

**IS FREIRE'S CRITICAL PEDAGOGY APPLICABLE TO CHINA'S HIGHER
EDUCATION? A PHILOSOPHICAL EXAMINATION**

by

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B.Ph., Jilin University, 2014

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE AND POSTDOCTORAL STUDIES
(Educational Studies)

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA
(Vancouver)

June 2018

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Is Freire's Critical Pedagogy applicable to China's higher education? A philosophical examination

submitted by Yaying Zhong in partial fulfillment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts

in The Faculty of Graduate and Postdoctoral Studies (Educational Studies)

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to identify the assumptions of China's civic education and compare these assumptions to the key concepts involved in Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy, particularly his ideas of (1) critical consciousness, (2) humanization, and (3) dialogue. Based on the specific social and political contexts in which each of these pedagogies arose, the thesis will explore the limitations and potential of applying Freire's critical pedagogy to enhance university students' critical and civic consciousness in China.

To this end, the thesis will present a comparative study of Freirean critical pedagogy and the Chinese culture of pedagogy in order to explore the following questions: What are the key concepts that support Freire's conception of transformative education? What are the key concepts of China's civic education? How do Freire's and China's concepts relate or compare to each other? How might Freirean ideas of critical consciousness and social transformation be informed or extended in relation to the challenges posed by China's conception of civic education? What challenges or implications arise when attempting to use or implement Freire's ideas of critical pedagogy within China's higher education system (e.g., to teach for transformation)?

These questions will be answered by exploring the points of commonality and difference between the worldviews framing the civic education in China's higher education institutions and Freire's critical pedagogy.

Lay Summary

Some scholars argue that the civic education offered in China's colleges and universities weakens students' civic and critical consciousness. On the other hand, a theory called critical pedagogy developed by Brazilian educator Paulo Freire aims to enhance students' critical consciousness. Thus, this research compares and contrasts two different worldviews to explore the potential contributions of the critical pedagogy in addressing problems in China's civic education.

Based on comparing and contrasting, the research discusses the challenges and possibilities of applying critical pedagogy to China's civic education in colleges and universities, given the country's social and political context.

Preface

This thesis is original, unpublished, independent work by the author, Yaying Zhong.

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Acknowledgements

I thank my supervisor Dr. P. Taylor Webb, for his ongoing encouragement, support, understanding, and guidance, which made my Master project achievable. I thank my thesis committee member Dr. Sam Rocha, for his generous sharing of knowledge and crucial support. I thank my external examiner Dr. Jude Walker, for her careful listening and great help. I thank my parents, for loving me. I thank my friends, for continuously supporting me. I thank my partner, for making me meals everyday. I thank myself, for not surrendering.

Chapter One: Introduction

Personal History and Background to Research

I am very interested in the relationship between education and politics. My interest in education and politics began in university when a professor in my first undergraduate philosophy course told me to forget everything I had learned in my high school course on ideology and politics. Most of us were shocked.

What we had learned in our high school ideology and politics course - what most students learned in this course - was that idealism was wrong, and materialism was correct. I remembered when I questioned my high school teacher's statement, he told me, unflinchingly, that what he taught was absolutely correct, and the only thing I needed to do was to accept his teachings and write down the correct answers in the exams.

My university philosophy professor made a particular point that philosophy could not be simply divided into idealism and materialism, and the latter was not superior to the former. However, in my other university courses on ideology and politics, my instructors taught me content aligned with what I had learned from my high school ideology and political courses - that is, materialism is preferred and idealism is misguided.

These different and, at times, contradictory opinions confused me. Who was correct? Could it be that neither was correct? Why did these instructors have opposite opinions about politics? Is it possible for knowledge to be neutral? Is there any absolutely "correct" knowledge? If what my philosophy professor said was correct, then why we were taught 'false' knowledge in high school? Why did my

university courses on ideology and politics keep perpetuating this ‘false’ knowledge? What was the purpose of courses on ideology and politics in university? Who decides what students are taught, not only in courses in ideology and politics but also in other courses as well? These are just a sample of the many questions that began to pop into my mind.

Later, during a summer school run by scholars who contrasted liberalism to socialism, I was exposed to more political ideas that were quite different from or even the opposite of what we were taught in both high school and university. This experience deepened my interests in the relationship between education and politics, and specifically, between knowledge and power. As such, I entered graduate school with a particular interest in the many relationships between education and politics.

During my graduate studies, I encountered Paulo Freire’s ideas about ‘critical pedagogy’. I was amazed by Freire’s thoughts about education and politics because his ideas were so different than any I had learned in my university courses in China. I used Freire’s ideas of critical pedagogy to answer my previous questions on education and politics, and to develop a deeper understanding of China’s citizenship education as carried out in university courses dealing specifically with ideology and politics. With this in mind, I narrowed my research focus to delimiting the key ideas between Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy and China’s citizenship education, especially in Chinese institutions of higher education. Through this research, I hope to analyze the limits of China’s citizenship education and explore ways to change it.

Paulo Freire’s critical pedagogy emphasizes the development of people’s critical

consciousness, and, correspondingly, the potential for social and political change. According to Freire (2000), humans should reflect and act upon the world to transform it, instead of adapting to it (Au, 2007; Freire, 2000). Before people transform social realities, they need to critically reflect on them and recognize how they come into being (Roberts, 1996). By “learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Freire, 1970a, p. 17), critical consciousness helps humans to critically reflect and act. Here, then, the relationships between education and politics become clearer.

Freire’s critical pedagogy approach to valuing critical consciousness might assist Chinese university students to understand and question, if not change, the social status quo. In this sense, civic education can help cultivate students’ civic consciousness. However, China has not yet worked out a systematic curriculum for ‘citizenship education’ in its universities, and its independent status has not been finally established (Lee & Ho, 2005). There is no relevant curriculum under the name of “citizenship education” (Ao, 2013). Instead, the Communist Party of China (CPC) has employed a series of compulsory ideological and political courses to promote ‘civic education’ among Chinese university students (Law, 2006; Zhong & Lee, 2008; Zhang & Fagan, 2016). Unfortunately, citizenship education in China is more concerned with maintaining the dominant political legacy through compulsory courses in ideology.

Scholars (Law, 2006; Kennedy, 2013) have argued that this separation of citizenship / civic education in China does not play a useful role in educating

university students to become democratic citizens with a critical consciousness. In fact, scholars warn that these courses might even weaken students' civic consciousness (Law, 2006). In terms of curricula, these political science courses mainly present and promote political principles related to national ideology instead of diverse sociopolitical ideas and values (Xu & Law, 2015). University students are educated to accept the legitimacy of the socialist regime, have faith in socialism, and be patriotic and supportive of CPC's leadership (Xu & Law, 2015). Moreover, personal obedience to the CPC government is emphasized in these courses (Tu, 2011). With regards to pedagogy, political values are transmitted to students through didactic teaching modes, or "the teacher lecturing and student listening mode" (Tu, 2011, p. 442; see also, Xu & Law, 2015). Students are required to "memorize selections from the textbooks and news items from official newspapers to pass their exams" (Tu, 2011, p. 442).

Interestingly, with the onset of globalization and immense social and economic development in China, there is an expectation that civic education in China may become more open to democratic ideas. Unfortunately, since Xi Jinping took office in 2012, the CPC has called for even stricter ideological control of higher education (BBC News, 2016). According to Xi, China's higher education institutions must serve the CPC's rule, and universities must be ideological strongholds of the CPC, effectively educating university students to fully support the CPC's leadership (Xi, 2016). Obedience and compliance to ideology will likely make it harder for China's university students to develop a critical consciousness, portending a possible contradiction with the principles advocated by Paulo Freire.

For instance, university students are not encouraged to question or criticize the authenticity and legitimacy of what is taught. Instead, they are educated to accept, adapt to, and preserve the CPC's governance and the political and social status quo. In many ways, the policy and practice of ideological and political education in China seem to be antithetical to Freire's principles of critical pedagogy. Students are not encouraged to critically reflect and transform the problems and injustices within China's society (Xu & Law, 2015). Accordingly, students are not encouraged to become 'critically conscious' and are unlikely to attempt to acquire civil rights in order to question the government, express themselves freely, and obtain the right to vote (Tu, 2011).

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this study is to identify the assumptions of China's civic education and compare these assumptions to Freire's key concepts involved in critical pedagogy, particularly his ideas of (1) critical consciousness, (2) humanization, and (3) dialogue. The study investigates the potential and limitations of applying Freire's critical pedagogy to enhance university students' critical and civic consciousness in China.

The broader implication of this research is to better understand the limits or thresholds of democratic transformation within totalitarian regimes, at least as expressed within particular CPC articulations of civic education and Freirean ideas of social transformation. In other words, this research is limited to these two significant, philosophic ideas, and does not generalize to other totalitarian regimes or other democratic philosophies.

Although Freire used Mao-Tse-Tung's ideas of socialism to develop his ideas

(Freire, 2000), he is not clear about which phase of Mao-Tse-Tung's socialism he was using. The study interprets Mao-Tse-Tung's socialism ideas as two different phases. When Freire adopted Mao-Tse-Tung's ideas, Mao-Tse-Tung and the government he represented still aimed to help people in China realize forms of humanization and liberation. After Mao-Tse-Tung took power, he and his government, including the subsequent government of Xi's, gradually turned away from helping citizens realize their humanity. Correspondingly, China's civic education under Xi's governance seems to be loosely rooted in Mao-Tse-Tung's ideas of socialism. Thus, this study examines how Freire's critical pedagogy might influence China's civic education under Xi's governance, but in relation to Mao-Tse-Tung's preceding influence on Freire's ideas.

Research Questions

The proposed research will address the following questions:

1. What are the key concepts that support Freire's conception of transformative education?
2. What are the key concepts of China's civic education?
3. How do Freire's and China's concepts relate or compare to each other?
4. How might Freirean ideas of critical consciousness and social transformation be informed or extended in relation to the challenges posed by China's conception of civic education?
 - A. What challenges or implications arise when attempting to use or implement Freire's ideas of critical pedagogy within China's higher education system (e.g., to teach for transformation)?

Significance

Although Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy is likely useful to address the problems related to China's version of civic education in universities, it has not been widely explored by China's scholars or been extensively employed in China's education settings (Zhang, 2008). Under Xi's stricter ideological control, it is even harder to teach in ways that would be consistent with Freire's critical pedagogy in China's education context. In other words, in the present moment, Paulo Freire's work has, unfortunately, a limited and potentially subversive application in China's public higher education institutions.

The significance of my research lies in its ability to compare and contrast the different, and potentially conflicting, assumptions about the purposes of civic education within these two powerful worldviews. As such, the comparative approach of this research will inform and extend Freire's ideas of critical consciousness and social transformation through a systematic and contrasting analysis alongside the CPC's ideas of citizenship.

The research is also significant in its ability to identify the crucial philosophical differences between these two worldviews in relation to implementing Freire's ideas in Chinese university courses. That is, the study will address the implications of Freire's critical pedagogy for enhancing Chinese university students' civic consciousness and the likely challenges involved in educating Chinese university students to become democratic citizens by enhancing their critical and civic consciousness. The emergence of more "critically conscious" citizens portends a range of possible challenges for China and its political and educational future.

Next, I provide a brief review of the theoretical roots of Freire's ideas, and

discuss the recent but limited attempts to use Freire's critical pedagogy in Chinese education.

Context, Theoretical Roots, and Possibilities

The formation and development of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy were embedded in Brazil's social context of the struggles between the military government's dictatorship and people's demands for political democracy. Brazil's stark economic and social inequities in the 1950s stimulated Freire to teach literacy in North-Eastern Brazil (Berthoff, 1990). Later, both his adult literacy programs and the nationwide literacy campaign were suddenly and violently cut off by a right-wing military coup in 1964 (Mayo, 2007; Macrine, 2009).

After the military took control of the government, Freire was exiled to Bolivia and later Chile, and his teaching was declared "a dangerous subversive literacy approach" (Mayo, 2007, p. 527). Freire's approach to teaching threatened the rule of the military government because he did not just teach people to become literate, but he awakened their critical consciousness to question the unjust power relationships between the government and Brazilian citizens (Berthoff, 1990). The capacity and ability to question and critique government is the crucial focal point between Freire's ideas and its potential use in Chinese educational practices.

During Freire's exile in Bolivia and Chile, he was greatly influenced by Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels' early writings, including *The Economic and Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844* (Mayo, 2007), which is believed to be the primary theoretical root of Freire's critical pedagogy (Allman, 1999; Glass, 1996; Gibson, 1999; Mayo, 2007; Vasquez, 1997). During his exile, and because of the vast influence of Marxist revolutionary thought on Latin America's liberation movements (Castaneda, 1993;

Prashad, 2007), Freire was also influenced by revolutionary Marxists (Goulet, 1973; Glass, 1996; Holst, 2006), such as Mao-Tse-Tung (Freire, 2000; for example pp.54, 93-94), Vladimir Lenin (pp.125, 182), and Che Guevara (pp.89, 163, 166, 169).

Freire's critical pedagogy was developed during his political exile. During this time, Freire wrote *Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Education for Critical Consciousness*, and the first eight chapters of *The Politics of Education* (Holst, 2006; Mayo, 2007). In these books, the important concepts of Freire's critical pedagogy, such as humanization, critical consciousness, and dialogue were introduced and developed. Although revolutionary Marxism significantly influenced Freire's political advocacy, it is Critical Marxism, also referred to as Western Marxism, that shaped the philosophical foundations of his pedagogy (Gottesman, 2010; Glass, 1996). In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Freire (2000) heavily cited works of György Lukács (Georg Lukacs) (pp. 52, 174), Herbert Marcuse (p. 60), and Louis Althusser (p.158-160).

Although Critical Marxism had a significant influence on Freire's works, he did not uncritically accept Marx's thoughts (Vasquez, 1997). In addition to Critical Marxism, Liberation Theology was another theory that significantly influenced his ideas and developed from Freire's practical experience in several Catholic youth-based movements (Aronowitz, 1998; Boyd, 2012; Giroux, 1985; Glass, 1996; McLaren, 2000; Mayo, 2007). As such, Freire was deeply anchored in a Christian socialist vision (Gadotti, 1994; Glass, 1996; Mayo, 2007; Vasquez, 1997), especially Mounier's Catholic social thought that had a significant influence on Freire's thinking (Mayo, 2007; Vasquez, 1997). Aronowitz (1993) would eventually call Freire's

theory of transformation education a “secular liberation theology.” This strong Catholic influence could be found in Freire's language of Christian metaphors such as communion, which means people cannot liberate themselves alone but rather when united with others through dialogue (Elias, 1976; Freire, 2000; Gibson, 1994).

In addition to Marxism and liberation theology, Freire was also heavily influenced by phenomenology and existentialism (Glass, 1996; Gottesman, 2010; Vasquez, 1997). He borrowed the notions of consciousness and intentionality from phenomenology and existentialism to develop the key concepts of critical consciousness and humanization in his critical pedagogy (Glass, 1996; Gottesman, 2010; Vasquez, 1997). As such, Freire followed a group of psychologists and psychiatrists, such as Erich Fromm, Franz Fanon, and Albert Memmi in their “exploration of this psychic introjection of the oppressor in the consciousness and action of the oppressed” (Glass, 1996, p. 26). Ideas of consciousness and phenomenology helped Freire explain the concept of oppression in his critical pedagogy and the relationship between oppressor and the oppressed.

Although Freire did not return to Brazil until the early 1980s, he did not separate the development of his critical pedagogy approaches from Brazil's transition to a democracy. Mayo (2007) noted “Freire, for his part, became a founding member of the socialist-oriented Workers' Party (PT) in Brazil” (p. 531). Freire would become the Secretary of Education for the City of Sao Paulo in 1989 and he would significantly promote democratic education during this time.

In summary, Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy, which aim to help people realize the dynamic relationships between consciousness and the capacity to change reality,

is firmly linked with Brazil's social context of transition to democracy and the struggles between dictatorships and citizens' demands for democracy. As such, I believe it's important to know where and how Freire's ideas were developed when thinking about their potential use in the case of China.

However, as I will discuss next, very little of Freire's ideas have been taken up in China. Currently, scholars in China are struggling with some of Freire's ideas and only a few of Freire's books have been translated into Mandarin. More importantly, there is not much good philosophical research about Freire's work in China. A major purpose of my research is to put Freire's ideas into a framework to assist in clarifying Freire's ideas so that they can have more import in China.

Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy in China

At present, only two of Freire's works have been translated in China: *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by East China Normal University Press in 2001, and *Teachers As Cultural Workers: Letters to Those Who Dare Teach* by Jiangsu Press in 2006 (Yu, 2015). It was not until the 1990s that Chinese scholars began to notice Freire's critical pedagogy and explore its potential contributions to China's education reform and development (Huang, 1997a, 1997b, 2003; Yan, 2008). Currently, research on Freire's critical pedagogy remains in a primary and exploratory stage (Jiang, 2009; Tang, 2012; Tian, 2013; Yan, 2007, 2008; Zhang, 2008). Zhang (2006) argues that many of China's Freirean scholars studied critical pedagogy only by reading one of Freire's books, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*. Thus, many scholars might not have comprehensive and deep understandings of Freire's body of thought on critical pedagogy.

The majority of Chinese research into Freire's ideas is philosophical (Tang, 2012; Tian, 2013; Yan, 2007, 2008). This philosophical research in China is mainly focused on introducing Freire's life story and his general thoughts, especially his ideas in *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (Cao, 2003; Huang, 1997a, 1997b, 2003; Ju, 1999). Yan (2007, 2008) concluded that China's Freirean critical pedagogy research remains introductory.

Some scholars have attempted to study the implications of implementing Freire's critical pedagogy in China's early childhood education (Zhao, 2013), education for accounting (Zhang & Wu, 2008), history education (Zhang, 2012), vocational education (Huang, 2005), and social work education (Tang, 2016; Yao, 2010). Unfortunately, these studies have simplified and transformed Freire's critical pedagogy into a mechanistic activity. For example, some Chinese studies have treated "dialogue" as a separate method that could be applied independently from the development of a "critical consciousness". As such, some of Freire's ideas are unfortunately simplified as a kind of thinking that is unrelated or disconnected to political intentions. These appropriations neglect the political nature of Freire's educational thoughts and merely regard education as a neutral enterprise that has little relation to politics.

However, very few studies have explored the implementation and possibilities of Freire's critical pedagogy in Chinese civic education. Two studies have examined general pedagogical implications related to Freire's ideas of 'banking education'. These studies argued that China should change the vertical teacher-student relationship to a more horizontal model and change the lecture teaching method

into dialogue method (Chen, 2003; Jiang, 2008). Nevertheless, there remains a relative gap in the literature on the potential implications that would arise from the cultivation of citizens' critical consciousness and political awareness. Thus, my research into China's civic education under the lens of Freire's critical pedagogy fills an important gap in the current literature. My research also provides an important extension of Freirean ideas, particularly in relation to communist and totalitarian regimes.

Methodology, Approach or 'Philosophical Methods'

In this section, I provide readers with an overview of the processes that I undertook to accomplish my philosophical analysis for this research. Specifically, I describe philosophy as a method of inquiry, and the two primary methods I used to conduct my research. I also discuss the primary sources that I used to identify the respective concepts between Freire's ideas of critical pedagogy and Chinese ideas of civic education.

This study adopts philosophical inquiry as a methodology. Burbules and Warnick (2006) defined philosophical inquiry into education as "a method of generating knowledge (although not knowledge of an empirical sort) and perspective (commitments of value and belief that provide answers to the 'why' questions underlying any complex area of human practice)" (p. 489). Ruitenberg (2009) argued that philosophical inquiry "refers to the various ways and modes in which philosophers of education think, read, write, speak and listen, that make their work systematic, purposeful and responsive to past and present philosophical and educational concerns and conversations" (p. 316).

Instead of focusing on “‘data’, technique and the tripartite breakdown of method into data gathering, data analysis and data representation,” a method frequently used in the social sciences (Ruitenberg, 2009, p. 316), philosophical research methods are “particular modes of philosophical thinking, reading and writing that are of value for the elucidation or critique of educational questions” (Ruitenberg, 2009, p. 317).

Specifically, there are a wide range of philosophical methods such as “analyzing, questioning, arguing and interpreting” (Ruitenberg, 2009, p. 321), “presumptive tautology” (Ruitenberg, 2009, p. 321), “translation” (Ruitenberg, 2009, p. 321), “witnessing” (Ruitenberg, 2009, p. 321), and so on. Burbules and Warnick (2006) summarized ten methods used in the philosophy of education, and stressed that there is nothing mechanical about their application (Burbules & Warnick, 2006).

In order to answer my research questions, this research is supported by two particular “philosophical methods” discussed by Burbules and Warnick (2006). These two methods, which correspond to the research questions, produce a different kind of philosophical inquiry from traditional philosophical inquiries that typically posit a thesis and develop a supporting argument.

The first method I used was to explore “the hidden assumptions underlying a particular view or broader school of thought” (Burbules & Warnick, 2006, p. 491). Examining the hidden premises and assumptions might change “the ways in which the idea or school of thought is viewed and valued” (Burbules & Warnick, 2006, p. 493). It is a kind of “diagnosis of popular belief: showing that what we believe, and why we believe it, may have different motivations than we realize” (Burbules &

Warnick, 2006, p. 494). As such, my research examines the assumptions that support both Freire's ideas of 'critical pedagogy' and the CPC's ideas of 'citizen education'. The first method is related to answering and informing the first two research questions (RQ1 and RQ2).

The second method was to speculate "about alternative systems or practices of education...that contrast with and challenge conventional educational understandings and practices" (p. 491). In relation to the second method, my research compared and contrasted the major principles of Freire's 'critical pedagogy' with the CPC's ideas of 'citizen education' in order to challenge conventional educational understandings and practices of Chinese civic education. The second method pertains to the last two research questions, including sub-question 4A (RQ3 and RQ4/A).

Sources

In order to accomplish these tasks, I read and analyzed Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and placed my understanding of his ideas alongside contemporary Western commentators. Likewise, I read and analyzed one of the required textbooks in Chinese civic education at the university level - *Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis*. I also read several Chinese policy and media (e.g., newspaper) documents as a way to synthesize my understanding of the major tenets of this compulsory textbook.

Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* contains the main elements of Freire's conception of education (Sparks, 2007). Chapter two of his thesis reviews the central concepts of Freirean philosophy— humanization, critical consciousness, and

dialogue— in order to illustrate the main contents of Freire's critical pedagogy. Although these concepts are discussed separately in chapter two, they are closely related to each other, and their interrelationships will be explained later in relation to the schematic that illustrates the dynamism in Freire's ideas (Chapter Two, Figure 1).

There are four compulsory courses in China's higher education that serve the purpose of civic education (Law, 2006; Zhong & Lee 2008; Zhang & Fagan, 2016): *Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis*; *Introduction to Mao Zedong's Thought*; *Theoretical System of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics*; and *An Outline of Fundamental Principles of Marxism, and Chinese Modern and Contemporary History*.

My research focused on the course *Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis*. This course teaches about how to adapt to college life, what kind of beliefs university students should hold, the cultivation of patriotism and collectivism, moral development, career choices, and particular views about the rule of law (Capital University of Economics, 2014, July 3). The aim of this course is to educate university students to become reliable socialist actors with good behaviors and a strong conviction in the Communist Party of China (Capital University of Economics, 2014, July 3).

Compared with the other three courses which focus on history and theory, *Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis* contains several assumptions about how to be a 'good Chinese citizen' and is most relevant to the cultivation of citizenship. The political assumptions in this text are very different from Freire's ideas of "critical consciousness", "humanization", and "dialogue". I wanted to

emphasize the differences between these philosophies in order to allow for meaningful contrast between these two worldviews.

In addition to an analysis of the hidden premises and assumptions of this text, my study also explored the assumptions behind China's official documents and policies about civic education. These policies are located in *China's Higher Education Act* issued in 1998 and three documents and policies after Xi Jinping took office in 2012, including (a) *2012 National College Students Ideological and Political Education Assessment System*; (b) *2015 Suggestions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Propaganda and Ideological Work in Colleges and Universities in the New Situation*; and (c) *2017 Suggestions on Strengthening and Improving the Ideological and Political Education of Colleges and Universities in the New Situation*.

In China, civic education in higher education institutions is state-led, which means the curriculum, textbooks, teaching methods, teaching guidelines, and the cultivation of aims are decided by the CPC-led government. Thus, these documents were a necessary complement to more deeply understand China's civic education in colleges and universities, and to provide additional sources to understand the textbooks' assumptions. I mainly used documents after Xi Jinping took office in 2012 because they exhibited the most updated status of China's civic education in higher education institutions, and served as a way to focus my research as a philosophical project, rather than as a kind of discourse analysis to examine the rhetorical or historical changes of particular terms, for example.

Analytic Tables

As part of my approach, I generated six tables (all in Chapter Three) that identified particular articulations of Chinese civic education in the form of principles or maxims. I did not generate corresponding tables from which to identify key concepts in Freire's thoughts, which are well discussed by a variety of authors. Instead, I developed a figure (in Chapter Two) that encapsulates the key concepts from Freire's critical pedagogy.

From these tables and figure, I developed additional 'analytic tables' to compare and contrast (e.g., juxtapose) stated meanings from Freire's critical pedagogy and Chinese principles of civic education. These tables can be found in the Appendix of this thesis. My 'analytic tables' were developed from distilling the key concepts of Freire's thoughts in Chapter Two, and the key concepts of China's civic education in Chapter Three. I selected portions of respective texts that sharply diverged from each other as a way to amplify the different approaches to education and politics. This approach allowed me to answer research question #4 (i.e., compare and contrast) by deducing contradictory or nearly contradictory approaches in understanding political education.

Chapter Structure

Chapter One outlines the author's research questions and methodology. Chapter Two reviews the key ideas of Freire's critical pedagogy and discusses the main critiques to Freire's critical pedagogy under the Western context and the relation to China's context. Chapter Three analyses the key concepts of China's civic education offered in higher education institutions. Chapter Four compares and contrasts China's civic education concepts and Freire's four concepts of education. Chapter

Five explores the challenges and potential of implementing Freire's critical pedagogy to enhance university students' critical and civic consciousness in China.

Chapter Two: Key Concepts of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy

In this chapter, I review Freire's ideas of (1) critical consciousness, (2) humanization, (3) dialogue, and (4) problem-posing education, in that order. My discussion is designed to both define terms and to place these four ideas in relation to each other, as a dynamic philosophical framework. In this sense, this chapter is both a review of Freire's key ideas, as discussed in a variety of literatures, and a presentation of a conceptual framework. I present Figure 1 later in the chapter as a way to summarize this discussion and to 'operationalize' these ideas as a fluid, interdependent framework for understanding how education and politics operate dynamically. My goals for this chapter, then, are to provide readers with both set of definitions and an illustration of how these ideas work together - rather than as four independent and static ideas.

One of the key ideas, initially, is that critical pedagogy involves a set of relational practices and ideas, rather than a series of disconnected principles and platitudes. The second part of this chapter introduces critiques of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy. I present selected critiques of Freire's ideas in order to identify some of the key assumptions functioning in this philosophical framework. This chapter, then, is designed to provide a basis from which to compare the principles of Chinese civic education.

Humanization

Humanization is the heart of Freirean critical pedagogy (Dale & Hyslop-Margison, 2010; Roberts, 2009). Humanization is the process of becoming more fully human (Freire, 2000) and "[is the] ontological vocation of human being" (Freire,

1994, p. 98). Becoming more fully human presupposes an inner nature of human beings. For Freire, the ontological nature of human beings is that they are beings of historicity and beings of praxis (Au, 2007; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012; Freire, 1982a, 1994, 2000), which I discuss next.

Humans' historicity indicates that instead of operating out of habits and adapting to the world, humans actively produce culture and history (Au, 2007; Glass, 1996; Galloway, 2012). Freire (2000) believes that since humanization is all human beings' vocation, the distortion of this vocation is dehumanization. Humans are dehumanized when they cannot critically reflect on and transform the world. Instead, dehumanization represents simply adapting to the world (Vassallo, 2013). However, before people can transform their social and political realities, they need to recognize how these realities come into being (Roberts, 1996). Critical consciousness (Freire, 1970b) is essential in understanding the social and political realities, and it is integral to the pursuit of humanization (del Carmen Salazar, 2013).

Critical Consciousness

Freire only loosely describes the concept of critical consciousness (Straubhaar, 2014). As Freire explains it, critical consciousness is "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970a, p. 17; as cited in del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p. 127). Freire (1985) described critical consciousness as "a kind of reading the world rigorously...of reading how society works. It is to better understand the problem of interests, the question of power...a deeper reading of reality" (p. 9). From these descriptions, Freire stressed how people developed understandings of the

contradictions and unjust power relations that lay at the surface of their social and political realities.

Based on Freire's descriptions, there have been many interpretations of critical consciousness (Diemer & Blustein, 2006; Roberts, 1999; Shor, 1992, 1993, 1996; Sparks, 2007). Shor (1993) believes there are four qualities of this notion: power awareness, critical literacy, desocialization, and self-organization and self-education (pp. 32-33). Diemer, Kauffman, Koenig, Trahan, and Hsieh (2006) understand critical consciousness as the capacity to critically reflect and act upon one's sociopolitical environment. Sparks (2007) argued that critical consciousness is a way to become more aware of cause and effect in social and political relations. Roberts (1999) interpreted Freire's notion of critical consciousness as a way to "problematize everyday existence, question established policies and practices and theorize possibilities for building a better social world" (p.20). From these interpretations, emphases are placed on critically interpreting social realities.

Dialogue

Freire (2000) described dialogue as "the encounter between men, mediated by the world, in order to name the world" (p. 88). Dialogue is not merely a method of teaching (Pilar O' Cadiz & Torres, 1994; Shor & Freire, 1987). Instead, dialogue is "a cultural action inside or outside the classroom where the status quo is challenged, where the myths of the official curriculum and mass culture are illuminated" (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 97). Most importantly, dialogue is central to human nature (Rule, 2011). Dialogue is not just composed of discussions that happen between people, or teachers and students in the classroom; for example, it "happens both internally, within consciousness, and externally, with the other" (Rule, 2011, p. 930). And,

dialogue is grounded in people's lived experiences, reflects social and political conditions that reproduce inequity and oppression (del Carmen Salazar, 2013; Souto-Manning, 2006).

There are some prerequisites for dialogue. Love is not only the precondition of dialogue but also dialogue itself (Durakoglu, 2013; Freire, 2000). In addition to love, dialogue cannot exist without a strong faith in humankind, especially their power to make and remake, to create and re-create, and their vocation to be more fully human (Durakoglu, 2013; Freire, 2000). The relationship between critical consciousness and dialogue is mutual because critical consciousness is both required and generated by dialogue (Freire, 2000; Shor, 1992). In addition, humility and hope are also prerequisites for dialogue (Durakoglu, 2013; Freire, 2000). The preconditions of love, humility, and hope are emblematic of the influences of liberation theology, and provide Freire's idea of dialogue with an emphasis on humanity.

Founding itself upon these preconditions, dialogue not only generates critical consciousness but also produces a horizontal relationship of teachers and students with mutual trust (Freire, 2000; Roberts, 2000). Both students and educators become subjects, rather than objects (Freire, 2000). The use of dialogue is the central feature of problem-posing education (Freire, 2000; Larson, 2014; Sparks, 2007; Vassallo, 2013), which I discuss next.

Problem-posing Education

Freire (2000) defines problem-posing education as:

In problem-posing education, people develop their power to perceive critically the way they exist in the world with which and in which they find

themselves; they come to see the world not as a static reality but as a reality in process, in transformation. (p. 83)

Problem-posing education regards dialogue as "indispensable to the act of cognition which unveils reality" (Freire, 2000, p. 83). In problem-posing education, through dialogue the relationship between students and teachers becomes 'horizontal', or, in other words, replaces power dynamics between teachers and students on which the teacher is positioned at the top of such power arrangements. As such, problem-posing education is central to Freire's vision of understanding and changing similarly 'vertical' relations in society and politics.

Instead, through problem-posing students construct and produce knowledge (Joldersma, 2001). Instead of transmitting unchanging knowledge, problem-posing education aims to awaken critical consciousness so that students understand the unequal nature of social relations (Cho & Lewis, 2005; Joldersma, 2001; Roberts, 2009). In this way, problem-posing education encourages them to question and transform reality, which, ultimately, makes problem-posing education humanizing.

Summary

The concepts of Freire's critical pedagogy are interrelated. The realization of humanization requires critical consciousness (Freire, 1970b). Critical consciousness is generated through dialogue and is the goal of dialogue (Freire, 2000; Galloway, 2012; Shor, 1992). The use of dialogue is the central feature of problem-posing education (Freire, 2000; Larson, 2014; Sparks, 2007; Vassallo, 2013). The opposite of problem-posing education is 'banking education' that resists dialogue (Freire, 2000) and problem-posing; 'banking education' ultimately dehumanizes teachers and students. The concepts and their inter-relationships are summarized in Figure 1.

The main concepts in Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy

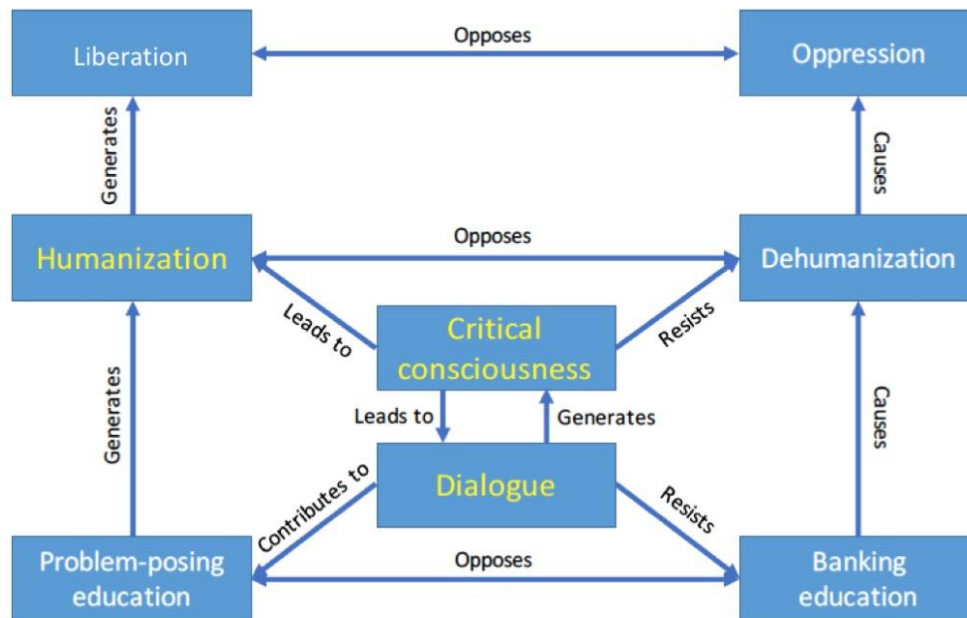


Figure 1 The interrelationship of Paulo Freire's critical pedagogy

As illustrated in the figure, the concepts of Freire's critical pedagogy are interrelated. The figure sets critical consciousness as the center and explains the prerequisite (dialogue) and the purpose (humanization) of critical consciousness.

The realization of humanization requires critical consciousness (Freire, 1970b). Before people can transform the realities to realize the humanization, they need to recognize how these realities come into being and that requires critical consciousness. Critical consciousness is generated through dialogue and is also the goal of dialogue (Freire, 2000; Galloway, 2012; Shor, 1992). The prerequisite of critical consciousness is dialogue. The use of dialogue is the central feature of

problem-posing education (Freire, 2000; Larson, 2014; Sparks, 2007; Vassallo, 2013). The opposite of problem-posing education is “banking education” that resists dialogue and critical consciousness. Thus, “banking education” ultimately dehumanizes teachers and students and causes oppression.

It is important to understand Freire’s ideas as interrelated, not as separated or independent, because they are closely related to each other and can only be accurately understood within the whole structure as presented in Figure 1. For example, if we neglect that the goal of dialogue is to generate critical consciousness and simply regard it as a teaching technology that can be used under any context for any purpose—even purposes that are opposite from generating people’s critical consciousness— then it is a false understanding of dialogue.

Critiques and Response

There are largely two main criticisms of Freirean critical pedagogy, one from postmodernism and another from feminist critiques (Glass, 2001; Jackson, 2007; Nylund & Tilsen, 2006). I have included these criticisms as a way to inform an understanding of Freire’s ideas, which was a purpose of this research (and illustrated in research question #1), and to inform the philosophical analysis of the implications Freirean ideas might have for Chinese civic education (illustrated in research question #4/A).

However, criticisms of Freire’s ideas are largely “Western” critiques, and not Chinese critiques of Freire’s critical pedagogy. As such, at the current moment in Chinese academia, these critiques do not have much relevance in relation to changing or altering Freire’s ideas in a Chinese context. The more immediate danger to using Freire’s ideas in China is to treat Freire’s ideas as disconnected principles

and separated practices, and not interrelated to a larger project of altering social and political realities. Nevertheless, these critiques are important, and I have provided them here as a way to better understand some of the assumptions of Freire's ideas, as well as their limitations (in a Western context).

Postmodern Criticisms

In the 1980s, postmodern criticisms of Enlightenment rationality brought challenges to Freire's critical pedagogy (Vasquez, 1997). According to postmodernism, "the totalizing and 'grand narratives' have silenced and excluded a multiplicity of voices in history" (Vasquez, 1997, p. 186). Stated differently, postmodernism emphasizes "alterity, heterogeneity, plurality and localism" (p. 192), which means embracing various narratives or understandings of reality. Under this context, postmodernism criticizes Freirean critical pedagogy's trend toward universality and naturalism (Brady, 1994; Ellsworth, 1989; Jackson, 2007; McLaren & Leonard, 1994; Weiler, 1991). For example, critics proclaim that Freire dualistically divided people into 'oppressor' and 'oppressed', which does not give enough consideration of the conflicting needs, different social structures, identities, lives, and experiences of the various groups (Jackson, 2007).

Facing these critiques, some critical educators such as Giroux (1983a), hooks (1994), and McLaren (1989) developed Freirean critical pedagogy to include "the impact of various issues, institutions and social structures, including globalization, the mass media, and race relations" (Nylund & Tilsen, 2006, p. 23). These revised considerations of critical pedagogy were attempts to continue to use Freire's ideas but in ways that did not attempt to universalize individual experience. Freire himself

acknowledged "dangers in his universalistic narrative about humanization" (McLaren & Leonard, 1994).

Feminist Criticism

Some feminists argued that Freire does not include gender, sexuality, and race analysis (Glass, 2001; Galloway, 2012; Hooks, 1994), which amounts to an unreflective modernist and masculinist approach. McLaren (1999) argued that Freire began to address the lack of discussion regarding sexuality and ethnicity, in his later works, such as *Pedagogy of the Heart* and *Pedagogy of Freedom: Ethics, Democracy, and Civic Courage*. Nevertheless, Freire's ideas do not immediately address some of the power imbalances between different groups of people, focusing instead on the power imbalances between governments and people.

In addition to postmodernist and feminist critiques, scholars have also noted the gap between Freire's critical pedagogy and its practice (Chall, 2000; Delpit, 1986; Sparks, 2007). Some critics argued that Freire's critical pedagogy baffles educators in real-life classroom situations because it lacks specific technical methods (Dale & Hyslop-Margison, 2010; Schugurensky, 2011).

Aronowitz (1993), Brady (1994), Dale & Hyslop-Margison (2010), and Roberts (2000) responded to these criticisms, arguing against a technical and reductionistic interpretation of Freire's critical pedagogy. That is to say, they do not interpret it as "a bundle of technical, pedagogical practices," but rather as "a way of living in the world" (del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p. 126). In fact, Freire repeatedly stressed that the implementation of his pedagogy must take the specific context into consideration;

educators can reinvent his pedagogy according to different circumstances (Macedo, 1994; Roberts, 2000; Weiler, 1991).

While many of these criticisms are important to note, they have marginal application to the Chinese context. For instance, a non-totalizing critique is something that makes more sense in democratic contexts than in totalitarian ones. However, issues of gender, race, and sexuality are important to consider in a Chinese context, as these would have more immediate uptake. As such, postmodernist and feminist critiques of Freire's ideas indicate the need to design accommodations to Freire's ideas are necessary for them to be used in China. Finally, the idea that Freire's ideas might be reduced to a set of technical procedures is important to consider in the Chinese context, as this is already happening in the limited uptake of Freire's ideas there. I discuss this concern in my final chapter.

Chapter Three: China's Civic Education

In this chapter, I identify the key concepts of China's civic education. I proceed by discussing how China has understood ideas of 'citizen', 'citizenship', and 'citizenship education'. China has a different understanding of these terms than its Western counterparts. After that discussion, I introduce the key concepts of Chinese civic education, extracted from the textbook and three policies, including expectations of (a) socialist citizens, (b) patriotic citizens, (c) moral and responsible citizens, and (d) reformed teaching practices. The reformations of teaching practices are attempts to align the CPC's ideas of civic education with practice and pedagogy. That is, I analyze how China transformed its principles of pedagogy, or teaching methods, to strengthen its vision of civic education, including the developing of online means to promote the CPC's civic education objectives. The analysis of Chinese teaching methods is crucial in relation to understanding Freire's project of developing critical consciousness.

China's Idea of "Citizen" and "Citizenship"

In China, the notion of "citizen" (gongmin) was first introduced in the late Qing Dynasty (Zhang, 2016). After the People's Republic of China was established in 1949, the term "citizen" (gongmin) became sensitive because it implied connections with Western democracy and a capitalist ideology (Zhang, 2015).

Although the notion of 'citizen' officially appeared again in an official document in 1952, the 1954 "New China" constitution made a clear provision for a citizen's status: All those who possess Chinese nationality are recognized as citizens of China. The political terminology used since the establishment of the PRC was "people-

party" rather than "citizen-government" (Zhao, 2009; Zhang, 2015). There are subtle ideological differences between the two concepts. The concept of "people" (renmin) has strong political meanings and emphasizes a reduction of class conflicts (Zhang, 2015). "People" emphasizes a political attitude, particularly a position and class attribute (Zhao, 2009), and is distinguished from "enemy" in an ideological context (p.82). The concept of "citizen" was rarely used, and citizens' rights were not fully guaranteed in this early period of New China.

Strictly speaking, there was no history of citizenship in ancient China because of the extremely centralized political system in Chinese feudal society (Gao, 1997; Xu, 2013; Zhang, 2016). Elements of citizenship in the Western context, such as 'democracy', 'freedom', and 'individual rights' did not circulate in ancient China (Gao, 1997, p. 84; also cited in Zhang, 2016, p. 77).

The origin of citizenship and citizenship education in China can be traced back to the late 19th century (Zhang, 2016). The concept of citizenship was first introduced to China in the early 1900s, around the end of the Qing dynasty, and during the emergence of the People's Republic of China (PRC) as a way to move past feudal forms of governance (Zhang, 2015). For instance, Zhang (2016) stated that,

Facing the national crisis at that time, discussion of citizenship became a central focus among the newly emerging bourgeoisie and intellectuals. They rallied for the transformation of the old feudal society and began to regard developing citizenship as a kind of ethnic-political action, which could help transcend the perceived limitations in the existing feudal political system. (p. 78)

After the establishment of the PRC in 1949, and as developed in the 1954 Chinese Constitution, individuals' rights and responsibilities were specified. It was the first time that the legal understanding of citizenship had been underpinned by law in the People's Republic of China (Zhang, 2010).

Citizenship Education in the Chinese Context

In China, one notable feature of citizenship education is that "there has been some overlap between traditional moral education, political education and citizenship education. Historically, there has been a close relationship between education and moral political nurture in China" (Tu, 2011). Thus, the term "citizenship education" is often inseparable and used interchangeably with the terms "ideological and political education" and "moral education" (Law, 2006, p. 606; Lee & Ho, 2008; Tu, 2011; Xu, 2016, p. 40; Zhang, 2015). In order to accurately understand citizenship education in the Chinese context, it is important to examine these terms separately (Xu, 2016).

The term "moral education" began to be used largely in China in the late 1980s. It describes the "education-based responses to social issues and problems (e.g., extreme individualism) arising from China's market reforms and opening to the world" (Cheung & Pan, 2006; also cited in Xu, 2016, p. 41). Moral education in China is closely related with ideological and political education because it not only fosters students' morality, such as "the virtues of honesty, serving the people, loving the country, and collectivism" (Zhao, 2013b), but also gives "priority to guiding students' political orientation through Marxism–Leninism and the thoughts of Chinese political leaders, such as Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping" (Ministry of Education, 1998; also cited in Xu, 2016, p. 26).

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949, China was generally regarded as a socialist state with one-party system of government (Tu, 2011). In order to ensure the political loyalty of its population, the Communist Party of China (CPC) carried out compulsory ideological and political education from primary school to higher education institutions (Tu, 2011). Specifically, ideological and political education indicates a cultivation of beliefs and loyalty in the socialist imaginary, including ideas like the dictatorship of proletariat, the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxist, Leninist, and Mao Zedong thought as the basis for state policies and laws (Zhao, 2013b).

Key Concepts of China's Civic Education

In this section, I identify several key concepts of China's citizenship education in higher education institutions through an analysis of one compulsory textbook and official policy documents published after Xi Jinping took office in 2012. My analysis indicates that China's citizenship education in institutions of higher education cultivates three types of citizens: socialist, patriotic, and moral and responsible.

Socialist Citizens

Socialist citizens refer to citizens who are guided to only accept a socialist ideology. 'Citizens' are discouraged or forbidden to learn other ideological thoughts or choose their own belief systems. Chinese citizens' highest mission is to become the successors and builders of the socialist cause in China.

The aim of cultivating socialist citizens can be found in China's Higher Education Act, enacted in 1998. For example,

1998 China's Higher Education Act
"The state adheres to the guidance of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Zedong Thought and Deng Xiaoping Theory and follows the basic principles set forth in the Constitution to develop the cause of socialist higher education" (np).
"Higher education must educate all-round socialist builders and successors in moral, intellectual, physical, and aesthetic aspects" (np).

Table 1 Socialism as Legal Curriculum

The above articles indicate that the development of China's higher education must be guided by the single ideology of socialism. The task of higher education is to cultivate qualified builders of socialism, who are the system's successors. Thus, the Higher Education Act instils socialism as the only choice to guide citizenship education in China (Law, 2006).

In the *2015 Suggestions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Propaganda and Ideological Work in Colleges and Universities under the New Situation*, issued by the CPC Central Committee General Office and the State Council General Office, the cultivation of citizens who fully believe in socialism was heavily stressed. For example,

2015 Suggestions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Propaganda and Ideological Work in Colleges and Universities under the New Situation
“As the forefront of ideological education, colleges and universities shoulder the important task of researching and propagating Marxism, nurturing and promoting the core values of socialism To do a good job in propaganda and ideological work in higher education institutionsis related to where there will be successors to the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics” (np).
“Must earnestly promote the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics into the teaching materials, classrooms, and the minds of students Must build the ideological and political theory courses that students sincerely love and benefit lifelong” (np).

Table 2 Teaching Socialist Citizens

As evidenced above, China’s higher education institutions must guide students to believe in a socialist ideology, thereby training them to become the successors of the cause of socialism. Citizenship education must educate students to thoroughly accept and sincerely adopt the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Of course, teachers are central to achieving this goal. Specifically, the schools must “strive to strengthen the ideological and political quality of teachers, persevere in using the theoretical system of socialism with Chinese characteristics to arm teachers’ minds, further improve the learning system of political theory for teachers” (2015 Suggestions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Propaganda and Ideological Work in Colleges and Universities under the New Situation, np).

The Minister of Education at the time, Yuan Guiren (2015), further interpreted the *2015 Suggestions*. He stated:

Ideological and political courses in colleges and universities are the

primary channel to thoroughly and deeply explain our ideological concepts, and make it so that the contents we want to discuss enter into students' ears, brains, and hearts so that their confidence in socialism with Chinese characteristics will be constantly strengthened. (np)

Thus, Guiren made it clear that China's citizenship education in higher education institutions is designed to instill a CPC socialist ideology in students. The idea of the CPC socialist ideology entering the "ears, brains, and hearts" of students indicates that students should not only learn socialist principles, but also sincerely accept it into their hearts. In other words, Chinese students ought to not just learn about CPC socialist principles, but also internalize them as personal dispositions.

Guiren also emphasized the importance of textbooks in cultivating socialist citizens. He (2015) noted that, "textbooks are the embodiment of the mainstream ideology of the country and are also the basic ways to strengthen the education of the socialist core values" (np). Stated differently, the contents of textbooks for university students should embody the mainstream ideology and contribute to the adoption of socialist ideology by the students. Additionally, Guiren (2015) claimed, "the State must resolutely resist those teaching materials that spread Western erroneous views into the universities and build a teaching material system guided by Marxism and provide solid support for strengthening the mainstream ideology" (np). The criteria of being "erroneous" were not illustrated.

As an example, the aim of cultivating socialist citizens can be easily found in the textbook used in the compulsory course on ideology and politics, *Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis*. The book is quite clear that students should

“become qualified constructors and reliable successors of the socialist cause, with an all-round moral, intellectual, physical and aesthetic development as goals of achievement that college students need to establish” (Liu & Li, p. 5).

In conclusion, the above official documents and compulsory textbook all converge around the same thing: citizenship education in China’s higher education institutions should aim to cultivate citizens who believe in the CPC socialist ideology.

Patriotic Citizen

In addition to becoming socialist citizens, China’s citizenship education is designed to cultivate ‘patriotic citizens’. The idea of ‘patriotic citizens’ refers to citizens who are loyal to the CPC and support its ruling. The idea here is that there are distinctions between ideology and political affiliation.

Some scholars have argued that patriotism (including ideas of nationalism) were new approaches that the CPC adopted to (a) legitimize the authoritarian rule of the Party, (b) ensure loyalty and support in a population, and (c) rebuild a sense of national identity after the global decking of communism in the late 1980s (Law, 1995; Hammond, 2016; Zhao, 1998). For instance, Zhao (1998) argued that,

Chinese Communist leaders began to place emphasis on the Party’s role as the paramount patriotic force and guardian of national pride in order to ... hold the country together during the period of rapid and turbulent transformation. By identifying the Party with the nation, the regime would make criticism of the Party line an unpatriotic act. (p. 289)

The *Patriotic Education Implementation Outline* issued by the CPC Central Committee in 1994 contains several references to patriotic education, including the

following statement, “In contemporary China, patriotism and socialism are essentially the same. The construction of socialism with Chinese characteristics is the theme of patriotism in the new period. Patriotism, collectivism, and socialist ideological education are one body” (np).

Citizenship education is infused with patriotism– loyalty to the government– and is directly linked to socialist ideology. Educating students to be loyal to the nation entails loyalty to the CPC’s socialist ideology and firm support of the government. In this context, the meaning of patriotism is to love the socialism that the PRC built, and which is now ruled by the CPC. In this way, the series of patriotic education campaigns deliberately blurred the lines among patriotism, nationalism, and socialism and fused the concepts of the Party and the nation in China’s collective consciousness (Hammond, 2016). As a result, being patriotic in China means supporting the CPC’s rule in order to show love for the motherland.

Minister of Education Yuan Guiren further illustrated the patriotic expectations of citizens in the *2015 Suggestions*. He stated (2015),

The most fundamental issue facing ideological work in colleges and universities now is how to win the youth. Both positive and negative experiences show that the greatest advantage of being in power is winning young people’s support, and the greatest risk of being in power is losing the youth’s support. Winning the support of the youth will help the CPC stay in power. (np)

Yuan’s statement explicitly illustrated the purpose of the citizenship education within higher education, and specifically to cultivate patriotic citizens in order to

garner young people’s support for the CPC. Patriotism, then, is developed in Chinese citizens to keep the CPC in power.

Further evidence that the CPC educates students to be patriotic is located in the textbook *Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis*. The book is quite clear when it states, “the most important thing for university students to take on the historic task of national rejuvenation is to work hard to be a loyal patriot and a creative practitioner” (p. 37). More examples of the ‘patriotic curriculum’ can be found in the same textbook. Importantly, patriotism adheres to a CPC socialist ideology in order to maintain the current regime’s power.

<i>Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis</i>
Patriotism and love of socialism are consistent. In contemporary China, patriotism is first and foremost manifested in the love of socialist China. This is the stand and attitude that every citizen of the People's Republic of China must uphold (p. 50).
Patriotism, the love of socialism, the love of the Chinese Communist Party, and the love of the government have the profound and internal consistency (p. 51).
The unification of patriotism and the love of socialism is the inevitable result of the historical development of China (p. 50).
The history and reality of China have fully proved that only socialism can save China. Only by reform and opening up can we develop China and develop socialism (p. 51).

Table 3 Patriotism for a Socialist Ideology and the CPC

The above selections blur the lines among socialist ideology, a strong sense of patriotism, and conformity with the views expressed by the CCP leadership. Educating students to love the nation is simultaneously educating them to devote themselves to socialist ideology and to adhere to the CPC government. Cultivating

patriotic citizens means fostering citizens with a set of ideas, skills, values, and behaviors that the CPC deems acceptable. The phrases “inevitable result”, “only socialism can save China”, and “the unification of patriotism and the love of socialism”, are clear indications about the purposes of the CPC’s civic education.

To summarize, the official documents and textbook all talk about the same thing: citizenship education in China’s higher education institutions aims to cultivate citizens who are absolutely loyal to the nation and the Party.

Moral and Responsible Citizens

China’s citizenship education pays great attention to the cultivation of citizens’ moral qualities rather than to political rights and political participation. Moral and responsible citizens, then, have obligations and responsibilities to be patriotic and support the CPC’s socialist ideology.

For example, the *2015 Suggestions* document stressed that China’s citizenship education in institutions of higher education should “carry forward the traditional Chinese virtues, strengthen moral education and practice, and enhance the ideological and moral qualifications of teachers and students”. The *2015 Suggestions* document emphasizes citizens’ responsibilities and obligations to society and the State. Nowhere in the document does it mention the government’s obligations and responsibilities for its citizens, the rights citizens have, or how the government should serve the people. Instead of cultivating civic concepts and political participation skills, the cultivation of citizens’ moral qualities is the focus of China’s citizenship education in higher education institutions.

In a speech at the 2016 *National Conference on Ideological and Political Work of*

Colleges and Universities, Xi pointed out that “we should regard the cultivation of morality the central aspect of the ideological and political education of the higher education institutions”. The cultivation of morality was established at the heart of China’s citizenship education.

Moral and responsible citizens, then, represent an imbalance between the emphases on civic responsibilities and rights. On one hand, the textbook emphasizes and encourages citizens to fulfill their responsibilities and obligations. On the other hand, the CPC remains opaque about its responsibilities to supporting citizens’ political rights and political participation skills. Below, in Table 7, I present additional excerpts about how, or in what ways, moral and responsible citizens ought to be responsible.

<i>Ideological and Moral Cultivation and Its Legal Basis</i>
Students are coinciding with the rare historical opportunity of serving the motherland and the people. We must take the responsibility of making our country prosperous and rejuvenate the nation. We should take the initiative to shoulder social responsibilities and be pioneers and devotees. We should be willing to sacrifice and take on responsibilities (p. 6).
College students should learn to be responsible to themselves, be responsible to their families, be responsible to the people around them, and be responsible to the nation, motherland, society, and human beings (p. 69).
Individual rights are acquired in society. Without society, there are no personal rights. Without the individual’s responsibility to society, the rights of individuals cannot be realized (p. 88).
Individuals should consciously safeguard the overall interests of the society. When personal interests conflict with social interests, personal interests should be subordinated to social interests (p.88).

Table 4 Moral Citizens’ Responsibilities

The phrases “serving the motherland and the people”, “take responsibility”,

“shoulder social responsibilities”, “devotees”, “be responsible to”, “high sense of responsibility”, and “be willing to sacrifice” all emphasize the students' responsibilities and encourage them to serve, be dedicated to, and sacrifice to society, the nation, and the people. What's more, students are taught that national interests are higher and more important than personal interests; when the two conflict, personal interests should give way to national interests. Before students enjoy their civic rights, they should fulfill their responsibilities first.

In addition, the course promotes the study of Chinese traditional virtues which “emphasize the overall interests, state interests, and national interests and stress the sense of responsibility and dedication”, “promote the principle of beneficence and pursue interpersonal harmony”, “emphasize social harmony, stress concordance and kindness”, and “advocate solidarity and mutual assistance, and pursue peaceful coexistence” (p.97).

Besides intensifying their sense of patriotism and enhancing their national identity, another reason for promoting Chinese traditional values might be that they advocate responsibility, sacrifice, collective interest, and dedication. These values are consistent with the aim of China's citizenship education to cultivate citizens who are willing to sacrifice their personal interests for the collective interests and fulfill their civic obligations before enjoying their rights. The textbook clearly points out that studying Chinese traditional virtues helps students' “sense of patriotism and collectivism” and will “strengthen their social responsibility and foster students' affection for socialism” (p.97), all of which are consistent with the aims of China's citizenship education, such as cultivating socialist and patriotic citizens.

Regarding education about legal qualities, although the book's title includes "Legal Basis", the cultivation of students' legal knowledge is not intended for students to use laws to protect themselves. For example, "students should learn legal knowledge, enhance legal awareness, establish the concept of the rule of law, cultivate the thinking of the rule of law, maintain the authority of law, and become a builder and successor of the socialist cause with a high legal quality" (p.171). There is nothing in this sentence about using the law to safeguard their rights, supervise the government, or promote social justice and political democracy.

What's more, although the textbook briefly mentioned some strategies to learn legal knowledge and master legal methods, such as "participate in legislative discussions", "listen to the judicial trials", "participate in mock courts, legal clinics, legal debates, and other activities" (p.173), the textbook did not indicate the specific processes about how to participate in legislative activities, how to apply to the People's court for hearings, and how to participate in mock courts (what to prepare before participation, etc.). It did not provide any corresponding guidance as well. Compared with the emphases on students' obligations and responsibilities, the contents about legal proceedings are much less.

Although citizens' political rights is ostensibly the heart of citizenship education, the official policies and documents did not include any content about it. The textbook only explained this component in the last chapter with very limited space. For example, it mentioned that "political rights include the right to vote, the right to be elected, freedom of political expression, democratic management right, the right of supervision, and so on" (p. 198). However, the textbook did not include content

about how to implement these political rights in detail; the textbook did not teach how to vote and how to be elected or how to supervise the government. The education of citizens of their political rights stays at the level of slogans.

To summarize, the official documents and textbook all talk about the same thing: that citizenship education in China's higher education institutions aims to cultivate citizens who value the interests of the state more than personal interests, who fulfill obligations before concerns about the implementation of rights, and who possess morality instead of abundant knowledge of their political rights.

Reformed Teaching Methods

With the popularization of the Internet in China and China's involvement in economic globalization, people have more channels for engaging diverse thoughts and expressing different opinions, which has brought challenges to the CPC's civic education. Therefore, it began to reform China's citizenship education by taking the advantage of the Internet and other online media to enhance the appeal and persuasiveness of civic education. Nevertheless, the curriculum of the ideology and political courses have not changed much, just how they are delivered has changed.

Teaching methods of citizenship education in China's higher education institutions are generally characterized as didactic and transmission of information, in other words "lecturing and student listening mode" (Tu, 2011). Students memorize selections from textbooks and the CPC's official documents in order to pass their exams (Law, 2006; Tu, 2011; Zhang & Fagan, 2016). Typically, students are compelled to provide one "right" answer in order to pass exams. This is most evident in the multiple-choice section, in which every question has only one "correct" answer

(Law, 2006). These methods of teaching and assessment were employed to a great extent among university students (Zhang & Fagan, 2016).

In recent years, the government started to reform citizenship education’s teaching and assessment methods. The government paid great attention to online citizenship education and enriched the channels of citizenship education. For example,

2012 National College Students Ideological and Political Education Assessment System
Actively promote online ideological and political education and constantly expand the methods and means of online ideological and political education (np).
Build ideological and political education websites, actively promote the construction of online communities of university students, carry out online ideological and political education (np).

Table 5 Reform Curriculum and Pedagogy

In 2015, the *Suggestions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Propaganda and Ideological Work in Colleges and Universities under the New Situation* also stated: “it is necessary to innovate online ideological and political education, carry out special pilot projects on the construction of campus network culture in colleges and universities, vigorously promote the digitalization of school newspapers and periodicals” (np).

Furthermore, the CPC stressed “ideological-political education should be carried out using the means of expression that college and university students like”, suggesting that more and more students were engaged with electronic forms of communication (*Suggestions on Strengthening and Improving the Ideological and Political Education of Colleges and Universities under the New Situation*, 2015, np).

However, the government did not reform the content of China's citizenship education. For example, the *2015 Suggestions* stressed the needs to “cultivate a group of online teachers who give correct guidance to students” and to “cultivate a team of online propagandists composed of trusted students and young teachers” (np). The words “correct guidance” and “online propagandists” demonstrate that the CPC intends to use the Internet to promote a socialist ideology. Thus, the education goals of China's citizenship education in higher education did not change, but they were adapted for electronic delivery to better meet the CPC's goals.

The Minister of Education, Yuan Guiren, would confirm these ideas in his *2015 Suggestions* document. Guiren clearly stated that,

Minister of Education Yuan Guiren on The 2015 Suggestions
We should make full use of new means of communication to innovate the work of propaganda and ideological work in higher education institutions, and grasp the initiative of online public opinions (np).
We must strengthen network governance and expand the mainstream public opinions by comprehensively using legal means and technical means in accordance with the ecology and operation rule of the Internet, so that the 'largest variable' can become the greatest opportunity for us (np).
Build a team of online propagandists composed of academic masters, teaching masters, excellent instructors, counselors, and outstanding students. Guide them to use the Chinese theory and Chinese academics to interpret China's miracles, clearly state the characteristics and advantages of the road of socialism with Chinese characteristics, so that the people can understand and agree with (np).

Table 6 Information Transmission

From the above excerpts, the idea of new teaching methods is clearly indicated in phrases like the “new means of communications”. Here, the Internet can be used by

the government to “expand the mainstream public opinions” and make people understand and agree with the CPC’s socialist ideology. Thus, the reformation of teaching methods was designed to utilize new technologies, but not to alter or change the contents of China’s citizenship education as discussed above.

In summary, the CPC has been working to reform how Chinese university students receive their citizenship education, with particular attention paid to the Internet and other forms of new media (e.g., apps). However, the content and aims of citizenship education have not changed. Moreover, it is debatable whether or not online technologies truly indicate a reformation of teaching practices, as online teaching practices maintain a large degree of information transmission, or “lecturing and student listening mode” (Tu, 2011), only now in electronic forms.

Chapter Four: Comparing the Key Concepts Between Freire's Critical Pedagogy and China's Citizenship Education

The purpose of this chapter is to inform answers to research question three (how do Freire's and China's concepts relate or compare to each other?). As a reminder, in Chapter Two I reviewed the key concepts of Freire's critical pedagogy, including "humanization", "critical consciousness", "dialogue", and "problem-posing education." Throughout that chapter, I identified some of the key assumptions that support these ideas. At the end of the chapter, I developed a Figure that encapsulated the key concepts from Freire's critical pedagogy. Similarly, in chapter Three, I developed six tables that identified the key ideas or concepts of the CPC's ideas of citizenship education, including concepts of "socialist citizens", "patriotic citizens", "moral and responsible citizens", and "reformed teaching methods".

For this chapter, I have developed several 'analytic tables' from which I compared and contrasted (e.g., juxtaposed) the stated meanings from Freire's critical pedagogy and Chinese principles of civic education. These tables can be found in the Appendix of this thesis. My 'analytic tables' were developed from distilling the key concepts of Freire's thoughts in Chapter Two (summarized in Appendix A), and the key concepts of China's civic education in Chapter Three (summarized in Appendix B). I then compared and contrasted Freire's critical pedagogy with the CPC's ideas of citizen education in order to challenge conventional educational understandings and practices of Chinese civic education. I selected concepts that diverged from each other as a way to amplify the different approaches to education and politics.

As a matter of organization for this chapter, I proceed by comparing Freire's

concepts of “humanization” with the CPC’s ideas of “socialist citizens”, “patriotic citizens”, and “moral and responsible citizens”. Next, I do the same with Freire’s concept of “critical consciousness”, comparing this idea to the CPC’s notions of what constitutes the preferred Chinese citizen (i.e., socialist, patriotic, and moral and responsible). Each comparison can be found in Appendix C, D, and E respectively.

I did not compare Freire’s concept of “dialogue” with the concept of “socialist citizens”, “patriotic citizens”, or “moral and responsible citizens” because my analysis did not identify meaningful divergences or contradictions between them. In this sense, Freire’s idea of dialogue does not appear to lie outside those of a Chinese socialist, patriotic, and moral and responsible citizen. However, my analysis did identify that the Freirean concept of “dialogue” is, in a sense, absolutely contradictory or antithetical to how the CPC’s envisions and practices education, as I discussed in my discussion of the CPC’s “reformed teaching methods” in the previous chapter. This analytic table can be found in Appendix F.

The analytic tables allowed me to answer research question three (i.e., compare and contrast) by deducing particular implications that arise from contradictory or nearly contradictory approaches in understanding political education. As such, I was able to place specific meanings of related ideas in juxtaposition with each other. I then deduce how these ideas differ and what the implications are from these different meanings and understandings.

Comparing Freire’s “Humanization” alongside China’s Citizenship Education

The CPC’s requirements of university citizenship education conflicts with Freire’s concept of humanization. In no case do the CPC’s ideas of socialist, patriotic, moral and responsible citizens achieve the idea of becoming fully human beings as

discussed by Freire.

According to Freire (2000), humanization is the process of becoming more fully human and “[is the] ontological vocation of human being” (Freire, 1994, p. 98). “Fully human beings” reflect on reality and take actions to transform reality, instead of operating out of habits and reflex or merely adapting to the world (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012). Freirean humans produce history and culture (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 2001; Galloway, 2012; Roberts, 2009). They are subjects of history and culture, and not mere objects produced from existing and immutable social and political conditions (Freire, 1982a). More importantly, human lives are not a ‘given’ and can be changed (Freire, 2000; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012).

Socialist Citizens

In China’s citizenship education, students are (strongly) guided to only accept and believe in the CPC’s socialist ideology. Students are discouraged or forbidden to choose belief systems other than socialism. A socialist citizen’s highest mission is to become the successors and builders of socialism cause in China. According to Freire, however, a human being’s highest mission is to become a fully developed person who reflects on and transforms their social and political reality. In contrast, according to China’s citizenship education, students’ highest mission is to adapt to and maintain socialist ideology, instead of critically reflecting on socialist ideology and transforming the unjust parts. These two highest mission expectations are in direct conflict with each other.

Furthermore, students are not encouraged to produce their own history and

culture, but rather, to adapt to the existing socialist history and culture. In this process, students in China's citizenship education are expected to act as objects instead of subjects of history and culture. Setting students' highest mission as becoming reliable successors and capable builders of the socialism downgrades students into tools for attaining some ideological and political purpose. Students' lives are predetermined and, thus, students are not encouraged to change, according to China's citizenship education. Students are not encouraged to choose their own way of life.

In the end, socialist citizens as envisaged by the CPC cannot become the fully developed human beings discussed by Freire.

Patriotic Citizens

The aim of cultivating patriotic citizens in China's citizenship education is also in conflict with Freire's concept of humanization. Patriotic citizens are taught to be fully loyal to, and support, the nation and the political party (i.e., CPC), instead of challenging the legitimacy of the CPC's rule. Students are not encouraged to problematize the CPC's ruling; instead, Chinese students are expected to adapt to the reality, culture, and history generated by the CPC government. Students are not encouraged to produce their own history and culture that might be different or challenge the CPC's presentation of Chinese culture and history. In Freire's opinion, to become fully human beings, students must reflect on reality and take actions to transform it. The idea of a 'patriotic citizen' not only refers to citizens who are loyal to the nation, but also refers to a certain group of people who adapt to, and are loyal to the CPC, which maintains the existing dominance of CPC. Thus, teaching students

to be patriotic citizens along the CPC's ideas makes it very difficult, if not impossible, for China's citizenship education to assist students to become fully developed human beings as discussed by Freire.

Moral and Responsible Citizens

Likewise, China's citizenship education aims to develop moral and responsible citizens conflicts with Freire's concept of humanization. In China's citizenship education, students' obligations and responsibilities to the state are paramount, while their individual and group rights are much less encouraged or developed. China's citizenship education emphasizes students' moral qualities in relation to existing social and political arrangements, but students do not receive adequate education about their political rights and political participation skills.

The heavy emphases on individuals' obligations and responsibilities to the existing social and political arrangements lead to the relative neglect of individuals' rights and interests. Students are more encouraged to unconditionally obey and adapt to collective needs and interests. They are less encouraged to fight for their rights or choose their own life because that might conflict with the needs and interests of the whole. Thus, conformity and obedience are forms of morality that are less likely to allow them to develop an awareness to take initiative to critically reflect upon the idea of 'collective needs' and transform the social and political reality. Because students do not receive sufficient education about their political rights and civic engagement, students are less likely to develop the skills to reflect upon and transform their reality. As such, China's citizenship education, which is designed to cultivate or develop moral and responsible citizens, conflicts with

Freire's concept of humanization.

Comparing Freire's "Critical Consciousness" alongside China's Citizenship Education

The expectations in China's citizenship education also conflicts with Freire's concept of critical consciousness. The stated goals in China's citizenship education – to cultivate socialist citizens, patriotic citizens, and moral and responsible citizens – is highly unlikely to assist Chinese students in developing critical consciousness; it may even weaken or atrophy a student's development and use of a critical consciousness.

According to Freire, before people can transform their social and political realities, they need to recognize how these existing realities come into being (Freire, 2000; Roberts, 1996). As Freire (1970a) noted, critical consciousness is "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (p. 17; as cited in del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p. 127). As I suggested above, I will juxtapose Freire's idea of critical consciousness alongside China's citizenship education to develop socialist, patriotic, and moral and responsible citizens.

Socialist Citizens

The major goal of China's citizenship education is to teach students to fully and unquestioningly accept the CPC's socialist ideology. Thus, students are not encouraged to perceive the contradictions within socialism nor the contradictions produced from comparing the CPC's ideas of socialism with other forms of government. Stated differently, students are not encouraged to critically reflect on, question, problematize, or criticize their social and political realities. Instead, they

are expected to conform and obey the social and political realities provided to them. Students are not given opportunities to discuss or negotiate the expectation of them to become socialist citizens– prescribed in the citizenship education--nor are students provided with opportunities to challenge or question this expectation. They are taught to simply accept it, and conform to it. Therefore, China's citizenship education aim to develop socialist citizens is in conflict with Freire's concept of critical consciousness.

Patriotic Citizens

China's citizenship education aims to cultivate *uncritical* patriotic citizens. That is, students are educated to develop an unquestioning loyalty to the government and the nation, and to uncritically accept the legitimacy of the state. As a result, students are not encouraged to reflect on the contradictions of the established policies and practices, and are certainly not encouraged to problematize the contradictions of the government's leadership and governance. Moreover, students are not encouraged to articulate or discuss the social, political, and economic contradictions, or to express oppositional ideas, as this would betray the loyalty expected from a patriotic citizen, ultimately threatening the CPC's ruling status. As such, it is hard (but not impossible) for students to develop a critical consciousness through China's citizenship education. However, it is quite unlikely for students "to take action against the oppressive elements of reality", which Freire (1970a) discussed as central to his notion of critical consciousness.

Moral and Responsible Citizens

The expectation to develop moral and responsible citizens, as envisaged through

China's citizenship education, are unlikely to develop a critical consciousness as discussed by Freire. The overemphasis on obligations and a focus on the social whole means that ideas concerned with individual rights are downplayed, often leaving students to ignore their individual rights. More importantly, the neglect of individual rights masks important discussions about the kinds of actions that might lead to implementing such rights. The overemphasis on morality (conformity and obedience) weakens the students' awareness of individual rights, because the moralities promoted by the CPC are consistent with the requirement for citizens to serve society, sacrifice for society, and fulfill their obligations before enjoying individual rights.

Citizens who are obedient to collective needs and interests and with low level of awareness about individual rights, especially individual political rights (e.g., voting), are unlikely to be interested in and capable of questioning society's social, political, and economic contradictions; problems of competing interests; the unequal power structures; and are unlikely to participate in public affairs by which they can take action against oppression. As such, this research concludes that the aim to cultivate moral and responsible citizens also conflicts with Freire's concept of a critical consciousness.

Comparing Freire's "Dialogue" alongside China's Citizenship Education

Although the CPC has started to reform how China's citizenship education is taught in higher education institutions, the curriculum contents remain the same, and as such, conflicts with Freire's idea of dialogue.

According to Freire, dialogue generates a critical consciousness, which is a requirement of dialogue (del Carmen Salazar, 2013; Freire, 2000). Dialogue is not

simply a method of teaching (Shor & Freire, 1987). Instead, it is “a cultural action inside or outside the classroom where the status quo is challenged, where the myths of the official curriculum and mass culture are illuminated” (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 97). Dialogue is grounded in people’s lived experiences, unveils reality, and reflects social and political conditions that reproduce inequity and oppression (del Carmen Salazar, 2013; Souto-Manning, 2006).

In addition to developing a critical consciousness, dialogue also produces a horizontal relationship of teachers and students with mutual trust (Freire, 2000; Roberts 2000). Both students and teachers are jointly responsible for dialogue and they actively co-construct knowledge (Freire, 2000, p. 80; Shor & Freire, 1987). Both students and teachers become subjects, rather than objects in dialogue (Freire, 2000).

Reformed Teaching Methods

The government has been promoting the reform of instruction in China’s citizenship education in institutions of higher education with a focus on teaching methods. This reform of teaching methods is primarily undertaken to make citizenship education more appealing or attractive to students. For example, the CPC changed the traditional lecturing teaching method into small seminars and took advantage of the Internet and new media to teach students.

Although China’s citizenship education adopted new educational technologies, the ultimate goal of this reform is still to transmit ideology to students from a position of authority, rather than encouraging students to express different ideas and critically reflect upon what they have been taught. As such, students are unlikely to

develop a critical consciousness. Thus, the reform of teaching methods is palliative. More importantly, the contents of what is taught and the pedagogical aims have not changed. In fact, the ‘techniques of instillation’ have been changed to make inculcation itself more effective. For example, the Internet is just a tool to instill a particular ideology in a way that students now prefer.

As such, the “dialogue” adopted by the CPC in its citizenship education program is different from the “dialogue” articulated and developed by Freire. The major distinction between the two ideas is that the CPC’s use of dialogue appears to contain a democratic exchange of ideas, while the CPC’s use of “dialogue” is for ideological guidance and the transmission of information, ultimately used to convince students to believe in the CPC’s socialist ideology.

Dialogue cannot be understood as a teaching method without noticing the political implications behind the idea, particularly what is produced through dialogue. Although the CPC reformed the teaching methods through new technologies, China’s citizenship education rarely helps students to understand social inequalities and corresponding critiques. China’s citizenship education generates obedience instead of critical consciousness. The core of Freire’s critical pedagogy that is critical consciousness is still missing in China’s citizenship education, and hence, cannot be considered Freirean dialogue. The CPC’s teaching methods, which appear to be multi-dimensional and dialogic are still a one-sided transmission of particular knowledge. Given that students are not asked to co-construct or contribute to knowledge, the reformation of teaching does not exhibit a genuine idea of mutual communication and shared learning. Thus, the relationship

between students and teachers in China's citizenship education is not horizontal, but rather, remains vertical. Students remain objects in their educational process.

Chapter Five: Limits and Possibilities of Implementing Freire's Critical Pedagogy within China's Higher Education System

The purpose of this chapter is to answer research question 4, including research question 4A (How might Freirean ideas of critical consciousness and social transformation be informed or extended in relation to the challenges posed by China's conception of civic education? What challenges or implications arise when attempting to use or implement Freire's ideas of critical pedagogy within China's higher education system (e.g., to teach for transformation))?

In this chapter, I examine how Freirean ideas of critical consciousness and social transformation might be informed or extended in relation to the challenges posed by China's conception of civic education. In other words, I discuss what possibilities and conditions would be necessary for Freirean ideas to be used in China. I conclude by investigating what challenges or implications arise when attempting to use Freire's ideas of critical pedagogy within China's higher education system.

Challenges of Implementing Freire's Critical Pedagogy within China's Higher Education System

When discussing any challenge or possibility of implementing Freirean critical pedagogy, contexts always matter according to Freire (Giroux, 2010). Freirean pedagogy cannot be reduced to a universal method (Giroux, 2010). Instead, it is defined by particular and local contexts and "must be approached as a project of individual and social transformation" (Giroux, 2010, p. 338). In addition, no matter how similar or compatible two theories and cultures are, "when an external theory travels to another cultural environment, conflicts may occur between two cultures" (McLaren, SooHoo & Wang, 2017, p. 9). Thus, it would not be a surprise that Freire's

critical pedagogy—developed in the 1960’s in South America (Brazil)--would present tremendous ideological, political, economic, social, and global differences in 21st century China.

Looking at Freire's own experiences in Brazil, his literacy circles emerged as part of great political upheaval in Brazil in the 1950s and early 1960s (Shor, Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017, p. 16). At that time, Brazil was under “a populist regime in an era marked by the staging of a successful revolution in the region (the Cuban Revolution) which must have generated enthusiasm among those striving for liberation” (Mayo, 1993, p. 2). Under the populist leader Joao Goulart, trade unions, peasant leagues, and worker organizations grew rapidly. “Situations such as these.....are conducive to liberatory educational practices and it is hardly coincidental that it was during this period that Freire carried out his consciousness raising literacy programmes in the north east” (Mayo, 1993, p. 3).

Freire’s program alphabetized “perhaps a million new lower-class voters who had to read and write to be allowed to vote for the first time. The concrete empowerment of peasants and workers through literacy at that time involved overcoming the Brazilian Constitution’s prohibition on illiterates voting” (Shor, Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017, p. 16). His literacy campaigns were government-sponsored and his literacy project from 1963-1964 was successfully undertaken with the support of the democratic government of Joao Goulart (Shor, Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017).

Therefore, Freire’s pedagogy empowered the mass movement, and, very importantly, the pre-revolutionary society of Brazil also provided Freire’s ideas with

the suitable environment to be recognized and implemented (Shor, Matusov & Marjanovic-Shane, 2017). As such, my research argues that the successful implementation of Freire's pedagogy as part of Chinese civic education would more than likely need the support of the CPC government. The external political environment is an extremely important precondition for Freire's pedagogy to be recognized by society and to be successfully implemented in the society.

By analyzing China's ideological, social, and political environment, the study does not suggest that the political climate in China provides the democratic preconditions needed for Freire's critical pedagogy to be successfully implemented or used in China. In fact, under Xi's government, it might be impossible to implement Freire's critical pedagogy in China's higher education system; this conclusion is suggested by the compressed political space of the country's civil society. At best, the use of Freire's ideas in China, under the CPC, would represent isolated and technical appropriations of the holistic theory discussed above in Figure 1. Next, I discuss three particular challenges to using Freire's ideas in Chinese civic education, including (a) the compressed political space, (b) Confucianism, and (c) teachers' expectations.

Compressed Political Space in China

The shrinking of political space under Xi's government is manifested by the government's crackdown against Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) (Economist, 2016). After Xi took power, the government has shut down NGOs committed to civil rights education and protection that may threaten the CPC regime (Civil Rights and Livelihood Watch Institute, 2015 & 2016). Tolerance of some civic

groups has declined and previously accepted civil rights protection organizations have been subjected to greater scrutiny (The Economist, 2016).

The shrinking of the political space under Xi's government is also manifested by the more severe monitoring of citizen's speech. Since Xi took power, authorities closely monitor television stations, book publishing, Internet, and electronic media, using them to publicize the views and ideologies of the government (Civil Rights and Livelihood Watch Institute, 2015). Furthermore, in 2016, the "People's Republic of China Cybersecurity Law" was approved. It confirmed the system of real name and electronic ID card regarding Internet use, which might end up undermining the right of citizens to freedom of expression (Civil Rights and Livelihood Watch Institute, 2016). For example, citizens who offer comments about dissatisfaction with the Communist government online will become the focus of monitoring by the authorities and might be warned or asked to delete their posts by security police (Civil Rights and Livelihood Watch Institute, 2014).

In education, the contents of citizenship education have been compressed and the contents of ideology and politics education have been expanded in China's higher education system (Zhang & Fagan, 2016; Lee & Ho, 2005; Zhu & Feng, 2008). According to documents about education from the CPC after Xi took the office, the contents of civic literacy such as citizens' rights, especially the right to participate in politics, has been diminished. Instead, the emphases are on students' obligations to the country and society; students are recommended to unquestioningly accept and uphold the CPC government and socialist ideology.

The compression of the democratic political climate and the expansion of the

authoritarian political climate in China under Xi's governance fail to provide the necessary preconditions for Freire's critical pedagogy to be implemented in contemporary China. Freirean critical pedagogy encourages people to critically reflect on and transform the unjust and oppressive social, political, and economical status quo, which requires the awareness and ability to question the government. Through Freirean education, students are encouraged to develop an awareness and the capacity to question and critique the existing government, which would likely directly threaten the CPC's governance in the Chinese context. However, Xi's government's attitudes and actions towards civil organizations and citizens' political rights demonstrate that the CPC aims to cultivate citizens who absolutely obey and support their regime and unquestioningly uphold the socialist ideology. Thus, Freirean theory is not only unlikely to be recognized by Xi's government but instead may provoke a vigilant response if it is critical towards of government. This course would be a direct contrast to the new leadership's intention to cultivate unquestioning loyal citizens to the CPC.

Confucianism

As discussed, the current political environment in China is not conducive to implementing or using Freire's theory in higher education. Moreover, China's cultural traditions such as Confucianism are also very different and contrary to many of Freire's ideas. Confucianism addresses obedience more than critical thinking, and also praises rules, order, and stability more than social transformation and change. For some Chinese people who have been greatly influenced by Confucianism, Freire's pedagogy is an entirely different and contradictory worldview than what they are

accustomed to. It is not difficult to foresee there will be some challenges for people to understand and accept it.

Teachers' Expectations

In addition to the political and cultural preconditions needed to successfully implement Freire's critical pedagogy in China, there are also challenges arising when actually implementing it in the classroom setting. In other words, educators themselves play a crucial role if tenets of Freire's ideas are to be realized. However, the preconditions that would support Freirean ideas for teachers and educators are present in China.

Freire himself delineated some of the key qualities of teachers, such as "humility, tolerance, thoroughness in preparation, clarity, enthusiasm, the ability to listen attentively, care and respect for the students, and political commitment" (Roberts, 2015, p. 380; Shor & Freire, 1987). Freire noted that the teacher must have a "political commitment", which means that educators should have an explicit political and moral attitude, or at least be willing to question their attitudes and have dialogue with others (Roberts, 1999). Freire believed all teachers should adhere to certain moral values in their pedagogical practice, and they ought to make their moral and political ideals known to students, while explicitly encouraging critical questioning of those views (Roberts, 1999).

While there is no doubt that teachers in China have moral and political commitments, how are these expectations for educators operationalized under China's educational context? In China, how could educators meet the expectations proposed by Freire, especially the "political commitment"? Furthermore, how could

educators deeply understand and accept Freire's ideas in order to implement Freirean critical pedagogy in their classrooms every day?

In China, especially under Xi's governance, teachers are trained and appointed by the state to ensure that teachers' political orientations are consistent with the government, including expressed loyalty to the government (*Suggestions on Strengthening and Improving the Ideological and Political Education of Colleges and Universities under the New Situation*, 2015, np). This ensures educators will guide students in advocating the government's rule and will not encourage students to question the government. It is nearly impossible for teachers in China, especially those who teach in the public education system, to contradict or question the political direction of the CPC, to openly express different political views from the CPC, and to openly question political orientations with their students or colleagues. Thus, it is impossible for educators to meet Freire's most important expectation, "political commitment", under Xi's government. Teachers do not have the opportunity to accept and implement Freire's critical pedagogy by the government.

Based on the political, cultural, and practical analyses of the challenges, it is unlikely that Freire's theory can play an empowering role in totalitarian China. At a bare minimum, in order for Freirean ideas to flourish in Chinese civic education, it would need a relative democratic political environment, or at least no suppression from the government, including from those who would be expected to teach in such a manner.

In the next section, I examine some possibilities for using Freire in Chinese higher education. Interestingly, I argue that the continued economic expansion in

China will have more impact on changing the social, cultural, and political conditions necessary for implementing Freirean ideas.

Possibilities of Implementing Freire's Critical Pedagogy within China's Higher Education System

By exploring the dynamic relationships between economic development and political climate in China after 1978's Reform and Opening-up Policy—before Xi took power— a more 'democratic' civil society started to grow rapidly in that period. My research argues that the relatively democratic social climate might allow some citizens or civic organizations in China to implement Freire's critical pedagogy in non-formal education programs outside China's public education system.

In order to safeguard and consolidate the success of economic restructuring after 1978's Reform and Opening-up Policy, the CCP promulgated a series of laws and regulations, such as "Trademark Law", "Patent Law", "Copyright Law", and "Property Law" to develop and protect citizens' civil rights. In particular non-political rights were expanded, such as property rights, which are required to develop a market economy (Xiao, 2014). With peoples' increasing demands for political participation with the development of the economy, the CCP amended or issued new laws and regulations to ensure a few political rights, such as citizens' right to be informed (Xiao, 2014). The expansion of citizens' political participation was put forward for the first time in the Fifth Plenary Session of the 16th Central Committee Meeting of the CPC in 2000 (Wang & Yang, 2011).

The development of property rights forced the CPC to consider a kind of democratic political climate that would protect such rights. However, it also triggered a series of social equity issues, including producing social conflicts

regarding ownership. These social conflicts brought about a wide range of rights protection actions, and further stimulated the requirement for a more democratic political environment, including the growth of China's civil society (Xiao, 2014). As such, it is through the protection of property rights (including patents, trademarks, and intellectual rights) that particular conflicts ensue, creating political wedges in the CPC ideology. It is within these wedges that the compressed political space, discussed above, might begin to widen.

Moreover, the protection of property rights brought about by the fast development of economics likely provides a crucial precondition for the implementation of Freire's theory in China. Under this precondition, the rapidly growing nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) provide a concrete channel and platform to implement Freire's critical pedagogy in China.

The government's inability to meet people's rising demands for public goods and services, to protect disadvantaged groups' rights also brought China's civic organizations an opportunity to develop (Wang & Liu, 2007). More and more forms of NGOs have sprung up to fill gaps in state coverage (Gu, 2011; Wang & Liu, 2007; Xu, 2010; Ye, 2003). The number of NGOs in China has grown dramatically. According to statistics, about 550,000 domestic non-government organizations (NGOs) are registered with the government, and a further two million or so are either unregistered or registered as businesses, often to try to avoid scrutiny or harassment (The Economist, 2016).

Among them, educational NGOs have been springing up to begin to break the monopoly of official education. Schools run by the government are no longer the only

places of study. As just one example, Liren College is an educational NGO. “Liren” means “upright person” or “let a man be a man”. Its founders believe that China needs more people with independent thought. The target student groups of Liren College are high school graduates and college students (Fang, 2011a, 2011b). Liren College highly relied on the Internet to publicize its programs, namely for recruiting and contacting students. The first session of Liren College began on July 1st, 2011. It was a 15-day-long course held in a borrowed campus in Qingshi county, China (Fang, 2011a, 2011b).

The instructors of Liren College were usually liberal scholars in the humanities and social sciences, as well as social activists and NGO workers in China (Fang, 2011a, 2011b; Kuang, 2012). Many of these scholars have critical attitudes towards the government. For example, one of the instructors named Liu Yu is an associate professor of political science at the college of humanities and social sciences of Tsinghua University. She is famous for her book *Details of Democracy*, published in 2009.

As Freire's liberating education was originally devised to be carried out in the area of non-formal education, educational NGOs like Liren College suggest a possible outlet to recognize and implement Freire's critical pedagogy outside the governmental education system. Such non-governmental spaces would operate from the 'bottom up' in China, which was developed under the liberalized political climate of the late 20th century before Xi's governance.

Summary

To summarize, this study claims that it is very challenging to implement Freire's

critical pedagogy under Xi's governance because the crucial preconditions required include a relatively democratic political climate and government support is lacking. Moreover, the expectations for training educators of Freirean critical pedagogy cannot be met in China. However, given the continuation and development of the economy and, in particular, property rights, along with the liberalized political climate before Xi's governance, we should not underestimate the potential for the recognition and implementation of Freire's theory from the 'bottom up'. Specifically, it is important to note the possibilities that lie in some non-governmental education organizations that play a role in the civic education. Although further exploration of this topic is beyond the scope of this research, the study points to a powerful intersection between protecting property rights and developing non-governmental and educational organizations.

Conclusion

Based on the analysis undertaken in this thesis, the civic/citizenship education provided in China's higher education system intends to cultivate citizens who unquestioningly believe in socialist ideology and are fully loyal to the CPC's rule. Therefore, the government serves to suppress critical and civic literacy.

Despite having originated in a very different context from that of China's social and political context today, Freire's critical pedagogy, which values critical consciousness, can offer a useful contribution to assist Chinese university students to critically understand and question, if not change, the economic, social, and political status quo. In this way, Freire's critical pedagogy might be able to address the problems in China's civic education in institutions of higher education.

However, it is very unlikely for the government to apply Freire's critical pedagogy to enhance university students' critical and civic consciousness in China, especially under Xi's governance, because it will threaten the CPC's regime by educating citizens to question the government's power. Although it might be challenging to implement Freire's ideas from the top down, possibilities might lie in the growth and development of property rights and the ensuing social conflicts this will produce. This research has indicated particular possibilities for implementing critical pedagogy via the non-governmental education organizations' platforms.

By exploring the challenges or implications that might arise when attempting to use or implement Freire's ideas of critical pedagogy within China's higher education system, this thesis extends Freire's ideas of critical consciousness and social transformation. Specifically, there are some preconditions to make it easier to implement Freire's critical pedagogy. Most importantly, the theory needs some basis in a liberalized political climate. Under such a climate, citizens must have access to different ideologies and have the freedom to express critiques of the government. For example, in North America, it might be easier to implement Freire's ideas because of the liberal political system. However, in China, which is a totalitarian regime with strict ideology monitoring and control, especially under Xi's governance, these preconditions might not exist; that makes it very challenging to implement Freire's critical pedagogy in China.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Key Concepts of Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy	Definition and “Hidden Assumption”
Humanization	<p>Human's ontological vocation is becoming more fully human being (Freire, 1994, 2000).</p> <p>Fully human beings reflect on the reality and take actions to transform reality instead of operating out of habits and reflex and just adapting to the world (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012);</p> <p>They produce history and culture (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 2001; Galloway, 2012; Roberts, 2009);</p> <p>They are subjects of history and culture instead of objects (Freire, 1982a);</p> <p>Their lives and themselves are not a necessity and can be changed (Freire, 2000; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012).</p>
Critical Consciousness	<p>Before people transform the realities, they need to recognize how their realities come into being. Critical consciousness is “learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality” (Freire, 1970a, p. 17; also cited in del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p. 127).</p>

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy	Definition and "Hidden Assumption"
Dialogue	<p>Dialogue will generate critical consciousness and critical consciousness is also the requirement of dialogue (del Carmen Salazar, 2013; Freire, 2000; Galloway, 2012). It is not simply a method of teaching (Shor & Freire, 1987). Instead, it is "a cultural action inside or outside the classroom where the status quo is challenged, where the myths of the official curriculum and mass culture are illuminated" (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 97). Dialogue is grounded in people's lived experiences, unveils reality, and reflects social and political conditions that reproduce inequity and oppression (del Carmen Salazar, 2013; Souto-Manning, 2006).</p> <p>Besides critical consciousness, dialogue also produces a horizontal relationship of teachers and students with mutual trust (Freire, 2000; Roberts 2000). Both students and teachers are jointly responsible for dialogue and co-construct knowledge (Freire, 2000, p.80; Shor & Freire, 1987). Both students and teachers become subjects, rather than objects (Freire, 2000) in the dialogue.</p>

Appendix B – Key Concepts of China’s Citizenship Education

Key Concepts of China’s Citizenship Education	Definition
Socialist Citizens	Citizens are instilled with, guided to only accept and believe in socialism ideology. They are discouraged or forbidden to believe in other ideological thoughts or choose their own belief systems other than socialism. Socialist citizens’ highest mission is to become the successors and builders of socialism cause in China (Table 1 – 3).
Patriotic Citizens	Citizens must be loyal to the PRC and most importantly, the CPC (Table 4 – 6).
Moral and Responsible Citizens	Citizens’ obligations and responsibilities to the state have been heavily stressed while their rights are much less encouraged or educated. Citizens’ moral qualities have been greatly emphasized but they have not received enough education on their political rights and political participation skills (Table 7 – 8).
Reformed Teaching Methods	The government has been promoting the reform of the China’s citizenship education in higher education institutions with the focus on its teaching methods, especially by taking advantage of the Internet and the new media, to make the citizenship education more attractive to students (Table 9 – 10).

Appendix C – Compare Freire’s Concepts of “Humanization” and “Critical Consciousness” with the CPC’s Idea of “Socialist Citizens”

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China’s Citizenship Education	Comparison
<p>Humanization:</p> <p>Human’s ontological vocation is becoming more fully human being (Freire, 1994, 2000).</p> <p>Fully human beings reflect on the reality and take actions to transform reality instead of operating out of habits and reflex and just adapting to the world (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012);</p> <p>They produce history and culture (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 2001; Galloway, 2012; Roberts, 2009); They are subjects of history and culture instead of objects (Freire, 1982a);</p> <p>Their lives and themselves are not a necessity and can be changed (Freire, 2000; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012).</p>	<p>Socialist Citizens:</p> <p>Citizens are instilled with, guided to only accept and believe in socialism ideology. They are discouraged or forbidden to believe in other ideological thoughts or choose their own belief systems other than socialism. Socialist citizens’ highest mission is to become the successors and builders of socialism cause in China (Table 1 – 3).</p>	<p>The cultivation aim of socialist citizens in China’s citizenship education is in conflict with Freire’s concept of humanization.</p> <p>Reasons:</p> <p>According to Freire, human beings’ highest mission is to become fully human beings who reflect on and transform reality. According to China’s citizenship education, students’ highest mission is to adapt to and maintain socialism ideology instead of critically reflecting on socialism ideology and transforming the unjust parts. These two highest mission expectations are conflict with each other.</p> <p>Students are not encouraged to produce their history and culture but to adapt to the socialist history and culture that are already existed. In this process, students in China’s citizenship education become objects instead of subjects of history and culture.</p> <p>Setting students’ highest</p>

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China's Citizenship Education	Comparison
		mission as becoming reliable successors and capable builders of the socialism cause downgrades people into tools for attaining some ideological and political purpose. Students' lives and themselves then become predetermined as a necessity and are not encouraged to be changed according to China's citizenship education. Students are not encouraged to choose their own way of lives.
<p>Critical Consciousness:</p> <p>Before people transform the realities, they need to recognize how their realities come into being. Critical consciousness is "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970a, p. 17; also cited in del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p.127).</p>		<p>China's citizenship education in higher education institutions cannot help students develop and even weakens their critical consciousness.</p> <p>Reasons:</p> <p>One purpose of China's citizenship education is to teach students to fully and unquestioningly accept and believe in socialism ideology. Thus, they are not encouraged to perceive the contradictions of socialism. Stated differently, they are not encouraged to critically reflect on, question, problematize, or criticize it.</p>

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China's Citizenship Education	Comparison
		<p>Students are also discouraged to believe in other ideological thoughts that might guide students to perceive the contradictions of the socialism ideology.</p> <p>Students are not given opportunities to discuss or negotiate this highest expectation of them prescribed in the citizenship education, let alone challenge or question it. They are taught to simply accept and conform to it.</p>

Appendix D – Compare Freire’s Concepts of “Humanization” and “Critical Consciousness” with the CPC’s Idea of “Patriotic Citizens”

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China’s Citizenship Education	Comparison
<p>Humanization:</p> <p>Human’s ontological vocation is becoming more fully human being (Freire, 1994, 2000).</p> <p>Fully human beings reflect on the reality and take actions to transform reality instead of operating out of habits and reflex and just adapting to the world (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012);</p> <p>They produce history and culture (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 2001; Galloway, 2012; Roberts, 2009); They are subjects of history and culture instead of objects (Freire, 1982a);</p> <p>Their lives and themselves are not a necessity and can be changed (Freire, 2000; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012).</p>	<p>Patriotic Citizens:</p> <p>Citizens must be loyal to the PRC and most importantly, the CPC (Table 4 – 6).</p>	<p>The cultivation aim of patriotic citizens in China’s citizenship education is in conflict with Freire’s concept of humanization.</p> <p>Reasons:</p> <p>One aim of China’s citizenship education is to train students into a certain group of people who obey the CPC’ ruling and help to maintain the existing dominance of CPC. Students are not encouraged to problematize the CPC’s ruling, which might threaten the CPC’s ruling. Students need to adapt to the reality, culture, and history that were created by the CPC government. They are not encouraged to produce their own history and culture that might be different or even opposite from the CPC’s culture and history.</p> <p>Thus, aiming to teach students to be patriotic citizens, it is hard for China’s citizenship education to teach students to become fully human beings.</p>
Critical Consciousness:		The patriotic citizens China’s citizenship aims

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China's Citizenship Education	Comparison
Before people transform the realities, they need to recognize how their realities come into being. Critical consciousness is "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970a, p. 17; also cited in del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p.127).		<p>to cultivate are uncritical patriotic citizens.</p> <p>Reasons: In China's citizenship education, students are trained to have unquestioning loyalty to the government and the nation and uncritically accept the legitimacy of the state. As a result, they are not encouraged to critically reflect on the contradictions of the establish policies and practices, to problematize the contradictions of the government's leadership and governance.</p> <p>Students are also not encouraged to perceive the social, political, and economic contradictions and express opposite voices from being loyal to the CPC as it might threaten the CPC's ruling status.</p> <p>Thus, it is hard for students to develop their critical consciousness through China's citizenship education.</p>

Appendix E – Compare Freire’s Concepts of “Humanization” and “Critical Consciousness” with the CPC’s Idea of “Moral and Responsible Citizens”

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China’s Citizenship Education	Comparison
<p>Humanization:</p> <p>Human’s ontological vocation is becoming more fully human being (Freire, 1994, 2000).</p> <p>Fully human beings reflect on the reality and take actions to transform reality instead of operating out of habits and reflex and just adapting to the world (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012);</p> <p>They produce history and culture (Freire, 2000; Au, 2007; Glass, 2001; Galloway, 2012; Roberts, 2009); They are subjects of history and culture instead of objects (Freire, 1982a);</p> <p>Their lives and themselves are not a necessity and can be changed (Freire, 2000; Glass, 1996, 2001; Galloway, 2012).</p>	<p>Moral and Responsible Citizens:</p> <p>Citizens’ obligations and responsibilities to the state have been heavily stressed while their rights are much less encouraged or educated. Citizens’ moral qualities have been greatly emphasized but they have not received enough education on their political rights and political participation skills (Table 7 – 8).</p>	<p>China’s citizenship’s cultivation aim of moral and responsible citizens is in conflict with Freire’s concept of humanization.</p> <p>Reasons:</p> <p>China’s citizenship education heavily emphasizes individuals’ obligations and responsibilities to the whole and relatively neglects individuals’ rights and interests.</p> <p>Students are more encouraged to unconditionally obey the overall needs and adapt to the collective needs and interests. They are not encouraged to fight for their rights or choose their own life because that might conflicts the needs and interests of the whole. Being used to adapt to the reality and obeying the collective needs, these moral and responsible citizens might not have the awareness to take the initiative to critically reflect the reality and transform it.</p> <p>On the other hand, because students do not</p>

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China's Citizenship Education	Comparison
		receive enough education about their political rights and civic engagement skills, they might not be equipped with the strategies to reflect on and transform the reality.
<p>Critical Consciousness:</p> <p>Before people transform the realities, they need to recognize how their realities come into being. Critical consciousness is "learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions, and to take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire, 1970a, p. 17; also cited in del Carmen Salazar, 2013, p.127).</p>		<p>The moral and responsible citizens cultivated through China's citizenship education are unlikely to have critical consciousness talked by Freire.</p> <p>Reasons:</p> <p>Overemphasis on obligations and the interests of the whole means that the individual's awareness of rights is downplayed, leaving students to ignore their individual rights, let alone the actions to implement their rights. The overemphasis on moralities again weakened the citizen's awareness of rights because the moralities promoted by the CPC are consistent with the requirement for the citizens to serve the society, sacrifice for the society, and fulfill their obligations before enjoy their rights.</p>

Key Concepts of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China's Citizenship Education	Comparison
		<p>Citizens who are obedient to the collective needs and interests and with low level of awareness of their rights, especially their political rights are unlikely be interested in and capable of questioning the social, political, and economic contradictions, problem of interests, the unequal power structures and participating in public affairs and take action against the oppressive elements of reality.</p>

Appendix F – Compare Freire’s Concepts of “Dialogue” with the CPC’s Idea of “Reformed Teaching Methods”

Key Concept of Paulo Freire’s Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China’s Citizenship Education	Comparison
<p>Dialogue:</p> <p>Dialogue will generate critical consciousness which is also the requirement of dialogue (del Carmen Salazar, 2013; Freire, 2000). It is not simply a method of teaching (Shor & Freire, 1987). Instead, it is “a cultural action inside or outside the classroom where the status quo is challenged, where the myths of the official curriculum and mass culture are illuminated” (Shor & Freire, 1987, p. 97). Dialogue is grounded in people’s lived experiences, unveils reality, and reflects social and political conditions that reproduce inequity and oppression (del Carmen Salazar, 2013; Souto-Manning, 2006).</p> <p>Besides critical consciousness, dialogue also produces a horizontal relationship of teachers and students with mutual trust (Freire, 2000; Roberts 2000). Both students and teachers are jointly responsible for dialogue</p>	<p>Reformed Teaching Methods:</p> <p>The government has been promoting the reform of the China’s citizenship education in higher education institutions with the focus on its teaching methods, especially by taking advantage of the Internet and the new media, to make the citizenship education more attractive to students (Table 9 – 10).</p>	<p>Although CPC has started to reform China’s citizenship education in higher education institutions, it is still opposite from Freire’s idea of dialogue.</p> <p>Reasons :</p> <p>Although China’s citizenship education adopted new educational technologies, the ultimate goal is still to transmit a certain ideology to students from an authority instead of encouraging students to express different ideas and critically reflect on what they have been taught and develop their critical consciousness. The teaching contents and the cultivation aims did not change. Things to instill have not changed. The techniques of instillation have been changed to make instillation itself more effective.</p> <p>Thus, China’s citizenship education still has not done enough work to teach students to focus on social inequalities and critiques. It still generates obedience</p>

Key Concept of Paulo Freire's Critical Pedagogy	Key Concept of China's Citizenship Education	Comparison
and co-construct knowledge (Freire, 2000, p.80; Shor & Freire, 1987). Both students and teachers become subjects, rather than objects (Freire, 2000) in the dialogue.		<p>instead of critical consciousness. Dialogue cannot be rigidly understood as a teaching method without noticing the political implications behind it. Thus, it is still not dialogue.</p> <p>Also, it is still a one-sided transmission of certain knowledge because students are not asked to co-construct or contribute to the knowledge. However, in dialogue, there is mutual communication and learning. Thus, the relationship between students and teachers in China's citizenship education is not horizontal and students are still objects in the education.</p>

Appendix G – The Main Government Documents and Policies Adopted to Explore the Key Concepts of China’s Citizenship Education

1. 1998 China’s Higher Education Act

http://www.npc.gov.cn/wxzl/wxzl/2000-12/05/content_4712.htm

2. 2015 Suggestions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Propaganda and Ideological Work in Colleges and Universities under the New Situation

http://www.gov.cn/xinwen/2015-01/19/content_2806397.htm

3. The Minister of Education Yuan Guiren further illustrated the 2015 Suggestions

<http://theory.people.com.cn/n/2015/0202/c49157-26490437.html>

4. Patriotic Education Implementation Outline

<http://cpc.people.com.cn/GB/64184/64186/66685/4494186.html>

5. Xi’s Speech in the 2016 National Conference on Ideological and Political Work of Colleges and Universities

<http://politics.people.com.cn/n1/2016/1209/c1001-28936072.html>

6. 2012 National College Students Ideological and Political Education Assessment System

http://www.moe.gov.cn/srcsite/A12/s7060/201202/t20120215_179002.html

7. 2017 Suggestions on Strengthening and Improving the Ideological and Political Education of Colleges and Universities under the New Situation

<http://cpc.people.com.cn/n1/2017/0227/c64387-29111190.html>