article lauding Zhang's revolutionary record and his undaunted spirit.

At about the same time, a letter from an elementary school girl provided an occasion for an assault on another aspect of traditional education, the high status of the teacher. On December 12, 1973, the Peking Daily published a letter from Huang Shuai, a 12-year-old in the fifth grade of an elementary school, who accused her teacher of
unreasonable methods of enforcing discipline in the classroom. Following the same pattern of the Zhang Tie-sheng campaign, the People’s Daily (12/28/73) entered the fray by reprinting the letter and diary together with the editorial comment adding its own praise of the intrepid stand of this revolutionary youth against the unwholesome “tide” of revisionist education. (Chen, 1981, pp. 127-29)

In short, because the purpose of the schooling was then to train “red” revolutionaries to “go against the tide,” academic study, the training of experts, was largely devalued.

**CHANGES IN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA AFTER 1976**

The year 1976, a highly dramatic one in China, marked a significant turning point in China’s history. Three leading members of the first generation of revolutionary leaders died—Zhou Enlai, Zhu De and Mao Zedong. The death of Mao Zedong on September 9, 1976, created a new political situation. For a short while, the delicate balance between rival factions within the Party leadership trembled. Then came the fall of the Gang of Four. On October 7, the Communist Party of China elected Hua Guofeng Chairman of the Central Committee. From October 21 through 24, nationwide demonstrations took place all over China to celebrate the the fall of the Gang of Four. In March, 1977, the Politbureau of the Central Committee decided to advocate the reinstatement of Deng Xiaoping, and the Third Plenary Session of the Tenth Central Committee of the Party adopted the “Resolution on Restoring Comrade Deng Xiaoping to his Posts.” (Peking Review, 31/1977)

Since then many Western scholars have observed the dramatic changes in education, among other things, in China. Lofstedt (1980, p. 14) noted that “the fall of the Gang of Four marked the defeat of the radical Left and the end of the Cultural Revolution.” Theodore Chen (1981, p. 7) stated: “Major reforms have moved post-Mao education away from the revolutionary model toward the academic model.”
Shirk (1982, p. 186) also similarly noted: Since Mao's death, the defeat of the Gang of Four, and the return of the power of Deng Xiaoping in 1976, there has been a dramatic shift to meritocracy in China. He defines a revolutionary regime that attempts to bring about the moral transformation of society by awarding life chances to the virtuous as a 'virtuocracy.' The contrasts with 'meritocracies,' which select according to professional or intellectual ability.

Why the changes? As Gilliom has pointed out, "By the time of Mao's death, education was suffering severely from political bickering and confusion. When Hua Guofeng ascended to power in October, 1976, the country's schools were adrift ideologically and were ripe for another round of reform." (Gilliom, 1980, p. 10)

Indeed, the fall of the Gang of Four was so meaningful to most Chinese that many of them regarded the event as the "second liberation." It was considered a liberation because it removed much of the unreasonable political pressure and other unfair treatment from the Gang of Four. The changes from virtuocracy to meritocracy in China, however, could not be completed overnight, although these changes have been proceeding rapidly.

Process of Changes in Social Studies Education Since the Cultural Revolution

Criticism and Repudiation of the Gang of Four

The first half of 1977 was a period of "cleaning up after the Gang." "A wave of criticism of the Gang swept across the country at political meetings and in the mass media." (Lofstedt, 1980, p. 144) We shall only be concerned here with the criticism related to education. Four main charges were made against the Gang. First, the Gang were said to have opposed all forms of intellectual education, on grounds that it meant putting Expert before Red (i.e., professional competence before political
consciousness). Second, they opposed the study of basic theories in science and technology. They claimed that the only valid basic theory for science was Marxist philosophy. Third, regarding teacher-student relations and school discipline, they opposed discipline and "teacher dignity." They actually instigated the students' revolt against all teachers, making it impossible for the teachers to lead their classes. Fourth, the Gang were said to have opposed experts, intellectuals and teachers in general, by saying that the majority of these still had a bourgeois world view and that education in the seventeen years prior to the Cultural Revolution had, on the whole, been revisionist and harmful to socialist construction. A cartoon (figure 2) from that era shows the vivid criticism of the educational ideas of the the Gang (taken from Lofstedt, 1980, p. 144).

The most important refutation of the Gang of Four was the criticism of the "two estimates." (Hu & Seifman, 1987, pp. 2-6) The first estimate averred that in the seventeen years between the birth of the People's Republic and the Cultural Revolution education in China brazenly violated Mao's educational line, resulting in a complete negation of the principles of the educational revolution. It was dominated by revisionists and bourgeois scholars who slavishly accepted Soviet tutelage and pursued the "black line" of revisionism and bourgeois scholarship in blatant disregard of Mao's instructions for educational reform.

The second estimate was a document in which the ideologues (radicals) blamed the intellectuals for the educational failure of the seventeen years and claimed that China's intellectuals were the products of bourgeois education and their worldlook was fundamentally bourgeois (Chen, 1981, pp. 134-37).

Just as examples could be found to illustrate the two estimates, as was done by the Gang of Four, more evidence and examples can also be provided to refute the
Our revolution in education —
The Four took the lead in encouraging anarchy in the schools.  
Chiang shouts, "We'd rather have ignorant workers!" (than educated exploiters); 
Chang Chun-chiao says, "I don't want any know-it-alls"; Yao and Wang scream, "So much for knowledge above all else! We'd rather have the weeds of socialism than the seeds of capitalism!"

Figure 2: Cartoon Criticizing the Educational Policy of the Gang of Four

estimates, as had been done by the new leadership and numerous intellectuals who have suffered so much from the Gang. The harsh refutation and denial of the two estimates have made it theoretically possible for many changes to take place. Consequently, many educational practices that were severely criticized during the Cultural Revolution have returned. One example is the restoration of the college entrance examination, which allows the best high school graduates to go directly to college without having to be "sent down" to the countryside or factories for a period of at least two years. Similarly, many things newly born during the Cultural Revolution
were repealed. An example was the withdrawal of the Workers'/Peasants' Propaganda Teams from the schools in the winter of 1977-1978, not quite ten years after Mao Zedong had declared in the summer of 1968 that the working class should exercise direct leadership over education on a permanent basis. And the Revolutionary Committees in schools, as well as in other institutions, suffered the same fate afterward.

Changes of this type have been wholeheartedly welcomed by millions of young students and teachers. The news about the reintroduction of college entrance examinations immediately spurred students' enthusiasm for learning. Consequently, history and geography were taught and learned again in 1977 after they had been virtually replaced by politics for ten years.

The Two Conferences

Changes made in education shortly after the death of Mao Zedong were reinforced and legitimated by the two historic conferences held in the spring of 1978 (See Lampton, 1980, p. 371; Lofstedt, 1980, p. 148; Chen, 1981, p. 156; and Hu & Seifman, 1987, pp. 74-78). The first, held on March 18, was the National Science Conference. The second, held on April 22, was the National Education Work Conference. Speaking at the Education Work Conference, the Minister of Education, Liu Xi-yao, gave details of the eight-year plan for education developed by the Ministry. He said that education must be adapted to national economic needs and possibilities and be planned in a proportional way. The central issue was to raise the quality of education (People's Daily, June 11, 1978, p. 1). The main parts of Vice-Premier Deng Xiao-ping's speech dealt with the quality of education, strengthening "revolutionary order and discipline," keeping pace with the requirements of national economic development, and raising the level of teacher training and teacher status. Deng pointed out that the principal task of the students was to study, and that examinations were
an important method of checking on their studies and on the efficacy of the teaching.

Soon after the pragmatic national conferences on science and education, the Ministry of Education promulgated the Draft Plan for a Ten-year Full-time Teaching System for Primary and Secondary Schools, aiming at raising the quality of teaching especially in the "key" schools.

These conferences and other senior leaders' speeches made the ongoing changes in education more legitimate. Since then (1978) the college entrance examination has become a nationally standardized practice, and more changes in education have been taking place.

Searching for a New Order of Education

Numerous changes in education in China have been noted by American scholars. (See, for example, Hayhoe, 1984, p. 74, Gilliom, 1979, p. 20, Doughty, 1978, p. 372, and Lofstedt, 1980, p. 207.) These changes are:

— A competitive school ladder has been established, with a strong reemphasis on discipline and overt competition;
— Entrance examinations have been reintroduced for both junior and senior high schools.
— Teachers have regained much of their former stature and are assuming a more aggressive role in planning their courses and in administering the schools.
— An end has been put to the discrimination against sons and daughters of former landlords and capitalists to receive higher education.
— There has been an emphasis on building demonstration schools (key schools).
— There have been strict standards for promotion.
— Work in the curriculum has been reemphasized.
The secondary school curriculum is unified and fixed by the Ministry of Education. Both the curriculum and the teaching plan have been arranged with the promotion of examinations in mind. For example, university candidates are divided into two major examination groups: liberal arts and science and engineering (including agricultural and medicine). All candidates take politics, Chinese language, foreign language and mathematics. Liberal arts candidates add history and geography; science and engineering candidates add chemistry, physics and biology. Although there are local variations in teaching plans, with working drafts of several plans circulated by local education bureaus, the variations are not great.

The new school system has regained some similarities with that of pre-Cultural Revolution, however,

(1) it is not quite a replica of the pre-Cultural Revolution education. Instead, with the momentum of a pendulum swinging back past its original resting place, the programs of 1977-80 were more elitist and more 'talent' oriented than any that existed in the fifties and sixties. Because the authorities were so preoccupied with modernizing China's stagnating economy, they made no efforts to sustain a balance between the 'quality' education they wanted and the revolution's putative egalitarian objectives. (Lofstedt, 1980, p. 207)

Since China is now open to the world, people all over the world are looking at what is happening in China. However, people with different backgrounds and purposes may view things from different perspectives and interpret them differently. The changes in the Chinese educational system have been variously characterized as: a return to methods and patterns used before the Cultural Revolution; a new golden age; a traditional education like the one in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries; a new system aimed at producing men of talent to build a socialist country with four modernizations (industry, agriculture, science and technology, and national defense); and a mixture of the Chinese ti (substance) and Western yong (utility). Who is right? Or, are all of these correct?
There are no easy answers to these questions. Today reforms are taking place in all fields in China. Will the educational system meet the needs of the new situations? Should it be reformed accordingly, and if so, how? These questions are even harder to answer. This dissertation is an attempt to analyze how American scholars have thought about education (especially social studies education) in China in the past decade, and to see what answers to these questions they have offered, if any.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

From the description of education in China, it is clear that an enduring characteristic of China's educational system has been the use of education to directly serve the particular government or political regime in power. This was true in Confucius' time, when the purpose of education was to train good scholars "to make officials," and in Mao's period when "education must serve proletarian politics." It is still true in the present, when education is expected to "be geared to the needs of modernization, the world, and the future." (Deng Xiaoping)

In order to promote the use of education to serve national political goals, moral-political education has always been viewed as important in China's education system. As Confucius said: "First to be aimed at is the moral life; all else is subordinate." (Johnston, 1934, p. 29) "Political education is still a major subject of (today's) curriculum." (Chen, 1981, p. 169)

As a result, social studies education (though the term has rarely been used in China) has played a key role in education in China. This study analyzes Western (primarily American) perceptions of social studies education in China during the post-Mao era. The study uses the writings of Western scholars about developments in social studies education in China during the last dozen years and data from questionnaires sent to selected scholars to address the following questions:
1. What do American scholars/educators think they have learned about social studies education in China in the last decade or so?

2. How accurate are the Western perceptions of Chinese education? What seem to be the primary misperceptions of American scholars concerning China's social studies education (if any)? Why do these misperceptions seem to be held?

3. Which aspects of social studies education in China have been adequately explored and which have been explored the least by American scholars?

4. What suggestions or advice have the Americans made to improve social studies education in China?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

Education in China has undergone dramatic changes during the last decade. Many American scholars have studied and related these changes in Chinese education to changes in the Chinese society. Many of them have reported their findings in numerous reports, books, journal articles, and the like. This analysis of American perceptions of Chinese education will:

(1) give people outside China a broader description and understanding of social studies education in China, because education/social studies in China may not have been widely known by the outside world;

(2) present the Chinese people with a sense of how Americans have perceived their education, thereby encouraging them to reflect on and possibly improve their work from a different perspective — "Stones from other hills may serve to polish the jade of this one;"
(3) provide data for American scholars who are interested in changes occurring in Chinese education and society and who wish to explore the topic further; and

(4) facilitate an exchange of ideas among those who share an interest in the study of Chinese education and Chinese society.

METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

This study employed qualitative analysis of two types of data. The first was studies by Western (especially American) scholars of education in China during the post-Cultural Revolution period. The second was the responses of fourteen significant American scholars of Chinese education to a questionnaire. These responses were analyzed in terms of different categories such as:

A. Curriculum:
   a. Description of the curriculum (what is taught or learned)
   b. Advantages and disadvantages of the curriculum (as perceived by the Americans)

B. Instruction or Teaching Strategies:
   a. Description
   b. Advantages or disadvantages

C. Teacher's Role in Teaching the Social Studies
   a. Description
   b. Advantages and disadvantages

D. Students' Role in the Study of the Social Studies
   a. Description
   b. Advantages and disadvantages
Third, this research also compared the American perceptions with what the author has learned and experienced in China's educational system and with his study of recent educational developments in China. Finally, it tried to draw possible implications for both Chinese and American educators by investigating questions such as: (a) What implications can be drawn from the study that are applicable to the improvement of social studies education in China? and (b) What implications may be drawn that seem to be useful to American scholars and social studies teachers?

ASSUMPTIONS AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Since this study employs a qualitative methodology it should be noted that qualitative researchers usually work with "smaller samples of people in fewer global settings" than do survey researchers using random sampling techniques. In addition, qualitative research usually relies upon a purposeful selection of a sample (Miles and Huberman, 1984, p. 36). This study surveys a small sample of American scholars and educators chosen as a result of nomination by experts who had intensively studied Chinese education/social studies and who were familiar with other American scholars or educators who share similar interest/or by locating those whose names had appeared in publications on Chinese education. Therefore, it is assumed that the sample of the study represents those Americans who are more knowledgeable about education in China than either the average American educator or the public in the United States.

Because of constraints of time and available funds, two limitations are inherent in this study. First, the research is mainly based on the publications to which the researcher had access. Thus, the research conclusions are limited by the representatives of these publications. Second, the scholars from whom information was gathered are a
small group of all American scholars/educators who have been involved in studying education in China, although these individuals were carefully selected to be as representative of scholars studying Chinese education as possible.

DEFFNITION OF KEY TERMS

This study will use several terms which require definition and some explanation. The term social studies refers to the teaching and learning of content, skills, and attitudes at the elementary and secondary levels, drawn from social sciences (including history), and to all school sponsored activities in which elementary and secondary students participate while investigating social problems and issues.

The term curriculum includes all major efforts of the school to bring about desired outcomes in school and out-of-school situations. It consists of both explicit and implicit (hidden) curricula.

Youth League is an organization joined by selected youth at the ages between fifteen and twenty-five, with the purpose of assisting the Communist Party.

Young Pioneers is a mass organization for elementary school students. The purpose of the organization is to help young students to grow morally, intellectually, and physically, by means of organizing relevant activities.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature written by Western, especially American, scholars about education in China, with an emphasis on social studies education in the last dozen years.

The definition of the social studies presented in Chapter I was,

the teaching and learning of content, skills, and attitudes at the elementary and secondary levels, drawn from social sciences (including history), and to all school sponsored activities in which elementary and secondary students participate while investigating social problems and issues.

While the term social studies is not used in the school system in China, it basically refers to such courses as politics, history, geography, economics, and such activities as field trips and social investigations, usually offered or organized by the schools.

AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF EDUCATION IN CHINA DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

Education during the Cultural Revolution has been investigated by many American educators. For example, James Doughty (1978) and Christopher Lucas (1978) have summarized key characteristics of Chinese education during the period in the following way:

First, most schools and universities were forced to close their doors at the height of the tumult.
Addition by handwritten that the party leadership Committee formally announced its decision to abolish the old system of entrance period warren intensively studied by Clar at 1966 mind at Shirk, 1966, [sic] in schools at all levels.

Third, schooling was shortened, courses reduced in number, and

American perception of changes in education in China after

1976 schooling was shortened from six to five years and the length of secondary from six to four. Meanwhile, virtually only politics, Chinese language, mathematics, and physical education were taught at the elementary level. Other courses such as history and geography were eliminated in 1976.

In the early 1970s, guiding principle of education in China by serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labor was introduced. The schools were named after a directive made by Mao on May 7th, 1966. The schoolers were supposed to be 'united, reeducated, and reformed' through manual labor and political brainstorm.

Seventh, students were directed to engage in productive labor as well as school studies, and to 'take part in the struggles of the Cultural Revolution to criticize the bourgeoisie as these struggles occur.' (Lucas, 1978, p. 365)

Education in China during the Cultural Revolution was also addressed in other writings such as Unger (1982), Hayhoe (1984), Price (1979), Gilliom (1980), and Birckbichler (1978). The descriptions found in these writings are generally similar to what has been presented above.

In short, during the Cultural Revolution, "anything smacking of professionalism, competition, over-specialization or personal ambition remained suspect." (Lucas, 1978, p. 365)

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1 The schools were named after a directive made by Mao on May 7th, 1966. The schoolers were supposed to be 'united, reeducated, and reformed' through manual labor and political brainstorm.
Additionally, the characteristics of political socialization of school students in that period were intensively studied by Chan (1985) and Shirk (1982).

**AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF CHANGES IN EDUCATION IN CHINA AFTER 1976**

Mao Zedong's death in September 1976 marked the end of the Cultural Revolution. And dramatic changes in education started to take place at that time.

In the early 1970s, some Western educators investigated education in China by taking advantage of the teaching opportunities in China available to them. For example, Price's (1977) *Marx and Education in Russia and China* is a result of such investigation. More researchers in that period, however, relied mainly on the resources available in Hongkong and elsewhere to study education in China (e.g., Shirk, 1982, Unger, 1982, and Chan, 1985). In the mid-1970s, when China opened its door to the Western countries, they were then able to combine field study with their earlier research. Some of the researchers presented their findings about China's education in book form in the late 1970s or the early 1980s (e.g., Price, 1977, 1979; Lofstedt, 1980; Chen, 1981; Hayhoe, 1984; Cleverley, 1985; and Hu & Seifman, 1987). Most of these books address, to some extent, social studies education, although their purpose was to deal with Chinese education in general.

While a large number of Americans explored education in China by visiting that country, some adopted interviews as a method to study education in post-Mao era (e.g., Cogan, 1986) Others mainly relied on the media and literature (e.g., Hayhoe, 1987; Price, 1979; Lofstedt, 1980; and Chen, 1981).

Consistent with the fact that China has continued to open its door to the outside world, more and more Western educators have explored education in China by visit-
ing the country. They thus have produced numerous reports and articles describing what they saw and perceived. These visitors consisted of education delegations from the United States government level (e.g., Montaperto & Henderson, 1979), university/school level (e.g., Enarson, 1978), and other academic groups. These reports and articles brought fresher descriptions about China's education in general and social studies education in particular in the post-Mao era. For instance, Professor M. Eugene Gilliom led a study group to China in 1975, only three years after the historic trip made by President Nixon in 1972. When Gilliom was in China:

The Cultural Revolution was still underway, although it was gradually winding down. Both Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai were still alive. Jiang Qing, Chairman Mao's wife, occupied a position of power, and her influence was widely felt in both political and cultural matters. China's economy was languishing under Mao's inflexible economic policies. (Gilliom, 1985, p. 1)

Regarding education,

Schools were still suffering from the disruptive influence of the Cultural Revolution, and in the classroom political indoctrination took precedence over academic pursuits. Intellectuals throughout China were commonly vilified and were still being sent to May 7th Cadre Schools for reeducation and to have their thoughts purified. (Gilliom, 1985, p. 1)

Changes took place almost immediately after the fall of the Gang of Four in October, 1976. Americans who went to China in 1977 observed such alterations at the early stage. For example, in 1977 The State Education Leaders Delegation paid a visit to China at an interesting time, when media in the United States carried the news that a major effort was freshly underway to get China's schools 'back to the basics.' To illustrate, only days before our arrival more than 20 million young Chinese eligible to enter college had been given the news that for the first time in more than a decade everyone who applied for college would be required to take entrance examinations and be judged primarily by academic skills and not by class background (the predominant criterion of the 1966-1976 era). (Montaperto and Henderson, 1979, p. viii)
However, at the same time, the group still saw some remnants of the Cultural Revolution, such as the Revolutionary Committees, May 7th Cadre Schools, and July 21st Universities. The Delegation developed a report written by the members of the group, under the editorship of Montaperto and Henderson.

In the same year, two professors of The Ohio State University led a group of university educators to China, which, combined with other efforts, resulted in an entire issue of *Theory into Practice*, carrying reports of the group about changes in education after Mao's death (*Theory into Practice*, volume XVII, number 5, 1978).

Lampton investigated the dramatic changes occurring in some major facets of education in China, and summarized them in his "Thermidor in the Chinese Educational Revolution." (1978) Mao Zedong held the naive idea that there should be equal opportunity for education for everyone, and that efforts should be made to provide such equality at all cost, even by reducing the level of education of others. Mao's successors have argued that many of the educational policies of the 1968-1976 period seriously impaired China's ability to modernize. They have urged that "First, we must improve the quality of education and raise the level of teaching in science and culture so as to serve proletarian politics better." (Lampton, 1978, p. 368)

This shift was in reality a change of emphasis in schooling from Red to Expert. According to American observers, the shift in ideology led to changes in numerous aspects of education, including admissions, curriculum, teacher/student relationships, and the like. The following section describes these changes as seen by Western observers.

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2 The universities were named after Mao's directive on higher education made on July 21st, 1967. The directive greatly appraised factory-run universities.
Changes in the Criteria for Admissions

Some American authors noted that, during the Cultural Revolution, students were "selected from among peasants and workers with practical experience and they should return to production after a few years of study." (Lampton, 1978, p. 369) This and other requirements such as class background of the applicants and their political performance served as the criteria for admitting students into higher educational institutions.

Those writers also saw that Deng Xiaoping had a different idea on admissions criteria. In 1978 he clearly stated, "From now on, . . . secondary schools and colleges make an overall examination of the applicants in respect to their moral, intellectual and physical levels and enroll only those who are outstanding." (Peking Review, 1978, pp. 8-9) Deng's directive has led to great changes in the admissions policies in China's schools of secondary and higher education. For example, the 1978 enrollment of college students downplayed class origin as an admission criterion, and prior practical work experience was no longer a rigid requirement. The entrance examination was to play the most important role in enrollment since 1966 when the Party's Central Committee formally announced its decision to abolish the system of entrance examinations (Hu and Seifman, 1987, p. 61).

The military crackdown on student demonstrators in Beijing in June, 1989, has signaled a sharp change in the direction of educational development starting at the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976. This change is, of course, too recent to be reflected in Western scholars' perceptions in the form of literature. In fact, educational changes in China after June, 1989 are beyond the focus of this study.
Changes in Curriculum

As Lampton pointed out,

Since the Chairman's passing in September 1976, there has been a great reemphasis on basic academic subjects and fundamental scientific research, a limited reinvigoration of the social sciences, the reemergence of graduate study, the lengthening of the period of schooling, a reduction in the political content of classroom work, and an increase in the number of students enrolled in higher education. (Lampton, 1978, pp. 370-71)

Unlike the immediate post-Cultural Revolution period, manual labor unrelated to one's experience is not presently seen as a desirable rite of political purification necessary to assure that intellectuals remain close to the masses. In addition, foreign languages, especially English, have been established as a required subject for nearly all students (Doughty, 1978, p. 380). The emphasis on science, theory, and classroom study has gone hand-in-hand with a deemphasis on education's responsibility to change students' political values (Doughty, 1978, p. 380).

Changes in Teacher-Student Relationships

Since teachers, as well as intellectuals, were regarded as bourgoise intellectuals or the "ninth stinking category" in Mao's era, students were encouraged to criticize their teachers and other academic authorities, and to seek some control over school administration. Teachers at that time were generally discouraged from using tests. "While there was intense debate about the utility and desirability of using exams throughout the 1968-1976 period, great risks were assumed by teachers who dared employ them." (Lampton, 1978, p. 371) For instance,

In 1973 and 1974, several students became national models for resisting the reintroduction of academic tests and for having turned in examinations which failed to answer the questions but, instead, attacked the educational system itself. A young student named Huang Shuai, for instance, almost achieved celebrity status in 1974 for having refused to be a 'docile' student held in check by a teacher's status or authority. (Lampton, 1978, p. 371)
The most ridiculous example of this approach to testing was that of Zhang Tie-sheng, a student who turned in a blank examination paper with a statement denouncing tests. Zhang became a national "hero," for "going against the tide." The arrest of Zhang, who "boarded the pirate ship of the Gang of Four," marked the end of the era.

Lampton noted,

In contrast, policies in the post-Mao era have strongly emphasized academic achievement, order, and hierarchy, and the dignity of teachers. As well, academic failure is, once again, possible. For instance, in 1977, one school was reported by a western source to have held back 3–4 percent of the first graders. (Lampton, 1978, p. 372)

The Reemergence of Key Schools

During the Cultural Revolution "key schools" were vulnerable to criticism on grounds of being elitist, and they completely disappeared. "With Mao Zedong's passing and the assumption of power by a successor coalition seemingly dedicated to rapid economic modernization," however, "policy has been changed to, once again, encourage the establishment of key schools at the primary, secondary, and university levels." (Lampton, 1978, p. 373)

Key schools are provided with more experienced faculties and better facilities, and have the priority to admit better students. They are also expected to act as models for non-key schools in various aspects (Hu & Seifman, 1987, p. 102).

Changes in Centralization of Education in Order to Prescribe Quality Standards at All Levels

In the early years of the Cultural Revolution, government authorities—including the Ministry of Education and the State Council—were charged with "revisionary agencies" of Liu Shao-qi, former President of the country, and thus lost control of
schools at all levels. Different organizations, under the name of revolution, seized the power of the local schools. By the end of the Cultural Revolution, many provinces and major cities adopted their own textbooks, for instance. With the purpose to keep the schools under control and to upgrade their quality, the post-Mao government centralized the leadership of education. New policies and textbooks have been issued since 1978 (Lofstedt, 1982, pp. 150-55; Unger, 1982, pp. 207-17; Hu & Seifman 1987, pp. 71-72).

**Strong Reemphasis on Discipline and Overt Academic Competition**

As noted in 1985 by Gilliom, "The unending barrage of political rhetoric has largely been replaced by serious study. Students again are competing by examinations for the limited number of spaces in colleges and universities..." (Gilliom, 1985, p. 3)

The recirculation of the "rules for students" along with the reintroduction of the national college entrance examination and other academic competitions are examples of these changes (Hu and Seifman, 1987, pp. 91-2 & pp. 61-2).

**AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA SINCE 1976**

Although not many American scholars have concentrated their interest strictly on social studies education in China, some conducted in-depth research in this field after the Cultural Revolution, and have presented significant findings. These are: Gilliom (1980, 1985), Tucker and Gilliom (1984), Montaperto and Henderson (1981), Stephen (1978), Brarendsen (1980), Kerr (1978), and Hu and Seifman (1987).

The relatively few people directly dealing with social studies education in China by no means indicates that China's social studies education has not been a concern of American scholars and educators. First, virtually all books, articles, and reports about
education in China address certain aspects of social studies education in that country. Politics and moral education permeate virtually all academic subjects and school activities. Every teacher is supposed to care for students' moral behavior and ideology in every possible way. Thus, even though an American intends to observe and address education in general, his description and perceptions carry messages and evidence relating to social studies education in China. In addition, the use of a questionnaire to collect data from purposefully selected samples in this study largely supplement the weaknesses in the literature.

Most research studies incorporate exhaustive literature reviews throughout but primarily in the initial stages (usually in Chapter II). The major purpose of literature review is to determine what already has been done and what needs to be done (Gay, 1981, p. 29). In historical or literature research, however, the review of literature actually provides the research data (Ibid., p. 148). Also it is noted that by studying the research of others, one may synthesize and formulate an interpretation of one's own study.

For this study, a review of existing literature has been briefly conducted to determine the extent of materials available, to determine the feasibility of such a study, and to determine if a complete and exhaustive investigation has been conducted previously. A detailed review and analysis of the literature and the presentation of the data will be shown in Chapter IV, while the next chapter, Chapter III, will be devoted to the explanation of the methodology employed in this study.
CHAPTER III
METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the methodology used in this research. The first section explains the rationale for selecting qualitative inquiry as the main methodology. The second section describes how the study was conducted, including the design, data collection, and data analysis. In the third section, the trustworthiness and delimitations of the research are discussed.

RATIONALE

Two scientific paradigms — the naturalistic paradigm and the rationalistic paradigm — are usually used in educational research. A paradigm is "a systematic set of beliefs, along with their accompanying methods." (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, P. 15) Lincoln and Guba refer to the naturalistic paradigm as "phenomenological, ethnographic, humanistic, or qualitative," while the rationalistic paradigm is "positivistic." (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 7)

The two paradigms differ on basic assumptions concerning the nature of reality, the relationship of researcher/object, and the nature of "truth statements." The assumptions of each are summarized in the following discussion of Guba and Lincoln's work (1981).

The rationalistic paradigm sees the world as objective. It can be fragmented into a series of independent subsystems, called variables, which can be manipulated to dis-
cover their relationship. Each subsystem can be studied and manipulated without influencing other subsystems. The relationships between subsystems serve as the focus of disciplined inquiry which is undertaken in order to predict and control specific subsystems. The rationalistic paradigm is based upon the assumption that "there is a single reality upon which inquiry can be converged." The naturalistic paradigm is based upon opposite assumptions. Inquiry does not lead to a convergent reality, but to divergent realities. The naturalistic paradigm holds that there are multiple realities which will emerge from inquiry. These multiple realities are intricately interwined to form patterns which primarily need to be understood for the sake of understanding rather than for the purpose of prediction and control (Guba and Lincoln, 1981, pp. 56-57).

The rationalistic paradigm also assumes that there can a separation of researcher and subject. (After all, each is a separate variable.) The naturalistic paradigm holds that the researcher and the phenomenon are "characterized by interactivity." The researcher brings into the inquiry his own conception of reality which must be considered along with the "developing information." (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 58)

Finally, the rationalistic paradigm holds that "truth statements" and generalization are context free and can be used for developing general laws. The naturalistic paradigm emphasizes a thick description of the multiple realities within the realm of inquiry and seeks working hypotheses for understanding while eschewing generalizations to other contexts. Hence, the former concentrates upon similarities while the latter focuses upon similarities as well as differences (Guba & Lincoln, 1981, pp. 58-9).

As regards the methods of scientific inquiry, the rationalistic researcher prefers quantitative techniques, is concerned about the quality of rigor in the design of the inquiry, uses a priori theoretical basis, and seeks causal relationships within the sub-
systems. The naturalistic researcher prefers qualitative techniques, is concerned about the quality of relevance in the study, and is interested in the relationships among the multiple realities in the natural setting. Furthermore, the naturalistic researcher uses propositional and tacit knowledge and sees the purpose of his inquiry as the discovery of relationships, whereas the rationalistic researcher uses only propositional knowledge and sees the purpose of inquiry as verification.

Differences between the two paradigms affect the characteristics of their respective methodologies. The instrument for the rationalistic researcher is often either a test or physical device, while the naturalistic researcher considers himself one of the instruments in the study. While the rationalistic study design is preordained, the naturalistic is emergent. To conduct their studies rationalistic researchers intervene to create a situation, often in a laboratory; the naturalistic researcher prefers to select natural settings.

The purpose of this study is to analyze American scholars' perceptions of social studies education in China during 1976 and 1988, in order to assist them in obtaining a more comprehensive understanding of education in today's China. Educational publications are the best resources where American scholars and educators have systematically expressed their perceptions of education in China. Thus, the related literature will serve as the best data base of this study. The method of the study, in a narrow sense, is literature (historical) research. "The steps involved in conducting a historical research study are essentially the same as for other types of research," including definition of a problem, formulation of hypotheses (or questions to be answered), systematic collection of data, objective evaluation of data, and confirmation or disconfirmation of hypotheses." (Gay, 1981, p. 245)
This study, however, is not limited to historical research, because (1) what American scholars have expressed in publications might not cover all aspects of social studies education in China; and (2) since the period of American perceptions of social studies education in which the researcher is interested (1976 through 1988) is recent, many of the Americans who have studied this topic are still active in the field. Therefore, this study also used an open-ended questionnaire to gather additional information to enrich the data drawn from the literature and to better represent perceptions of this field. The open-ended questions covered most dimensions of social studies education in China. As a result, this study is descriptive in nature (Gay, 1981, p. 153). Yet, the data gathered from the questionnaire can also be considered and treated as supplementary information to confirm the published materials concerning American perceptions of social studies education in China.

The purpose of this research was to identify what American scholars have learned about social studies education in China and how, if possible, they perceive social studies education in China. In other words, the focus was the different types of information concerning various aspects of social studies education in China. For example, the research sought to identify how American scholars have perceived the social studies curriculum, or the teacher/students' roles in the social studies classrooms, rather than identifying how many, or the percentage of American scholars, who have perceived particular aspects of social studies education in China. Therefore, in a broader sense, using Guba and Lincoln's (1981, p. 82) model or Willems and Raush's domains of inquiry concept (see figure 3), the core of the methodology employed in this study falls within the naturalistic perspectives.

This model provides a conceptual framework for all forms of inquiry. The two axes on the model represent antecedent conditions (all variables that might impinge
Figure 3: Representation of the Domain of Inquiry (Taken from Guba & Lincoln, 1981, p. 79)

upon the study at the outset) and outputs (all variables that the inquirer might attend to once the study is under way). The upper right hand corner represents the "ideal" scientific, or rationalistic study—a high degree of constraints on both dimensions; the lower left hand corner represents the "ideal" naturalistic study—low constraints on either dimension.

This study falls within the naturalistic area of the model even though there are constraints placed on both dimensions. The constraints placed upon the antecedent conditions, are (a) the return rate of open-ended questionnaires, (b) limitation in space for responses to questions, (c) difficulty selecting responders with the desired characteristics for interviewing, and (d) the conditions of the interview itself (e.g., interviewer's procedures). These antecedent constraints influence the outputs by the limited nature of the open-ended questionnaire and interview questions, and by the response abilities of the individuals under the conditions present at the time.
DESIGN OF THE STUDY

This study adopted mainly a literature research approach guided by the naturalistic perspective and is qualitative rather than quantitative. Gay has outlined three basic research steps for this kind of investigation: 1) the systematic and objective collection of data; 2) the systematic and objective analysis of data; and 3) the interpretation of the collected material.

DATA COLLECTION

Data were collected primarily through library research. Major educational periodicals, books, and reports were consulted, and an "automated reference" search under key terms such as education, social studies education, and China was made. While reading articles concerning education in China, the researcher recorded perceptions of the authors relating to every aspect of social studies education in China, with the emphasis on the goals, curriculum, teaching/learning methods, student organizations of social studies education in China, and the like (see Appendix A).

Another part of the data was collected through an open-ended questionnaire.

The Design

Education, especially social studies education, in China was a relatively new area for American educators to explore in the last decade. Since it is likely that they did not examine all aspects of social studies education in China, a questionnaire was designed to gather more specific information and to enrich or to confirm the published material about social studies education in China.

Social studies has been described as a "seamless web." (Barr, Barth, & Shermis, 1977, p. 1) This is especially true in China, where the term is virtually not used. Thus, a definition is necessary to narrow this ambiguous subject in order to have a
manageable field to study. Such a definition has been previously provided. A sub-
ject matter usually includes its formal and informal parts. The formal part refers to 
aspects such as its teaching materials, curriculum, instructional patterns, teacher-student 
roles and their relationships in the educational process. The informal part includes 
activities taking place outside the classroom but relating to the subject, such as organ-
ized extracurricular activities.

In addition, since this study is intended both to assist educators outside China to 
better understand education in that country and to help the Chinese educators reflect 
and improve their work, it was also designed to gather information on related aspects 
such as how American scholars/educators have studied Chinese education, what they 
have learned, what more they wish to know, what they think the strengths and 
weaknesses are, and what suggestions they have to offer for improving this field in 
China. All these issues were concretized in the questionnaire, which is included as 
Appendix A in this study.

The questionnaire was designed to meet the following criteria:

(a) Does the questionnaire cover every dimension of social studies education in 
China?

(b) Are the items clearly stated?

(c) Is the wording of the items biased or objectionable in any manner?

(d) Are the items constructed to have the least influence on responses?

(e) Is the instrument as brief as possible given the information sought?

As a pilot study, copies of a draft version of the questionnaire were sent to a 
small group of persons with very similar characteristics to the actual respondents. 
The questionnaire was then revised based on the results of the pilot study.
Selection of Respondents

Since relatively few Americans have conducted significant studies about social studies education in China during the last decade, purposeful selection of respondents was undertaken. The researcher consulted Professor M. Eugene Gilliom of The Ohio State University, who has led eleven social studies study groups to China since 1975, conducted significant research on China, and had access to a considerable number of names and addresses of people with a similar interest, to obtain names of possible respondents.

The respondents consisted of university professors, academic institution researchers, school teachers, and educational administrators. Some of these respondents held more than one professional position. Initially, thirty questionnaires were sent and sixteen of them were returned, including four respondents who stated that they did not have enough knowledge to complete the questionnaires. Then followed a small number of follow-up telephone interviews. Finally, three more questionnaires were sent, which produced two additional valid questionnaires. The low return rate itself perhaps indicates that few American scholars and educators have been engaged in the careful study of social studies education in China during the last decade.

DATA ANALYSIS

Miles and Huberman (1984) suggest that analyses of qualitative data consist of three major procedures: data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification (p. 21). In reducing the data from both the questionnaires and the literature, the researcher was guided by the following questions:

(a) Why did American scholars want to study Chinese education? How did they do this?
(b) What have they learned social studies education in China during the last decade?

(c) How did they perceive to be the strengths and weaknesses of social studies education in China? What did they think about the applicability or the implications of the strengths? What suggestions have they offered to overcome the weaknesses?

(d) What more would they like to know about social studies education in China?

While the questions above provided a general framework for data collection and data analysis, the items listed in the questionnaire served as specific guidelines for in-depth data analysis.

For example, first, the headings and subheadings were used as codes to categorize the data into parts relating particular aspects of social studies education in China. For example, "B(1)a" represents American perceptions regarding textbooks for social studies; "B(5)a" refers to the information about the goal of social studies education in developing citizenship. If some perceptions did not properly fit into the codes available, new codes were created. This process helped to present the data in a clear, logical pattern.

Second, after being reduced, the data were presented in the order listed in the questionnaire. New categories were added if necessary. If certain items were often described or mentioned, they were considered more deeply perceived.

Third, the data were analyzed to discover why certain aspects of social studies education in China were known more, and why others less. When necessary, the researcher provided additional information about those less perceived aspects, based on what he has experienced or what he knows about Chinese education.

Fourth, the data were analyzed to determine the degree of accuracy of the American perceptions of Chinese social studies education.
Fifth, the data were analyzed for implications possibly applicable to education either in the United States or in China.

**INTERPRETATION OF DATA AND TRUSTWORTHINESS OF THE STUDY**

The final step in the historical/qualitative research process was interpreting and drawing conclusions from the data. According to Jones, this task "should be done with full recognition of the beliefs or biases which the researcher has identified in his own make." (Jones, 1973)

While bias or prejudice may be thought of as exaggerated points of view, the point of view, experience, beliefs, and attitudes of the researcher must affect the interpretation (Shafer, 1974, p. 26). This investigator attempted to differentiate clearly between evidence and personal inference.

According to Miles and Huberman (1984), verification should be made after conclusions are drawn. The verification of conclusions "may be as brief as a fleeting 'second thought' crossing the analyst's mind during the writing." (p. 22) Or, if certain data collected were vague or ambiguous, they were checked with different sources or respondents. In the terminology preferred by the naturalistic researchers, this is "triangulation." (Lincoln and Guba, 1981, p. 121) In addition, this researcher also acknowledged that, since he himself was involved as an instrument in the data collection, respondents might have given less critical opinions of China's education. Readers of this study are encouraged to judge to what extent the researcher has influenced American scholars to express their ideas. Moreover, since the researcher is a Chinese citizen, his analysis and critique of American perceptions could also be different from researchers with other cultural backgrounds and should be taken into consideration. Actually, from the standpoint of mutual understanding, a Chinese citizen's analysis of
American perceptions of education in China should be interesting to Americans in the field. Therefore, the methodological strategies described above should assist the reader to assess the trustworthiness of this study or to critique the methodology, given the purpose of the study.

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

For the purpose of this study, the researcher imposed the following delimitations:

(1) He attempted to identify both how and why American scholars have perceived social studies education in China in a particular way, against his experience, knowledge, and other sources about education in China.

(2) One of the purposes of this study was to provide American educators, as well as the public, with a broader picture of social studies education in China. This researcher attempted to contrast the American perceptions with what he knows about social studies education in China. Clarification was made if certain perceptions seemed to be misleading, and additional information about Chinese social studies education was provided if deemed necessary.

In this chapter, the rationale of the study has been described. The development of the study addressing the design, the data collection, the data analysis, the trustworthiness, and the delimitation have also been discussed. The next chapter will present the findings of the research.
CHAPTER IV
PRESENTATION OF DATA

The previous chapters have provided a general introduction to China's education system, a brief review of the related literature written by Western, particularly American scholars, and a description of methodology used in this study. This chapter presents the results of the research. Since the data were generally gathered using the organization of the questionnaire designed for this research, the presentation of the data also follows the basic pattern of the questionnaire.

A(1) MAJOR REASONS FOR AMERICAN SCHOLARS/EDUCATORS TO STUDY EDUCATION IN CHINA

The question asked in the questionnaire was: "Why did you decide to study Chinese education?" Despite the open-ended nature of this question, the answers given by the respondents were similar. Examination of the responses indicates four major reasons for American educators to study education in China. (Some individual respondents gave more than one reason.) These reasons were:

a) Personal interest in China, including its history, society, and education;

b) Desires to complete or improve one's job-related tasks. For example, "I hope to learn about education in China so that I could share my insight with students with whom I work." (Q—refers to "Questionnaire.")
c) The belief that China will play an important role in the world in the future. For example, as one respondent said, "considering the important role China will play in the coming years in the world, it is well that we understand education there."

d) The belief that studying another culture helps one to better understand others', including one's own. The data found in the returned questionnaires are summarized in Table 1:

Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no. of responses for each reason</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of respondents giving particular reason</td>
<td>64.28</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>50.00</td>
<td>28.71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=14

The data gathered from the literature regarding the reasons that American scholars/educators studied education in China were generally similar with those found in the survey. In addition, some writers chose to study schools in China because they believed that schools "played a crucial role in the Maoist revolutionary experiment, and because at a distance it appeared that the schools had been successful in promoting social equality and replacing competition with cooperation." (Shirk, 1982, p. ix)
A(2) MAJOR MEANS BY WHICH AMERICAN SCHOLARS/EDUCATORS STUDY EDUCATION IN CHINA

The respondents were asked: "By what means did you study Chinese education?"
The data found in this study indicated that most respondents and authors on China have studied Chinese education through the media and by visiting the country. In addition, of the fourteen respondents who gave valid information in the questionnaires, half have attended conferences and/or conversed with Chinese students, educators, friends or colleagues who have studied, lived, taught, or worked in China.

A(3) WHAT ADDITIONALLY DO AMERICAN SCHOLARS/EDUCATORS WISH TO KNOW ABOUT EDUCATION IN CHINA?

The question asked was: "What more would you like to know about education in China?" Answers to this question in the questionnaires are very diverse—from no desire to know anything more because a particular project has been completed, to "anything and everything because of the belief that little has been known about education in China." (Q)

However, most respondents identified one or more specific areas of education about which they would like to know more. These are:

—exchange of ideas between Chinese and American educators (42.83%—This figure refers to the percentage of valid returned questionnaires that carry information on this aspect. Similarly hererinafter.);

—mandatory education program, quality of education in rural areas, drop-out rate (35.71%);

—social studies education—the values, beliefs, attitudes of adolescents and college-age youth; the role of social studies education in vocational schools; the role of geography in the elementary and middle schools (35.71%);
—teacher-pupil relationships in the transfer of ideas, insights, and the formulation of new understandings (28.57%);
—how political/economic forces affect education decisions (21.43%);
—teacher education (21.43%);
—how education meets the goals of being "red" and "expert" (21.43%);
—common problems of developing "modern" educational systems in the developing world—issues, proposed solutions, etc. (14.28%);
—balance of educational development between rural and urban areas (14.28%);
—plans for the education of handicapped (emotional and physical) children (14.28%);
—plans and procedures to develop critical and creative thinking at all levels (14.28%);
—policy making processes regarding curriculum and the financing of schools (7.14%);
—females and their educational opportunities (7.14);
—opportunity for adult education (7.14%).

**B(1) AMERICAN PERCEPTIONS OF SOCIAL STUDIES CURRICULUM MATERIALS**

The respondents were asked to describe the characteristics of social studies curriculum materials in China in four categories: (1) textbooks, (2) teaching materials produced by local schools or teachers, (3) hidden curriculum, and (4) other. The data gathered from both the questionnaires and the literature are organized and presented as follows.
Course Arrangement

A number of American scholars have noted the course arrangement in China's schools after the Cultural Revolution (e.g., Hayhoe, 1984; Kerr, 1978; Tucker & Gilliom, 1984; Gilliom, 1980; and Petri, 1984). For example, Hayhe found in 1984 that the "Teaching Plan for Full-time Five-year Primary Schools (1982)" suggested to offer such courses in elementary schools: ideological and moral education, Chinese, mathematics, foreign language (offered only in schools with the necessary resources), natural science, geography, history, physical education, music, art, and labour. Of these courses, history, geography, and labour were offered in the last one or two years of the elementary school. According to the "Teaching Plan," about seven percent of the 4644 class hours was devoted to the three typical social studies courses—ideological and moral education, history, and geography (Hayhoe, 1984, p. 53). Hayhoe and several other writers of the literature also noted that a decision was made in 1982 by the State Council to extend the length of elementary schooling from five to six years. The six year schools offered a similar curriculum (Tucker & Gilliom, 1984, p. 319).

Typical offerings for six-year key middle schools (1982) in Guangzhou, Guangdong Province included courses in Chinese Language, Mathematics, Physics, Chemistry, Foreign Language, History, Geography, Biology, Hygiene, Physical Education, Fine Arts, and Labour Training. Students had some choice of courses during the six years, depending on whether they were headed for engineering or liberal arts in college. Those who selected a liberal arts specialty were required to spend over nineteen percent (19.12%) of the 5554 class hours in the six years on social studies courses such as politics, history, and geography, while those who intended to select a science specialty spent about fifteen percent (15.44%) of the 5734 total hours on those three
social studies courses. However, both groups were required to spend the same amount of time (384 hours) on politics in the six years.

Characteristics of Social Studies Curriculum Materials

Half (50%) of the respondents said that they had very little or no experience in or opinion about the characteristics of social studies education curriculum materials in China. However, the data provided by the other half of the respondents as well as information provided by the research literature give us the following picture of social studies education in the post-Cultural Revolution period.

First, efforts have been since 1978 and are still being made to update and modernize curriculum materials (including textbooks) and educational equipment. "Political jargon has been largely reduced in the revised textbooks, especially on philosophy, political economy, and history." (Lofstedt, 1980, p. 151 and Q)

Next, in 1978, "basic curricula, teaching materials, textbooks, and teaching outlines both for primary and secondary schools have been standardized," with slight variations reflecting local needs and interests (Chen, K., 1978, p. 20; and Gilliom, 1980, p. 20).

Third, political education is still a major subject of the curriculum, but it is not supposed to take a major portion of time of students and teachers. "Brighter students have the option of taking placement tests for (most) school subjects in order to be exempted from enrolling in such courses, but political education is not a subject that a student may skip by passing an examination." (Chen, 1981, p. 169)

Fourth, emphasis has been placed on a correct and comprehensive understanding of the comprehensive system of Mao Zedong thought, rather than piecemeal quotations of his words. (Q)
Fifth, the emphasis apparently is heavily upon geography and development of social, political attitudes and values though the phrasing in the text may not directly suggest this to be the case. (Q)

Sixth, the data in the textbooks are presented in narrative or anecdotal style according to a predetermined value system. Children are urged to evaluate revolutionary heroes in little morality plays that seem to have had little lasting effect. (Q) Patriotism remains an especially prominent theme. The stories which children and teenagers read in and outside school promote this linkage. Children are to identify with their heroes and to see the patriotic/socialist cause as worthy of their sacrifice. The notion of political efficacy becomes a central theme in a student's responsibility to boost his or her efficacy by getting into the Young Pioneers and, when older, the Communist Youth League. (Q)

Seventh, Marxist-Leninist interpretation of history is found in the text. The emphasis is upon facts and ideology — less emphasis upon concepts and generalizations in the spirit of reflective inquiry. (Q)

Eighth, generally, the textbooks reflect the political climate at the time. They are consistent with the Communist Party's motives and views of the world. Most of the textbooks tend to be somewhat drab and unexciting. (Q)

Ninth, textbooks are more like inexpensive paperbacks than the colorful texts found in American classrooms (Montaperto & Henderson, 1979, p. 86; Chen, K., 1980, p. 25).

Tenth, history textbooks usually end with a list of important dates. Each lesson is followed by two or three short comprehension questions (Price, 1979, p. 127).

Illustrative sections of a history textbook used in 1984 were described by two American educators. (Tucker & Gilliom, 1984, p. 322) However, this study finds that
virtually no social studies textbooks used in China's schools after the Cultural Revolution have been systematically described and intensively analyzed by Western scholars. The only indepth study of textbooks used prior to the Cultural Revolution was done by Price (1979, pp. 125-26). His study was based on the three history textbooks available to him. The tables of contents of the textbooks translated by Price are shown in Appendix B as an example of the social studies textbooks because they are similar to those used in China's schools today.

Curriculum—Local/Teacher-developed Materials

No significant data about this area were found in the available literature, and only four respondents answered this question in the questionnaire. The first wrote that he did not see any teaching materials developed other than lessons on chalkboards. The second said: "My impression is that such materials are rather spare. Good materials are difficult to come by." The third reported that he has heard much about this type of material, such as a demographic geography course at the high school level in Beijing, but he has never seen any. The fourth respondent noted: "Some elementary teachers were skilled at producing little classroom dramas."

Curriculum—Hidden Curriculum

Twelve (85.71%) of the returned questionnaires carry information addressing the hidden curriculum. Of the twelve respondents, three (25%) explicitly stated that "the hidden curriculum is not very well hidden." (Q) Furthermore, all twelve agreed that the goal of the hidden curriculum is to "promote" or "reinforce" officially approved views in the Chinese society. (Q)

The data gathered from the literature seem to confirm the views of the respondents on the social studies hidden curriculum in China, and seem to address this issue
more profoundly, with more detailed descriptions or analysis. For example, Shirk pointed out:

Chinese educational experts have shown a recognition that the structure of school as well as the content of the curriculum influences student behavior. They have reminded teachers that textbook lessons on cooperation will be ignored unless they are experienced in daily life, and that students would learn collectivism only if they are organized collectively with a clear group goal. (Shirk, 1982, p. 157)

Thus, collectives are organized from the beginning when a pupil enters elementary school. Such collectives include a class, Young Pioneers, Youth League, etc. Peer pressure is purposefully arranged to influence students' ideology and behavior. Moreover, family and other social/ extracurricular activities are also supposed to act consistently for the same purpose. Whenever possible, the study of various subjects other than social studies is also influenced by political themes which add to the pupils' growing awareness of their responsibilities to the country. (Price, 1977, p. 338; Gilliom, 1980, p. 391; Shirk, 1982, pp. 157-58)

Other Curriculum Materials

No significant data about other curriculum materials of social studies education in China were found in the questionnaire. However, the literature carried considerable information on this aspect. Since all school subjects are supposed to carry out the goal of social education in China, subjects other than the social studies, in a broad sense, can be seen as other aspects of the social studies curriculum. Included, for example, are physical education (e.g., Tien, 1978, p. 398), drawing (e.g., Adkins, 1978, pp. 401-09), and even morning exercise and eye exercise between classes (Petri, 1984, p. 9). Obviously, it is not practical to include all these school subjects in the discussion of this study, which is concerned more narrowly with social studies education. But it seems reasonable to view the practice of the "Rules of Conduct for Students"
As a supplement to the social studies textbook of the Catholic primary schools, emphasis is deliberately placed on related socio-cultural fields. More than any other subject, social studies emphasize the responsibility and role of the students in social behavior. More than any other subject, social studies emphasize the responsibility and role of the students in social behavior. More than any other subject, social studies emphasize the responsibility and role of the students in social behavior. More than any other subject, social studies emphasize the responsibility and role of the students in social behavior.

1. Set a good example for students by being honest and straightforward.
2. Follow the rules of the school and the Ministry of Education, and do not violate any of them.
3. Maintain public order and discipline.
4. Study conscientiously and do homework conscientiously.
5. Love physical labor and do for oneself whatever is within one's ability.
6. Live plainly, consume grain economically. Do not be fussy about food and clothes, and do not squander money.
7. Abide by school discipline and public order.
8. Respect teachers, be united with school matters, be polite to others, don't scold or fight with others.
9. Be concerned about the collective, love public property, and turn in whatever one has picked up.


The "Rules of Conduct for Middle School Students" are similar:

1. Love the motherland and the people, support the Chinese Communist Party. Study diligently and be ready to contribute to socialist modernization.

2. Get to school on time, don't be late to class, don't leave school ahead of time, don't be absent without good reason.

3. Pay attention to class, use your brain and do your homework conscientiously.

4. Take exercise regularly, and participate in sports and other recreational activities.

5. Pay attention to Hygiene, don't smoke or drink, and don't spit.

6. Take part in physical labour and lead a simple, plain life.

7. Observe school discipline and public order, and obey the law.

8. Respect your teachers, cooperate with your schoolmates, be polite and do not swear or fight.

9. Love the collective, protect public property, do nothing harmful to the collective or to individuals.

10. Be modest and honest, and correct the mistake you make. (Hu & Seifman, 1987, p. 92)

These rules are obviously intended to reinforce the purpose of education, which is to enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically. "At the primary and middle school levels, Chinese educators are committed to students' moral, intellectual and physical growth simultaneously and in a balanced way." (Tien, 1978, p. 98)
A final characteristic of the social studies curriculum in China's secondary school is that, as noted by Hayhoe, it is heavily affected by the nature of the annual college entrance examinations designed by the Ministry of Education (now known as the State Education Commission) (Hayhoe, 1984, p. 74). Theoretically, the content of the exams is based on or drawn from the content of the normal curriculum taught in the school. However, those topics likely being tested will receive most attention from both the teacher and the students. Each year before the examinations are held, for example, a review outline is worked out and made public for students to prepare for the tests. If certain topics are not listed in the outline, they will be largely ignored by the school (Chen, 1981, p. 180; Barendsen, 1984, pp. 181-93).

In brief, Anrig summarized that politics is an important part of the school curriculum in China. He further pointed out that politics enters the curriculum in four ways:

First, (political) symbols are utilized to present certain themes, messages, and desired behavior patterns. Second, these symbols and themes provide a context for the presentation of more 'substantive' aspects of the learning process. Third, politics in its broadest sense enters the curriculum because of the connection of the classroom experience with the process of productive labor in its many different forms. Finally, politics is important in that it forms an integral component of the curriculum as a separate and distinct subject of study. (Anrig, 1979, p. 89)

B(2)INSTRUCTIONAL METHODS USED IN SOCIAL STUDIES

The respondents were asked to describe the characteristics of social studies instruction as they perceived them in categories such as "lecture," "child-centered activities," "using educational media," and "other." Their perceptions are presented in the following.
Lecture

All the respondents reported that instruction in Chinese schools appears to be dominated by the lecture method, although the degree of the domination was described in different terms such as "always," "nearly 100%," "commonest," "frequently," "primarily," and "stressed."

In addition, three respondents specified that lecturing as an instructional method was more dominant at the secondary school level than at the elementary school level. Three other respondents, while agreeing that lecture is a primary method used in the social studies classroom, noted that "many lectures, however, are complemented by some discussion and reaction." (Q) A respondent even explained why lecture has become dominant in the classroom: "The physical space and sheer numbers of students in the space provided would mitigate against many other approaches to teaching." (Q)

However, some American visitors also provided different pictures about the instructional methods used by teachers in China. For example, a visitor, based on her observation of a primary school in Nanking, wrote:

Teaching methods concentrate on developing an interest in learning. The children are taught to think, rote learning is avoided; and encouragement is given to productive labor. Trips are taken to communes and factories to improve student motivation, and pupils organize their own study groups and preview their work before class. (Kerr, 1978, p. 74)

Two members of the State Education Leaders Delegation have also provided a similar description:

The dominant impression reflected in the reports of previous delegations is that rote learning is the major characteristic of Chinese school methodology. Generally speaking, our own observations confirm this impression. However, we also noted numerous examples of non-rote methods. We saw more than a few instances in which the child was allowed to interact directly with the material or learning situation rather than required to follow strictly in a path set by the teacher. (Montaperto and Henderson, 1979, p. 127)
They further pointed out, however, that "the child progressing from kindergarten through the primary grades confronts increasingly more rote learning situations." (p. 127)

Social Studies Instruction: Child-centered Activities

Child-centered activities as a method of teaching social studies in China have not been described in the studies conducted by American scholars. However, many respondents (64.29%) noted the existence of such an instructional method in China's schools. For example, they perceived that such activities usually take place in kindergartens, play schools, primary schools, and Children's Palaces (28.57%). Some noted that such an approach tends to be teacher controlled, but often children are actively involved. It also involves games, daily exercises, and group projects (28.57%). Lastly, some observed that such activities tend to be geared toward socializing the children as opposed to social studies instruction per se, "much as the U.S. and other countries where the socialization is woven within the fabric of the educational system." (21.43%)

Social Studies Instruction: Using Educational Media

No significant data were found in the literature to describe the use of educational media as a method to teach social studies in China. Over fourteen percent (14.29%) of the respondents reported that the use of educational media has been observed, but in a "primitive" stage.
Social Studies Instruction: Other Methods or Approaches

About fourteen percent (14.29%) of the respondents noted that, in addition to the instructional methods discussed above, manipulation and bulletin boards are sometimes used in schools in China. They further noted that manipulation is especially used at preschool and elementary levels, and that bulletin boards are generally used to inform students of political sages, moral values, and philosophy.

The literature indicated that other methods are also used for social studies education in China. The first is group activities. The idea is to place young students in situations where peer-group pressure could be used to influence each other to abide by the official norms. For example, "naughty children were apt to find their behavior criticized in 'small group' sessions of a dozen or so children." (Unger, 1982, p. 89)

The second is teaching by a constant use of examples and models of revolutionary virtue (Anrig, 1979, p. 90). Heroes, good students, and other models are usually held for students to emulate (Unger, 1982, p. 97).

The third is academic and political competition. Study competition among students, groups, classes, and schools are held both regularly and irregularly to spur student motivation for study (Shirk, 1982, p. 168-69; & Anrig, 1979, p. 91). Similarly, assignments, tests and exams are widely used as a method in part to judge teaching effectiveness and student performance and to spur greater efforts to study (Kerr, 1978, p. 75). Each student is tested on his knowledge twice a year through a series of standardized exams. Students who do not pass are allowed to take the exam again at the end of the next semester. If the exam is failed a second time, the student is expected to repeat the grade. The failure rate is controlled by the State and is expected to remain at less than five percent (Petri, 1984, p. 10).
Organized political competition usually takes the form of "Three-Good-Student" or "Five-Good-Student" contest held every term. The winners are supposed to be the all-round best students in the class: Three Good Students have to be good in political thought, study, and physical fitness, and Five Good Students have to be good in those three aspects as well as in labor and political performance (Unger, 1982, pp. 70-73).

Closely related to competition is cooperation. While competitions are held on one side, cooperation is always encouraged on the other. Brighter students are expected to help the slower learners in their studies as well as in other aspects (Shirk, 1982, pp. 165-69).

Fourth, key schools, with better teachers, equipment, and more financial resources, conduct teaching/learning experiments occasionally (Unger, 1982, pp. 209-212; and Hayhoe, 1984, pp. 85-86). Successful methods are then introduced and used in other schools. In the autumn of 1979, for example, the Second Affiliated Middle School of the Beijing Teachers' Training College began grouping students according to ability and teaching them at different speeds—fast, slow, and medium. This method was quickly adopted throughout the country in a short period of time (Kerr, 1978, p. 75).

Fifth, several in-service procedures exist for the improvement of teaching effectiveness. For example, a teaching-research group is set up in each school. Teachers teaching the same grade often work together to discuss ways to instruct particular lessons. Leading personnel at times sit in on classes and offer suggestions and help. Teachers visit each other's classes or other schools and engage in selfstudy. Some groups of teachers invite veteran teachers in their field to come and lecture (Kerr, 1978, p. 75).

Sixth, teacher-parent cooperation and community involvement are used. One or two teacher-parent meetings are held each term, and parents are expected to encourage
their children to do their homework each night (Baisinger & Macy, 1979, p. 140; &
Anrig, 1979, pp. 90-91). Occasionally the school invites old workers, peasants, and
revolutionary cadres to visit the school to promote students' motivation.

Seventh, field trips and social investigations, though usually taking place in
extra-curricular activities, are at times used as social studies methods. The use of
these activities as methods to foster learning of social studies was evaluated highly by
many of the respondents in this study.

Eighth, the method of "open-book" examination, first introduced in colleges in the
early 1960s, has continued to be used in secondary and elementary levels since the
end of the Cultural Revolution. This type of examination is used both in and out of
class. In-class exams allow students to consult notebooks, textbooks and reference
books. For out of class examinations, the students are given a specific task to be com­
pleted within a specified period of time, after which a written paper should be

B(3)TEACHER'S ROLE IN SOCIAL STUDIES

Many Western scholars have perceived changes in the Chinese teacher's role in
teaching social studies since the end of the Cultural Revolution (e.g., Lampton, 1978,
and Chen, 1981). As Chen put it, "The key slogan that emerged in early 1977 was
'respect teachers, love students.'" (Chen, 1978, p. 20) This implied the restoration of
the teacher authority and student discipline.

The respondents were asked to describe the characteristics of the teacher's roles in
teaching the social studies in China as they perceived them in four categories: (a)
imparting knowledge, (b) nurturing attitudes and values, (c) indoctrinating ideology,
and (d) others. The responses are summarized in Table 2:
Table 2
Teacher's Roles in Teaching Social Studies in China:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
<th>d</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no. of responses for each reason</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of respondents giving particular reason</td>
<td>71.43</td>
<td>64.29</td>
<td>42.29</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=14

Examination of the responses indicates the following:

First, most of the respondents (71.43%) perceived that the teacher's role in imparting knowledge is "extremely important" and "primary."

Related literature also confirmed this perception. For example, as some observers noted, "In China the teacher is the custodian of the body of knowledge that is to be learned; he or she is expected to impart this to the class. Students in turn are expected to demonstrate control of knowledge by 'giving' it back to the teacher." (Montaperto & Henderson, 1981, p. 84)

Second, over sixty-four percent (64.29%) of the respondents perceived that the teacher's role in nurturing attitudes and values is "outstanding" or "significant." For example, "teachers do definitely nurture and impart values." (Q) And "there tends to be common agreement on what society's goals are, and these are present throughout the curriculum." (Q)

Furthermore, as a respondent "sensed," "attitudes and values are nurtured throughout the social system in China and not just by the teacher of social studies. . . . The teacher is more in a position to present knowledge and values and understandings of the social system as it is being practiced in the broader society." (Q)
Another respondent also pointed out that the attitudes and values are still based on patriotic goals, and that the teacher pays attention to the "five loves, five stresses, and four morals." (Q)

Third, the teacher's role in indoctrinating ideology is perceived as a "very strong characteristic" by over forty-two percent (42.29%) of the respondents. In addition, the nature of the indoctrination of ideology is noted by one respondent:

In general, although this is less strident and aggressive than it was ten years or so ago, indoctrination still is at the center of Chinese education. It runs through all social studies, and is part of teacher's job. However, ideology has decreased in favor of increased academic scholarship." (Q)

Three of the respondents noted other roles of the teacher in teaching social studies in China. One saw the teacher as one who is entitled to respect on the one hand and who is supposed to follow the rules on the other, because a "full time cadre in each school limits teachers' freedom to teach." (Q)

The other two respondents shared the perception that "The teachers pay little or no attention to individualization. . . They teach to the group, deal with the group, discipline as a group, etc." (Q)

The relationships between the teacher and students in China have also been noted by both some respondents and writers of the related literature. For example, as a respondent noted, "It is the teacher's responsibility to teach and the students' responsibility to learn. This general cultural expectation seems to pervade the teaching of all subjects, not just social studies."

Similarly, another observer noted that,

On the matter of close working relationships of teachers and students, . . . Students will be encouraged to study hard, and discipline will be imposed, but formalism, 'trick questions,' 'pop quizzes,' and similar practice will likely be avoided. (Kerr, 1978, p. 34)
The teacher-student relationships in the classroom during scheduled hours have been perceived as solemn and rigid. For example, "When the teacher calls on individual students, they rise to answer, and when they are through her (the teacher's) only reaction is a curt, almost harsh, 'Sit down.'" (Kerr, 1978, p. 58) Additionally, "There was no unsolicited talking by students, no touching of anyone. Undivided attention was given to the teacher." (Corwin, 1978, p. 419)

Teacher and young children's relationships, however, were viewed to be much different. As a visitor described,

The relationship between teachers and young children seems to follow from that which obtains between young children and adults generally. That is, the relationship calls for adaptiveness by adults and responsiveness to the perceived needs of children . . . . Chinese teachers do not seem to decide what is appropriate and then try to convince the children to do what the teacher considers to be best. Rather, teachers attempt to tune into the desires of the children and then to construct an activity consonant with their preferences. We observed very little insisting of any sort. (Montaperto & Henderson, 1979, pp. 132-33)

However, when the description continued, it provided a different picture: "As childhood comes to an end, and it seems to end rather early, the individual confronts a learning environment that is more structured and requires that he or she adapt to its requirements." (Montaperto & Henderson, 1979, p. 134)

**B(4) STUDENTS' ROLES IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STUDIES**

The American perceptions of the teacher-student relationships presented above should give an indication of the students' roles in the teaching-learning process of social studies education in China. That is, the students play a passive role while the teacher dominates in the classroom.

The respondents were asked to "describe the characteristics of students' roles in the studying of social studies in China." Examination of the responses indicates three major characteristics of the students' role in studying social studies in China's schools:
First, they are "passive learners in the sense that the teacher is main source of knowledge (few book and limited library resources)." (Q)

Second, they are "very committed and industrious;" and they are "polite, courteous, and respectful." (Q)

Third, "There is a curious blend in students' roles: Students tend to be ideologically passive but they frequently participate actively in community projects, etc." (Q)

The data from the responses are summarized in Table 3:

Table 3

Students' Roles in Studying Social Studies in China:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>a</th>
<th>b</th>
<th>c</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no. of responses for each reason</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of respondents giving particular reasons</td>
<td>78.57</td>
<td>28.57</td>
<td>28.57</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N=14

The data found in the literature are similar with, rather than contradictory to, those gathered from the questionnaires.

B(5) THE GOAL OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA

The questionnaire was intended to survey how American scholars and educators perceived the characteristics of the goals of social studies education in China in terms of three categories: developing citizenship, developing "workers with socialist consciousness and culture," and "other." However, an examination of the research literature revealed that the American perceptions cover more than the goal of the social studies
education per se. The data gathered from both the survey and the literature are shown as follows:

**The Goal of Education in China in General**

A number of writers of the literature on education in China, such as Lofstedt (1980), Price (1979), and Doughty (1978), noted the same general goal of education in China. That is:

> Education must serve proletarian politics and be integrated with productive labour. Our educational policy must enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture. (Lofstedt, 1980, p. 4)

In terms of specific tasks, as perceived by Hayhoe, primary and secondary education are to fulfill the dual tasks of (1) supplying educational institutes of higher levels with students for the training of expertise in various fields and (2) providing a literate labor force for society, because "only about two percent of China's youngsters have the opportunity to receive a higher education."

**Changes in the Goals of Education in China Through the Years**

Chen has pointed out that, generally speaking, one could say that education since 1949 has been expected to serve the twin goals of revolution and development. The pattern of education that emerges at a given time depends on the relative emphasis given to one or the other of the two goals. When revolution is given primary emphasis, education tends to focus its attention on producing political activities and ideological zealots dedicated to the establishment of the new social order. On the other hand, when development and nation building are given higher priority than revolution, the concern of education is to produce the personnel needed in the multifaceted tasks of production, modernization, and national reconstruction. (Chen, 1981, p. vii)
Another American perceived in 1978 that:

The general impression is a clear break from the recent past. In reality, China has never deviated from any of her national goals. As to educational policy, the final aim of producing workers with both socialist consciousness and culture remains the same. The only differences lie in the emphasis and approach to achieve those goals and aim. (Chen, K., 1978, p. 28)

Obviously, the national goal in the post-Cultural Revolution is the emphasis on reconstruction and modernization. Thus the overriding aim of education in the post-Mao era is to serve the needs of the modernization program (Chen, 1981, p. 153).

The change in the goals of education after the Cultural Revolution was described as this: "If, during the Cultural Revolution the school's purpose was to 'paint China red,' one might say that the current purpose is to 'paint China green'—meaning to make China prosperous, and to realize the fruit of modernization." (Tucker & Gilliom, 1984, p. 312)

The Goal of Social Studies Education

Examination of the responses and the related literature showed that American scholars and educators perceived three chief aspects of the goals of social studies in China.

First, all the respondents who gave valid information in the questionnaire perceived developing citizenship to be a "major role of the school and of social studies." One respondent pointed out that the "Citizenship reflects the ideas put together by the Communist Party blended with traditional Chinese value." The literature indicated a similar perception. (See, e.g., Tucker & Gilliom, 1984, p. 317; and Gilliom, 1980, p. 11.) For example, as one writer noted,

A basic and persistent concern of Chinese schools since Liberation has been the training of citizens who conform to Mao's political ideology and who fit neatly into the monolithic society of New China. To speak of the social studies in the Chinese context, is therefore, to speak primarily of citizenship education, a concern which permeates the curriculum from top to bottom." (Gilliom, 1980, p. 11)
In addition, "Citizenship is defined in Chinese terms." (Q) For example, Gilliom, by doing an intensive study of citizenship education in China, described several important characteristics of citizenship education in China: First, it is carried out purposefully: "Whereas preparing young people for citizenship in the U.S. is largely left to chance, in China quite the contrary is the case." (Gilliom, 1978, p. 390)

Next, political socialization in China is a joint effort of all school subjects and various social institutions:

Political socialization in any society is accomplished in two basic ways—directly, through formal instruction provided by the family, the school or other agencies, and indirectly, through the copying of models provided by parents, teachers, or others in authority roles. In China, a concept of citizenship is taught to young people by pursuing both routes. (Gilliom, 1978, p. 390)

Moreover, as regards school education, all aspects of schooling, not just social studies, are supposed to contribute to this process of producing citizenship. These aspects include formal and informal curriculum of all subjects and at all levels, all the teachers, youth organizations, extracurricular activities, combined with government policies found in bulletin boards, posters in streets, and with consistent efforts made by family, People's Liberation Army soldiers, and retired workers/peasants in the community, will carry with the same theme to realize the purpose of education to prepare each citizen to make his contribution to China and to carry through the revolutionary cause of Mao Zedong (Gilliom, 1978, p. 393).

Furthermore, Gilliom noted that such a citizen should possess these features: He should be willing to serve the people, be loyal to the Communist Party and the leaders of the government, love and defend the motherland, help others in times of need, respect his elders and members of the PLA, be physically fit, study and work hard for the revolution and full modernization, conserve China's natural resources, is self-sufficient, takes the heavy load, etc. (Gilliom, 1978, p. 393). In line with the change
of national goal from "continued revolution" to modernization since Mao Zedong's death, greater emphasis has been given to development of "socialist culture" — science, technology, and other school subjects.

Second, except for four respondents who indicated in their questionnaires that they were not knowledgeable to address the goal of social studies in developing "workers" in China, all others noted in the questionnaires that developing "workers" was "a high goal" of education/social studies education in China. Additionally, one respondent said that, while developing socialist workers still got attention in schools in China, "labor, however, is less a part of school."

Third, over twenty percent (21.43%) of the respondents saw the goal of social studies as "stressing on physical, and emotional well-being" and "stressing more on scholarship than did ten to fifteen years ago."

The data gathered from the responses of this study are organized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Developing citizenship</th>
<th>Developing socialist workers</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>no. of responses for each reason</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of respondents giving particular reason</td>
<td>78.57</td>
<td>64.29</td>
<td>21.43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, developing citizenship has been seen as the most important goal of social studies in China. According to Gilliom, for example, "(i)t is clear that, within
The Chinese-ization was a trend to establish thriving Red Alert Youth in the 1940s, as mentioned in various children's organizations. At that time their aims were to conduct cultural and military activities.

**EXTRACURRICULAR ACTIVITIES**

During the Cultural Revolution, the importance of Pioneer education functioned as a family affair. The respondents described organizational activities such as those listed in Table 2. The lack of information in the survey was largely made up for by the literature. The data gathered from both the questionnaires and the literature are organized and presented by each major activity, beginning with Young Pioneers:

—Young Pioneers

Little information related to the Young Pioneers was found in the questionnaires. However, this student organization has been explored in some writings, e.g., Price (1979), Unger (1982), Gilliom (1979), Corwin (1978), Parker (1977), and Hu and Seifman (1987). Their perceptions are synthesized in the following.

In 1949, a Children's Corp of China was set up under the leadership of the Communist Youth League of China. In 1953 it became the Young Pioneers of China.
The organization was based on the tradition established in the Red Army base areas before 1949, where the Chinese Communist Party established various children's organizations. At that time their aims were to conduct cultural and military activities. (Price, 1979, p. 248)

During the Cultural Revolution, the Young Pioneers ceased to function for a couple of years and was replaced by an organization called the Little Red Soldiers. Visitors to China in the late 1970s (especially 1977-78) saw the Little Red Soldiers (e.g., Gilliom, 1979, p. 3; Corwin, 1980, p. 418; Parker, 1977, p. 15; & Unger, 1982, p. 181). The Little Red Soldiers were a by-product of the Cultural Revolution, during which the pre-Cultural Revolution Young Pioneers were thought to be a revisionist organization and forced to stop functioning for several years. When the schools were reopened in the later stages of the Cultural Revolution, the Young Pioneers was simply retitled the Little Red Soldiers in favor of the Red Guard—the most "revolutionary" youth organizations during the Cultural Revolution (Unger, 1982, p. 181).

Pupils were selected for membership in the Little Red Soldiers as early as the first or second grade. By the time Children reached the sixth grade about seventy-five percent of them were Little Red Soldiers. A basic purpose of the organization was to provide leadership among the pupils in carrying out Mao Zedong's directive regarding the "three goods"—to be concerned with good health, study, and productive work. Members of the organization were expected to serve as leaders and as models of behavior for the other children (Gilliom, 1980, p. 17).

In 1979, Gilliom (1979, p. 3) and Price (1979, p. 252) observed that the Little Red Soldiers was phased out and was replaced by the Young Pioneers. The Young Pioneers gradually resumed its position as the sole youth organization at the elementary level after the end of the Cultural Revolution.
The major purpose of the Young Pioneers is to enlighten children on communism and train them to be a new generation that loves the motherland, the people, labor and science; that takes good care of public property; and is healthy, active, courageous, honest, and creative in spirit.

The Young Pioneers also aims to help the children to learn to study well. It tries to make children see the object of studying hard, and to value their time. In addition, it tries to instill disciplined habits and serious study methods. To this end it organizes visits to factories and construction works, and discussions on such topics as "we are heirs to communism," "the tasks of the reserve force," "how important arithmetic is," or "the value of one minute." Patriotism was encouraged by meetings with combat heroes and visits to units of the Liberation Army.

In order to foster revolutionary traditions the Young Pioneers officially participate in celebration of national days. The Young Pioneers also encourages cultural activities and physical exercises (Price, 1979, p. 250).

The Young Pioneers is a mass organization whose members are not expected to be perfect models for the rest of the children. Therefore, all children between the ages of seven and fifteen are eligible to apply to join the Young Pioneers (Unger, 1982, p. 181). To become a member a child must submit an application to the Brigade Committee, which discusses the matter and then makes the decision. The Young Pioneers has a three-tier hierarchy. Seven to thirteen members form a group, two to five groups form a team and two or three teams form a brigade. Brigades or teams are based in primary and secondary schools (Price, 1979, p. 249).

Each group elects a head and two deputy heads. The teams and brigades elect a small committee each. Leadership is strengthened by tutors who are provided by the Communist Youth League or are teachers.
The Young Pioneers has the usual rituals which children enjoy. New members are admitted at an impressive ceremony at which they take an oath of allegiance. At the same time they may plant a tree, or do some other socially useful task. The Pioneers has its own flag, and the red scarf that every member wears represents a corner of this flag. It symbolizes a banner of revolutionary victory. There is also a special salute, and a call which is shouted out at the end of every meeting. The leader cries: "Be ready to struggle for the Communist cause!" and the members reply: "Ever ready!" (Price, 1979, P. 250. See also Hu & Seifman 1987, pp. 81-82.)

--The Communist Youth League(CYL):

This study indicates that the CYL was generally investigated by those who explored the the Young Pioneers. Their perceptions are described follow:

The CYL, for youth between fifteen and twenty-five years of age, was established by the Chinese Communist Party in 1925 as a successor to the Socialist Youth League, which appeared shortly after the birth of the Party in 1921. In 1949, in line with the characterization of the new government as the New Democracy, the League was renamed the New Democratic Youth League. Later, when the New Democracy was dropped from the Party line, the old name of Communist Youth League was restored and has remained under the direct control and close supervision of the Party. The constitution of the League has undergone several revisions, but its educational function has always been stressed. The League is not an ordinary youth group, but "a political organization of the nation's youth led by the Chinese Communist Party to struggle for socialism and Communism." League members are to serve as models to be emulated by other youth (Chen, 1981, p. 29).

The function of the League was interrupted in 1966, during the Cultural Revolution and the emergence of the Red Guard. While most young students tried to
become members of the Red Guard, when the League was viewed as a revionist organization controlled by the pre-Cultural Revolution Party line, the League was ignored and virtually ceased to function for several years. In 1972 and 1973, when the political climate turned milder it gradually resumed its normal function. For some years the League and the Red Guard co-existed in schools during the mid-1970s. Some American visitor to China in 1978 have reported such a phenomenon (e.g., Gilliom, 1980, p. 24).

After the fall of the Gang of Four, the reputation of the Red Guard was suddenly decreased, and it within a couple of years quietly disappeared. In contrast, the role of the Communist Youth League has increased considerably in schools.

Beginning with the third year of junior high school, students reaching the age of fifteen are selected from among the applicants by students who are already Youth League members, in consultation with and with the approval of the school Youth League organization (which includes teachers and administrators as well as students). The school Party organization assigns a Party member to oversee Youth League activities, who plays an important role in making admissions decisions (Shirk, 1982, p. 85).

When a student applies to join the League, he has to find one or two members, called "introducers," to sponsor him for membership. The introducers encourage the applicant to attend the weekly League class held for recruits, and later to apply for membership (Ibid., p. 87).

After the League receives a student's application, it observes the applicant's behavior and investigates his background, a process that takes one or two semesters to complete. Meanwhile, the applicant is required to report his political ideas in weekly heart-to-heart talks with the introducer. During that time the applicant tries to find occasions for demonstrating his political enthusiasm (Ibid., 1982, p.87). As students
grow older and move through high school, more and more of them join the League. Percentages of League members in a class vary from class to class and from school to school. Although some classes have five or six members and can form a League branch as early as junior high-3, by the end of the senior-1 or the beginning of the senior-2 level, all classes have League branch organizations (Ibid., 1982, p. 85). A recent report indicates that in some key schools whole classrooms of students have become League members (Rosen, 1984, p. 76).

—Other Extracurricular Activities and Patterns:

(1) Field trips—were noted by both a number of writers of the related literature and six respondents in this study. The description that synthesizes their perceptions is: Field trips are activities taking place to historical sites, museums, farms, factories, etc. Sometimes the students may be involved in actual situations such as helping with harvest, building irrigation works, or cleaning workshops for factory. "The purpose of the field experience is not only to bring fresh meaning to classroom studies, but perhaps more importantly to glorify labor and to communicate to the young people that every citizen is expected to make his contribution through productive work to modernizes the motherland." (Gilliom, 1978, p. 391)

(2) Social investigations. This study indicated that few respondents have given significant descriptions of the social investigations activities. However, one writer of the literature noted that: "During social investigations students often participate in action research. They might, for example, analyze working conditions in a factory or discuss with the workers their experiences in pre-Liberation China." (Gilliom, 1980, p. 16)

(3) Shirk described another extracurricular activity, the "weekly meetings," taking place in China's schools before the Cultural Revolution. According to him, the
"weekly meetings" were activities usually held by the class director (home room teacher) once a week in many schools to "discuss new Party policies, problems within the class, and upcoming activities." (Shirk, 1982, p. 38) Although the class director usually chairs the meeting, all students are encouraged to speak up.

However, this study found few significant data in the literature that address this sort of activities in schools in China during the past decade. Similarly, no respondents in this research reported having seen any weekly class meetings, but some said that they were told about such activities. The respondents seemed to have a positive attitude toward the practice of such activities. For example, some respondents said that such activities "seem a practical way to implement and instill values;" and "they appear to be an excellent way to integrate the support of home and school for the benefit of the students." (Q)

In addition, Gilliom reported that certain after-school clubs such as Lei Feng Groups, Marxist-Leninist-Mao Zedong Thought Study Groups, and Geography Study Groups existed in Chinese schools during the last decade. He described some typical activities held by Lei Feng Groups:

In their spare time the Lei Feng Groups organize such activities as collecting manure for use as fertilizer on the communes, and collecting scrap paper, iron, and glass which they sell in order to buy tools for use at construction sites in the area. Other groups volunteer to clean the school grounds on the weekend, to repair broken furniture, and to paint the walls of their classrooms. (Gilliom, 1980, p. 18)

Hayhoe also noted in 1982 that certain extra-curricular activities such as "self-study," "scientific-technological-recreational activities," "sports activities," and "class meetings and group activities" were scheduled in primary schools. However, no detailed descriptions of these activities were provided. No other activities more related to the learning of social studies curriculum such as history and geography were found in either the literature or the survey questionnaires.
OTHER CHARACTERISTICS OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA

The research questionnaire asked the respondents to describe "other characteristics" of social studies education as they perceived them. Over fifty-seven percent (57.71%) of the returned questionnaires provided information on this aspect. This description covers several major dimensions:

First, political education presenting the Party line is of high importance in the social studies. Second, the social studies is still largely textbook-centered, and controlled by the national goals and the examination system. Third, lecturing is the primary instructional method and rote learning a major way of studying. Finally, the media play an informal but important role in the social studies education.

Findings from the literature seem to be more relevant to this question than the responses given in the questionnaires. Seven other important characteristics emerge from the literature: the importance of all school subjects, the Party and other social agencies, the family involvement, etc. The role of each of these is described below:

First, not only social studies itself, but also other school subjects work together to implement the goal of the citizenship education. As Gilliom pointed out, the training of citizenship for the Chinese society has become a persistent concern of all subjects in Chinese schools since Liberation." (Gilliom, 1980, p. 11)

Second, not only the school itself, but also the Party, the government, and other social agencies play an important role to help with school education in general and with social studies education in particular. The Communist Party sees itself both as an organizer and educator, and that its first duty is to carry out propaganda and organizational work among the masses. It pays "constant attention to the material and cultural life of the masses and strive to improve it." (Price, 1979, p. 236)
Price further pointed out that this conception of an elite whose function is to
govern the people, and at the same time educate them has both striking similarities
with an interesting difference from the Confucian scholar/bureaucrat who was to
instruct the people. Confucius said: "Require the people to follow, but do not try to
make them understand." The Communist Party denies these distinctions and is greatly
cconcerned with making the ordinary people understand." (Price, 1979, p. 238)

Therefore, according to Price,

No study of Chinese Communist education would be complete without
some consideration of those organizations which, acting both within and
outside the school system, play a dominant role in shaping education.
Because of their special emphasis they can conveniently be grouped
together as the moral-political educators, though some of them are also
concerned with purely organizational or technical matters. (Price, 1979,
p. 236)

These include, in addition to the Party, the People's Liberation Army, the media,
the family, and the community.

Concerning the People's Liberation Army, Mao Zedong said in 1943: "We have an
army for fighting as well as an army for labour. For fighting we have the 8th
Route and New Armies; but even they do a dual job, warfare and production."
(Quoted in Price, 1977, p. 327)

In China the army has been particularly important as a source of manpower for
the bureaucracy, and as a model for the masses, and it has a highly developed sys-
tem of moral-political education which has served as the model for similar education
in other spheres of Chinese society, including the formal educational system. Individual
army heroes are usually held up as models of virtues for people to emulate. The
exact combination of virtues has varied from hero to hero, but the spirit of patriot-
ism and sacrifice of self-interest is always the theme (Price, 1977, pp. 327-28).
Family involvement with school activities is purposefully used in China. Attempts were made during the Cultural Revolution to make the family one center of political study. Since then families have been drawn into the after-school education of children (Price, 1977, p. 287). Parents in China are expected to guide their children's moral development and encourage them to study hard. In recent years, since examinations of all types have been so frequently given in schools at all levels, parents' role in mainly helping their children with their academic achievement has greatly increased. Examples of various contacts between the family and school were given in Montaperto and Henderson (1982, pp. 134-49).

The community in China is expected to support but is not allowed to challenge school policies. "Perhaps the greatest involvement of the community at-large in the educational progress is seen in the area of extracurricular education." (Montaperto & Henderson, 1979, p. 88)

For instance, women's groups provide education and support for education in their daily lives, as well as an opportunity to discuss with other women problems they are having with their husbands, children, jobs, child-raising, women's rights, etc. These organizations also take as an area of concern the operation of their local schools, each member working to organize communication between school officials and parents and discussions concerning special problems the school faces, enlisting "outside assistance" when necessary to solve a problem. "In general terms, . . . these organizations function as a kind of cutting edge for the school administration in communicating with parents and others outside the school." (Montaperto and Henderson, 1979, p. 88)

The media also play an important role social education in China. Some American educators such as Price (1979) and Gilliom (1980) have noted the importance of
the media in helping the school with conducting ideological education and shaping students' behavior. As observed by Price, the media (including newspapers, publications, radios, television, and even posters in the streets) have "been developed extensively as a means of education, primarily for moral-political ends, but also for the propaganda of the standard language, and for scientific and technical information." (1979, p. 225)

Controlled directly by the Communist Party, the media are more sensitive to political events than regular school curriculum. As a result, "all the students became involved in a particular campaign, or in an emulation movement like to 'learn from Lei Feng'" (Price, 1979, p. 135) in 1963 and 1979.

A third major characteristic identified in the literature is the collective as educator. Parker noted that Chinese educators have set up a school structure and a series of school activities to insert systematic and pervasive peer influence on students (Parker, 1977, p. 15). Therefore, as soon as a child of six or seven years of age enters an elementary school, he is assigned to a class of about forty-five or fifty, which is under the direction of a "lead teacher" or "class director." (Montaperto & Henderson, 1979, p. 147)

At the beginning of every term of the school year, each class elects a class committee—a president, two vice-presidents, and officers responsible for study, sports, labor, cultural activities, and student welfare (Shirk, 1982, p. 38). Besides these class-room officers, each class also has Young Pioneers officers(at elementary level) or Communist Youth League officers(at secondary level), and each front-to-back row of seats has a row head who leads roommates in academic self-study sessions and helps lead small-group discussions. These various types of student leaders all learn how to meet beforehand in committees to plan out and rehearse the activities they would lead.
To an extent remarkable for children of such young age, they already know how to combine multiple organizational roles, how to cooperate in committees, how to form a united front of leaders, how to control meetings, how to help motivate the political education of classmates and push the "backward" students into conformity, and even how to sit properly in judgment of fellow primary-school students (Unger, 1982, p. 90).

Under the collective education, although the class director is responsible for monitoring the political progress and overall behavior of students, student leaders rather than teachers are supposed to be the primary agents of socialization. These leaders are not allowed to emerge spontaneously; they are recruited into official vanguard organizations that are delegated significant powers over their peers (Shirk, 1982, p. 38). Chen perceived that

Collective learning and collective living are promoted as practical applications of the concept of collectivism. In the collective, the spirit of cooperation is always encouraged. The brighter students are expected to help the less capable in order to maintain a high record for the class collective. A person physically too weak to engage in athletics is subject to pressure to help maintain the record of 100% attendance. The demand for uniform action in the name of collectivism is sometimes carried to ridiculous extremes by unthinking cadres eager to submit good reports to higher authorities. "If the class collective organized a dance," for instance, "everyone must dance; those who do not care to dance must be present to watch their classmates dance." (Chen, 1981, pp. 16-17)

Related to collective education are regular evaluations of student performance, which are used as a tool to help shape and maintain students' behavior. For example, every semester each small-group holds a special session for which the student writes a report on what he thinks of his own performance during the term. The other members then use this self-appraisal as the basis for their own critique of him. Whether he has been trying his best or not, how can he better develop himself, etc. The gist of these remarks are then written up as a brief report by the small-group
leader and presented to the teacher, who appends a third report. All these appraisals—the students’, the small-group’s, and the teacher’s—are then included in the report card sent home to the parents. More importantly, these same three sets of semester appraisals may enter the student’s permanent dossier, which can affect—positively or negatively—the student’s future career (Unger, 1982, p. 186).

In short, as Shirk pointed out:

Schools in a socialist country like China are supposed to teach students to cooperate rather than compete, and to replace individualistic orientations with collectivist ones. Teachers are expected to make every student a ‘collectivist.’ A collectivist puts the interest of the collective before his individual interest, treats his comrades and the collective with the spirit of ‘I am for everybody and everybody is for me’ and sacrifice oneself for the group. (Shirk, 1982, p. 155)

The problem is that this mode of correcting deviant behavior through peer pressures presupposes that most of the peer group abide by the proper norms and, for one reason or another, also care that others do likewise. Research conducted by Unger on student behavior of students graduated from secondary schools before the Cultural Revolution indicates that the function of peer influence on students’ behavior was not very successful (Unger, 1982, p. 186).

A fourth characteristic is the de-emphasis of class origins. During the post-1949 and pre-Cultural Revolution years, family background was regarded as an important factor affecting a young person’s political development. The practice of the class line was pushing students into different self-aware groupings with opposing interests in political affairs: the cadres’ children, the worker-peasant children, the middle-class children, and the bad-class background children. Different groups of youths tended to act differently in political activities (Unger, 1982, p. 100). The family background was over-emphasized during the Cultural Revolution. In those years between 1966 and 1976, the “blood-line theory” destroyed not only many young people’s political careers
but their academic development by denying their educational opportunities for higher education.

A vivid demonstration of the "blood-line theory" is:

If the father is a hero the son is a good fellow;
If the father is a reactionary the son is bad egg;
If the father is middling, the son sits on the fence; and,
A great dragon gives birth to a dragon;
A phoenix gives birth to a phoenix;
A rat gives birth to a child who only burrows holes in the ground (Unger, 1982, p. 120).

"Bad" class origins included those born in families of pre-Liberation landlords, rich peasants, anti-revolutionaries, bourgeois Rightists, etc. "Bourgeois intellectuals," with which many educated before 1949 were labeled, were also on the "bad" list.

Chen noted that after Mao's death, Deng Xiaoping and the Party moderates moved to rehabilitate most of those who had been given bad class labels in previous campaigns and declared their intention to treat people equally regardless of class origin and evaluate people on the basis of individual political performance rather than class origin. For example, said Hua Guofeng in the Second Plenary Session of the 5th National People's Congress in 1979:

Practice shows irrefutably that in our country . . . the feudal and capitalistic systems of exploitation have been abolished . . . and that the socialist system, having undergone rigorous tests, has become firmly established. As classes the landlords and the rich peasants have ceased to exist . . . The capitalists no longer exist as a class. (Chen, 1981, p. 166).

Shirk noted that the "Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Removing the Labels of Landlords and Rich Peasants and Changing the Class Label of the Children of Landlords and Rich Peasants" was made public in
1979 (Shirk, 1982, p. 53). As a result, class heritage is now largely ignored in practice and totally in policy on the ground that all young people are children of the revolution (Kerr, 1978, p. 6).

A fifth characteristic revealed in the literature is that moral conduct is more important than understanding of the ideology. According to Unger, it is the student's everyday behavior that influences his political development such as joining the Youth League, not his understanding of the ideology or grades in political courses.

Unger perceived that there is not a systematic education in political theory in elementary and secondary schools in China. In his eyes, "The Chinese, unlike some of the Western European Marxists, feel no great need to prove their credo or justify their political actions through intellectual constructs." (Unger, 1982, p. 84) For that reason, the secondary school politics courses have been considered of limited importance in the curriculum, and are not paid much official attention. In their politics classes, students mostly learn how to follow the Party line through newspaper editorials, and are taught a smattering of Party history and some simple textbook explanations of Marxist thought. But even the senior high school students are never required to read any Marx or Lenin—not even the Communist Manifesto. Except for the ritual memorization of key political phrases and some rote learning of Mao's precepts, students do not have to study much for the course, and the tests kept sufficiently easy that no one fail. Instead, what counts in the political teachings are the emotive and moral elements, and what counts here is how the students act out these messages in every group situation—be it in student small-group sessions, or labor classes, or extramural activities (Unger, 1982, pp. 84-85).

Some other observers, however, perceived the teaching of politics in China quite differently. They (e.g., Chen, 1981, p. 180) felt that some of the politics courses,
especially philosophical concepts, taught at elementary and secondary schools are too
abstract for the students to understand.

Sixth, some scholars of Chinese education observed a decline of political enthusi­
asm among the young Chinese. Shirk noted that political competition is now a less
serious threat to one's social relationships in China. Of course, more is expected of
those who join the Communist Party or the Youth League. Because political participa­
tion is less demanding and less traumatic, and because of the continued existence of
tests of political reliability, few people will be motivated to risk active opposition.
"With meritocratic values growing more pervasive it will become apparent to anyone,
however, that Maoist ideas have become symbols of loyalty rather than guides to
action—as Chalmers Johnson has put it, more 'totem' than 'thought.'" (Shirk, 1982, p.
195) As a result, "it will become increasingly difficult to justify tests of political
reliability, and ideological appeals for self-sacrifice or active participation rather than
mere passive conformity will fall on deaf ears." For example, "Whereas in 1963
many people could be stirred by stories about the young martyr Lei Feng, today the
leadership's efforts to resuscitate this model of altruism are greeted with laughter
(Shirk, 982, p. 195).

Shirk also predicted that, since the schools have concentrated on the pursuit of
academic achievement and advancement rather than teaching students to be committed
to the revolutionary cause, "today's outstanding students (may) become tomorrow's
political dissenters." (Shirk, 1982, pp. 195-6) For example,

In 1980 a group of college students wrote to an American maga­
zine to complain about the 'debasing indoctrination' they were still
required to undergo: 'The school authorities themselves knew that this
barrage would not produce the desired effect, and that if they them­
selves had to go through it, (they) would think of every way possible
to escape. But they could hardly be expected to move to abolish such
practice.' (Shirk, 1982, p. 195)
Finally, anti-religion in social studies is another significant characteristic found in the literature. Price perceived that anti-religious education has been a feature of education in China. Legislation in China followed a similar pattern of separation of the state from religions, and statements of religious freedom. A Chinese constitution stipulates that "citizens . . . enjoy freedom to believe in religion and freedom not to believe in religion and propagate atheism." (Price, 1977, p. 259)

In China the basic anti-religious education occurs in the school, in the main through the absence of any kind of religious teaching, and partly through direct attacks on religious beliefs. "Directly anti-religious education most probably occurred in political education classes rather than in the basic curriculum, and in the Youth League." (Price, 1977, p. 262)

### B(8) MOST SIGNIFICANT CHANGES IN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA

The respondents were also asked to describe the most significant changes in China's social studies education during the last decade. This section presents the findings gathered from both the questionnaires and the research literature.

Hayhoe noted that:

A significant difference between primary education today and primary education in other periods of the Communist regime is in the area of political-ideological education. A core subject of the curriculum for many years, politics had been the study of Chairman's (sic) Mao's quotations, the study of the evils of imperialism and the singing of revolutionary songs. Today, politics is a subject of the primary school curriculum only for students of the third grade and above. Moreover, it is to be gradually replaced by training in ethics. (Hayhoe, 1984, pp. 60-61)

In addition to sharing a similar perception to Hayhoe's, Tucker and Gilliom felt in 1984 that, "While mathematics, science, and language are emphasized in the curricu-
lum, history, geography, and politics are also enjoying renewed interest.” (Tucker & Gilliom, 1984, p. 316)

The literature also indicates that compared with other periods of the Communist regime, the period of the Four Modernizations places much less emphasis on the use of productive labor as a means to instill correct consciousness in school students (Hayhoe, 1984, p. 61).

Last, the literature showed that today's ideological-political education supports the authorities' efforts to run primary and secondary education on a two-track system. Social studies education, especially history and geography, is taught with different emphasis in regular schools and vocational schools (Hayhoe, 1984, p. 61 & P. 84).

Over fifty-seven percent (57.14%) of the returned questionnaires carried data on this issue. These data appear to be more relevant than those of the literature to this question. The data are presented below:

Social studies is of compulsory attendance of nine years. Students who do well on placement tests are allowed to skip other subjects. But this is not the case in social studies education. (57.14%)

More attention is being paid to other parts of the world. And there is an extension of educational/cultural exchanges of teachers/professionals/technicians/students to further China's four modernizations and goals by the year 2000. (50.00%)

The most significant changes are associated with responding to changes in national policies and priorities, i.e., the four modernizations. (28.57%)

Greater emphasis has been placed on social studies in the formal curriculum, reversal of "cooperation first, competition second.” (28.57%)

Politics still are at the heart of schooling, but there is more openings. For example, Mao Zedong is viewed in a more realistic light, and there is less indoctrination and more education today. (21.43%)
Attempts are being made to revise and add new content to the curriculum, for example, "a demographic geography related to population control" are being tested in various parts of China. (14.29%)

The status of teachers are being raised. (14.29%)

**B(9) STRENGTHS OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA AND THEIR APPLICABILITY**

With the intention to identify what American scholars and educators might think to be the strengths of social studies education in China, a relevant question was also included in the questionnaire to collect information on this aspect. Examination of the returned questionnaires indicated that, in the course of responding to this question, several respondents also addressed the applicability of the strengths. The findings are presented below:

**The Strengths**

Over seventy-one percent (71.43%) of the respondents who gave valid information in the questionnaires reported that there are certain strengths in social studies education in China. The data collected from the questionnaires and from the literature indicate the following:

The Chinese, in spite of their political brickering, appear to share a clear sense of purpose and common agreement on where they are going and show how they are going to get there (Gilliom, 1980, p. 36). This makes the effort of education more effective. (Q and Parker, 1977, p. 8)

There is a greater concern for the "whole person" (the overall development physically, morally and intellectually in China). For example, various after-school activities such as "theory-study-groups" and sports are frequently organized. Special atten-
tion is given to eyesight. Eye exercises are performed five minutes each morning between classes. Teachers pay attention to desk posture to be sure students are not too close to their work. The students also change seats weekly so they will not always be looking at the front of the room from the same angle and distance (Kerr, 1978. p. 15).

Efforts are being made to link academic learning with social practice, e.g. field trips, school-run factories. (Q)

"Systematic and pervasive peer influence" is arranged in shaping of citizenship, e.g., collective education. (Q)

The use of standardized textbooks with consideration of local interests can help to maintain an educational quality on the one hand and to meet local needs on the other. (Q)

The "spirit of cooperation, enthusiasm, love for country, pride in China, and opportunities to study for the bright and talented" are emphasized. (Q)

Special attention is given to slower learners. For example, "fast" and "slow" classes are practiced and a certain time or segment of the day or the week is set aside to help these children. During this time, both teachers and fellow students help the slower students to grasp the work that they could not understand. "In brief, the smarter ones help the slower ones each day and each week until they are up to par. Certainly, this is a model technique, and if it occurs as often and with much success as we were told, it is something of which the Chinese people and educators can be very proud." (Q)

New approaches to investigation seem to permeate the social science area. For example, "in 1985 Deng Xiaoping said: 'We advocate the training of students in independent thinking.'" (Q)
The Applicability of the Strengths

Little information was found from the questionnaires to show that American scholars and educators think that any practices in social studies education in China can be directly transferred to the American field, except that an observer said that "I should like to believe that we can learn something from the Chinese about the socialization of the young—not in shrill political terms but in terms of 'friendship first-competition second.'" (Kerr, 1978, p. 11) Some of the American scholars explained why the Chinese practice of social studies education has little direct applicability to the United States, and presented certain possibilities for mutual understanding. For example:

Although interest in Chinese education is bound to increase in the coming years, it is questionable whether the Chinese model will be significantly applicable to other countries—particularly those that are more highly developed. This is especially true regarding the Chinese approach to citizenship education. (Gilliom, 1980, p. 35)

In a different essay, Gilliom explained that,

After all, our heritage, customs, and guiding values are radically different, growing out of sharply contrasting national experiences. Few Americans would be willing to win the stability and widespread consenses the Chinese seem to have achieved. Yet, one returns home from China wondering if and when we in our system will ever begin seriously to address the social and economic ills plaguing our society, and if our concept of citizenship could ever incorporate the spirit of self sacrifice and determination exhibited by the Chinese. (Gilliom, 1978, p. 395)

Kerr shared a similar view to Gilliom's:

China has an authoritarian and communitarian system; the U.S. has a democratic and individualistic one. China is in an early stage of industrialization and the U.S. is almost fully industrialized. Thus, it would be unlikely that very much in the way of social policies could be transferred from one to the other. Yet, there are possibilities for mutual learning from each other. The far greater possibility is for greater mutual understanding of each other. What and how the peoples of a nation learn determines much of their contemporary conduct and much of their long-term history. Thus, knowledge of each other's learning systems is one key to understanding. Both nations are, increasingly, life-long learning societies; and this may well lead to more learning from, or at least about, each other. (Kerr, 1978, p. 11)
The data gathered from the questionnaires seem to confirm what has been presented above.

In short, as Kerr pointed out, "how they (the strengths of China's social studies education) evolve and whether they spread or wither in the U.S. will not depend on lessons to be learned from China but on forces at work within our own economy and culture." (Kerr, 1978, p. 15) Nevertheless, whether or not such forces can be purposefully created or nurtured has never been mentioned by any American scholars and educators.

**B(10) WEAKNESSES OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA**

The data gathered from both the literature and the survey indicate that more weaknesses than strengths were perceived by American scholars and educators about social studies education in China. Five major weaknesses of education in general were identified.

First, the Chinese may have thrown out the baby with the bathwater by returning to "educating for geniuses." (Chen, 1981, p. 230) As one American educator pointed out, although the "revolutionary education" taking place during the Cultural Revolution was as destructive as it could be, resulting in the "ten lost years," was there not anything worth maintaining?

According to Chen, the present educational system, which has regained many characteristics from the one in the pre-Cultural Revolution period is basically an academic model, is not without glaring drawbacks.

To mention a few: it tends to recognize and develop only one kind of intellectual, namely, the academic style; it does not pay enough attention to educational resources outside the schools; the school curriculum tends to emphasize the abstract and the theoretical that are not clearly related to the vital problems of life; it does not foster knowledge and understanding of the problems of the masses, the poor, and the disadvantaged; long years of education tend to develop an 'ivory tower'
mentality; etc. These failings were what the revolutionary education tried to overcome. It is possible that out of the crudities and the inflexible doctrinaire that produced the disastrous results of revolutionary education may be gleaned some worthwhile ideas that serve as antidote for the shortcomings of the academic model. (Chen, 1981, p. 230)

Second, the teaching methods are rigid and inflexible. Corwin observed that, "classroom behavior as we view it tends to be very rigid. In the early grades of elementary school, most classes have anywhere from forty to sixty children with only one teacher. The children sit in rows close together. The behavior is extremely uniform." (Corwin, 1978, p. 416) Furthermore, very little emotion seems to be expressed in the classroom:

It is true that physical fitness is emphasized a great deal, and there certainly is time for running, jumping, playing basketball and other such activities. But concern for the emotional need of human beings to express some affection and warmth through physical contact with others did not seem present. (Corwin, 1978, p. 416)

Third, children’s personal interests are sacrificed. In the eyes of the American observers, in China, "serving the people" is much more important than individual growth. Hence, trying to improve children’s self-images and helping them gain in self-esteem are viewed differently by the Chinese than by Americans. What is seen as important to the Chinese is how the child contributes to the group. What matters is that the children learn to sacrifice their own needs, desires, aspirations, hopes, wishes and goals for the betterment of the great masses of people. Their own particular wishes seem to be secondary and usually are not seen as being important (Corwin, 1978, p. 417; Adkin, 1978, p. 409; & Gilliom, 1980, p. 35).

Fourth, obviously, the Chinese system of education (especially social studies education) is vulnerable to the shifts of political winds in the Party. (Q)

Fifth, the school curriculum is overburdened. For instance, Chen (1981) perceived that, with work in progress, a new problem has cropped up in China. That is, some
primary and middle school students are overburdened in their studies with too many periods, too much homework and frequent examinations. For example:

Though the Ministry of Education has stipulated that for middle schools there should be no more than twenty-nine periods a week, in some schools there are forty. In some primary schools, the pupils have to do so much homework that they cannot go to bed until 10 o'clock at night, and many middle school students sleep only five or six hours a day. Worse still, there are no winter vacations in some places and the students have to go to school on Sundays. (Chen, 1981, p. 210)

The problems noted above address both the weaknesses of China's education in general and social studies education in particular. The following six problems seem to be more related to social studies education specifically.

First, in the recent years, in the discussion of quality education, basic studies, and the selection of outstanding students for advanced study and research, attention is usually focused on science and technology. If the fields of study are considered to be of minor importance, the curricula of schools and universities are likely to be dominated by science and technology, overshadowing the few courses in the social sciences and humanities, and student interest would be directed more to science and technology than to subjects that are not so likely to receive recognition or to lead to jobs. Worse, the best talents would be drawn to science and technology (Chen, 1981, p. 212).

Second, "As with social studies education in many societies it apparently lacks a sense of definition and identity as a discipline. This is not necessarily bad but requires the educators in the social studies field see their efforts in context of the activities of the broader society." (Q)

Third, social studies in China has a heavy emphasis on facts, on the study of China only, and on history (and some geography and political thought). It needs to address economics, anthropology, etc. The textbooks do not present a variety of views,
especially in historical interpretation. There is very little study of other nations and contemporary affairs. Scholarship still gives way to ideology. (Q)

Fourth, students have not been much challenged to think independently, to do problem solving, and to inquire into controversial issues. They do not have enough opportunity to learn skills to question authority or teacher-presented lectures. As a respondent in this study noted, the Chinese said that they "will learn the best from the West and base their changes on Chinese traditions and content. The problem is WHO decides what is best. Is this the essence of freedom in the study of the social sciences?" (Q)

Fifth, more trained social studies teachers are needed. (Q)

Sixth, more research on social studies education is needed. (Q)

B(11)EXPECTED CHANGES IN SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN FUTURE

The data gathered from the literature tended to deal with possible changes in China's education in general, rather than in social studies education in particular. This shortcoming was made up by the data found in the questionnaires. Fifty percent (50.00%) of the respondents who returned valid questionnaires gave useful information on this issue. The findings from both the literature and the questionnaires point to a number of possible changes.

First, China must deal with increasing foreign influence. For example, according to Gilliom,

(China's) expanding involvement with other nations as she steps up efforts to modernize is certain to invite the infusion of new ideas on education. Whether the introduction of alien thinking will significantly affect Chinese schools must remain a tantalizing question to be answered in the future. Dealing with such foreign influences may well prove to be the greatest challenge to Chinese education since the formation of the People's Republic. (Gilliom, 1980, p. 35)
Foreign influence will give more emphasis on "ways of living in other parts of the world" because "close and consistent contact with outside world will bring different perspectives to students and promote understanding and appreciation of other cultures." (Q)

Second, the quantity of overt moral-political teaching will be reduced in order to devote more time to academic learning (Price, 1979, p. 292). However, social studies in China will evolve as in all societies when needs are redefined. That is, "Changes will reflect the political directions chosen by Chinese leaders." (Q)

Third, social studies will address more contemporary social affairs in Chinese society: including new influences on workers' wages, job opportunities, and promotions; farmers' production methods, etc. (Q)

Fourth, "There will be more freedom for students to choose electives in the social sciences." (Q)

Fifth, changes in teacher education are also possible. For example, more higher education will be available to teachers of younger students. Teachers will be enabled and encouraged to learn and practice better methods with better materials.

Sixth, the over-emphasis on academic work may cause political centrifugal forces. Since 1976 the schools have concentrated on the pursuit of educational achievement and advancement rather than teaching students to be committed to the revolutionary cause. As a result, "Today's outstanding students (may) become tomorrow's political dissenters." (Shirk, 1982, p.195) Shirk further predicted that,

in contrast to the political dissidents of the 1970s who reacted to what they perceived as the degeneration of virtuocracy by pleading for meritocracy and democracy, the dissidents of the 1980s and 1990s may express a nostalgia for the days when there was moral idealism in politics. Like current dissidents in the Soviet Union, they may start to complain that the Party no longer gives people anything to believe in. The decline of virtuocracy and rise of meritocracy could create new sects which aim at realizing the original ideas of the revolution, at achieving the Maoist vision of spiritual transformation. In the future
Chinese youth may again, as Mao once urged them to do, 'go against the tide' to seek the moral reformation of politics. (Shirk, 1982, p. 197)

In spite of all the possible changes, an author of the research literature believed that education in China would maintain the Chinese tradition. According to him:

Although the character of the schools predictably will continue to reflect political developments, it is unlikely that the Chinese passion for education will diminish. It also seems unlikely that the Chinese conception of citizenship will change appreciably so long as the influence of Mao Zedong persists. That being the case, Chinese style social studies in the form of citizenship education will continue to lie at the heart of the school experience. (Gilliom, 1980, p. 36)

B(12) SUGGESTIONS OFFERED BY AMERICAN SCHOLARS/EDUCATORS TO CHANGE OR IMPROVE SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA

The last question in the questionnaire was to urge the respondents to offer suggestions to improve China's social studies education.

Examination of the research literature indicated several general suggestions for improving education in China in the post-Mao era. For example, the two points made by Chen (1981) were:

First, education today may benefit from the experience of the past: the rich heritage from China's classical education, the introduction of modern schools at the close of last century and in the early years of the Republic, the endeavor of the Nationalist Government to establish an articulate system of modern schools, the shifts and turns of the last thirty years, as well as the experience of other countries in modern education. The purpose is to develop a model that incorporates the best features of the various models and that is different from any of them. He adds that "instead of returning to old positions, the shifts and turns should lead to new positions in the intermediate zone between the contrasting models (revolutionary and academic) and take advantage of opportunity for imaginative and creative approaches to a dynamic program of education." (p. 232)
Chen also explained a way of incorporating the most attractive features of all models:

It must go beyond a hodgepodge of what is taken from various sources. It must involve two essential processes of assimilation: adaptation and integration. Adaptation means going beyond the adoption of a feature ‘as is,’ it requires modification of the adopted feature to fit the new pattern. Integration could go even a step further: it would look for the essence and the ideas that constitute the core of the adopted feature and weave it into the new texture or even change or discard its external form, in necessary. (Chen, 1981, p. 231)

Another suggestion made by Chen was, as advocated by Deng Xiao-ping at the National Education Conference held in 1978, to raise “the political and social status” of teachers, who should be respected by students and “society as a whole.” (Chen, 1981, p. 234) Some respondents (57.14%) of the study shared this idea.

While Chen’s suggestions mostly concern the development of Chinese education in general, most respondents of this study offered more concrete ideas to improve China’s social studies education. Concerning curriculum, over forty-two percent (42.86%) of the respondents held that more emphasis should be placed upon contemporary affairs on a global basis, using materials that portray various points of view. For example, attention should be given to the study of global issues and their ramifications worldwide, the teaching of how China is inextricably linked with the rest of the world (interdependence), and the teaching of tolerance, understanding and appreciation of other cultures and people. (Q)

Second, about thirty-five percent (35.71%) of the respondents suggested that social studies curriculum should reflect various theories of sociology and philosophy. For example, multimedia resources ought to be used to enlarge the views of social sciences.

Concerning social studies instruction: half (50.00%) of the respondents suggested that special attention should be given to the training of reflective thinking. Over
forty-two (42.29%) of the respondents believed that a move should be made from group instruction to a more individualized instruction. One respondent even offered the following advice to Chinese teachers:

"Tell me, I forget;
Show me, I remember;
Involve me, I understand." (Q)

Finally, the respondents suggested that multimedia resources and strategies should be utilized to enlarge the views of social sciences. (21.43%)

As regards teacher qualifications, about fourteen percent (14.29%) of the respondents advised upgrading teacher qualifications by strengthening teacher training and by emphasizing in-service education for teachers on one hand, and raising the salaries to attract bright young people to become social studies teachers on the other.

Among other suggestions, over twenty percent (21.43%) of the respondents thought that efforts should be made to increase teacher/student/teaching-material exchanges with European countries, to get foreign educators involved, and "let them help in bringing (China's) educational system into the 20th century." (21.43%)

About seven percent (7.14%) of the respondents suggested to "define the social studies education within the context in which it is being applied." The reason for doing so was that "one must begin by understanding the needs and goals of the society and then determine the purposes, procedures and nature of instruction in the schools that is best suited to the defined context." (Q)

The findings of this study concerning social studies education in China perceived by American scholars and educators in the past decade have been presented above. The data have been organized and presented basically in the structure of the question-
naire designed for this study, with minor adjustments. The researcher of the study has tried not to insert his personal ideas in the process of the data presentation. In the next chapter the findings of the study will be analyzed according to the procedures discussed in the first two chapters.
CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The purpose of this chapter is to analyze and interpret the relevant data presented in Chapter IV and to answer the four questions posed in the research problem:

1. What do American scholars/educators think they have learned about social studies education in China in the last decade or so?

2. How accurate are the Western perceptions of Chinese education? What seem to be the primary misperceptions of American scholars concerning China’s social studies education (if any)? Why do these misperceptions seem to be held?

3. Which aspects of social studies education in China have been adequately explored and which have been explored the least by American scholars?

4. What suggestions or advice have the Americans made to improve social studies education in China?

Questions 1 and 2 are analyzed first. Then two separate sections are provided to deal with questions 3 and 4. In the course of processing these questions, this chapter attempts to supplement the American perceptions in order to provide American educators with a more accurate picture of social studies education in China. In addition, an attempt is made to draw implications from the data that may be useful for educators in both the United States and China as they reflect upon and strive to improve their understanding of Chinese education. Finally, a special section, "other
findings," is created to include items that are interesting and worthy but are not directly related to the four research questions.

WHAT DO AMERICAN SCHOLARS/EDUCATORS THINK THEY HAVE LEARNED ABOUT SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA AND HOW ACCURATE ARE THE PERCEPTIONS?

A. Social Studies Education Curriculum Materials in China

1. What Has Been Learned

The data presented in Chapter IV indicate that American scholars/educators have focused in their analyses on three major aspects of social studies curriculum in China's schools.

— The general course arrangement. The Americans have learned that social studies courses such as politics, history, geography, and ideological/moral education are being offered in Chinese schools.

— Major characteristics of social studies curriculum materials. The curriculum in China is nationally standardized; the data in the textbooks are presented in narrative style and interpreted according to a communist value system; patriotism is emphasized; there is no real sense of hidden curriculum; and few teaching materials are locally produced and used.

— The dramatic changes in curriculum during the post-Cultural Revolution period. For example, efforts are being made to update curriculum materials; political indoctrination, though it exists, has been de-emphasized; comprehensive understanding of Marxism is stressed; and more attention is given to moral/ethics education.
2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions?

To the best knowledge of the researcher, the American perceptions of curriculum materials, as found in this study, cover the major changes that have taken place in the post-Cultural Revolution period, and appear to be generally accurate.

B. Instruction of Social Studies Education in China

1. What Has Been Learned

The American scholars/educators contend that the major characteristics of instruction of social studies in China are:

- Lecture and rote learning are the primary instructional methods.
- Educational media are rarely used in the classroom. The use of media, if any, is in primitive stage.
- Other teaching strategies, which are infrequently used, include field trips, social investigations, peer influence, teaching by example, competition and cooperation, manipulation, etc.

2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions?

The researcher finds that the American perceptions of social studies instruction as found in this study are accurate. Indeed, classroom lectures are the overwhelming instructional method used in China's elementary and secondary schools in general and in social studies classrooms in particular. Moreover, the researcher feels the primary reason given by the respondents in this study for the domination of lectures in China's schools is adequate, i.e., the physical condition in China's schools limits the use of other instructional techniques. In fact, a teacher in China usually has about fifty students in the class. There is not enough space to adopt other teaching methods such as dividing into group or individual activities, which usually require more physical
space. It also seems necessary to add that the lack of equipment such as audio-video players and overhead projectors constrains the use of other instructional strategies.

In addition, it should be pointed out that the nature of the curriculum/textbooks used in schools reinforces the use of lecture as the main teaching method. As discussed earlier, nationally standardized texts are used in regular schools in China. Moreover, most students are under pressure to pass the competitive national college entrance examinations if they are to attend college. In order to prepare students to get the highest scores possible in the exams, both the teachers and students must pay close attention to the content of the examination. It is believed by many educators in China that being exposed to lectures by teachers is the most "effective" way for students to obtain "standard" answers in the shortest period of time.

Another factor limiting the use of other instructional methods in Chinese classrooms is that, unfortunately, other more "progressive" instructional strategies such as child-centered activities and the project method have not brought results admirable enough for teachers in China to imitate. Many teachers feel that the movement of progressive education started during the first part of the 20th century in the United States, among other things, lowered the quality of American education. After the launching of Sputnik by the Soviet Union, American educators became aware of the unsatisfactory results of the educational experiment, thus they launched a "back to the basics" movement, which many claim, helped the United States keep pace with the Soviets in the field of science and technology. Additionally, the poor implementation of John Dewey's theories in China during the 1920s and 1930s dampened Chinese teachers' desire to adopt radical instructional reform on a national scale. Instead, they have tended to adhere Jerome Bruner's claim that "any subject can be taught effectively in some intellectually honest form to any child." (Bruner, 1961, p. 33)
However, Chinese educators seem not to have recognized that teachers of a higher quality are required if Bruner's theories are to be put into effect. For example, as Bereday wrote, "they (teachers) must be better educated, must keep their own knowledge up to date and must . . . think of educational changes not in terms of periodic revisions but as a continuous process, a 'rolling' adjustment of courses and textbooks." (Bereday, 1969, p. 182) Obviously, teachers with such qualities are rare, at least, in China.

Last, the widespread use of lectures in China's classrooms can also be viewed as an outgrowth of Chinese educators' beliefs about the process of knowledge development and the process of cognition. That is, they believe that,

All genuine knowledge originates in direct experience. But one cannot have direct experience of everything; as a matter of fact, most of our knowledge comes from indirect experience, for example, all knowledge from past times and foreign lands. (Mao, 1968, p. 8)

Therefore, as claimed by some most respected teacher educators in China, teaching (in elementary and secondary schools) is to help students effectively gain the basic knowledge in the shortest possible time, rather than requiring them to repeat the tortuous process of knowledge acquisition in human history (Shanghai Normal University, 1979, p. 130). As a result, Chinese teachers use lectures in an attempt to provide indirect experience and to bridge in their students the gap between the unknown and the known. However, acknowledging the weaknesses of the overuse of lectures, Chinese educators in recent years have encouraged classroom teachers to give fewer but more essential lectures and to help students to learn by following Marxist epistemology. According to Marxist materialist epistemology, the process of cognition moves from a perceptual stage to a rational stage. Many Chinese educators hold that lectures can provide a perceptual foundation. Then, ideally, students participate in practice—experimentation, field trips, social investigations, etc.—to gain actual experience needed
for the formation of rational knowledge. Finally, a proper summarizing lecture can help the students to reach the stage of rational knowledge. Moreover, when evaluating the Americans’ observations about teaching methods used in Chinese schools, it should be born in mind that many school principals and teachers feel more comfortable showing their "foreign guests" well-controlled, quiet classrooms. All these factors make it likely that lectures are reported as the overwhelming teaching method in China.

With regard to the different perceptions of China's social studies instructional methods, as presented in Chapter IV, one should recognize that, since China is a huge country, any teaching methods may be used at one time or another, or by one teacher or another. Therefore, it is not surprising that contradictory descriptions of instructional methods were provided by American visitors to China. Generally speaking, schools in the eastern coastal cities in China are more likely to use flexible instructional methods as a result of having been more exposed to Western influence since the 1920s. For example, many high level administrators of education in this region during the 1920s and 1940s had studied in the west. Indeed, some of them were John Dewey's students. It was they who invited Dewey to lecture in many schools and cities in that region, between 1919 and 1921. More significantly, in 1927 Tao Xingzhi, a former student at Columbia University, established Xiao-zhuang Experimental Normal School in suburban Nanking (Nanjing). The school was (and is) well-known for actively experimenting with new pedagogics. For example, Tao sought "the unification of teaching, learning, and doing," and encouraged his students to "make friends" with livestock and crops (Chen, Y., 1979, p. 164). His teaching activities are certainly influential. Therefore, it is not surprising that some American observers, as has been indicated in this study, found more flexible teaching strategies used in Nanking (Nanjing).
In summary, although other teaching strategies are occasionally used in instructing social studies in China, lecturing is the dominant teaching method to be found. Thus, instruction in the social studies reflects the "three centralities" commonly accepted in Chinese education: schoolwork is based on books, classrooms and teachers. According to this principle, book knowledge is more important than social experience, classroom instruction is more important than other forms of teaching, and teachers should play a leading role in the teaching-learning process.

C. Teachers'/Students' Roles in Teaching/Learning Social Studies in China

1. What Has Been Learned

As noted in Chapter IV, American scholars and educators perceived that social studies teachers, like all teachers in general in China, play an extremely important role in imparting knowledge, nurturing attitudes and values, and indoctrinating ideology. On the other hand, "The student is in a passive role and is expected to learn what is presented to him." (Q)

2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions?

The characteristics of the "three centralities" noted earlier imply that teachers in China are viewed as playing a leading role in the teaching-learning process. The American perceptions summarized above are in accord with those characteristics, and, therefore, are accurate.

This study revealed that American scholars and educators have given few explanations as to why such roles are played by teacher and students in China. Thus, this researcher will attempt to provide such an explanation.

First, as regards the role of content in education, Chinese educators assume that human beings have accumulated enough knowledge for elementary and secondary stu-
I l l
dents to learn. Thus, while college students should be exposed to untested hypotheses and assumptions about the unknown world, elementary and secondary students are expected to learn only "true," tested knowledge. The nationally standardized text­books are thus designed to assure that "true knowledge" is taught. In addition, each textbook is concluded with a teacher's guide to make sure that the teacher understands the content and passes it to the students properly. Therefore, the teacher represents the primary source of knowledge from whom the students should learn.

Second, traditionally, a teacher in China is expected to "propagate doctrines, impart knowledge, and clarify uncertainties." (Shanghai Normal University, 1979, pp. 126-27) This provides a theoretical base for teachers' playing a dominant role in the teaching-learning process in the classroom.

However, many educational theorists in China today are dissatisfied with the overwhelmingly dominating role of the teacher in the teaching-learning process, and they have been critical of it (e.g., Yan, 1987, pp. 66-71). In theory, they desire the unity of the teacher's guidance with students' initiative in the teaching-learning process (Chen, B., 1989, p. 137). Yet, even these theorists describe the role of the teacher as a "manager" and a "person in charge." As a result, it is likely that teachers in China will continue to assume near absolute authority in the classroom.

D. The Goals of Social Studies Education in China

1. What Has Been Learned

Most American scholars and educators noted that the general goal of education in China is to develop socialist workers/laborers with both socialist conciousness and culture. The data also show that the Americans generally did not distinguish between the goals of social studies education from those of education in general in China.
When describing the goals of social studies education, some American educators, especially social studies educators, tend to take it for granted that citizenship education is the goal of social studies education in China. This perception possibly grows out of their viewing citizenship education as the "fundamental purpose" of social studies education in the United States (McGowan, et al., 1986, p. 25).

2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions?

Based on the knowledge and experience of this researcher, he agrees with the general perceptions summarized above. Especially, it seems accurate to assume that the basic goal of social studies education in China is citizenship education. After all, education in any society involves raising new generations who can fit into and can carry out the goals of that society. Each generation is comprised of citizens who have cultivated certain characteristics that are needed to meet the demands of the society. However, it should be pointed out that demands on citizens in different societies differ greatly. In the United States, for example,

a 'good' citizen is more than a repository of political information and a master of social survival skills. Civic literacy (knowing what a citizen should know) and civic competency (behaving like a citizen) certainly characterize citizenship, but do not of themselves guarantee its practice. (McGowan, et al., 1986, p. 26)

McGowan further points out,

A 'good' citizen, first and foremost, values consensus and cooperation as much as independence and competition. A citizen also understands that citizenship has local, regional, and global dimensions. A citizen participates in society, rather than simply observing it. The 'good' citizen, moreover, gathers information before making reasoned social decisions. Such an individual is an analytical and critical thinker; he/she is not afraid to challenge the long assumption or ask the different question. A 'good' citizen not only knows the facts, but what they mean to others; so armed, he/she can make choices that impact on the social welfare. In short, such a person exercises judgment regarding a range of social and political issues. Mathews (1985) labeled this exercise of judgment 'civic intelligence' and termed it the essence of citizenship. (McGowan, 1986, p. 26)
In other words,

America has entered an age of global crisis, technological change, socioeconomic transformation, and 'information explosion.' In the turbulent years ahead, the electorate will make social decisions that might refine the very nature of the American experience. To ensure that these choices are made carefully, schools must instill in today's young people the ability to become the enlightened social decision makers of tomorrow. By this very nature, social studies should occupy a central position in efforts to prepare future citizens. (McGowan, 1986, p. 25)

The term citizenship seems to carry a different meaning in China, where a citizen is usually considered to be a person who can constrain himself not to violate the law. In fact, few educators in China have linked the goals of education with citizenship education since the founding of the People's Republic. Rather, they have advocated that the goals of education (and of social studies) in China are to raise successors of the "proletarian revolutionary cause." More than likely, when talking about goals of education, they simply referred to Mao's claim that the goal of education in China is to "enable everyone who receives an education to develop morally, intellectually, and physically, and to become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture." (Lofstedt, 1980, p. 4) The statement of this goal is usually condensed into a more readily-used phrase: raise young people with "all-round development." Some Chinese educators have suggested that aesthetic education and polytechnic (productive) education be included in the all-around development. Theoretically, "school education (in China) is now stressing aesthetic education, giving it the same importance as moral, intellectual, and physical education." (Wu, et al., 1987, p. 12) Thus, the "all-round development" now usually refers to five aspects of education—moral, intellectual, physical, aesthetic, and labor, which "is seen as the essential way of training qualified personnel for the realization of socialist modernization." (Ibid., p. 12) Such personnel obviously are being groomed for citizenship in today's China. In this sense, the goal of social studies education in China can be viewed as developing
citizenship. As a result, the goal of social studies education appears to be more ambitious in China than in the United States.

In short, in judging the accuracy of Americans' perceptions of the goals of social studies education in China, it seems reasonable to say that they are basically correct. However, two points must be made clear: (1) As noted by one responder in this study, citizenship must be defined in Chinese terms. That is, whenever the term citizen is used to describe the goal of education in China, a modifier such as "socialist" should accompany it. And (2) Citizenship education was not an official goal of education in China until January, 1989, when a "Circular on Reforming and Strengthening the Work of Moral Education in Elementary and Secondary Schools" was issued by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Although the content of the Circular seems to be too new to be reflected in the data of this study, it is included here:

The primary task of moral education is to educate good citizens who are patriotic, possess social ethics, well behaved, observe public order, and abide by the law. It is on this base that we lead them to establish scientific outlook on life and scientific world outlook, to constantly upgrade their socialist consciousness, and to make the best of them become staunch communists in their future. (People's Daily (overseas edition), January 17, 1989)

According to the Circular, the basic content of moral education is the "five-loves" (love for the fatherland, the people, labor, sciences, and socialism). This content can be made more concrete by noting its aspects:

1. Patriotic education;
2. Collective education;
3. Education on socialist democracy and on observing public order and abiding by the law;
4. Labor education;
5. Education on moral virtues and fine psychological qualities.
Obviously, compared with requiring every student to develop in socialist consciousness and culture, the Circular has set more specific and more manageable requirements for young students to accomplish.

In spite of the issuing of the Circular, which is concerned mainly with moral education, one should be cautious when using the term citizen/citizenship to describe the goal of social studies education in China.

E. Social Studies Taking Place in Extracurricular Activities

1. What Has Been Learned

As previously noted, American perceptions of extra-curricular activities as related to social studies education in China touch on four major aspects: (1) Young Pioneers activities (at the elementary level); (2) Communist Youth League activities (at the secondary level); (3) field trips, social investigations, and "weekly meetings;" and (4) after-school clubs, such as Lei Feng groups (also known as "Serve the People groups") and various study-groups relating to specific subject matters.

2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions?

The researcher finds that the Americans' descriptions of these extracurricular activities are generally accurate, although he feels that such activities were perceived as being more politically-oriented than they actually are. This is due, perhaps, to the observers' being frequently exposed to political activities while visiting schools in China.

Unlike students in the United States, who for five days a week typically begin school at 8:00 a.m. and are dismissed from school at about 3:30 p.m., students in China spend considerably more hours in school, participating in formal and informal school activities. If students in China seem to study only book knowledge through
dull methods such as lecture, the students' social skills are developed largely through extracurricular activities. The intent of these activities is, of course, to foster "all-around development" of the students. But in recent years, because of the increasing emphasis on academic learning, more and more extracurricular activities have become academically rather than politically oriented, as they were during the Cultural Revolution.

From this researcher's experience and knowledge, one of the most important functions of extracurricular activities in China's schools following the Cultural Revolution has been to provide a balanced way to enrich regular classroom learning. As a matter of fact, many teaching-learning activities such as field trips, social investigations, and "study-group" activities take place beyond the scheduled class hours. Besides, since most teachers live on or near the school campuses, students with personal or academic problems often consult their teachers during off-school hours and days. Obviously, these activities are not easily viewed by irregular visitors.

F. Other Characteristics of Social Studies Education in China

1. What Has Been Learned

In addition to the findings discussed above, it was found in this study that American scholars and educators have learned the following:

Not only social studies itself, but also other school subjects work together to implement the goals of education. Not only the school itself, but, according to Mao, "all departments and organizations (in China) shoulder their responsibilities in ideological and political work." (Mao, 1968, p. 110)

The family, by close contact with the school, plays an active role in developing the child—both academically and morally.
Educators have been trying to use peer influence to encourage the students' overall development.

Religion is not practiced in schools.

Political enthusiasm among younger generation has declined during the last decade, while much more attention has been paid to academic achievement.

2. How Accurate Are these Perceptions?

Based on his own experience and knowledge about schools in China, the researcher of this study confirms the accuracy of the American perceptions of other characteristics of social studies education in China.

G. The Most Significant Changes in Social Studies Education Since the End of the Cultural Revolution

1. What Has Been Learned

As presented in Chapter IV, American scholars and educators have perceived a number of major significant changes in social studies education during the post-Cultural Revolution period. For example, they noted that greater emphasis has been placed on formal curriculum, history and geography have occupied a significant position in the curriculum, more attention has been paid to other parts of the world, and a relatively complete examination system has been established.

2. How Accurate Are These Perceptions?

This researcher agrees with what American scholars and educators have seen as the most significant changes in social studies education during the post-Mao era (1976-88). The various changes can be summarized as follows: Social studies education in China during the past decade has returned to the "three centralities." That is,
formal curriculum is dominant, the teacher plays a leading role in the teaching-learning process, and the teaching-learning activities mostly take place in the classrooms. The "three centralities" are in sharp contrast with social studies education during the Cultural Revolution, when piecemeal knowledge was taught, education was heavily impacted by the political winds of the Party, and lessons could be given in a factory or in the countryside by an old worker, peasant, or soldier who had experienced the bitterness of the "old" society but who might be illiterate. Today, people with special experiences are still invited into classrooms when appropriate, but in addition to manual workers/laborers, intellectuals such as scientists are also on the invitation list (People's Daily (overseas edition), January 19, 89).

WHICH ASPECTS OF SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA HAVE BEEN ADEQUATELY EXPLORED AND WHICH HAVE BEEN EXPLORED THE LEAST?

The third question (shown above) posed in the research problem is addressed in this section. The procedure of dealing with this question follows the sequence of the data presentation in Chapter IV.

A. Social Studies Curriculum Materials

First, nationally standardized curriculum materials such as textbooks were frequently mentioned or described by American scholars and educators. Curriculum materials developed by local schools or classroom teachers, however, have remained virtually uninvestigated, although some American educators were aware of the existence of such materials. It seems adequate to say that teaching materials developed by local teachers are so rare that they are usually beyond the sight of the occasional American observer. In fact, however, though dominating school curriculum at both
elementary and secondary levels, nationally standardized textbooks are not the only teaching materials used in China's schools. For example, this researcher has come across two locally-produced textbooks. One is called *History of Zhanjiang*, compiled by the Bureau of Education in Zhanjiang Prefecture, Guangdong Province. The other is a set of two-volume locally-made textbooks entitled *Handbooks for Mapreading*, developed by the Science and Technology Publishing House of Guangdong Province. However, it remains unclear to what extent locally-made texts are used. However one can likely assume that, with the heavy burden of regular coursework already on students, the use of "additional" teaching materials depends largely upon whether these materials are seen as important for improving students' scores on the national college entrance examinations.

Second, these perceptions of curriculum materials seem to remain mostly at the descriptive level. That is, few American scholars seem to have intensively analyzed the content and the structure of the curriculum. This shortcoming is probably due to the language barrier and to the limited time they have spent on investigating the curriculum.

Third, the authors of the related literature seem to be more knowledgeable about the social studies curriculum than the respondents in the study. Overall, their observations focused on textbooks in general rather than textbooks specifically relating to social studies. What seems to have been most difficult for them to keep track of was the continuing changes the social studies curriculum in China has undergone in recent years. This is particularly true for textbooks on political education.

In an attempt to bring some clarity to this problem, in the following section this researcher provides a description of the changes that have occurred in the social studies curriculum since the end of the Cultural Revolution.
The process of change in the social studies curriculum in the post-Cultural Revolution period is clearly addressed in a letter to this researcher from Ms. Miu Li-duan, an educator at the Middle School Attached to Hunan Normal University, Hunan Province, who has been involved in the national commitment to social studies curriculum development during the last decade. The main part of this letter has been translated into English as follows.

Soon after the end of the Cultural Revolution, a Bureau of Political/Ideological Education was re-established within the Ministry of Education, which has been known as the State Education Commission since 1985. It made several decisions about replacing the then-existing Politics course with a few more new courses during 1978 and 1980. Some of these courses were intended to train students' moral habits and ways of daily behavior. Others were designed to teach basic theories of social sciences. The arrangement of these courses as of 1980 was:

Junior 1: Cultivation for Youngsters;
Junior 2: Brief History of Social Development;
Junior 3: Introduction to Scientific Socialism;
Senior 1: Introduction to Political Economics;
Senior 2: Introduction to Dialectical Materialism;
Senior 3: No textbook was available. The scheduled hours were usually used to review what was taught in previous years, with the purpose in mind to prepare students for national college entrance examinations.

In 1980, the 'Introduction to Scientific Socialism' was replaced with 'General Knowledge about Laws and Constitutions.' Except for that change the above courses were offered without significant changes until 1985, when a 'Circular on Reforming and Strengthening Political/Ideological Education in Elementary, Secondary, and Higher Education' was issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. Consequently, educational experts from Beijing, Tianjin, Shanghai, Jilin, Guizhou, Guangdong, and Beijing Normal University were organized to compile new textbooks for political/ideological education. Experimental texts were then being tested and repeatedly revised during 1985 and 1987. Meanwhile, teaching programs for each of the new texts were formulated. At that time a new arrangement of courses was offered as follows:

Junior 1: Citizenship;
Junior 2: Brief History of Social Development;
Junior 3: General Knowledge about Socialist Reconstruction in China;
Senior 1: Scientific Outlook on Life;
Senior 2: Introduction to Economics;
Senior 3: Introduction to Politics.

The teaching programs also stipulated that 'General Knowledge about Laws and Constitutions' was no longer offered as a separate course, but distributed into the instruction for Junior 1 (Citizenship), Junior 3 (Scientific Outlook on Life), and Senior 3 (Introduction to Politics). It was suggested that approximately fifty hours be used to teach this new evolving subject (laws and constitutions). (Letter to the researcher from Miu Li-duan)

In the same letter, dated in July, 1988, Ms. Miu also pointed out that textbooks for the above courses were still under revision. According her, the State Education Commission planned to revise the teaching programs for political/ideological education again during the second half of 1989. In addition, Vice Director He Dongchang of the State Education Commission said in January, 1989, that new textbooks for all subjects are being recompiled and will be made available for use in elementary and secondary schools in 1991 (People's Daily (overseas edition), January 19, 1989).

According to Miu, the following changes have taken place in the social studies curriculum in China since the end of the Cultural Revolution:

First, the social studies textbooks have undergone more frequent and greater changes than any textbooks for other subjects. While political education and indoctrination dominated the social studies during the Cultural Revolution, emphasis has now been placed on moral education. That is, training in behavioral conduct and moral virtue has started to play an important role in the political/ideological courses. At the same time, the teaching of abstract theories of Marxist politics has been reduced.
Second, the content of social studies at Junior 1 and Senior 1 levels has become more child-oriented, while that of other levels has been more society-oriented.

Third, greater emphasis has been given to integrating the learning of theory with practice. For example, when evaluating a student's performance in social studies, many schools take the student's daily conduct, as well as their performance on coursework, into account. This usually occupies ten to thirty percent of the general evaluation. (Letter from Ms. Miu)

To the knowledge of this researcher, while the textbooks for ideological-moral education in China are still under debate and revision, it is clear that the textbooks for history and geography have been well established. For example, the history and geography textbooks issued by the Ministry of Education in 1979 are still being used in the country. Each of the two subjects normally consist of two parts: Chinese History/Geography and World History/Geography.

In order to help the reader of this study to learn a bit more about social studies textbooks used in China's secondary schools, the tables of contents of several history textbooks have been translated into English and are presented in Appendix C.

In addition to overseeing the regular curriculum, the State Education Commission issued two sets of "Rules of Daily Conduct" for elementary and secondary school students respectively in 1988. The purpose of the rules reportedly is to raise younger generations who are honest and fair-minded, modest and generous, brave and persistent, open-minded and creative, and time-valuing and in keeping their promises (People's Daily(overseas edition), January 17, 1989). How these "Rules of Daily Conduct" are related to the "Rules of Conduct" noted in Chapter IV, however, remains unclear. It seems that the "rules" issued in 1989 are a revised version of those issued in 1955 and 1979.
No evidence was found in this study to indicate that American observers have learned how such rules of conduct are enforced or applied in China. In fact, the rules usually are put up in conspicuous places on school campuses and explained clearly in an ideological/moral education course in the beginning of each semester. During the semester, teachers of all subjects repeatedly remind the students to follow the rules. Behavioral problems are intensively discussed and solved during the weekly meetings met by the students and their home room teachers. At the end of the semester, students' general behavioral performances are evaluated on the basis of the rules. Such an evaluation constitutes a chief part of the student's report card.

B. Instruction of Social Studies

As with social studies curriculum materials, instruction of social studies in China has been extensively investigated by American scholars and educators. As reflected by the data, however, some teaching methods (e.g., lecture) have been explored more thoroughly than others (such as child-centered activities, social investigations, and discussions).

As regards instructional methods that have not been explored by American observers, This researcher wishes to add two points. First, in China all teachers are supposed to serve as behavioral models for students to follow. This has been a long-standing tradition, and is an idea being stressed by teacher educators in China (Shanghai Normal University, 1979, p. 143). For example, Confucius said: "If a man has rendered himself correct, he will have no trouble governing. If he cannot render himself correct, how can he correct others?" (Ware, 1960, p. 85) Teachers must participate in what they expect students to do and avoid doing what they ask the students not to do. This is especially important for social studies/moral education teachers.
One teaching method rarely mentioned by American observers is "self-study." Such a teaching-learning process is usually scheduled in the afternoon or in the evening, from 7:00 p.m. to 9:00 p.m. Though not required, all students are encouraged to attend self-study sessions during which they prepare lessons for upcoming classes and review the lessons that have been taught. At times, especially before important examinations, special time is reserved for teachers of different subjects to answer questions the students might have, or to give extra help to those who have had difficulties in their studies. Self-study activities have been given greater emphasis since the end of the Cultural Revolution, because of the increased stress on academic achievement.

C. Teachers'/Students' Roles in Teaching/Study in Social Studies

The relationships between teachers and students are an important aspect of social studies education. As has been addressed, American scholars and educators have adequately perceived that social studies teachers in China are generally in a dominant position, while students play a passive role in studying social studies. This perception is especially appropriate when one observes the roles of the teachers and students in the classroom. In other words, the Americans have adequately explored teachers' and students' roles as they pertain to classroom teaching and learning. However, it should be pointed out that the informal relationships or personal contacts between teachers and students are different from what is usually seen in the classroom. This is an aspect that has been less explored by American educators. Since Chinese students spend six days a week and about eight hours a day in school, informal or personal contacts between teachers and students constitute an important dimension of teacher-student relationships. For example, in China a teacher may offer to help pay tuition fees for a student whose family is too poor to afford the fees; or, if a student miss-
es a class due to illness or other unexpected events, the teacher may pay a visit to the home to help the student catch up with the others. (Sometimes the teacher may assign other students to do this work if they are willing to help their classmate.) Research in the United States shows that both children who are tutored by teenage tutors and the tutors themselves can benefit from "Children Teach Children" activities (Sprinthal & Sprinthal, 1981, p. 567).

D. The Goals of Social Studies Education in China

Since there is not a clear distinction between the goals of education and those of social studies education in China, the general goal of education—developing students in socialist consciousness and socialist culture—can also be considered as the goal of social studies education in China. This goal, in the final analysis, consists of two components: developing "Redness" (consciousness) and developing "Expertise" (culture—academic learning). In fact, there is a subtle relationship between these two components, both of which reflect the political climate in the Communist Party. For example, during the Cultural Revolution, with the same literal goal, the Redness aspect of the goal was over-emphasized, when "politics" was put in the first place. During the last decade, Chinese educators generally have placed their priority on developing students' academic capacity. Meanwhile, this goal is at times used to stress moral education if some teachers worry that too much attention has been paid to students' academic achievement. Of course, by claiming to implement the same goal, political radicals in the Communist Party sometimes urge teachers to give improper political indoctrination in schools, which happened during the "campaign of anti-spiritual pollution" in 1983 and the "campaign of anti-bourgeois freedom." And especially, such an indoctrination has been taken place following the suppression on student pro-democracy demonstrators in June, 1989. This study indicates that few American scholars have paid serious atten-
tion to this subtle relationship. Rather, the observers seem contented to study the goals of Chinese education by simply investigating the literal documents, which can remain unchanged while the actual implementation or the substantial content of the goals differ greatly from time to time.

It was also found in this study that some American educators equate the goals of social studies education in China with citizenship education, although Chinese educators have not clearly stated such a goal of it. Thus, it seems that these educators have been trying to accomplish a meaningful task that educators in China have not paid enough attention to.

E. Social Studies Taking Place in Extracurricular Activities

Compared with other aspects of social studies education in China, social studies as it takes place in extracurricular activities in China has been less explored by American scholars and educators. Moreover, most of the Americans' perceptions in this area seem to be based on indirect descriptions provided by other individuals, rather than on their direct observations.

Of the various extracurricular activities, the Americans seem to be most familiar with those organized by youth organizations such as the Young Pioneers and the Communist Youth League. They are less familiar with activities sponsored by other parties, such as "class directors" (home room teachers) and various study groups.

Although social investigations are an important extracurricular activity in China, they have been largely ignored by American educators. Social investigations are somewhat similar to field trips, usually occurring before or after the teaching of a lesson. During social investigations students are usually divided into smaller groups and are charged with investigating certain social phenomena. For example, students are usually assigned to investigate people's living conditions in their communities. Normally a
written report is expected at the end of the investigation, which takes from several
days to weeks. In order to complete the report, the students are encouraged to have
an outline prepared before the investigation.

Because of the high population density and the Chinese tradition that stresses
interpersonal relations, there seem to exist closer contacts among students after school
in China than in the United States. Their thought and action also seem to interact in
a more complicated way. Such after-school interactions that significantly influence
students' moral development as well as academic achievement do not seem to have
been adequately explored by any American scholars or educators.

F. Other Characteristics of Social Studies Education

It was indicated in this study that American scholars and educators have been
impressed with the harmony of efforts made by different school subjects and by dif­
ferent entities (the Party, the Army, the family, etc.) to foster children's moral devel­
opment. The scholars and educators also seem to have an accurate understanding of
the educational functions made by collectives.

Some American educators noted that there are no religious activities in China's
schools, and they seemed to attribute this characteristic to the ruling of the Commu­
nist Party. They are probably right. However, it should be pointed out that the sepa­
ration of religion from schools in China is not simply a creation of the Communist
government. Instead, it is a Chinese tradition that can be traced back to Confucius' time—about 2500 years ago. For example, Confucius insisted on keeping spirits and
ghosts "at the distance." (McNaughton, 1974, p. 145) Thus, "there are some things
Confucius didn't talk about—marvels; feats of strength; anarchy; spirits." (Ibid. p. 145)
He held that priority should be given to "serve men" rather than to "serve spirits."
(Ibid., p. 145) Due to the strong influence of Confucianism in Chinese history, Chinese
society stresses feudal ethics and ties of blood. As a result, religion traditionally has assumed an insignificant position in China's schools (Tao, 1985, pp. 43, 124 & 274). Needless to say, this tradition has been enhanced since the atheistic communists came into power in 1949.

A number of American educators in this study also noted a decline of political enthusiasm among young people in China. Shirk pointed out, for example, that "Maoist ideas have become symbols of loyalty rather than guide to action." (i.e., more "totem" than "thought") (Shirk, 1982, p. 195) This observation appears to be appropriate. In addition, this researcher would like to add that, although the "four upholdings" (socialism, leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, proletarian dictatorship, and Marxist and Mao Zedong Thought), still are regarded as the fundamental principles in ruling China, most people in China seem to give them only lip service. This has been especially true during the recent attempt at brainwashing following the Tiananmen Square massacre in June, 1989.

G. The Most Significant Changes in Social Studies Education Since the End of the Cultural Revolution

An examination of the data gathered in this study indicates that three major aspects of changes in social studies education during the post-Cultural Revolution period have been adequately perceived by Western/American scholars and educators. These are changes in: (1) curriculum—A relatively academically oriented curriculum has been developed; (2) examination system—A complete examination system aiming at judging students' academic abilities has been restored; and (3) open-door to the outside world—Exchanges of cultural programs and educational ideas have been taking place.

The findings in this study indicate that two important aspects of social studies education have not been appropriately investigated. One is the change in the mental
world of social studies teachers and students. That is, significant changes in education since the end of the Cultural Revolution consist of two aspects: physical and psychological. Changes in the physical aspect include such phenomena as how much time teachers and students are involved in teaching and learning, what roles they usually play in the classroom, and what other activities they are engaged in. These activities are visible and have been relatively fully investigated by American scholars and educators. Teachers' and students' inner world is a more complicated field, which is comprised of their personal attitudes towards their professional tasks and different kinds of political activities, etc. For example, how do the teachers and students perceive the major educational policies in the post-Mao era? How enthusiastically do they devote their time and energy to teaching and learning? What changes do they expect in the future? Such questions have remained largely uninvestigated by Western scholars and educators.

The other important aspect less explored by Western observers is the actual social status of teachers in China. Most American scholars and educators seem to have ignored this aspect of education. The few who addressed it seem to have simply accepted the officially published documents indicating that Chinese teachers' social status has been greatly improved during the past decade. Thus, two points must be made clear here: First, there is almost always a gap between the published policies and the implementation of those policies. Second, compared with other professionals with equivalent education, teachers in China are paid less, and their living conditions are poorer. Generally speaking, teaching has been and seems to continue to be one of the least attractive occupations in China. It has been repeatedly reported in recent years that, because of the low social status, many teachers have left their positions for better opportunities in other occupations. This situation has sometimes been so
severe that some schools have been forced to close temporarily due to shortage of teachers (The Quest, November, 1988, pp. 93-94; People's Daily (overseas edition), September 20, 1988).

**SUGGESTIONS OFFERED BY AMERICAN SCHOLARS/EDUCATORS TO CHANGE OR IMPROVE SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA**

Summarizing the suggestions presented in Chapter IV, they are as follows:

- Make the past serve the present;
- Make foreign things serve China;
- Respect the teachers and love the students and upgrade the teachers’ social status;
- Revise the curriculum to meet contemporary and global needs;
- Practice and use more teaching methods to train independent thinkers and to meet individual needs;
- Increase teacher/student/teaching-material exchanges with developed countries;
- Define the social studies and conduct more research on it.

This researcher thinks that the suggestions made by American educators are sound and valuable. In addition, he would like to add the following additional suggestions that might be more applicable for improving the curriculum and instruction of social studies education in China.

First, the present social studies curriculum seems to be confusing, with many courses squeezed into an already crowded curriculum. The history course alone, for example, covers numerous facts and historic events. Even though all the content being taught is important, it is unrealistic for every student to learn all the subjects at the same time and to reach the same level of achievement, considering that children's psychological characteristics and career goals are different. A more feasible approach could be:
a) Condense the history and geography courses, with the purpose being to retain the "basic structure" of the two subjects, and allocate fewer class hours to teach these subjects. Besides history and geography, add moral education and government/or citizenship as required courses for social studies. Meanwhile, provide the students with a series of reference books and materials relevant to these subjects for those who want to explore them further.

b) Revise existing subjects such as "A Brief History of Social Development," "Introduction to Scientific Socialism," "Introduction to Economics," and "Dialectical Materialism" in order to reflect various views of social theories, and offer them with other new subjects such as "World Cultures" and "China and Contemporary World" as elective courses. The elective courses should be designed at different levels, and every student should be required to take each of them at least at the lowest level. It should be made clear that the total class hours for teaching the required and elective courses should not exceed the hours used for social studies at the present time, in order not to burden students' study loads.

c) Those provinces, cities, and villages with special needs and with qualified curriculum developers should be encouraged and assisted in designing and using curricula more relevant to their special needs.

Second, special attention should be paid to developing students' thinking and problem-solving skills. For this purpose, various instructional methods such as student reports, library work, role playing, case studies, and simulations should be made familiar to all teachers and they should be encouraged to use them in their classrooms. Besides, "child-centered" activities and project methods should also be carefully tested and recommended to classroom teachers. One should not expect to find one single teaching method that can be used by every teacher to produce the best teaching-
learning results. Each teacher should be allowed to teach in his own instructional style.

If, for example, a teacher feels comfortable using lecturing as his major instructional method and if he does it well, he should be permitted to do it until he wants to try a different method. In fact, lecturing is by no means a useless teaching method. For example, a survey conducted in the United States in 1980 indicated that "with the ever-present textbook in the classroom, the most extensively used instructional practices in social studies are lecture and discussion." (Superka, et al. 1980, p. 367) Ideally, "students should have the opportunity to experience a wide variety of teaching styles, learning activities, and learning resources in social studies." (Morrissett, et al. 1980, p. 572)

Third, the national college entrance examinations have had a negative impact on curriculum and instruction in social studies education, as well as in other school subjects in China. Therefore, the entrance examinations must be reformed. One way is to change and enrich the content of the examinations so that they do not constrain teaching and learning in secondary schools. Another method is to use alternatives such as standardized tests such as the Scholastic Aptitude Test used in the United States to select qualified students for colleges and universities.

Fourth, in order to improve social studies education in China, it is absolutely necessary to increase teacher exchanges with other countries, in order to make up deficiencies in Chinese education by acquiring others' strong points.
OTHER FINDINGS

A. Major Reasons for American Scholars/Educators to Study Education in China

As stated in Chapter IV, American scholars and educators have studied education in China for four major reasons. The first was their personal interest in China. The second was their desire to complete or improve their teaching or research tasks. The third reason was because of the belief that China, with over one-fifth of the world's population and "with more than 200,000,000 Chinese in school," will play an important role in the future. (Q) The last reason for Americans to study education in China is that they want to study a different culture in order to better understand their own.

It seems likely that, because of these factors, Americans will continue to investigate Chinese society and the educational system in the future.

B. Means by Which American Scholars/Educators Studied Education in China

The data indicate that a wide variety of methods have been employed by Western scholars and educators to study education in China. However, this study does not indicate that systematic observations or in-depth case studies of social studies education in China have been made by American educators. As a result, the perceptions of American scholars and educators on social studies education in China have largely been based on short-term, occasional observations and/or on documentational investigation.
C. What in Addition Would American Scholars/Educators Like to Know About Education in China?

The findings indicate that what in addition American scholars/educators would like to know about education in China covers virtually all aspects of that country's education. This implies that not enough about education in China has been known by American scholars/educators. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that more efforts will be made by them to explore education in China in the future.

Based on the findings in this study, it appears that American scholars and educators wish to know more about Chinese education in general rather than about social studies education in particular. They especially hope to increase the opportunities for exchanges of ideas between American and Chinese educators.

D. Strengths of Social Studies Education Noted by American Scholars and Educators

American scholars and educators thought that there are eight strengths in social studies education in China.

—There is common agreement on the direction of education. Chinese educators seem to be confident in the directions they are moving and in what goals they hope to accomplish.

—There is a great concern for the "all-round development" of the children. Various curricula and school activities are being organized for this purpose.

—Efforts are being made to link theory learning with social practice.

—Collective education and peer influence are carefully arranged to help develop students' social skills and moral characters.

—Standardized textbooks are used, with the purpose being to assure a minimum quality of education.
— A spirit of cooperation and a sense of patriotism are emphasized.

— Efforts are being made to give proper attention to both fast and slow learners.

— Chinese educators are eager to learn from Western countries in their attempt to design new teaching methods for developing students' thinking skills.

E. Weaknesses of Social Studies Education Noted by American Scholars and Educators

Eleven weaknesses of education in China—five concerning education in general and six concerning social studies education—were found and have been presented in Chapter IV. All these weaknesses seem to be sound.

This researcher wishes to point out, in addition, that, although the community in China is expected to support the schools, citizens are not allowed to challenge school policies. This clearly can be seen as a weakness in China's educational system. This stands in sharp contrast with school districts in the United States, where local school boards composed of parents and community members provide a strong voice on the selection of textbooks and how the children are to be taught, whether principals are hired and fired, and how thousands of dollars in discretionary funds shall be spent (Columbus Dispatch, December 25, 1989). Communities and families in China should be given more opportunities to become substantially involved in the decision-making process of the schools.

The process of social studies is, in fact, a process of culture acquisition. "The process of culture acquisition by which children and young people learn to be fully functioning adults is a holistic one." (Pitman, et al., 1989, p. 3) Or, social studies can also be seen as a process of socialization, which has been described as "the patterns of antecedent variables which shape behavior and tie it to the social system in which an individual lives." (Hess, 1970, p. 457) Chinese educators seem to be concerned more
with students' political socialization than with other aspects of their socialization. However, Chinese educators seem not to have given proper emphases to the different dimensions of political socialization. According to Greenberg (1970), political socialization is "the process by which the individual acquires attitudes, beliefs, and values relating to the political system of which he is a member, and to his own role as citizen within that political system." (p. 3) The various dimensions of political socialization have been identified as these:

1. system relevance of political socialization;
2. varieties of content of political socialization;
3. political socialization across the life-cycle;
4. political socialization across generations;
5. cross-cultural aspects of political socialization;
6. sub-group and sub-cultural variations;
7. the political learning process;
8. the agents and agencies of political socialization;
9. the extent and relative effects of political socialization upon different individuals;
10. specialized — specially elite political socialization. (Dennis, 1973, pp. 4-5)

Of the ten dimensions of political socialization, Chinese students seem to have been taught little about how their government operates, what roles different social sectors and individuals should play in their political system on a national scale, and how different cultures nationally and globally interact.

It seems that the educational system in China has paid more attention to training children to "conform to social expectations" by shaping a set of "behavioral patterns controlled in the main by events in the immediate environment in which behavior
occurs", than to developing a set of "internal characteristics that are relatively stable over time and across situations." (Henderson & Bergan, 1976, pp. 370-378) An indica­tor of this weakness in the educational system is that many young people tend to speak more attractively than what they actually think and do.

F. Expected Changes in Social Studies Education in China

As Chapter IV shows, American scholars and educators expect the following changes in social studies education in China in the near future:

— It has to deal with and/or reflect foreign influences.
— It will continue to reflect political developments.
— The Chinese conception of citizenship education will continue to lie at the heart of the school experience.
— The quantity of overt moral-political teaching will be reduced.
— It will address more contemporary/world affairs.
— More courses in social sciences will be offered.
— More and better teacher-training activities will be available in order to upgrade teacher quality.
— There may be a crisis of faith in the younger generation.

The researcher of this study realizes that when stating these expectations of changes in social studies education in China, American scholars/educators did not iso­late the expectations from the historical and social background of China's education.

To judge the accuracy of these predictions, we must consider the time when the predictions were made. For example, in 1979 Price said that "it seems that the quantity of overt moral-political teaching will be reduced in order to devote more time to academic learning." This prediction proved to be absolutely right for the next ten years until the tragic events in early June 1989 in Beijing. Since the suppression on
student demonstrators in that year, intensive political indoctrination has been made by
the organizations of the Communist Party at all levels. For example, Jiang Zemin,
the new General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, emphasized in a National
Work Conference on Higher Education held in July 1989 that political/ideological
education must be strengthened; that the four basic principles (socialism, leadership of
the Chinese Communist Party, dictatorship of the proletariat, and Marxism-Leninism-
Mao Zedong Thought) must be upheld; and that the "bourgeois freedom" must be
opposed with a clear-cut stand.

At the same conference, the Premier, Li Peng, the Director of the State Education
Commission, Li Tieying, and other leaders of the Party stressed that "socialist direc-
tion" in education must be put in command. (People's Daily(overseas edition), July
15, July 17, 1989) As a result, it seems likely that the teaching and learning of
social sciences will be more strictly controlled in the foreseeable future. This would
question the accuracy of another prediction which stated that "there will be more
freedom for students to choose electives in the social sciences." (Q)

Shirk predicted in 1982 that outstanding students would become political dissen-
ters, because schools had concentrated on the pursuit of academic achievement rather
than teaching students to be committed to the revolutionary cause. He further fore-
warned that "the dissidents of the 1980s and 1990s may express a nostalgia for the
days when there was moral idealism in politics." (Shirk, 1982, p. 197) Now, several
years later, this prediction appears only partly appropriate. While there may be young
people who have a "nostalgia" for the past, more youngsters seem to long for a more
enlightened politics and a more democratic government. That is, they are pursuing
an idealism on a higher level than Shirk thought possible.
The student movement during April and June of 1989 may be seen as an expression of such a pursuit. In the years to come, while moral education (the training of moral virtues) will remain a major part of the political-ideological education in schools in China, it seems certain that more time will be devoted to the study of "political theories" immediately needed by the existing Chinese government that wants to firmly control the thought of younger generations, as was done by Mao Zedong during the Cultural Revolution. However, it is this researcher's belief that history progresses constantly; indeed historical phenomena sometimes appear to repeat themselves. However, such a repetition is the process of progress at a higher level, instead of the mere copy of a past event. Similarly, in the long run, social studies education in China will eventually reflect the actual needs of the people who represent the mainstream of historic development.

This chapter has analyzed and interpreted the data found in this study. In the course of the analysis, efforts were made to provide additional information about social studies education in China, in hopes of helping the reader gain a more comprehensive understanding of the field as it exists in the People's Republic of China. The next chapter, Chapter VI, will present the conclusions of this research and will make suggestions for further studies in this area.
CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

SUMMARY

The preceding chapters have provided historical background for analyzing education (social studies education) in China (Chapter I), have reviewed the literature related to this study (Chapter II), described the methodology used in the research (Chapter III), presented the data (Chapter IV), and analyzed the data (Chapter V). The present chapter, Chapter VI, summarizes the study, draws necessary implications from the research findings, and offers recommendations for future research on this topic.

The principal purpose of this study was to summarize, analyze, and supplement the American perceptions of social studies education in China since the end of the Cultural Revolution in 1976, in order to: (1) assist people outside China to gain a better understanding of China's social studies education; (2) present the Chinese people with a sense of how their education has been perceived by American scholars and educators, thereby encouraging them to possibly improve their work from a different perspective; (3) provide feedback for American scholars who are interested in and have studied changes taking place in Chinese education and society in the past decade; and (4) facilitate an exchange of ideas between those outside China who share an interest in the study of education and society in China.

The study was conducted using qualitative methodology, consisting mainly of literature analysis and questionnaire investigation. The research covered all the major
aspects of social studies education in China during the past dozen years, including curriculum, instruction, teachers' and students' roles in the teaching-learning process, extra-curricular activities related to social studies, and suggestions offered by American scholars for improving social studies education in China.

In view of social development and the relations between social superstructure and economic base, according to Marxism, superstructure (including education) is determined by the economic base. In turn, superstructure can play an active role in changing the economic base and society. This point of view is closely related to the Marxist philosophy that emphasizes man's conscious dynamic role in social activities. Also, this philosophy has been fully stressed in China since the founding of the People's Republic in 1949. As a result, education in China is made to "serve proletarian politics and serve productive labor" in the country, and has in recent years followed a zigzag pattern between the Red and Expert (revolutionary movement and academic study).

For example, soon after Liberation in the early 1950s, when the Party was attempting economic reconstruction, schools were heavily engaged in academic learning. While the political fever rose between 1958 and 1961 — when the Great Leap Forward was underway — the emphasis on education was based more on political activities. The most apparent example of education influenced by politics, as mentioned early in this study, was during the period of the Cultural Revolution, whose aim was to purify "capitalist roaders" in the Party. This study indicated that the post-Cultural Revolution period (September, 1976-June, 1989) has been a period in which academic coursework (Expert) has been re-emphasized.

It must be pointed out that the current stress on academic work is not an exception to the rule held by Chinese Marxists that education must serve the politics of
the Party. In fact, it is serving a special kind of politics. That is, since the end of
the Cultural Revolution the stress of the Party's work has been switched from politi­
cal movement to socialist reconstruction. "Economic reconstruction has become the
overwhelming politics in the new historical period." Thus, education in today's China
is serving this special politics.

Generally speaking, the perceptions of American scholars and educators about
social studies education in China during the post-Cultural Revolution period cover vir­
tually all aspects of the subject and are mostly accurate. For example, they have
learned what subjects related to social studies are offered in schools in China, how
these subjects are usually instructed, what goals are supposed to be reached, and what
roles the teacher and the students normally play in the educational process. Needless
to say, however, some perceptions of American educators on selected aspects of China's
social studies are more profound than others.

For example, they seem to know more about the educational policies than the
education realities in China. Similarly, they usually describe regular classroom activi­
ties more frequently than out-of-school (extracurricular) activities. Of extracurricular
activities, those organized by well-established youth organizations such as the Young
Pioneers and the Communist Youth League seem to have been known more fully
than activities sponsored by other parties such as various study-groups. The above
can be viewed as the characteristics of American perceptions of social studies educa­
tion found in this study.
IMPLICATIONS

Drawing implications for both American and Chinese educators is one of the purposes of this study. As indicated in Chapter IV, some American educators were of the opinion that certain strengths existed in social studies education in China, although the general feeling was that those strengths could not be directly transferred into the educational system in the United States. However, most of the scholars and educators believed that something could be learned from each other. This situation gave confidence to this researcher in his attempt to draw possible implications from the study.

First, in order for education to function effectively, a society must properly adopt a dialectical viewpoint in making educational policies. The expectation that education must meet the immediate needs of a political organization will constantly keep education on the run and make it impossible for it to reach its goals. This is the case in China. On the one hand, the hope is that education will not be interfered with too much by political activities in the future. On the other hand, assuming a laissez-faire attitude toward education will probably result in educators/schools functioning less effectively than desired. This seems to be the case in the United States.

Based on his experience and knowledge about education in China and the United States, this researcher thinks that Chinese society should allow more autonomy for the school and its educators in order to develop creativity in carrying out their work in education. It must be acknowledged, however, that most teachers, if not all, have in mind the building of a stronger and more prosperous China in the future, although they individually may hold different ideas and use different methods to accomplish their work. Relatedly, if American educators view education from a broader social perspective and assume a greater responsibility for social improvement,
education may be able to function as a more significant social agency in American society.

Second, it seems that individual social agencies in China have assumed a more active role in assisting schools to reach their goals. It must be admitted that the Chinese social system has made this practice of cooperation more practicable among different social agencies (e.g., schools and families, communities, etc.) However, the question is, can this be done at all in the United States—if it actually is a desirable practice in education? In other words, can the policymakers of the United States do anything to facilitate other social agencies to lend support to education?

Third, children in China currently devote too much of their time and energy to schoolwork, and at least part of the schoolwork is undertaken in a rather dull atmosphere. Thus, it is the Chinese educators' responsibility to make schooling a more pleasant experience for their younger students.

On the other hand, school children in the United States seem to have been given too much time to engage in non-academic activities. This seems to be a waste of not only physical facilities but also precious intelligence. Should or can anything be done to reduce such a waste? In the eyes of this researcher, American educators/teachers have paid enough attention to the child's interests, which are necessary and important. However, it is also necessary to note that some interests should be discouraged while others should be encouraged and reinforced. Most importantly, certain interests should be purposefully developed and nurtured. This is the most difficult part of education and is probably the reason society needs schools and teachers.

Fourth, Chinese history and reality have made the Chinese people, the public and educators alike, accustomed to tolerate less pluralistic views of social theories. The interdependence of the contemporary world has presented a great challenge to such a
Chinese tradition. In response to the ever-changing world, Chinese educators, especially social studies teachers, must be re-informed and re-educated in order for them to raise new generations capable of being successful on this increasingly competitive globe.

Fifth, the Chinese government has never done enough to improve the physical conditions in schools and to raise teachers' social status in China. This is especially true in the case of elementary and secondary education. In China, teaching is still an occupation of meager means, and, as always, teachers are expected to contribute like a candle—brightening others by burning itself out. Compared with other professionals with the same level of education, teachers are under-paid and usually allocated poorer housing. Ironically, leaders of the People's Republic always flaunt the banner of Marxism. However, it seems that they ignore a basic Marxist principle: Social reality determines social consciousness.

With low social status, how can young people with the highest talent be drawn to the profession of teaching? Therefore, in order to raise the quality of education in China, the best teachers must be maintained in the system and more young people must be attracted into the field of education. For this purpose, many more substantial efforts must be made by the Chinese government—the most powerful superstructure of the society. It is the government that holds the power to take initiative to change a social/economic phenomenon in Chinese society.

And last, China is a huge country. It is efficiently unreasonable and realistically impossible to expect teachers and children in every part of the country to teach and learn the same subject matter at the same time, to progress at the same speed, and to reach the same level. A more feasible alternative would be: The State Education Commission should compile more than one set of curriculum (course of study) in
every subject for the whole country, but allow localities to select or develop curriculum more relevant to their own needs. This may be seen as a proposal for decentralization to a certain extent. But it does not suggest that China adopt the same educational system as that in the United States. Instead, it suggests that localities (e.g., at the provincial level) be encouraged to function as experimental grounds in which different educational ideas and philosophies can be employed and tested. Meanwhile, it is essential that necessary guidance should be given by the most outstanding educational experts of the country and that specific requirements must be set to assure a minimal academic quality nationwide.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This research was based upon literature written by Western (especially American) scholars about social studies education in China during the post-Cultural Revolution period and upon the perceptions of about twenty significant American educators who have studied China's education since 1976. Based upon the findings of this research, there are ten areas of need for further study.

First, future study is recommended to include perceptions of a larger group of American scholars and educators; and interviews with them are desired, when possible. Similarly, more updated information should be investigated and included in future study.

Second, the current research did not address the training of social studies teachers in China. Future research is recommended to address, for example, the backgrounds of teachers/teacher candidates, the related teacher education programs, and professional development activities of teachers and teacher educators.
Third, (productive) labor plays an important role in the educational system in China. Labor can be viewed as a separate subject matter in the overall school curriculum, or as part of a particular subject such as Mathematics or Social Development. The relationship between labor and social studies was virtually unaddressed in this study. Future research is recommended to seek greater clarity in order to differentiate among labor and other school subjects in China.

Fourth, the current research indicated that a large part of the American perceptions of education/social studies is based on published documents on education in China. In order to understand Chinese education more thoroughly, future research is recommended to explore Chinese education by relying on daily activities of teachers and students in China as more important sources.

Fifth, future study is recommended to give greater emphasis to the content of the social studies curriculum in China. In fact, the analysis of the curriculum/textbooks can serve as an individual topic for future research.

Sixth, this study indicated that some American educators desired to learn the role of social studies in school settings other than regular elementary and secondary schools. Future study is recommended to address that aspect of social studies education in China.

Seventh, unscheduled/extra-curricular/out-of-school activities constitute a significant aspect of social studies education in China. Investigation of such activities, including the teacher/student relationships under these circumstances, can be an interesting future study.

Eighth, all areas that have been less or not explored by American scholars/educators in this study (as addressed in Chapter V) seem worthy being studied more intensively in the future.
Ninth, the Tiananmen Square Event (1989) marked a sharp turn in educational development in China. Future study is recommended to investigate the policy changes on education and the implications of the new policies following the Event.

Tenth, the best way to learn about social studies education in China is to conduct an in depth case study of the scene in China. The researcher of any future study is recommended to spend more time systematically observing and/or participating in the complex process of social studies teaching and learning in China.
Appendix A

A QUESTIONNAIRE ABOUT SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA

Definition of Social Studies: The term social studies as used in this research refers to the teaching and learning of content, skills, and attitudes at the elementary and secondary levels, drawn from social sciences (including history), and to all school sponsored activities in which elementary and secondary students participate while investigating social problems and issues.

Definition of Education: In this study education refers to schooling at the elementary and secondary levels.

Instructions: Based upon your experience with Chinese education, please respond to the following items as completely as possible:

A. GENERAL EDUCATION:

(1) Why did you decide to study Chinese education?

(2) By what means did you study Chinese education?

   a) Through media and/or literature ( )

   b) Visiting China ( )

   c) Other (Please specify) ____________________________

(3) What more would you like to know about education in China?
B. SOCIAL STUDIES EDUCATION IN CHINA:

(1) Please describe the characteristics of social studies curriculum materials in China as you perceive them, considering the following categories:

a) Textbooks:

b) Teaching materials produced by local schools or teachers:

c) Hidden (implicit) curriculum:

d) Other (Please specify):
Please describe the characteristics of social studies instruction in China as you perceive them in the following categories (considering the frequency, quality, and effectiveness):

a) Lecture:

b) Child-centered activities:

c) Using educational media:

d) Other (Please specify):

Please describe the characteristics of the teacher's roles in teaching the social studies in China as you perceive them in the following categories:

a) Imparting knowledge:

b) Nurturing attitudes and values:
c) Indoctrinating ideology:

d) Other (Please specify):

(4) Please describe the characteristics of students' roles in the study of the social studies in China as you perceive them:

(5) Please describe the characteristics of the goals of social studies education in China as you perceive them in the following categories:

   a) In developing citizenship:

   b) In developing "workers with socialist consciousness and culture":

   c) Other (Please specify):
(6) Please describe the characteristics of social studies in extracurricular activities in China as you perceive them in the following categories:

a) Field trips:

b) Social investigations:

c) Young Pioneer activities:

d) Youth League activities:

e) "Weekly Meetings" (Students and their home room teacher meet periodically to deal with problems or organize activities.)

f) Other (Please specify):
(7) Please describe other characteristics of social studies education in China as you perceive them:

(8) Please describe the most significant changes in social studies education in China during the last decade:

(9) Please describe the strengths of social studies education in China:

(10) Please describe the weaknesses of social studies education in China:
(11) Do you expect any changes in China's social studies education in the near future? If so, what will they likely be?

(12) What suggestions or advice do you have to offer to change or improve social studies education in China? What types of changes, and why?
Appendix B

TABLES OF CONTENT OF A SET OF HISTORY TEXTBOOK

USED IN CHINA BEFORE THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOK—HISTORY (VOLUME I)

1. The non-exploiting, classless primitive society.
2. Struggle between slaves and slave-owners.
3. The ancient educator, Confucius.
4. The beginning of feudal society in our country.
5. The establishment of a centralized feudal state.
6. The first great peasant uprising—209 B.C., Chen Sheng and Wu Guang.
7. Economic and cultural exchanges with Central Asia.
8. Revolt of the Yellow Turbans.
10. The Great Canal connects the south and the north.
12. Songzan Gambo (Tibetan unifier) and Princess Wen Cheng (of Tang).
14. Four great inventions in ancient China (paper, printing, the magnetic compass, and gunpowder).
15. The beginning of sailing on the distant oceans (c.1405).
16. The peasant revolt led by Li Zi-cheng (1636 to end of Ming dynasty).
17. The struggle led by Zheng Cheng-gong to retake and settle Taiwan (1661, Dutch defeated).

18. Friendly relations between different races during the Qing dynasty.

19. The struggle against aggression by the people of San Yuan Li, Guangdong. (Opium War—battle with British under Captain Elliot on May 1841).

20. Proletarian revolutionary leaders, Marx and Engels.

21. Taiping Tianguo revolution.

22. Struggle against Japanese imperialist aggression against China (1894).

23. Yihetuan struggle against imperialism (The Boxers).

24. The capitalist democratic revolution led by Sun Yat-sen.

25. The birth and growth of the Chinese proletariat.

UPPER PRIMARY SCHOOL TEXTBOOK—HISTORY (VOLUME II)

1. The great workers' leader, Lenin, and the October socialist revolution.

2. The anti-imperialist, anti-feudal May 4th Movement.

3. The first period of Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary activities.


5. The great strike of February (1923).

6. The anti-imperialist movement of May 30 (1924).


8. The peak of the worker-peasant revolution.

9. Jiang Jie-shi (Chiang Kai-shek) is a traitor to the revolution.
10. The establishment of a revolutionary base on Jinggangshan (Mao Zedong and Zhu De, 1927-28).


12. Long March (October 1934 to October 1935).


15. The heroic struggle of the soldiers and people of the anti-Japanese base areas.

16. The people's struggle in the Guomindang-governed areas.

17. Victory in the anti-Japanese war.

18. The beginning of the war of liberation.

19. Land reform in the liberated areas.

20. The people's democratic movement.


Appendix C

TABLES OF CONTENTS OF THREE SOCIAL STUDIES

TEXTBOOKS USED IN CHINA AFTER THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION

(A) DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM (EXPERIMENTAL EDITION—1982): A TEXT

FOR THE FULL-TIME SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

1. Strengthening the Efforts to Study Dialectical Materialism
2. Material and Consciousness
3. The Movement of Material and the Laws of this Movement
4. The Relations, Changes, and Development of the Material World
5. Both the Universality and the Particularity of Contradiction
6. Quantitative Change and Qualitative Change
7. Dialectical Denial
8. Practice and Theory
9. The Dialectical Process of Cognition
10. Testing and Developing Truth through Practice
11. Concluding Remarks
1. The Study of the History of Social Development
2. The Emergence of Human Society
   Labor Created the Human Beings
   Human Society Was Formed as a Result of Labor
3. Primitive Society(I)
   The Emergence and Development of Primitive Society
   Primitive Society Originally Was a Society without Exploitation
4. Primitive Society(II)
   Primitive Society Originally was a Society without Oppression
   The Emergence of Private Ownership and the Disintegration of Primitive Society
5. Slavery Society(I)
   The Emergence of Classes
   The Establishment of Countries with Slavery System
6. Slavery Society(II)
   Slavery System Fostered the Development of Productive forces
   Human Society Entered an Age of Civilization
7. Slavery Society(III)
   The Crucial Exploitation and Oppression of Slave-owners of Slaves
   Slave Uprisings
   The Disintegration of Slavery Society
8. Feudal Society(I)
   The Establishment of Feudal Society
The Economic and Cultural Development in Feudal Society

9. Feudal Society(II)
   The Crucial Exploitation by the landlord Class to Peasants
   The Brutal Ruling under the landlord Class

10. Feudal Society(III)
    The Struggle of Peasants against the landlord Class
    The Emergence of Capitalist Relations of Production

(C) A BRIEF HISTORY OF SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT (1986–VOL. 2): A TEXT
FOR THE FULL-TIME SENIOR HIGH SCHOOL

1. Capitalist Society(I)
   The Establishment of Capitalism
   The Industrial Revolution

2. Capitalist Society(II)
   The Secret of Exploitation of Capitalism (surplus value)
   "Democratic Countries" of Capitalist Classes
   Economic Crisis of Capitalism
   Proletarians and the Gravedigger of Capitalism

3. Capitalist Society(IV)
   Imperialism is the Highest Stage of Capitalism

4. Socialism and Communism(I)
   The Establishment of Proletarian Dictatorship
   The Establishment of Socialist Relations of Production

5. Socialism and Communism(II)
   Class Conditions and Class Struggle in the Period of Socialism
The New Tasks in the New Period of Socialism

6. Socialism and Communism (III)

   The Superiority of Socialist System

   Communism is the loftiest ideal of human beings

7. Study the History of Social Development and Acquire a Proletarian Outlook on Life

   Human society develops from lower to higher stages

   Social development is governed by objective laws

   The history of social development is first of all the history of the development of productive forces

   The history of class society is also the history of class struggle

   The people and the masses are the makers of history

   It is necessary for youngsters of new China to conscientiously establish a proletarian outlook on life
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