

**CONCEPTIONS OF PATRIOTISM AMONG CHINESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS  
IN U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION: A PHENOMENOGRAPHIC STUDY**

by

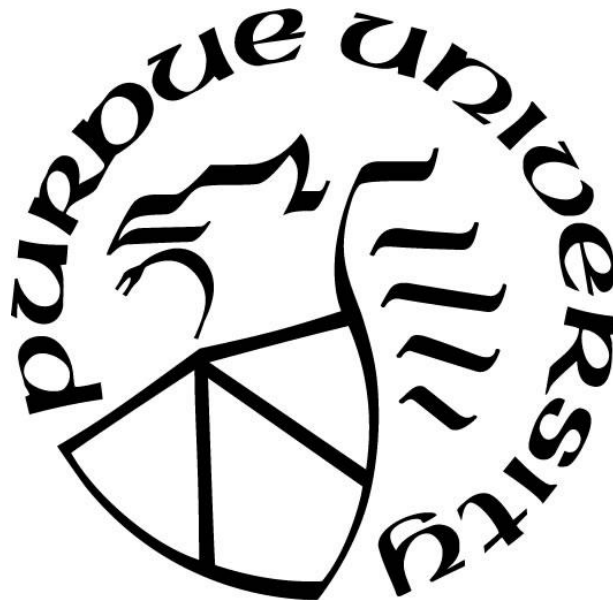
**Xiaoyue Qin**

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**THE PURDUE UNIVERSITY GRADUATE SCHOOL**  
**STATEMENT OF COMMITTEE APPROVAL**

**Dr. Anatoli Rapoport, Chair**

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

**Dr. Chrystal Johnson**

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

**Dr. Jake Burdick**

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

**Dr. JoAnn Phillion**

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

**Approved by:**

Dr. Janet M. Alsup

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## ABBREVIATION AND GLOSSARY

<b>CCP</b>	Chinese Communist Party
<b>PRC</b>	People's Republic of China
<b>U.S.</b>	United States
<b>UMD</b>	University of Maryland
<b>CSSA</b>	Chinese Students and Scholars Association
<b>Chinese International students</b>	Chinese students studying in a country other than China given the context of the host country
<b>Overseas Chinese students</b>	The whole group of Chinese students studying abroad given the context of China
<b>Overseas Chinese</b>	Chinese people living in a country other than China, including people who have immigrated to a foreign country from China and Chinese citizens living abroad

## **ABSTRACT**

Author: Qin, Xiaoyue. PhD

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Title: Conceptions of Patriotism Among Chinese International Students in U.S. Higher Education:  
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Chinese international students make up the largest group of international students in the United States, especially in the higher education sector. In the context of rising patriotism and nationalism in China and the U.S. accompanied by a deteriorating China-U.S. relationship and some recent incidents that showed Chinese international students' intense patriotic sentiments, this study explores the ways in which Chinese international students in U.S. higher education perceive patriotism. More specifically, the study aims to answer two research questions: 1. How do Chinese international students in the U.S. conceptualize patriotism? 2. What are the factors that impact Chinese international students' construction of patriotism?

The study adopted phenomenography as the research methodology and recruited 15 participants with varied backgrounds from a Midwestern University. In-depth interviews were conducted and analyzed to generate the different categories that described ways of perceiving patriotism. The findings demonstrated five categories of patriotism: irrational patriotism, extreme patriotism, identity patriotism, constructive patriotism, and cosmopolitan patriotism. The five categories had complex relationships with identity patriotism at the core. The study also revealed that Chinese international students' construction of patriotism was impacted by formal education, extracurricular activities, media propaganda, family's influence, Chinese culture, and their own life experiences. This study revealed the dynamic and multifaceted political stances of Chinese

international students and offered more explanations for their patriotic behaviors instead of portraying them as the brainwashed generation. Practical implications and recommendations for future research were offered based on the findings of this study.

## **CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION**

### **Context**

China made sending students to the United States (U.S.) a priority since 1978, and 26,000 officially sponsored and 7,000 self-paying Chinese students from the People's Republic of China (PRC) were sent abroad through 1983, most of whom arrived in the U.S. (Lampton, Madancy, & Williams, 1986). Since then, the population of Chinese international students has kept growing for decades, and among all the foreign countries that Chinese students settle in, the United States is the top destination (Ministry of Education, 2017). Today, Chinese students make up the largest group of international students in the U.S.: During the 2017-2018 school year, there were 363,341 Chinese students in the U.S., most of whom were enrolled in undergraduate (40.9%) or graduate (36%) degree programs (Institute of International Education, 2018 a, 2018b). The large population of overseas Chinese students has caught the attention of the Chinese government and they have become the target of the government's recent patriotic education campaign (Ministry of Education, 2016). It was reported that Beijing has been trying to inject official ideology into Chinese students studying abroad via the collaboration between the Chinese Embassy and the Chinese Students and Scholars Associations (CSSAs) in U.S. universities (Allen-Ebrahimian, 2018). Meanwhile, with the escalation of China-U.S. relations (e.g., the trade war), as a report revealed (Redden, 2018), President Donald Trump even directly called most Chinese students spies, endangering the whole Chinese student group studying abroad by painting them as a national security threat to the U.S.

While the “spy” claim has gone too far and endangers all Chinese international students, researchers found that Chinese students tended to view China more positively when living

abroad (Guo, Zhu, & Wan, 2014; Hail, 2015; Liu, 2005; Nyíri, 2001). In the past decade, for instance, there were several protests against the Dalai Lama's visits to the U.S. from 2008 to 2017, and Chinese international students in these protests firmly defended the official position of the Chinese government and insisted that the Dalai Lama is a separatist threatening the territorial integrity of China (Dewan, 2008; Martini, 2016; Newman, 2014). During the 2008 Beijing Olympics torch relay, overseas Chinese students in Western countries were praised as patriots for protecting the torch from hecklers and confronting Western media coverage of the Tibet riot at that time (Nyíri, Zhang, & Varrall, 2010). More recently, Chinese international student Yang Shuping's speech criticizing air pollution in China at the University of Maryland's (UMD) graduation commencement caused anger and was condemned by Chinese students studying abroad (Horwitz, 2017). Such incidents have shown the intense patriotic sentiments of some Chinese international students.

The unique educational, political, and social environment that young people in China experience before coming to the U.S. might explain the patriotic sentiments among Chinese international students. Researchers who noticed the revival of patriotism in overseas Chinese communities have offered some reasons for it, including the historical narratives of victimization and grievances in China's patriotic education, the official policies and discourse calling overseas Chinese who could contribute to China "patriots," organizations created by the Chinese state agencies that support overseas Chinese, and the economic prosperity and rising power of China (Liu, 2005; Nyíri, 2001; Nyíri, Zhang, & Varrall, 2010). Among these factors, patriotic education is one that has been studied by many researchers, but the conclusions about the impacts of patriotic education vary (see, e.g., Fairbrother, 2003; Du, n.d.; Woods & Dickson, 2017; Wu,

2012). Yet, one thing that different researchers agree on is that patriotism is one of the most important themes and characteristics emphasized throughout China's educational system.

Manifestation and promotion of patriotism is not only observed in China or overseas Chinese communities, but also in the U.S. with the 2016 election of Donald Trump. Before the election, Trump had already expressed his ambition of promoting American patriotism in schools, and he recently said at the United Nations General Assembly that patriotism should be unleashed everywhere for world peace (Campoy, 2018; Roberts & Carroll, 2016). Trump's calling for patriotism as well as nationalism had been adopted and used by white supremacists as a rhetorical ploy that justifies hate crimes against minorities and immigrants (Giroux, 2017; Sanchez, 2018). Patriotism was also claimed to have urged many Chinese and American people to protect each country's own industry by buying local products, representing a way of participating in the trade war (Crooks, 2018; Howell, 2018). The rising patriotism, nationalism, racism, and deteriorating China-U.S. relationship may pose new challenges for Chinese international students in the U.S. when it comes to their studying and living experiences abroad. Previous studies (e.g., Hail, 2015; Yao, 2018) suggested that Chinese international students had to deal with discrimination associated with racism and stereotypes, which in turn to some extent evoked their patriotic sentiments.

At the center of all mentioned above is the concept of patriotism, which generally means the emotional and behavioral love of and attachment to one's home country (Bar-Tal, 1993; Haynes, 2010; Nathanson, 1989). Considering the context of rising patriotism and nationalism in the U.S. and China, accompanied by the deteriorating China-U.S. relationship, the large population of Chinese international students on U.S. campuses, and some students' strong support for China,

Chinese international students' political stances (i.e., their perceptions of patriotism) are worth studying.

### **Mixed Experiences of Chinese International Students**

Many researchers have paid attention to Chinese international students' experiences abroad, and some common findings include language deficiency, lack of knowledge of American cultures, stress and anxiety, and having troubles with collaboration with peers and the prejudice or ignorance of professors (Ching, Renes, McMurrow, Simpson, & Strange, 2017; Hsieh, 2007; Liu & Vogel, 2016; Valdez, 2015; Wan, 1999; Zhang-Wu, 2018). These barriers forced Chinese international students to seek protection and support from their own organizations such as the aforementioned CSSA, and to some extent have segregated Chinese students on U.S. campuses (Chen & Ross, 2015).

Meanwhile, scholars have noticed some positive interactions between Chinese international students and their peers from different countries (Chen & Ross, 2015; Spencer-Oatey & Xiong, 2006; Wan, 1999; Will, 2016), and research has shown that Chinese international students could learn through taking part in academic discussions about China with critical thinking and observing the social and political life in the host country (Hail, 2015; Luo, 2016). Sometimes, however, Chinese international students might feel offended during their interactions with peers from other countries when asked "curiosity questions" believed to depict stereotypes of China and Chinese people; as a result, some Chinese students tend to be reluctant to talk and remain silent during such discussions (Hail, 2015; Will, 2016). It would be interesting and important to explore more about Chinese international students' mixed experiences on American campuses to provide a more inclusive environment.



## **Statement of Purpose and Research Questions**

Resistance to criticism of China and defense of the political positions of the PRC while at the same time learning new perspectives makes Chinese international students' experiences multifaceted and dynamic. Although experiences of Chinese international students, especially challenges, have been addressed in previous studies, attention was mainly paid to academic anxiety, learning difficulties, classroom transition, etc., resulting from cultural distance and cultural shock when they arrive (Ching et al., 2017; Yan & Berliner, 2013; Zhang-Wu, 2018); the rich experiences regarding political stances and attitudes of Chinese international students were barely explored empirically and deeply. Moreover, Chinese international students are educated and grow up in a quite unique educational, cultural, and social environment before coming to the U.S.; therefore, more about how their past experiences in their home country (e.g., patriotic education) and experience abroad (e.g., observing Western society) intertwine with each other needs to be investigated instead of simply focusing on the challenges they encounter in the host country. Given that patriotism has become a rather important theme today and the patriotic sentiments of Chinese international students has been shown in recent events (e.g., protests against the Dalai Lama and the UMD graduation commencement incident), patriotism was chosen as the core concept to be explored in this study. Since nearly 77% of Chinese international students in the U.S. are college students, and those active in patriotic demonstrations were also mainly college students (Institute of International Education, 2018 a, 2018b; Wang, 2008), the focus of this study is Chinese international students in U.S. higher education.

Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which Chinese international college students in the U.S. perceive patriotism. More specifically, the study aims to answer two research questions:

1. How do Chinese international college students in the U.S. conceptualize patriotism?
2. What are the factors that impact Chinese international college students' construction of patriotism?

### **Rationale for Study**

The study will provide both theoretical and practical implications. First, this study will conduct an in-depth exploration of Chinese international students' perceptions of patriotism and provide a base for further discussions on definition and construction of patriotism. Some previous research applies studies and theories of immigrant Chinese students or Asian students in general to Chinese international students, which can be problematic considering the differences among these groups (Ching et al., 2017; Zhang-Wu, 2018). A theory for understanding Chinese international students is necessary, and this study will hopefully fill this gap in the literature.

Second, Chinese international students in the U.S. sometimes feel offended or avoid expressing their own opinions when discussing politically sensitive topics regarding China because they feel that Americans hold exaggerated and negative preconceptions of China and stereotypes of Chinese students as brainwashed, exclusive, and not assimilated (Dewan, 2008; Hail, 2015; Ruble & Zhang, 2013; Wan, 1999; Will, 2016). Given the large population of Chinese international students in the U.S., getting to know Chinese international students' construction of values and dispositions, including the sense of patriotism or their own attitudes to homeland, might help people, especially instructors in higher education and peers who would interact with them in host countries, to better understand their experiences, advocate for a more

inclusive environment, and facilitate more meaningful cultural exchanges. Getting to know Chinese international students' construction of patriotism will also provide insights for educators to find better approaches to engage these students in various activities.

### **Outline of the Dissertation**

This paper includes six chapters. Chapter 1 introduces the background, purpose, and rationale for this study. Chapter 2 reviews literature about patriotism and patriotic education. It starts with a discussion of the categories of patriotism that researchers have identified and opinions about whether or not patriotism should be taught in school, presents a historical review of the development of patriotic education in modern China from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century to today, and ends with a discussion of research about Chinese international students and their patriotic sentiments. Chapter 3 outlines the research methods in terms of the methodology of phenomenography, data collection procedures, data analysis methods, and trustworthiness issues of this study. I also clarify my preconceptions at the end of Chapter 3. Chapter 4 presents the findings of this study, the categories of patriotism identified from data analysis, and features of each category. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the factors affecting participants' perceptions of patriotism, and the final outcome space, which shows the relationships among the categories of patriotism identified in Chapter 4. Chapter 6 provides answers to the research questions, implications and limitations of this study, and recommendations for future research.

## **CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

### **Discussions on Patriotism**

Nathanson (1989) noticed that people are usually caught in a dilemma when it comes to choosing to be a patriot or not: if so, the national loyalty—patriotism—may imply hostility to people of other countries; if not, they will be seen as traitors or unpatriotic, which makes them unqualified citizens (p. 535). When it comes to Chinese citizens who sojourn in other countries, the dilemma also exists. In the 1980s, overseas Chinese students were still criticized as “unpatriotic” traitors, but in recent decades, the discourse on Chinese migrants turned to praising expatriating as a patriotic behavior to encourage overseas Chinese people to contribute more to their homeland (Nyíri, 2001). However, radical patriotic behaviors of overseas Chinese, discussed earlier in the context part of this study, have caused controversy as well. While people tend to hold different attitudes toward patriotism, the definition of patriotism also varies. Thus, it is necessary to take a look at how patriotism is discussed by scholars, and in this section, several topics will be elaborated, including: What is patriotism? What are the different types of patriotism and what are the corresponding consequences? Should patriotism be taught in school?

### **Definition of Patriotism**

According to the online Merriam-Webster dictionary, patriotism means “love for or devotion to one’s country.” Such love and devotion requires one’s loyalty to a country and asks patriots to defend and sacrifice for the country’s interests and well-being (Bar-Tal, 1993; Nathanson, 1989, 1993). More specifically, Nathanson (1993) suggested that anyone who possesses the following four essential features is considered a patriot:

1. Special affection for one’s own country

2. A sense of personal identification with the country
3. Special concern for the well-being of the country
4. Willingness to sacrifice to promote the country's good (pp. 34-35)

From a social psychological perspective, the security and prestige that nations could provide to serve the needs of their citizens are the basis of group loyalty (Druckman, 1994), and patriotism, which emphasizes the strong desire to be part of a group and one's concerns for the group, "refers to attachment of group members toward their group and the country in which they reside" (Bar-Tal, 1993, p. 48). In addition to emotions, beliefs, and feelings, patriotism also implies specific behaviors involving personal sacrifice that contribute to the group and the country (Bar-Tal, 1993). It should be noted that patriotism should not be confused with nationalism, which also suggests certain loyalty and devotion to one's own group. According to Druckman (1994), patriotism leads to "strong attachments and loyalty to one's own group without the corresponding hostility toward other groups," while nationalism motivates "an orientation involving liking for one's own group and disliking of certain other groups" (p. 63). In other words, patriotism refers to emotional and behavioral attachment to one's country.

While this general definition of patriotism is correct, it is too thin, for there are several different types of patriotism. Primoratz (2017) classified patriotism into five types based on different moral standings: extreme patriotism, robust patriotism, moderate patriotism, deflated patriotism, and ethical patriotism. Some other types of patriotism include constitutional patriotism, republican patriotism, and cosmopolitan patriotism (Kodelja, 2011; Primoratz, 2017). Sometimes, patriotism is simply divided into two distinct types based on the behaviors of patriotism: blind patriotism and constructive/critical patriotism (Schatz, 1994; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999). While the classifications of patriotism may vary, there are several definitions and

understandings of patriotism that stand out. In this study, robust patriotism, moderate patriotism, republican patriotism, constitutional patriotism, and cosmopolitan patriotism will be introduced. Blind and constructive patriotism will also be briefly discussed.

### ***Robust Patriotism***

Primoratz (2017) called MacIntyre's interpretation of patriotism "robust patriotism" because MacIntyre sees patriotism itself as a central moral virtue and the bedrock of virtue. At the center of MacIntyre's discussion on patriotism is that morality should be within a certain community. As MacIntyre (1984) claims, since morality tries to resolve conflicts within a specific community, one is only maintained as a moral agent through the moral sustenance provided by the community; loyalty to the specific community—the country—is the prerequisite for morality, and thus patriotism should be a central virtue:

If first of all it is the case that I can only apprehend the rules of morality in the version in which they are incarnated in some specific community; and if secondly it is the case that the justification of morality must be in terms of particular goods enjoyed within the life of particular communities; and if thirdly it is the case that I am characteristically brought into being and maintained as a moral agent only through the particular kinds of moral sustenance afforded by my community, then it is clear that deprived of this community, I am unlikely to flourish as a moral agent. (p. 10)

According to MacIntyre (1984), as a moral agent only as a member of a certain community, the shared story of different members in this community has provided a bond that ties everybody through building relationships and sharing "a common stake in the outcome of that story" (p. 16) and such a bond supports patriotism. To MacIntyre (1984), patriotism is the link between a patriot's past that identifies him or her and the future of the nation that ought to be brought into being by the patriot; it should never be allegiance to the government or particular leaders, as this kind of allegiance is conditional.

Liberal moralists would oppose MacIntyre's argument about morality. Liberal moralists view morality as universal, neutral, and independent of all social particularity, and such morality imposes constraints upon competing interests of individuals and requires allegiance to moral rules. Hence, patriotism should be treated as a vice since it places people's ties to the nation beyond rational criticism (MacIntyre, 1984). However, if this is the case, then defenders of patriotism could say that "liberal morality is a permanent source of moral danger because of the way it renders our social and moral ties too open to dissolution by rational criticism" (p. 18). Meanwhile, MacIntyre (1984) also warned that liberal morality tends to force people to place allegiance to impartial and impersonal rationality above their own interests, and lack of motivation in doing so would destroy the reciprocity the whole society is built on.

Some other scholars also defend patriotism from a moral perspective. Callan (2006) argued that as long as the love of country, which is patriotism, is not idolatrous but morally innocent, then it is legitimate because this kind of patriotism "does not mean that anyone has an obligation to be patriotic or that patriotism counts as a virtue" (p. 525), and the truth that countries are collectively built on self-rule is the reason why people love them. Furthermore, it should be noted that in a well-ordered society, it is hard to distinguish a morally apt patriotism from institutional loyalty (Callan, 2006). Whether from a historical or moral perspective, a lot of intellectuals claim that self is defined by membership in a cultural or identity group, and such affiliation—patriotism—provides meaning for people's lives (Kateb, 2000). From these perspectives, patriotism acts as a morality that grows out of good intentions of sustaining a self-ruling society by providing common identities and resolving conflicts.

However, Kateb (2000) did not agree with MacIntyre's position about patriotism that prioritizes certain virtues over other values such as peace and justice. Kateb (2000) stated that

those intellectuals defending patriotism tend to hold a “see-through-it-all radicalism with an accept-it-all permissiveness” (p. 903) and thus always accept whatever consequences patriotism may lead to. But patriotism, or robust patriotism, always leads to consequences like narcissism and hostility toward other groups. According to Druckman (1994), the socialization process of patriotism, during which people become more attached to those in the same group and more detached from others, makes people favor their own group and form stereotyped images of other groups when there is little desire to seek more information about other groups. Thus, patriotism is essentially a jealous and exclusive loyalty built upon self-idealization and group narcissism (Kateb, 2000). Even though Orwell (1970) stated that patriotism does not contain desire for power, patriotism, if it implies loyalty to a particular country, would definitely lead to collective behaviors through (1) constraining people’s role as representatives of the country who have responsibility to defend the group, (2) asking people to support particular policies which might be overly aggressive because of the stereotyped and biased images toward others, (3) reinforcing cohesion of the group and isolation from the world, and (4) influencing decision-making processes (Druckman, 1994). As a result, patriotism causes wars and other aggressive behaviors while the mistake of patriotism is inevitable and defending patriotism from a moral perspective is favoring certain qualities of patriotism over great outcomes such as peace and justice (Kateb, 2000). Patriotism is actually “a readiness, whether reluctant or matter-of-fact, social or zealous, to die and to kill for one’s country” (Kateb, 2000, p. 906), which is an abstraction that comes out of imagination.

### ***Moderate Patriotism***

Like MacIntyre, Nathanson (1993) also agreed that it is normal for people to be only attentive to the needs of and be responsible for people that we have connections with (e.g.,



parents, children, friends, spouses, etc.), and such webs of relationship do not include all human beings. Since specific ties and duties are morally legitimate, then patriotism, which is the tie between citizens and their countries, should be morally legitimate as well (Nathanson, 1993, p. 27). Here, Nathanson proposed a type of patriotism called moderate patriotism, which does not generate the evils inherent in patriotism stated by anti-patriotism universal moralists like Tolstoy (Nathanson, 1993, p. 28). According to Nathanson (1993), moderate patriotism has the following features:

1. Special affection for one's country
2. A desire that one's country prosper and flourish
3. Special but not exclusive concern for one's own country
4. Support of morally constrained pursuit of national goals
5. Conditional support of one's country's policies (p. 34)

Nathanson (1993) did not deny that chauvinism, jingoism and xenophobia are forms of patriotism, but these forms of patriotism are too extreme, while moderate patriots are attached to their country without "believing it is the best, without wanting it to dominate over others, and without feeling hostile toward others" (p. 28). Moderate patriotism recognizes human equality and the universality of basic rights, and opposes superiority (p. 38). In short, moderate patriotism is a form of patriotism that has both concern for one's own country and respect for others.

Although Nathanson and MacIntyre shared some similarities in discussions on morality, they held different views towards what makes people patriotic. According to Nathanson (1993), morality imposes both constraints on what people may and may not do to others and duties to pursue well-being and interests of certain people or a group; meanwhile, the duties are limited by the constraints imposed by morality (p. 46). Moderate patriots only take pride when their country lives up to moral standards instead of violating moral ideals, and they can refuse to support or criticize the actions or policies of the government when the nation behave immorally

(Nathanson, 1993, pp. 46-48). However, MacIntyre (1984) claimed that it is people's personal connections to their own country and history that underlies patriotism instead of moral ideals. While MacIntyre (1984) maintained that patriotism is an essential virtue or morality, moderate patriotism distinguishes between patriotism and morality and moderate patriotism is subject to constraints of morality (Nathanson, 1989). Both MacIntyre and Nathanson admitted the legitimacy of patriotism, but their opinions about the relationship between patriotism and morality varied.

Unlike robust patriotism, moderate patriotism acknowledges universal morality principles. Taking conflicts arising from scarcity of essential resources as an example, MacIntyre (1984) argued that morality only requires loyalty to people's own community, so patriots should pursue the resources even if they have to destroy and kill members of the other communities or countries. MacIntyre (1984) believed that it is unrealistic to ask people to put universal morality over their own interests. However, Nathanson (1989) did not agree and suggested that moderate patriots would try to find another way to evaluate and accommodate the needs of both communities in conflict and apply "universal moral principles to the actions of their own country as well as to others" (p. 545). Moderate patriotism meets the requirements of both national loyalty and universal morality.

### ***Republican Patriotism***

After reviewing the evolution of the language of patriotism and republican tradition in ancient, medieval, Enlightenment, and modern times, Viroli (1995) concluded that patriotism is actually the love of the republic, which is used to "strengthen or invoke love of the political institutions and the way of life that sustain the common liberty of a people" (p. 1), and he believed that real patriotism with a commitment to the ideal of the republic, which is called

republican patriotism, is “the foundation of a healthy, dynamic, open, liberal society” (p. 169). Nationalism, which was forged in late 18<sup>th</sup>-century Europe and is often used as a synonym for patriotism, according to Viroli (1995), should definitely be distinguished from patriotism. Unlike patriotism, what nationalism seeks is “the cultural, linguistic, and ethnic oneness and homogeneity of a people” (p. 1). The distinction between patriotism and nationalism is a fundamental argument in Viroli’s concept of republican patriotism.

Viroli (1995) emphasized that republican patriotism is a type of patriotism without nationalism. According to Viroli (1995), a common explanation for why people should be committed to the common liberty and have a moral obligation toward the country is that we must return things received from the country (e.g., life, education, language, liberty) by serving the common good (p. 9). However, he also admitted that to commit to the common liberty of compatriots, one must first “appeal to feelings of compassion and solidarity that are... rooted in bonds of language, culture and history,” or people may go to another country to look for liberty instead of staying and fighting for it (p. 10). This argument is similar to MacIntyre’s and Nathanson’s discussions on how people’s connections to a particular group and history shapes patriotism.

Nonetheless, Viroli (1995) found a dilemma that remains to be solved. If the devotion to the public good must be accompanied by a love of common ethnic and linguistic characteristics or history, then this kind of patriotism would also encourage “contempt and intolerance for cultural, racial, and political diversity both at home and abroad,” and such exclusive love, which is usually a component of nationalism, is dangerous (Viroli, 1995, pp. 10-12). Viroli (1995) solved this dilemma through proposing that patriotism should be the love of the common liberty of a particular people and the institutions that sustain the common liberty; to put it another way,

patriotism is “the attachment to a particular republic with its particular way of living in freedom” (p. 13). On one hand, love of a particular people is possible; on the other hand, love of liberty is inclusive. Here, liberty and freedom mean that all the citizens in a country can live without being oppressed and have full access to political, civil, and social rights and be able to participate in public life (pp. 13, 183). To Viroli (1995), political love of republic and liberty love should replace cultural or ethnic homogeneity:

...patriotism of liberty does not need social, or cultural, or religious, or ethnic homogeneity. If the fatherland is less than a republic in the classical sense, citizens cannot be virtuous: they cannot love a state that treats them unjustly... Modern citizens too can love their republic, if the republic loves them, if it protects their liberty, encourages political participation, and helps them to cope with the inevitable hardships of the human condition. Though less ardent, the political love of modern citizens might be sufficient to sustain the republic and common liberty. (p. 184)

In summary, republican patriotism abandons values of oneness and homogeneity (i.e., nationalism), but emphasizes a particular group’s liberty, freedom, equality, and especially civic participation.

The way Viroli (1995) solved the dilemma through encouraging love of the common liberty of a particular group seems feasible, but Bader (1999) thought that this solution is not very satisfying. For instance, while republican patriotism stresses love of liberty, the object of patriotism is still a country or nation that “cannot be derived from political principles of liberty or democracy” (p. 384), not to mention that such principles are getting popularized globally. Miller (1996) also argued that if it is not the shared history and culture, there is no way to differentiate one republic or one way of living in freedom from another. Furthermore, “in modern states where most compatriots are anonymous strangers” (Bader, 1999, p. 386), it does not make sense to love the so-called particular people whom we hardly know, although Viroli (1995) claimed that patriotism “works on the already existing ethnic and cultural bonds” (p. 14). Most

importantly, as Bader (1999) stated, there are conflicting tendencies of the “republican” argument understood at a state or national level and the “liberal” argument that stresses a more universal and global obligation; the conflicts cannot be really reconciled by the “love of the common liberty of one’s people” formula.

### ***Constitutional Patriotism***

Constitutional patriotism originated in West Germany, which was having difficulty shaping nationality on account of its Nazi past (Müller, 2006). In the context of the Holocaust and the Nazis as well as the failure of the Weimar Republic, post-war German thinkers became concerned with “the interplay of political identity and political stability—and the institutional fortification of such a link” (Müller, 2006, p. 281). Karl Jaspers (1946) advocated a notion of “collective responsibility” to deal with German guilt as a whole and promote social cohesion through free public communication and solidarity of charitable struggle, but his approach was too apolitical (as cited in Müller, 2006). Some thinkers began to reexamine the constitution of the Weimar Republic and found that its clauses “had eventually been abused by the enemies of democracy” (Müller, 2006, p. 281), wondering who would be able to guard the constitution against the enemies of democracy.

In 1958, the Constitutional Court emerged, and against this background, Dolf Sternberger (1979) introduced the concept of constitutional patriotism, linking it to “militant democracy” that demands citizens’ loyalty to political and legal institutions so as to ensure political stability and social cohesion (as cited in Müller, 2006). Like Sternberger, Jürgen Habermas also viewed constitutional patriotism, a conscious affirmation of political principles, as the way to create German collective identity, but Habermas claimed that the unchanging object of identification, including patria, no longer exists, so the unconditional identification is “replaced by open-ended

political and legal learning processes” (as cited in Müller, 2006, pp. 286-287). In accordance with Jaspers, memory of the past, which refers to the Holocaust and the Nazi past, became the basis of Habermas’s argument, and identity was constituted by the continuous self-interrogation of the past within liberal legality in an open public sphere (Czobor-Lupp, 2012; Müller, 2006). To promote “unconstrained discourse leading to mutual civic recognition” (Müller, 2006, p. 288), Habermas suggested replacing the traditional German idea of the state as an entity above society with the ideas of *Rechtsstaat* [the rule of law] and *Sozialstaat* [the welfare state] to offer equal rights and welfare for citizens. According to Habermas, this process of public contestation of the past among free and equal citizens will eventually lead to social cohesion and solidarity.

To sum up, constitutional patriotism means political attachment centering on “the norms, the values and, more recently, the procedures of a liberal democratic constitution” (Müller, 2009a, p. 2). According to Müller (2009), citizens usually attach themselves to a system of rules for law-making on behalf of their own interests, and on such a basis, ordinary laws and politics as well as “reasonable disagreements about particular interpretations of the constitution itself” (Müller, 2009a, p. 54) will be acceptable for both majority and minority groups, as laws are produced and justified by legal procedures defined in the constitution. The premise and core idea of such a mutual justification process is that citizens recognize each other as free and equal, which should be achieved by unconstrained communications of the past, as mentioned previously; and in this case, minorities would be able to disagree on and contest majority decisions or sometimes choose to maintain the constitutional regime that embodies the ideal of mutual justification at the expense of their own interests (Müller, 2009a, pp. 55-56). Thus, the object of constitutional patriotism is not the constitution itself, but the “fair and democratic procedures that can be presumed to produce legitimate law” as well as legitimate exercise of

power (Müller, 2009a, p. 58), and what it finally produces is what Habermas calls “an abstract, legally mediated solidarity between strangers” (as cited in Müller, 2009a, p. 63).

Constitutional patriotism also inspired the development of the European Union. In the 1990s, along with the process of European integration, some scholars, especially Habermas, turned to visions of a European constitutional patriotism, wishing it could help hold Europe together in increasingly multicultural societies (Czobor-Lupp, 2012; Müller, 2009a, p. 97). All in all, constitutional patriotism has offered a way to produce solidarity through continuous communications and mutual justifications of the procedures to produce the law that creates attachment to a liberal democratic institution among free and equal citizens.

There are some criticisms of constitutional patriotism. The most common criticism claims that constitutional patriotism is too universalist and lacks specificity, and the “bloodless” universal norms and values are not enough to motivate meaningful political action (Müller, 2009b). Meanwhile, as constitutional patriotism originated in post-war divided Germany, it is too particular and may not be applicable in other circumstances (Müller, 2009b). Furthermore, critics would argue that constitutional patriotism is just liberal nationalism under a different name, or that because some countries are without a written constitution (e.g., Britain and Israel), there is no object of constitutional patriotism in such countries, or that constitutional patriotism may lead to “political witch-hunts of those suspected of lacking ‘political loyalty’ or ‘civic reliability,’” such as McCarthyism in the United States (Müller, 2009a, p. 66; Müller, 2009b). While Müller (2009a) believed that such criticisms are due to misunderstandings of constitutional patriotism, he also admitted that constitutional patriotism has its limits and is not a civic panacea.

### ***Cosmopolitan Patriotism***

The last type of patriotism discussed here is cosmopolitan patriotism, which requires an introduction. Due to the marginalization of the worker and the degradation of education that not only provides job training but also civic education in neo-liberal capitalist societies, traditional liberal and social frameworks of citizenship are in crisis in terms of “low participation rates in elections, distrust of politicians, lack of social capital investment in society, the decline of public sphere and the decline of the universities” (Turner, 2002). Besides, changes associated with globalization such as global markets, dual citizenship, expansion of migrant labor, and the growth of multiculturalism have also resulted in the erosion of sovereignty (Turner, 2002). While the national forms of citizenship are in crisis, there is a growing interest in global citizenship, and cosmopolitanism is viewed by some scholars (e.g., Nussbaum, 2002a, 2002b) as an ideology to replace nationalism and patriotism (Turner, 2002). Nussbaum (2002a, 2002b) also proposed cosmopolitan education to teach students to be citizens of the world.

Making a commitment to human rights and humanity, cosmopolitan means allegiance to the community of humankind, and it opposes the attachment rooted in national affiliation (Nussbaum, 2002a, 2002b). According to Nussbaum (2002b), patriotism is akin to nationalism and jingoism and it only creates the “us-them” thinking that leads to hostility toward others; and to avoid such dangers, it is necessary to replace the faction and local allegiance by “allegiance to the world community of justice and reason” (p. 8). Thus, education should adopt the cosmopolitan stance and make world citizenship instead of national citizenship the focus of civic education based on four arguments: “1. Through cosmopolitan education, we learn more about ourselves”; “2. We make headway solving problems that require international cooperation”; “3. We recognize moral obligations to the rest of the world that are real and that otherwise would go



unrecognized”; “4. We make a consistent and coherent argument based on distinctions we are prepared to defend” (pp. 11-14). Nussbaum (2002a) believed that compassion, which builds a psychological link between ourselves and another person through extending “our strong emotions and our ability to imagine the situation of others to the world of human life as a whole,” can and should be taught in cosmopolitan education.

However, Turner (2002) indicated that Nussbaum’s argument about cosmopolitanism is problematic as there is no global government that has the authority to enforce the rights and obligations corresponding to the rights of the citizens of the world, which makes it hard to frame post-national identities. Besides, while Nussbaum (2002b) claimed that being born in a nation is just an accident and should not obstruct a person from connecting with fellow human beings, “parents, ancestors, family, race, religion, heritage, history, culture, tradition, community, and nationality” are not simply “accidental” attributes of an individual and where a person is born helps define characteristics of a whole human being with an identity (Himmelfarb, 2002, p. 77). In this sense, cosmopolitanism is just an illusion (Himmelfarb, 2002). What is more, a free and democratic society requires a strong identification on such values of the citizens and it needs patriotism (Taylor, 2002). McConnell (2002) believed that the young Americans’ ignorance about other cultures is not due to arrogance related to patriotism, but “a loss of confidence in any vision of the good, and a lack of passion for anything beyond material gratification” (p. 79); rather than teaching students an abstract notion of “citizens of the world,” students should be taught in cultural and moral communities to confront Western materialism and cynicism.

While cosmopolitanism was criticized for being rootless without a shared culture or history among citizens of the world, Appiah (1997) proposed the ideal of rooted cosmopolitanism, or cosmopolitan patriotism: A cosmopolitan patriot is someone not only attached to his or her

homeland, but also celebrating other people from other places. In modern states where there are usually a variety of cultures, as patriotic citizens we are no longer centered on a common culture, but are committed to common institutions that provide the overarching order of common life and political engagement; as cosmopolitans, we defend the rights of living in a democratic state, which allow us the freedom and individual autonomy, for ourselves and others (Appiah, 1997).

To Appiah (1997), cosmopolitanism and patriotism are compatible:

I have been arguing, in essence, that you can be cosmopolitan celebrating the variety of human cultures; rooted loyal to one local society (or a few) that you count as home; liberal convinced of the value of the individual; and patriotic celebrating the institutions of the state (or states) within which you live. The cosmopolitanism flows from the same sources that nourish the liberalism, for it is the variety of human forms of life that provides the vocabulary of the language of individual choice. And the patriotism flows from the liberalism because the state carves out the space within which we explore the possibilities of freedom. For rooted cosmopolitans, all this is of a single piece. (p. 633)

Cosmopolitans value cultural variety, but for rooted cosmopolitans, the more basic and fundamental values are human dignity and personal autonomy, and cultural diversity should not be maintained at the price of rights (Appiah, 1997). Within the framework of cosmopolitan patriotism, patriotic citizens from different countries are supposed to defend the democratic way of life and rights for all mankind.

### ***Blind Patriotism and Constructive Patriotism***

A relatively simple way of categorizing patriotism is to divide patriotism into two types: blind patriotism and constructive patriotism, based on the behaviors and degrees of patriotic sentiments. Staub described blind patriotism as “a rigid and inflexible attachment to country, characterized by unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism” (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999, p. 153), while constructive patriotism is characterized by a more flexible identification and critical loyalty accompanied by tolerance of criticism and a

desire for positive change (Schatz, 1994; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; Spry & Hornsey, 2007). Hence, whether a person is a “blind” or “constructive” patriot will have an impact on how this person identifies himself or herself and treats other groups. Using data collected from surveys answered by 291 college students in the U.S., Schatz, Staub, and Lavine (1999) confirmed the existence of the two forms of patriotism while both the two forms were positively correlated with national attachment to varying degrees. They also found that constructive patriotism was positively correlated with political involvement, which includes more political interest, greater political knowledge, and more frequent politically relevant behavior, whereas blind patriotism was associated with a preference for pro-U.S. information and behaviors as well as a conservative political ideology and a Republican political party identification (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999). In short, when it comes to domestic issues, people with blind patriotism tend to be more conservative and less active in political engagement, while the constructive patriots tend to be more open to criticism of the country and engage in politics more often.

Moreover, the two different forms of patriotism also have different impacts on people’s attitudes toward other groups. With 95 Australian participants involved, Spry and Hornsey (2007) researched the impacts of blind and constructive patriotism on attitudes toward multiculturalism and immigration, and the results of the research showed that “high levels of blind patriotism were associated with more negative attitudes toward multiculturalism and immigration, more negative attitudes toward the provision of cultural services for immigrants, and more positive attitudes toward assimilation” (p. 155), while no correlation was found between constructive patriotism and these variables. Further analysis of the mediating effects of the variable “threat” proved that the negative attitudes toward multiculturalism and immigration is due to a concern that Australian culture might be “contaminated” by foreign influences (Spry

& Hornsey, 2007). Another study in Finland based on the theory of blind and constructive patriotism found that blind patriots tend to perceive Finland through polarized symbols, which means that they tend to divide the world into two parts consisting of “us” and “them,” and “their” group—the outside world—is threatening, while the constructive patriots tend to perceive Finland as a unique entity instead of by confronting it with other countries (Finell & Zogmaister, 2015). Finell and Zogmaister’s (2015) study also found that people’s attitudes toward outer groups can change depending on how the country is presented; although blind patriotism might be fixed, and this means if the country is not presented as being threatened, then there is no need for negative attitudes toward other groups, which further confirmed and supplemented Spry and Hornsey’s (2007) findings with more evidence and details. The positive correlation between blind patriotism and anti-immigration attitudes with perceived threat as a mediation was also discovered in a study focusing on White and Latino groups in the U.S. (Willis-Esqueda, Delgado, & Pedroza, 2017). In sum, the blind patriots, who are more concerned with threats from other groups, are more likely to have negative attitudes toward outer groups and hold negative beliefs about immigration and multiculturalism.

### **Should We Teach Patriotism?**

While scholars have different opinions on the core values of patriotism, patriotism in general is promoted and taught in schools around the world, and whether or not to teach patriotism has been widely discussed by intellectuals (e.g., Haynes, 2010; Kahne & Middaugh, 2006; Kodelja, 2011; Nussbaum, 2011; Ravitch, 2006; Westheimer, 2009, 2014). Patriotism is not only promoted in history education, moral education, or civic education, it is also taught in music education through instruction of national cultures and strengthening national identity (Kallio & Partti, 2013). Ravitch (2006) suggested that if patriotism is taught narrowly as

jingoism and exclusiveness, then it is wrong; if patriotism is defined as attachment to principles of a democratic government, then patriotism should be taught in American public schools, but it should not be taught as a separate subject through indoctrination. A solid civic education, which enables students to “study the ideas and institutions of the Founders and learn how democratic institutions work, where they falter, and how they can be strengthened” (Ravitch, 2006, p. 581), should be available in public schools for children coming from a wide variety of national and ethnic origins so that they can have a better understanding of their duties and privileges as citizens in a democratic self-government as well as show appreciation for virtues of other countries.

Kodelja (2011) and Westheimer (2009, 2014) also suggested that the types of patriotism should be taken into consideration when it comes to whether or not to teach patriotism. Kodelja (2011) maintained that “whether education for patriotism is morally required, permitted, or unacceptable” depends on which kind of patriotism we are talking about. In the case of extreme patriotism, which requires pursuit of one’s own country’s interests sometimes at the sacrifice of other countries,’ education for patriotism is unacceptable and not morally required (Kodelja, 2011). Education for moderate patriotism, according to Kodelja (2011), should neither be required nor unacceptable. Westheimer (2009, 2014) proposed that there are two kinds of patriotism: one is authoritarian patriotism that requests “loyalty to a cause determined by a centralized leader or leading group” (Westheimer, 2014, p. 129), and the other is democratic patriotism that embodies care for the people and respects criticism and dissent. Westheimer (2009, 2014) thought that many students are learning authoritarian patriotism in the U.S. since 9/11, but what should be taught in social studies classrooms is democratic patriotism, and students should learn how to think critically about patriotism.

Nussbaum (2011), as mentioned earlier in this chapter, opposed teaching blind patriotism and suggested teaching cosmopolitanism instead. Nussbaum (2011) argued that teaching patriotism, calling the self to sacrifice for a common good, might convey misplaced and exclusionary values such as viewing the country as an elite achievement and enforcing homogeneity by eliminating minority conscience. While patriotism is often indeed a bad thing, as Nussbaum (2011) claimed, when introduced properly, the emotions and attachment to a certain group are necessary and essential in motivating people's struggle for liberty and justice. Thus, cautions should be taken in teaching patriotism, and some pedagogies include:

1. Begin with love...
2. Introduce critical thinking early, and keep teaching it...
3. Use positional imagination in a way that includes...
4. Show the reasons for past wars without demonizing...
5. Teach a love of historical truth, and of the nation it really is. (pp. 245-248)

Nussbaum (2011) believed that it is important to teach students about constitutional rights, protections for the rights of immigrants, and freedom of speech so as to get the good out of patriotic education. Drawing on the survey results from a study of U.S. high school seniors, Kahne and Middaugh (2006) found that a commitment to the country leads to active political participation; however, a significant number of students who allege to be patriots oppose criticism against the U.S. and want to stifle critique. As a result, Kahne and Middaugh (2006) suggested that when teaching patriotism in schools, it is important for educators to build a link between "love of the country" and democratic ideals that includes informed analysis, critique, civic engagement, and the danger of blind loyalty.

Some scholars are more concerned with the negative consequences that patriotism and patriotic education may lead to. Although it is alleged that teaching patriotism critically would promote equality and liberty and benefit the U.S. after the 9/11 incident, as discussed above, Jackson (2014) insisted that the efforts of pushing assimilation in patriotic education rather than

multiculturalism in classrooms have eventually led to exclusion of more people, especially the intolerance of minorities and differences. Bykov's (2012) research on patriotic consciousness confirmed that the majority of Russian youth in schools of Karelia, Russia, considered themselves patriots and foremost citizens of Russia but showed an inadequate tolerance of non-Russian ethnicities. In Japan, debate about "whether patriotic education is consistent with peace education" has been going on for a long time, but both sides that favor or do not favor patriotic education always link patriotism to obedience, authority, and nationalism (Ide, 2009), which is blind patriotism. Hand (2011) suggested teaching patriotism as a controversial issue in schools rather than promoting it because, although patriotism has some emotional benefits such as serving as motivation to civic duty, patriotism has a severe drawback that impedes civic judgment.

### **Patriotism and Patriotic Education in China<sup>1</sup>**

As globalization and the rise of a global economy and technology promote plurality and diversity that could weaken nation states' efforts to shape a national identity among citizens, nation states are responding in divergent and complex ways to the influences of globalization in terms of governments' strategies for conducting citizenship education (Law, 2006, 2013; Morris & Cogan, 2001; Selwyn & Brown, 2000). China is involved in the process of and affected by globalization, but regardless of arguments overestimating the power of globalization and the transnational process, the government of the People's Republic of China has advocated a multilevel, nation-oriented citizenship education strategy instead of a global one (Camicia &

<sup>1</sup> This part of the literature review was published as a book chapter in 2018: Qin, X. (2018). Coping with the Challenge of Globalization at Home and Abroad: China's Patriotic Education. In Rapoport, A. (Ed), *Competing Frameworks: Global and National in Citizenship Education*. Charlotte, North Carolina: Information Age Publishing.

Zhu, 2011; Law, 2006; Pan, 2011). Citizenship education in contemporary China incorporates moral education, ideological education, political education, and patriotic education, and all subjects are closely related to one another and serve the purpose of political socialization (Law, 2006; Li, Zhong, Lin, & Zhang, 2004; Zhao & Fairbrother, 2011). Meanwhile, throughout the classes of morality, ideology, and politics from elementary to high school in China, one of the most important themes focused upon in citizenship education is and has always been patriotism, as various official documents from different periods directly state (Camicia & Zhu, 2011; Law, 2006, 2013; Pan, 2011).

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, patriotism is promoted and indoctrinated in schools around the world, and whether or not schools should teach patriotism has been widely discussed by intellectuals (Bar-Tal, 1993; Haynes, 2010; Nathanson, 1989). In China, the various strategies of indoctrinating patriotism are all included in the so-called “patriotic education (*aiguo zhuyi jiaoyu*)” campaign and have been systematically implemented nationwide for decades when China was actively involved in globalization and influenced by the outside world. Nonetheless, the tradition of teaching patriotism in China has lasted for over a century since China’s first contact with Western countries. In a sense, China’s patriotic education is closely related to the challenges brought about by globalization. This section highlights the historical backgrounds, effects, and development of patriotic education in Mainland China and the new trend of promoting patriotism among overseas Chinese students.

### **Historical Review of Patriotic Education in 20<sup>th</sup> Century China**

Despite China’s long history, the concepts of *patriotism* and *patriotic education* are relatively new in China, and it was not until China was involved in the wars with Western countries in the early 1900s that the notion of “love for the state” started to emerge. Ancient



China was a kingdom built and ruled on the basis of Confucianist Civilization, and Imperial Chinese education was based on Confucianism to foster support for the emperor rather the nation state (Law, 2013; Xu, 2006, 2009). In ancient China, the modern concepts of sovereignty, territory, and citizenship were missing. In contrast, the dominant ideology was *the World (tianxia)*, which maintained that as long as the ruling class committed to the Confucian values of culture and politics, emphasizing the orthodoxy of Chinese culture and a systematic view of family-state-the-world, it would rule legitimately regardless of its ethnicity (Xu, 2006). However, the traditional ideology system and *the World* collapsed and were replaced by the concept of *nation state* as wars between Western countries and China broke out in the late Qing Dynasty (Xu, 2006, 2009). Patriotism, which aims at mobilizing the people to protect the country, began to emerge in Chinese schools as a response to the invasion. In contemporary China, strengthening patriotism in education became the opportunity for the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) to deal with the spiritual crisis caused by the collapse of Maoism and political and cultural challenges brought by economic reform in the context of globalization.

### ***From Empire to Republic: Foreign Invasion and Cultivation of Citizens***

The Qing Dynasty (1644-1912), China's last imperial dynasty, was succeeded by the Republic of China (1912-1949). The efforts to build a modern nation through citizenship education in China can be traced to the late Qing period (Law, 2013). Concepts such as patriotism (*aiguo zhuyi*), nationalism (*minzu zhuyi*), state (*guojia*), citizen (*gongmin*), and republic (*gonghe*) appeared in social and cultural textbooks when China was in a state of flux in the early 1900s (Zarrow, 2015). Knowledge of Chinese language, morality and civics, and history and geography instructed students in how to behave and made them aware of the social Darwinism of the international order so as to fight for the survival of China (Zarrow, 2015).

Some reformers in Late Qing even sought to use Confucian terms like *extended love* (*boai*) to build a relationship between children and the country, asking students to tie their love of family to love of the state and the nation and to protect China from foreign aggression because “the humiliation inflicted on the country is a matter of personal shame” (Zarrow, 2015, p. 52). After the Republic of China was founded, Chinese intellectuals began to “highlight China’s transformation into a republican polity” (Zarrow, 2015, p. 27) during the early Republican period (1912-1927) when the country was torn apart by regional warlords. When the Chinese Nationalist Party (also known as Kuomintang) came into power during the Nanjing Government Era (1928-1937), citizenship was expanded for moral and political cultivation among students, and patriotism, or the loyalty to and love of the country, was strengthened in childhood education to inspire students to resist imperialism through stressing national humiliation and reviving some traditional moral values like loyalty, filial piety, and harmony (Law, 2013; Zarrow, 2015). In general, from Late Qing to the Nanjing Government period, Chinese children in elementary and middle schools were indoctrinated with ideas associated with the state, and patriotism was taught to unify the students against foreign invasion as well as to support the new government.

### ***Mao’s Era: The Revolutionary Successors of Communism***

After World War II and the Chinese Civil War, the Communist Party defeated the Nationalist Party and took over China in 1949. After the CCP came into power in 1949, a new education system was established, and although it was not particularly different from the education system in place during the Republic period, it was totally controlled by the CCP, the only ruling party (Jones, 2005). According to Naftali (2016), the politicization of children and the effort to make them citizens of the socialist state had weakened the family ties, and the

establishments of nurseries and some boarding facilities in schools also made childcare a task of the state instead of families alone.

In the Mao Zedong era (1949-1976), Chinese children were not merely citizens of the state but revolutionary successors of the career of building a communist society who should be both “red (*hong*)” (i.e., committed to building a communist society) and “expert (*zhuan*)” (i.e., professionally competent) (Law, 2013; Ridley, Godwin, & Doolin, 1971, pp. 6-7). Patriotism, the highest of the “Five Loves” promoted in Communist China—(1) love of the motherland (i.e., patriotism), (2) love of the people, (3) love of labor, (4) love of science, (5) love (and protection) of public properties—was still an important theme in childhood education during Mao’s era, but what was more important in citizenship education (moral and political education at that time) was calling on students to sacrifice themselves for and get involved in class struggle to build a new Communist China, as well as making children loyal and obedient to the CCP’s leadership, especially that of Mao (Law, 2013; Li, Zhong, Lin, & Zhang, 2004; Ridley et al., 1971, p. 185). The analysis of a teachers’ guide in the early 1950s suggests that introducing the glorious long history and achievements of the Chinese people could invoke the spirit of national pride, and the revolutionary history of Chinese people fighting against feudalism and imperialism should be emphasized in various subjects of elementary classes (Ridley et al., 1971, pp. 40-45). In addition, some extracurricular activities, such as visiting exhibitions, watching movies, reading newspapers, holding meetings, and debates were specifically designed to infuse patriotic and revolutionary ideology (Ridley et al., 1971, pp. 47-48). Communist ideologies were also conveyed in textbooks. By the mid-1950s, communist morality focusing on a collective conscience was included in moral education (Ridley et al., 1971, p. 54). The readers for students also conveyed group-oriented themes, calling on students to sacrifice themselves for the new

China and make children “loyal to [the new China] and its leadership... [and become] compliant, group oriented, and satisfied with a life in rural China” (Ridley et al., 1971, p. 185). As the former governments tried to utilize children’s love of the family to stimulate love of the state, the CCP had tried to make children citizens of the state during the Mao era, and children sometimes even drew a line between their counter-revolutionary family members (Naftali, 2016). In the Mao era, shaping dutiful citizens and promoting patriotism was still important, but what was more important was that students should devote themselves to building a communist country and be a “revolutionary successor” of communism with a collective conscience. The emphasis on communism in education ended when Mao died in 1976.

### ***Contemporary China: Reform, Globalization, and Patriotic Education***

Mao Zedong’s death in 1976 marked the end of the collectivist era, and with the implementation of reform policies in 1978, China started to build a market economy. The new leader of the CCP, Deng Xiaoping, launched a campaign to criticize Maoism, which caused ideological crises such as losing faith in socialism, Marxism, and Maoism, distrusting the CCP, and feeling unsure about the future development of China (Wang, 2008; Wu & Yang, 2009; Zhao, 1998). A systematic citizenship education curriculum combined with subjects of ideology, morality, and politics was developed in the early 1980s to justify the rule of the CCP through continuous teaching of Maoism and Marxism-Leninism as well as teaching the advantages of economic reform (Price, 1992). Meanwhile, patriotic education was also introduced to gain massive support for the government. In July of 1983, the Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the CCP (CCPPD) issued a document titled *Strengthening Patriotic Propaganda and Education*, calling for making patriotic education an important mission of spiritual and civilization construction (Wu & Yang, 2009). The document was later transformed into a

regulation to be followed by K-12 schools and colleges and was distributed in August of 1983 by the Ministry of Education (MoE). The regulation required that schools:

1. ...inculcate patriotism in youngsters...
2. ...combine love for the country, the CCP and socialism... Make students know that every citizen should contribute to our motherland, fight for national pride and territorial integrity, and sacrifice their lives when necessary...
3. Patriotism should be taught in every subject...
4. Teach patriotism through various extracurricular activities...
5. Conduct patriotic education in schools of ethnic minority groups...
6. Every school should persist in patriotic education... (Ministry of Education, 1983)

The regulation pointed out the general goals and listed approaches of patriotic education, which included both in-class education and extracurricular activities.

The most important turning point, according to Zhao (1998), was the Tiananmen Square protests of June 4, 1989. Although the CCP had realized the crisis of beliefs after criticizing Maoism, they couldn't provide a new official ideology immediately, and the economic reform accompanied by high inflation and unemployment also disappointed the people, forcing them to turn to Western liberal ideas and democratic reform (Zhao, 1998). What is more, as China became more involved in globalization after the reform in 1976, it became "more vulnerable to the shifting winds of the international market and to cultural infiltration" (Gary, 2012, p. 10). Thus, a pro-democracy movement that brought about a confrontation between the state and society broke out at Tiananmen Square in the spring of 1989 (Gary, 2012; Zhao, 1998). Patriotism, which was later embodied and endorsed in patriotic education, became the option for the CCP to solve the spiritual crisis and foster support for the regime (Gary, 2012; Hughes, 2006; Law, 2006; Zhao, 1998). The patriotic education campaign was about to start.

The former president of China, Jiang Zemin, proposed a patriotic education campaign in June, 1989, following the Tiananmen Incident and advocated political and moral education (Gary, 2012). The conservatives and reformists argued over to what extent and how the patriotic

campaign should be implemented and finally came to a consensus (Zhao, 1998). In 1991, an official document on the patriotic education campaign, *Notice about Fully Using Cultural Relics to Conduct Education in Patriotism and Revolutionary Traditions* (Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the CCP, 1991), was issued by the Publicity Department of the Central Committee of the CCP along with several other departments (Wang, 2008; Zhao, 1998). The means of patriotic education in the Notice were similar to those listed in the 1983 regulation, which included in-class education and extracurricular activities. In addition, the 1991 Notice highlighted the usage of museums and monuments for conducting history education.

The historical narrative of the past was also revised in school curricula to serve the purpose of promoting patriotism. In 1991, the Party started to revise history textbooks, and the old “victor narrative” emphasizing national independence was replaced by a new “victimization narrative” emphasizing national humiliation and sufferings caused by the West (Wang, 2008). According to Wang (2008), in Mao’s era, class struggle theory was mainly used to rationalize Chinese revolution and the victory of the CCP in wars against Western imperialism and the Nationalist Party. However, with the decline of communist ideology in the 1990s, educating students about the new historical narrative of China’s invasion by foreign countries so as to defend China in the future against the “international hostile powers” became one of the top missions in Chinese schools; it is said that the emphasis on national humiliation helped to create a collective historical memory and consciousness among the Chinese to form a unified national identity (Wang, 2008). In September, 1993, CCPPD issued a notice requiring the utilization of patriotic films in patriotic education, and Chinese students were thereafter exposed to patriotic films suggested by the government (Wu & Yang, 2009; Zhao, 1998). The new narratives were meant to remind students of the wars against imperialism and the Nationalists and to teach them that the

CCP accomplished the revolution, changed China's fate, and ended China's traumatic and humiliating history, and should therefore be the legitimate leader and national salvation of China (Hughes, 2006; Wang, 2008).

The patriotic education campaign reached a climax in 1994 when the *Outline for Conducting Patriotic Education* was drafted by CCPPPD and published in *People's Daily* (Gary, 2012; Wu & Yang, 2009; Zhao, 1998). After the release of the 1994 Outline, all Chinese people, including students, soldiers and officers in the People's Liberation Army, cadres, workers, and farmers, were involved in the patriotic education campaign (Gary, 2012; Zhao, 1998). Students from kindergartens to colleges were the main focus of the patriotic education campaign, and schools became the most important sites for implementing patriotic education as the Outline required. Two themes stood out in the Outline: "[o]ne was Chinese tradition and history and the other was national unity and territorial integrity" (Zhao, 1998, p. 296). On the one hand, students must know the past development achieved under the leadership of the CCP; on the other hand, they should be aware that the future is threatened by domestic problems and foreign hostile forces that "attempt to isolate China or foment internal discontent in order to frustrate the state's continued development" (Vickers, 2009, p. 526). In general, the patriotic education campaign not only asked students to learn about China's past, especially modern Chinese history and the CCP's achievements, but also asked them to be vigilant against "enemies" such as foreign powers that try to impede the development of China.

Since the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, technology, a knowledge-based economy, and global competition have played important roles; furthermore, the continuation of economic reform and opening of policies under China's former president Jiang Zemin after Deng Xiaoping's death in 1997 means that the globalization process will continue in China (Tsang, 2000). Considering

this, the Chinese government felt it necessary to embark upon education reform. In 2001, the Ministry of Education released the *Outline for Curriculum Reform of Basic Education* (Ministry of Education, 2001a) and two schemes (Ministry of Education, 2001b, 2003) for carrying out the reform, which gradually became the guidelines for K-12 curriculum reform in different areas of China. The background of the curriculum reform is the development of a knowledge-based economy with high-tech needs in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and the purpose of the curriculum reform is to produce talented people who can adapt to such changes and contribute to the economic development of China. Meanwhile, the 2001 Outline and two schemes emphasize the cultivation of patriotism and collectivist spirit among students, and among the four functions stated in the Outline, the top function of curriculum reform is “strengthening education of morality, patriotism, collectivism and socialism” (Ministry of Education, 2001a). All students from grades 1-12 are required to take morality and ideology classes (Ministry of Education, 2001a). In 2006, a national campaign called “Eight Honors and Eight Shames” was launched to help the Chinese people, especially students, establish a socialist awareness of honor and shame, and “uncritical patriotism and doing the nation no harm” were listed as the very first requirements among the eight values (Camicia & Zhu, 2011, p. 609). In 2016, the MoE revised and changed the title of morality and ideology textbooks used in primary and secondary schools to *Morality and Rule of Law*, and Chinese textbooks and history textbooks were also revised after 2012 to highlight patriotism, the CCP, and socialism (Ministry of Education, 2016a, 2016b, 2017).

### **Support the Government Whenever Needed**

Patriotism has also proved to be a powerful government tool in conflicts between China and other countries. According to Zhao (1998), patriotic education in China serves the purpose of building a strong and broadly based support for and loyalty to the CCP and the government. In



the meantime, the “victimization” narrative and 100-year national humiliation memory conveyed in history education made Chinese people extremely sensitive to foreign forces (Wang, 2008; Zhao, 1998). Thus, as Zhao (1998) stated:

Indeed, although rampant corruption, committed mostly by CCP officials, and many other socioeconomic problems in China undermined the legitimacy of the Communist regime, whenever China’s international position was at stake, many Chinese people seemed to go with the government, saying that no matter how corrupt the government was, foreigners have no right to make unwarranted remarks about China and the Chinese people. (p. 299)

Wang (2008) pointed out that most participants in the 1999 Anti-America protest after the Belgrade bombing incident, the 2005 anti-Japanese protests, and the demonstration during the Olympic torch relays in 2008 were college students and young people who entered primary school or middle school after the launching of the patriotic education campaign in 1991.

Nonetheless, education about national identity is only one of the several layers of citizenship education in China, and students in contemporary China are also exposed to identification at the levels of self, local, and global (Law, 2006, 2013; Law & Ng, 2009; Pan, 2011). The results of research conducted by Law and Ng (2009) in Shanghai and Pan (2011) in Beijing confirmed the existence of multilevel citizenship among Chinese students. However, their studies also showed that, despite the salient awareness of the self-identity and individualism associated with emerging global values, nation-specific citizenship was still important and essential to Chinese students: “Chinese students, whether studying in China or abroad, feel loyalty toward China and show high emotional attachment to the country” (Pan, 2011, p. 300; Law & Ng, 2009). Using surveys and interviews, Fairbrother (2003) investigated students’ national attitudes with two groups of college students involved in it: Hong Kong students who grew up in a depoliticized civic education system and Mainland China students who received patriotic education. The results of Fairbrother’s (2003) research indicated that patriotic education

was indeed effective, and students from Mainland China were more patriotic and nationalistic on average while Hong Kong students held more neutral attitudes. Yet, Fairbrother (2003) also discovered that, bringing their own critical thinking and skepticism, Mainland students would reflect on the patriotic education they had received after learning more information from professors and having more contact with people from different areas in universities. Despite the individual and global part of their identity, patriotism is still a significant component of citizenship for Chinese students.

However, some scholars are skeptical about patriotic education's impacts on students. For example, Wu's (2012) study of secondary school Chinese students' attitudes toward Japan, a country that invaded China and has fought two major wars with China since 1894, showed that "different from, if not contrary to, the widely-accepted idea that Chinese youths are anti-Japanese, Chinese youths nowadays in fact tend to perceive Japan in a multi-faceted and rational way" (p. 74). Du's (2013) research on China's patriotic education showed that longer exposure to patriotic education does not generate more positive views toward China, and some other factors need to be taken into consideration when analyzing the nature of Chinese mass nationalism. Woods and Dickson (2017) treated patriotism and victimization as two distinct types of nationalism, and their study investigated Chinese people's victimization sentiments and patriotic sentiments as well as their feelings toward four foreign powers: the United States, Japan, Russia, and the United Kingdom. Contrary to impressions and claims announcing that younger people who received patriotic education in China are becoming more nationalistic, the results show that "younger people in urban China are less nationalistic than their elders" (Woods & Dickson, 2017, p. 179), especially in the victimization sentiment, and that they hold a more positive attitude toward the four foreign countries, particularly the United States and the United

Kingdom. In other words, the younger generations are less likely to accept the official victimization narrative.

Support for the government and loyalty to the country is also manifested in Chinese students' discussions on domestic issues. Chan (1999) maintained that Chinese university students cared for political issues, but, feeling frustrated and depressed, they had become more pragmatic after the 1989 Tiananmen Incident; although the students still supported reform, democracy, and legality, and were against corruption, they tended to keep a distance from politics since involvement in political movements would cause trouble. Instead, they put more energy into pursuing economic gains rather than political ideals. Du (2013) noticed that “the longer a student stays in the education system the more consistent their opinions are with the concrete economic and political ideas endorsed by the state-led pragmatic nationalism” (p. 19). Osnos (2008) once interviewed a Chinese man holding a doctoral degree from Stanford, asking him what he thought about democracy and the Tiananmen Incident, and the interviewee replied:

They [i.e., the students at Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989] fought for China, to make the country better. And there were some faults of the government. But, finally, we must admit that the Chinese government had to use any way it could to put down that event... You eat bread, you drink coffee. All of these are not brought by democracy. Indian guys have democracy, and some African countries have democracy, but they can't feed their own people... If democracy can really give you the good life, that's good. But, without democracy, if we can still have the good life why should we choose democracy? (para. 61-62)

The interviewee's response is a typical “pragmatic” way of thinking: Chinese people admire the efforts of fighting for democracy but think these efforts are in vain and that only economic development can produce real happiness. Such thoughts actually echo the performance legitimacy of the CCP, which means that the legitimacy of rule of the CCP is based on its accomplishments such as economic growth, social stability, and defense of national interests that directly calls to patriotism (Zhao, 2009; Zhu, 2011).

## **The Efforts of Promoting Patriotic Education Abroad**

To be fair, while globalization led to an ideological crisis in China in the late 1980s, it also boosted economic prosperity and created more connections between China and other countries. As the average household income increases thanks to economic reform, more Chinese families can afford to send their children abroad to study, since a foreign college credential is highly valued in the Chinese job market and competition for college entrance is rather fierce (Yang, 2007). In recent years, the number of overseas Chinese students has rapidly grown. According to the data provided on the Ministry of Education's official website, about 544,500 Chinese students left to study abroad in 2016, an increase of nearly four percent since 2015 (Ministry of Education, 2017). Additionally, the number of Chinese students in the U.S. has grown for many years and reached 363,341 in 2018, and the latest statistics show that Chinese students have become the largest group of international students in the U.S., accounting for more than 33 percent of the total population of foreign students (Institute of International Education, 2018a).

### ***The New Target of Patriotic Education: Chinese International Students***

Such a large group of youths has of course caught the attention of the CCP and has recently become the new target of patriotic education. In the 1980s, overseas Chinese students were still criticized as “unpatriotic” traitors, but in recent decades, the discourse on Chinese migrants turned to praising expatriating as a patriotic behavior in order to encourage overseas Chinese to contribute more to their motherland China (Nyíri, 2001). In 2016, the Leading Party Group of the Ministry of Education issued a document of suggestions requesting a deeper implementation of patriotic education (Ministry of Education, 2016c). The general ideas of this document highlighted usage of the Internet and the promotion of traditional culture and classics to conduct patriotic education, but shared similarities with those listed in the documents of the 1990s. In

addition, the 2016 Suggestions added a section about establishing a sound international exchange and cooperation system as well as promoting Chinese culture abroad through the Confucius

Institute and other approaches. The end of the document calls for patriotic education to:

Strengthen “Chinese Dream”<sup>2</sup> overseas propaganda. Collect the patriotic energy of overseas students, establish an overseas propaganda model with people as the media and communication as the approach, to form an effective propaganda in which everyone plays a radiative role and competes for being a civil ambassador and all the words are easy to remember. To build a systematic “motherland-embassies and consulates-student associations-students” network both at home and abroad, making overseas students fully feel the care from the motherland and actively publicize the development of China. Develop the potential positive impacts of influential experts and scholars in international education research area, foreign teachers, foreign students in China, non-governmental organizations and international think tanks. (Ministry of Education, 2016c)

The document asks for promotion of patriotism abroad by establishing a communication network and asks overseas Chinese students to be the media of propaganda that delivers great images of China.

Researchers suggested that one of the most significant institutions connecting students to the government is the Chinese Students and Scholars Association (CSSA), usually funded by or with ties to Chinese embassies and sometimes used to monitor and control overseas Chinese students (Corr, 2017; Saul, 2017). It is said that CSSAs started to spread in universities abroad since at least the late 1980s, and today there are about 150 chapters (Corr, 2017; Saul, 2017). CSSAs “have worked in tandem with Beijing to promote a pro-Chinese agenda and tamp down anti-Chinese speech on Western campuses” (Saul, 2017) and have organized several protests against human rights activities including the Dalai Lama’s speeches around the U.S.

<sup>2</sup> Chinese Dream is a term proposed in 2013 by Xi Jinping, president of China and the General Secretary of the CCP. This term includes the 12 socialist core values in China: prosperity, democracy, civility, harmony, freedom, equality, justice, the rule of law, patriotism, dedication, integrity, and friendship.

## *Defending Homeland Abroad*

Some Chinese international students show patriotic sentiments when they encounter criticisms of China. For instance, when it comes to topics related to Tibet and the Dalai Lama, some overseas Chinese people became particularly belligerent and aggressive. Beijing considers the Dalai Lama, the Tibetan Buddhist spiritual leader exiled to India in 1959 after a failed uprising against Chinese rule, to be a dangerous separatist (Martini, 2016). In 2008, before the opening of the Beijing Olympics, some Chinese students in the U.S. who were previously silent on political issues began to fight against the view of China due to the riots in Tibet and the disrupted Olympic torch relays and calls to boycott the opening ceremony (Dewan, 2008). The Dalai Lama's visit to the U.S. in 2014 troubled Chinese students, according to a news report in which a Chinese student stated: "Tibet is part of China. That is the bottom line and ground rule... I feel like many Americans have a misunderstanding about Tibet... But facts speak louder than words, Tibet is open to everyone who want to see her" (Newman, 2014). Protests against the Dalai Lama's visits to Western countries in which many Chinese reside are common.

In February, 2017, the Dalai Lama was chosen as the commencement speaker at the University of California, San Diego (UCSD), and this choice ignited rage among many Chinese students at UCSD (Redden, 2017). A statement announced by the CSSA of UCSD was posted on its official WeChat<sup>3</sup> account, saying that:

We have got in touch with the Consulate General of The People's Republic of China in Los Angeles and we are waiting for the consulate's command... In recent years, some Western countries led by the U.S. have repeatedly allowed visits of the Dalai Lama... Such behaviors have interfered in the internal affairs of China, hurt the feelings of Chinese students and scholars in UCSD, and have negatively influenced China's relationships with these countries... The CSSA also firmly resists any politically aggressive speeches that show unclear intentions,

<sup>3</sup> WeChat is a Chinese social media and chatting tool that allows people to open public accounts.

slander and contempt Chinese history and spread sedition to affect China's international image. (UCSDCSSA, 2017a)

The statement caused some controversy among students due to the “inappropriate expression” and was later deleted from the UCSD CSSA's WeChat account. The update on the statement (UCSDCSSA, 2017b) pointed out that the CSSA is an “independent and non-political student organization” and that their statement has nothing to do with the consulate.

Overseas Chinese students are not merely against the Dalai Lama, a politically sensitive figure in China; some of them are also against criticism of China made by the Chinese. On May 21, 2017, Chinese student Yang Shuping made a speech at the University of Maryland's (UMD) graduation commencement criticizing air pollution in China and praising the fresh air and free speech in the U.S. (Horwitz, 2017). Yang's speech circulated on Chinese social media immediately and caused indignation among Chinese people, including overseas Chinese students. Several Chinese students at UMD recorded and uploaded a video on YouTube<sup>4</sup> titled “Proud of China UMD,” and according to the uploader, the purpose of this video is “to clear the wrong stereotypes and to show our courage to speak up” as well as to “encourage everyone to think critically and rationally regarding this incident.” In the end, Yang apologized for her speech publicly on Weibo<sup>5</sup> and asked for forgiveness (Li, 2017). Some Chinese students insisted that Yang was embarrassing the Chinese by speaking ill of China to outsiders, while some were concerned about the possibility of her being the target of public opinion due to censorship (Zheng, Hollingsworth, & Zuo, 2017). According to Nyíri, Zhang, and Varrall (2010), overseas young demonstrators are not only trying to show their identities of being “Chinese” and their support for the government, but also to depict a new generation of cosmopolitan nationalists who

<sup>4</sup> Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MG-s9nenvcw&feature=youtu.be>

<sup>5</sup> Weibo is a Chinese social media platform like Twitter.

see themselves as the embodiment of a new China: creative, passionate, young, and eager to deliver a different voice and a different image of China to the Western media.

Some scholars see such incidents as a sign of the revival of patriotism or nationalism in overseas Chinese communities and have provided some explanations for this phenomenon. First, the revival of patriotism could be guided by the Chinese government through brainwashing. Peter Hayes Gries and Vanessa Fong attribute the emergence of Chinese nationalism to the historical narratives of victimization and grievances in education, and some constructivists believe that nationalism is directed by various elites, both viewing nationalism as a belief system that can be manipulated and imposed (cited in Nyíri, Zhang, & Varrall, 2010). Second, first-generation Chinese immigrants still have extensive connections to China and are attached to China, hence showing a nationalistic sentiment (Liu, 2005). Third, the policies and discourse on overseas Chinese created by the Chinese government are conducive to patriotism abroad as well. The policies targeting overseas Chinese include official policies that directly aim at calling overseas Chinese back to serve the development of the country, official narratives that portray overseas Chinese as “patriots” spread through official media, and organizations set up by or encouraged by the Chinese state agencies such as the Overseas Chinese Affairs Office (*Qiaoban*) in China and some migrant organizations in local communities of host countries, showing support and praise for overseas Chinese (Liu, 2005; Nyíri, 2001). Finally, the economic prosperity and rising power of China has also prompted nationalist sentiment (Liu, 2005), making overseas Chinese feel proud and confident.

### ***Living in a Multicultural Environment: Isolation and Interaction***

As discussed by some researchers and reports, CSSAs are institutions that monitor the Chinese international students. Monitoring the students, however, is by no means the only or



main purpose of the associations. Most of the time, CSSAs function as ordinary student clubs providing services for new arrivals, sharing information with members, and organizing activities like Lunar New Year celebrations and job fairs (Chen & Ross, 2015; Saul, 2017). Sponsored by consulates in the U.S., CSSAs are legitimately able to speak for and provide support for the Chinese student community and all the Chinese in surrounding areas, and at the same time to spread Chinese culture and promote intercultural exchange (Chen & Ross, 2015). For some Chinese international students, the organizations make them feel at home and can help them better adapt to host institutions (Chen & Ross, 2015). Students joining the associations tend to form isolated enclaves (Chen & Ross, 2015), and such a tendency is reinforced by barriers they encounter in their daily life abroad. Some scholars have started to pay attention to the experiences of this largest group of international students in the U.S., identifying several classroom challenges and assimilation problems such as language deficiency, lack of knowledge of American cultures, difficulty collaborating with peers, and the prejudice or ignorance of professors (Hsieh, 2007; Liu & Vogel, 2016; Valdez, 2015; Wan, 1999). These barriers force Chinese students to seek protection and support from their own organizations (Chen & Ross, 2015), and to some extent have segregated Chinese students.

Meanwhile, scholars have noticed some interactions between Chinese students and their peers from different countries. For instance, the CSSA of a university in the Midwestern U.S. posts online information about school activities and activities in local communities to encourage Chinese students to interact with mainstream society (Chen & Ross, 2015). Despite the benefits and support fellow Chinese can provide for them, some students are eager to step out of the comfort zone to meet and interact with people different from themselves to learn more about other creative ways of thinking (Chen & Ross, 2015; Spencer-Oatey & Xiong, 2006).

However, Chinese international students' interactions with other groups of students do not always work out, especially when discussing sensitive topics with non-Chinese. As Chinese students try to interact with American students to experience American culture and actively engage in life abroad to gain new perspectives and knowledge to contribute to China (Wan, 1999; Will, 2016), they could feel frustrated. Will (2016) found that many Chinese students felt offended when they were asked "curiosity questions" by American peers who hold "overly exaggerated preconceptions and stereotypes of China and Chinese mainlanders that are frequently expressed by the U.S. media and /or news" (p. 1073). This finding is consistent with Hail's (2015) findings that Chinese international students believe host students in the U.S. "exhibit misinformed, prejudice and offensive views of Chinese current events" (p. 312), sometimes causing conflicts and hostility between Chinese students and non-Chinese students. Four modes of responses are generated when Chinese students discuss sensitive topics regarding China with Americans: (1) status-based mode (i.e., most Chinese international students felt annoyed when the status of China or Chinese people was attacked); (2) loyalty-based mode (i.e., many Chinese international students felt it necessary to show loyalty to China by defending the country); (3) harmony-seeking mode (i.e., some students avoided talking about sensitive topics and avoided arguing with Americans); (4) utilitarian mode (i.e., some students only react to criticism that might harm China's development and divide China) (Hail, 2015). Despite the slight differences among the four modes, Hail (2015) found that Chinese students became more patriotic and tended to view China positively when living abroad because they felt they would never be "totally accepted" as foreigners in the United States and their national identity was more salient.

Nonetheless, Chinese international students have learned more about democracy and human rights in the U.S. through taking part in academic discussions about China with critical thinking in class and observing the protests and debates between Americans with different political views (Hail, 2015; Luo, 2016). In a summer school class teaching the Tiananmen Incident at Harvard, some students from Mainland China who had never heard of this incident before taking the course defended the Chinese government firmly at the beginning, but after taking the course, a student from Beijing cried in a discussion session when he learned the truth in detail (Luo, 2016). Those Chinese students had no access to information, and once they learned the truth, they were touched. Some Chinese international students learn democracy and human and civil rights through observing the host society. For instance, in Hail's (2015) research, one interviewee from China told him:

A couple of days ago there's a guy, he is from a Christian group, and he's having a protest in the engineering building... So I think that has an impact on me, because it doesn't mean that I think that their thoughts are right, like Christianity or unbelievers go to hell, it's not like I agree with them. But I think people can have different thoughts. It's our freedom and we can speak out, show our thoughts. I think maybe I don't use those rights but I want to have them too... I think also it can serve as a communication between the government and public. You can say your opinion rather than the government just ruling us. (p. 320)

Both cases showed that the “brainwashed” students can change their opinions on issues associated with democracy, pluralism, and human rights when they live and learn abroad. Although they exhibit defensive attitudes and underscore their national identity abroad, the influences of patriotic education might be gradually alleviated once they have the opportunities to see a different narrative of history and to experience a democratic way of life.

## Summary of Literature Review

In general, patriotism refers to people's emotional attachment to the country in which they reside and it also entails personal sacrifice and contribution to the development of the country. However, the general definition is too thin to capture the whole picture of discussions on patriotism, and there are several different types of patriotism: robust patriotism, moderate patriotism, republican patriotism, constitutional patriotism, and cosmopolitan patriotism. Sometimes, scholars simply divide patriotism into two kinds: blind patriotism and constructive patriotism.

MacIntyre's (1984) interpretation of patriotism is defined as robust patriotism in that he claimed patriotism is a central virtue within a community and it is thus legitimate for patriots to put their own interests over universal morality in a conflict with other groups. While robust patriotism is based on people's personal connections to their own country and history, Nathanson (1993) suggested that moral ideas should be the bedrock of patriotism and moderate patriots only support the government of the country when it acts morally, which also implies treating other countries equally and morally. Viroli's (1995) idea of republican patriotism deems that patriotism is actually the love of the common liberty of a particular people and the institutions that sustain the common liberty, or the particular republic that sustains the way of living in liberty. Habermas and other scholars who support constitutional patriotism propose that patriotism means political attachment centering on the democratic and fair way of producing the legitimate law, and the creation of the European Union is based on the idea of constitutional patriotism (Müller, 2006). Cosmopolitan patriotism is an even more "global" idea, which suggests that a person, as the citizen of a particular country and the world, is not only attached to his or her homeland but also celebrates other people from other places.

As there are different types of patriotism, scholars suggested that the types of patriotism should be taken into consideration when it comes to whether or not to teach patriotism, and it is agreed that only democratic patriotism or constructive patriotism should be advocated. Considering the possible consequences of narcissism and exclusivism caused by patriotism, patriotism can also be taught as a controversial issue in schools. Nussbaum (2002a, 2002b) even firmly opposed blind patriotism and suggested teaching cosmopolitanism instead in school.

It is true that globalization accompanied by the flow of immigration and growth of multiculturalism has challenged the traditional ideas of citizenship and sovereignty; thus, cosmopolitanism could possibly be the future. However, not every country embraces the idea of cosmopolitanism. For instance, China has actively sought to join the global market, but at the same time, it emphasizes the inculcation of patriotism to shape a strong national identity among the Chinese people. And in China's education system, patriotism is always an overriding theme.

As globalization places more emphasis on diversity and plurality, it also causes uniformity and forces nations to try to retain their identities and traditions. The efforts to maintain national uniqueness sometimes rely on teaching patriotism, which denies others (Kallio & Partti, 2013; Stromquist & Monkman, 2014, p. 14). Facing the invasion from Western countries, citizenship education emphasizing national identity and loyalty to the country was the option for the late Qing rulers and Republic government in the early 1900s. When China became vulnerable to cultural infiltration from other countries after it opened to the global market, patriotic education became the life-saving straw for the CCP to regain support for the regime from people who were struggling with an ideological crisis and distrust of the government since the 1990s. For the contemporary Chinese government, one of the most effective ways to strengthen patriotism is to adopt a victimization narrative that stresses humiliation brought by invasion in order to closely

connect the fate of the nation state to its people. In recent decades, without wars against other countries, the revised victimization narrative that helped create a common historical memory of humiliation among the students and ordinary Chinese people could shape a unified national identity and advocate loyalty and support for the CCP leadership that claimed to have saved China from humiliation.

Patriotic education has also influenced overseas Chinese students and urged them to defend China abroad. For the Chinese government, the growing number of overseas Chinese students is a good resource for delivering good images of China, but it is also a threat, as this giant group of students has more access to various information and opportunities to directly observe a democratic society that is totally different from China. The Chinese government's new propaganda of promoting patriotic education abroad can be viewed as an effort to fight back against the possible consequences of globalization through keeping overseas Chinese students aligned with the dominant ideology of China via different ways. The problem is, however, that the unprepared Chinese students who were injected with the idea of patriotism sometimes feel frustrated, isolated, and offended when talking about sensitive issues regarding China. As a minority group, the barriers Chinese students encounter abroad force them to stick together and highlight their national identity as Chinese, and their willingness to defend China, equal to defending themselves, might be amplified.

## CHAPTER 3. RESEARCH METHODS

In order to achieve an in-depth understanding of Chinese international students' perceptions of patriotism, this study adopts the qualitative research approach of phenomenography.

### **Methodology: Phenomenography**

The methodology adopted in this study is phenomenography, which is a research approach developed by a group of researchers—Ferenc Marton, Roger Säljö, Lars-Öwe Dahlgren, and Lennart Svensson—at Göteborg University in Sweden (Bowden & Walsh, 2000; Given, 2008). The term *phenomenography* was created in 1979 and then appeared for the first time in Marton's (1981) article "Phenomenography—Describing Conceptions of the World around Us." Etymologically, *phenomenography* is a combination of two Greek words: "phainomenon (phenomenon, appearance) and graphein (write, describe)" (Given, 2008, p. 611). Thus, phenomenography means description of a phenomenon.

Phenomenography is sometimes misunderstood and confused with a much more common methodology used in qualitative studies: *phenomenology* (Larsson & Holmström, 2007), which also aims at describing a phenomenon. However, these two terms have different emphases. When viewing a phenomenon, Marton (1981) thinks that there are two distinctive perspectives: the first-order perspective is to make a statement about reality, whereas the second-order perspective is to make a statement about people's ideas about reality. But from a phenomenological point of view, the distinction between the two orders of perspectives is not viable (Marton, 1981). Phenomenologists believe that what is experienced cannot be separated from the experience *per se* and "we only have access to the world through experience" (Marton, 1981, p. 180). Thus, phenomenological research focuses on studying the meaning or essence of a lived experience for

a group of people, believing that the reality of the common or shared experience is related to one's consciousness of it (Creswell, 2007; van Manen, 1990).

On the contrary, phenomenography takes a second-order perspective (Larsson & Holmström, 2007; Marton, 1981). Phenomenography is the kind of research that is directed toward experiential description and is aimed at studying variation of human experiences of a phenomenon (Given, 2008, p. 611; Marton, 1981). While phenomenology tries to figure out the essence of a lived experience, the object of phenomenography is “conceptions,” which means the different ways in which people experience reality (or the world) (Marton, 1994). So, phenomenology studies “what is there” in the world and phenomenography studies “‘what is there’ in people’s conceptions of the world” (Webb, 1997, p. 200). Generally speaking, phenomenography is:

[a] research method for mapping the qualitatively different ways in which people experience, conceptualize, perceive, and understand various aspects of, and phenomena in, the world around them... [it] investigates the qualitatively different ways in which people experience or think about various phenomena. (Marton, 1988, p. 143)

As a research approach, phenomenography helps researchers generate and compare categories that describe “ways of perceiving the world around us” (Marton, 1981, p. 195). It is an ideal qualitative research approach for investigating the research questions of this study. It allows the researcher to explore participants’ experiences of an object, which in this study is Chinese international students’ patriotic sentiments.

Phenomenography has been utilized in multiple studies exploring people’s perceptions of phenomena confronted in daily life such as “inflation, social security, taxes, or political power” (Marton, 1988, p. 150). In educational research, phenomenography has also been an effective tool to explore teachers’ conceptions in teaching, students’ learning experiences, and students’ understanding of certain phenomena such as “global citizenship” (e.g., Goh, 2013; Streitwieser



& Light, 2010; Yilmaz, 2008). Phenomenography has proved to be a powerful and useful method to explore people's perceptions and experience. Phenomenographic research uses interviews that ask open-ended questions to uncover the diverse understandings of a phenomenon (Bowden, 2000, p. 9; Marton, 1988, p. 153). It adopts an inductive data analysis process. The analysis of phenomenographic data shares similarities with the approach of grounded theory, in which data is transcribed, selected, interpreted, arranged and rearranged, sorted and resorted, and finally narrowed into categories (Bowden, 2000, p. 10; Marton, 1988, p. 154; Richardson, 1999). In this research, I conducted in-depth one-on-one interviews with 15 Chinese international students to get to know their understanding of patriotism and their experiences at home and abroad.

### **Data Collection**

The research project was reviewed by Purdue's Institutional Review Board (IRB) and was approved on April 26, 2018 (IRB Protocol #1803020394). Once it was approved, I started to reach out to potential participants and collect data. Data collection was finished in October, 2018. Below is the detailed description of data collection procedures.

### **Research Setting**

The study took place at the main campus of a Midwestern University (MU) in the U.S. via face-to-face interviews. The large population of Chinese international students on campus made MU an ideal location for selecting participants in this study. According to the latest statistic report of the MU, there were 9,133 international students from 122 countries comprising 21.9% of the total number of enrolled students by the beginning of fall semester 2017. China ranked first in total enrollment at MU among these 122 countries, and about 40.5% of the total international students at MU were from China. Among these Chinese international students at

MU, 2,254 were undergraduate students and 1,442 were graduate or professional students who were attending colleges of engineering, science, management, liberal arts, education, and so on. We met at a place of the participant's choice, including my office and other places that made the participants feel safe and comfortable to talk.

### **Participants Selection Criteria**

The target population is Chinese international students in U.S. higher education. I also set the following basic criteria for selecting participants, which means that all participants have to at least meet the following criteria:

1. Ideally, participants should have at least finished the nine years of compulsory education in China from elementary school to middle school, since the nine years of compulsory education covers most contents of patriotic education suggested by the official guidelines, and patriotism as an important theme is emphasized in different subjects (e.g., Morality, Chinese Literature, History) throughout first grade to ninth grade (Camicia & Zhu, 2011; Law, 2006, 2013; Ministry of Education, 2001a; Pan, 2011).
2. Considering that the patriotic education campaign generally started in the 1990s, potential participants in this study are supposed to have enrolled in elementary school in the 1990s or later, which means that participants are generally in their early 20s to mid-30s. This criterion ensures that all potential participants have relatively sufficient experiences of patriotic education and general understanding of the concept of patriotism infused by formal education. Also, this criterion helped identify participants who might be able to talk more about their experiences of formal patriotic education and other factors that could influence their understandings of patriotism.

3. All participants should be Chinese citizens. Students who were born in China but later became U.S. citizens are not eligible for participation in this study since dual nationality is not recognized in China. However, there was one exception: one of the participants was born in the U.S. as an American citizen but was then raised in China, and he described himself as very patriotic, so he was also included in this study.

To understand the ways in which Chinese international students in the U.S. perceive patriotism, it is necessary to take some variables that might influence their perceptions into consideration, such as political affiliation, family background, and some other demographic characteristics. Past research has suggested some variables related to one's patriotic sentiments. These variables include:

1. Place of origin and social status. According to the survey results of Sinkkonen's (2013) research project conducted in Beijing, Chinese university students' CCP membership, place of origin (rural/urban), and self-ranked social status were closely related to their patriotic sentiments. Woods and Dickson's (2017)'s research also confirmed a conventional belief that greater prosperity leads to a higher level of patriotism.
2. CCP membership. Woods and Dickson's (2017) performed a study on 4,128 urban Chinese from 50 cities in China, with CCP membership as a variable to measure its correlation with patriotic sentiments, but the study did not find CCP membership as an indicator of patriotism. In my study, however, CCP membership is treated as a variable.
3. Ethnicity. Although research did not find any correlation between ethnicity and patriotism, Sinkkonen's (2013) research was only conducted in Beijing and Woods and Dickson (2017) admitted that the project did not include minority regions of Tibet and Xinjiang. In this study, it is assumed that the diversity of ethnicity in participants would

lead to more variation in perceptions of patriotism because research suggests that the specific education policies toward minorities to inspire patriotism and nationalism were problematic in terms of devaluing minority groups' culture and history (Jones, 2005, p. 93; Lin, 2008; Zhao, 1998). In general, CCP membership, students' place of origin (urban/rural), students' family socioeconomic status, and ethnicity are purposively selected to be diverse in order to generate more varied perceptions.

4. Years in the U.S. and field of study. Since studying abroad might cause Chinese international students to reexamine their roles as citizens and their understanding of patriotism (Hail, 2015; Luo, 2016), years in the U.S. and one's field of study will also be carefully selected to make the sample as diverse as possible.

## **Sampling Methods**

This study combines two sampling methods: *purposeful sampling* and *snowball sampling*. I selected MU as the setting and I recruited Chinese international students at MU who finished the nine years of compulsory education in China before coming to the U.S. All participants were over the age of 18. To reach out to more students, the snowball sampling method was adopted. I first contacted some Chinese international students I met at MU and asked if they would like to join the project. Then I asked them if they could introduce more students who meet the basic selection criteria and fit into characteristics of certain variables to join the study. A more detailed recruiting process is described in the following paragraphs.

Another specific purposeful sampling technique I adopted is *maximum variation sampling*. Traditionally, in phenomenographic studies, researchers select "small sample sizes with maximum variation sampling, that is, the selection of a research sample with a wide range of variation across key indicators" (Åkerlind, Bowden, & Green, 2005, p. 79). In this study, I

purposefully set some criteria that differentiate the participants to increase the likelihood of discerning varied perspectives. These criteria include the participants' political affiliation, place of origin, family prosperity, ethnicity, years in the U.S., and field of study, as described above. First, this study recruited several students who are CCP members; undergraduate and graduate students who are not CCP members were also recruited. Second, I included Chinese international students from both urban and rural origins by asking them their household registration status. Third, I asked participants to rank their satisfaction level of their family's living standard at the beginning of the interview to measure their self-ranked family prosperity. Instead of directly asking students their family income, which could be very private information, I asked students about their perception of family prosperity by rating their satisfaction level with their life in China. It was expected that students who are satisfied and who are dissatisfied with their family's living standard would be recruited, but it turned about that all participants were either satisfied or very satisfied with their life in China. Fourth, I managed to recruit two participants from ethnic minority groups who are not Han (the ethnic majority in China). Finally, participants recruited in this project were from diverse fields of study and years in the U.S. More information about the participants is provided at the end of the sample size section.

A letter of invitation (Appendix A) and consent form (Appendix B) were given to the participants, and I also asked them to help me distribute the letter of invitation to other potential participants. When a new participant joined the project, I started interviewing him or her immediately and took notes of the participant's political affiliation, place of origin, family prosperity, ethnicity, gender, field of study, and age. Each time I asked for introduction of more participants, I would first check the characteristics of the participants I already recruited and

figured out how to maximize variation and what kind of participant was missing. Then I asked my participants if they knew anyone who fit the criteria.

I first reached out to a graduate student from the engineering department. I chose her because I knew she was from Xinjiang. I told her the basic selection criteria and asked her to help me find a minority student from Xinjiang. She did find one, but that student refused to join the project after consideration. Then she introduced another Chinese engineering graduate student, who turned out to be a CCP member and has a rural household registration, and an undergraduate Chinese student who came to the U.S. when he was in high school and had been here for almost seven years.

I also reached out to one of my friends' alumni, who is a CCP member with an urban registration. He was a teaching assistant and knew many undergraduate Chinese students. As I was looking for minority students, he successfully helped me find an undergraduate student whose ethnicity is Mongolian. This Mongolian student introduced his roommate, whom he thought to be very patriotic, to this study; his roommate was the only American citizen in this study but self-identified as a Chinese patriot. His roommate introduced his girlfriend, who would have much to say, to this project.

I also asked some of my Chinese friends about their intention of joining this project and three of them agreed to participate. Two of them were CCP members; one of them had a green card but told me she had no interest in becoming an American citizen and had shown some strong patriotic sentiments. One of them also introduced two more participants into this study. She first introduced a female undergraduate exchange student who had been in the U.S. for one month. This student introduced another student whose ethnicity is Man. Then my friend introduced a male graduate student in a liberal arts program, whom she believed to be very

patriotic based on his social media postings. This male graduate student then introduced his roommate to this project because he thought his Chinese roommate was not a very typical patriot and had a Western thinking style. This participant turned out to be the only participant who directly expressed some cosmopolitan thoughts. Luckily, I was finally able to collect participants who fit the three basic selection criteria but also had different characteristics of variables.

### **Sample Size and Characteristics**

The intended sample size for this study was around 20. Most previous phenomenographic research usually recruited 15 to 20 participants, and such a sample size could meet the criteria of “interview[ing] enough people to ensure sufficient variation in ways of seeing, but not so many that make it difficult to manage the data” (Bowden, 2005, p. 17). Thus, the ideal sample size for this study was around 20. The sample size of this study was also finally determined by the saturation of categories describing “ways of perceiving the world around us” (Marton, 1981, p. 195), which means that no additional ways of viewing patriotism could be discerned (Dunkin, 2000; Yates, Partridge, & Bruce, 2012). During the data collection process, I did some initial analysis of the collected data and started to have a general idea of categories of participants’ conceptions of patriotism. After I finished my interview with my last participant, who was also the only participant that showed cosmopolitan thoughts, I reviewed all transcripts of the interviews again and found that participants’ perceptions about patriotism had many overlaps. I was confident that the saturation of categories was reached and there was no need for more interviews.

Based on the selection criteria and sampling methods, 15 participants were finally recruited and participated in this study. All the participants were Chinese citizens with only one exception, who was born as a U.S. citizen but was raised in China and came to the U.S. after finishing the

nine years of compulsory education in China. This participant considered himself to be a Chinese patriot and volunteered to join this study, and since his experience was very unique and interesting, he was also recruited.

At the request of some participants and in order to ensure the absolute confidentiality of participants, I chose to present a synthesis table of the characteristics of all participants (Table 1) instead of a table of information for each individual participant. This will hopefully protect participants from being identified through cross-checking and ensuring absolute confidentiality also made them feel safer to talk during the interviews.

Table 1. *Synthesis of Participant Characteristics*

<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Synthesis</i>
Gender	7 females; 8 males
Age	From 20 years old to 28 years old, average 24.4 years old
Years in the U.S. (by fall 2018)	From 1 month to 8 years, average 4.3 years
Grade	6 undergraduate students, 9 graduate students
Field of Study	2 in science, 4 in engineering, 2 in agriculture, 4 in social science, 2 in liberal arts, 1 in business
Ethnicity	13 Han, 1 Man, 1 Mongolian
Political Affiliation	6 CCP members, 9 politically unaffiliated
Hukou Status	5 rural, 10 urban
Life Satisfaction	12 satisfied, 3 very satisfied

### **Instrument: Interviews**

In-depth, one-on-one, semi-structured interviews that ask open-ended questions to uncover the people's diverse understandings of a phenomenon are the source of data in this phenomenographic study (Bowden, 2000, p. 9; Marton, 1988, p. 153). The interviews were conducted in Chinese, and I, a native Chinese speaker, was the only interviewer. Each interview



lasted 31-70 minutes with an average interview time of 40 minutes. All the interviews were audio recorded and transcribed.

An interview protocol was developed for this study (Appendix C). The interview protocol consists of demographic information of the participants and five major questions that address the two research questions of this study. Each participant was assigned a case number (Case No.) for organizing the data, and during the interview, participants were asked to make a pseudonym for themselves. When conducting the interviews, I always brought a copy of the interview protocol to go through all the guiding questions, take some notes, and ask follow-up questions based on my notes. Follow-up interview questions are only used to ask participants to clarify what they have said (Bowden, 2000). The “Voice Memos” application in my cellphone was used to record the interviews, then the recordings were uploaded to the computer for further analysis.

Instead of directly asking participants “What is patriotism?” during the interview, five questions that encourage the participants to describe their experiences underpinning the phenomenon were asked (Bowden, 2000, 2005). This is because answers to the “what is X” question tend to be less varied and usually establish a joint definition of the “X,” but asking participants to describe something they have experienced will reveal deeper insights and greater variation across the interviews (Bowden, 2000, 2005). The five interview questions, in both English and Chinese, are:

1. Do you see yourself as a patriot? Why or why not?

你觉得你爱国吗？为什么？

2. What qualities do you think a person should possess to be a patriot?

你觉得爱国的人具备哪些特征？

3. What makes you think these qualities make a person a patriot?

是什么导致你认为爱国的人应该具备 X 特征呢？

4. Can you recall a time when you felt patriotic? What was the experience like?

你有没有过觉得自己很爱国的时候？你能具体描述一下这个经历吗？

5. Is there anything else about patriotism that you want to share?

关于爱国主义，你还有什么想说的吗？

The five questions were designed prior to the interviews, and more follow-up questions were asked to unfold the individual experiences of participants during the interviews. This strategy was designed to discourage the interviewer from bringing new personal inputs into the talk and encourage the interviewee to do most of the talking. This is important in phenomenographic research because what phenomenography studies is a relation between the subject and object, which means how a subject understand an object (Marton, 2000). The problem is that there is also a relationship between the researcher and the phenomenon; in interviews, it is imperative for the researcher to focus on the relationship between the participants and patriotism instead of her own way of thinking (Bowden, 2000, 2005). Thus, when conducting phenomenographic research, I only had the five introductory questions and then followed what the participants said.

Before conducting the interviews with real participants in this study, I recruited two Chinese international students to conduct pilot interviews. The pilot interviews helped me test if the planned interview protocols and questions helped elicit responses on the research topic (Bowden, 2005). Interviews conducted in pilot studies were not used for analysis in this study. The pilot interviews suggested that the interview questions could help me unfold Chinese international students' perceptions about patriotism. However, it turned out that patriotism is too vague for them to describe, and when I asked, "If it is hard to describe what is patriotism or patriotic

behaviors, could you describe what behaviors are not patriotic?”, the participants had more to say. Asking them what is not patriotic also helped me understand what patriotism is to these participants, as the opposite side of unpatriotic behaviors suggests patriotic behaviors. Based on the feedback from pilot interviews, I added another question to the interview protocol: What behaviors do you think are not patriotic?

During the interviews, I only asked the planned interview questions to make sure “all subjects receive the same information from the researcher and so their responses are to the same phenomenon” (Bowden, 2005, p. 14). Only interviewees introduced new ideas in the interviews, and I only asked follow-up questions to ask the interviewees to clarify what they had said and speak more about their experiences in detail. Such follow-up questions include:

- (1) Neutral questions aimed at getting the interviewee to say more.  
Example: Can you tell me more about that? Could you explain that again using different words? Why did you say that?
- (2) Specific questions that ask for more information about issues raised by the interviewee earlier in the interview.  
Example: You have talked about X and also about Y, but what do X and Y mean? Why did you talk about Y in that way?
- (3) Specific questions that invite reflection by the interviewee about things they have said.  
Example: You said A, and then you said B; how do those two perspectives relate to each other? (Bowden, 2005, p. 14)

For instance, after the interviewees responded to the interview question, “What qualities do you think a person should possess to be a patriot?” by specifying a certain quality, a follow-up question like, “What do you mean by ‘the certain quality’? Could you give me an example of ‘the certain quality’?” was asked. To ensure interviewee perceptions were not affected by my inputs, no judgmental comments were made during the interviews.

After finishing the interviews, I transcribed the interview audios verbatim by myself. At one participant’s request, I also sent the transcript back to him and removed part of the transcript that the participant later felt uncomfortable sharing. When I was transcribing, I sometimes found

some place that needed more clarification, so I contacted the corresponding participants again to clarify it. For instance, one participant mentioned that he felt proud when he found that Chinese students did well in school (i.e., MU). Later, another participant also mentioned this, and I began to wonder why they felt that way. So I went back to that participant and asked for more details about that proud feeling.

### **Data Analysis**

The data analysis is informed by both phenomenography research methods and variation theory. Variation theory is a learning theory that derives from phenomenography. While phenomenography aims at describing the variation of human experiences of a phenomenon, variation theory explains what is a way of experiencing and how each way of experiencing differs from the others (Orgill, 2012; Pang, 2003; Tan, 2009). Normally, in phenomenographic research, results are categories of description that both represent the content of the conceptions and forms of expressing the conceptions (Svensson, 1997). Each category is also a part of a larger structure (Marton, 1988, p. 146), which is called outcome space. These categories and the outcome space show “the qualitatively different ways in which people experience or think about various phenomena” (Marton, 1988, p. 143). And according to variation theory, a way of experiencing a phenomenon is to discern the parts that constitute it and the relationship between the parts simultaneously (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 112). The actual difference between two ways of experiencing the same thing is the difference between people’s awareness of the discerned aspects and the relationships among them that “constitute the structural aspect of a way of experiencing the phenomenon” (Pang, 2003, p. 150). Hence, in this study, I explored the variation in perceptions of patriotism across participants and also categorized the different ways of seeing characterized by the different meaning and structural features that individuals focus on.

The final results of this study not only show the categories and relationship of conceptions, but also the features of each category that differentiate one another.

Inductive analysis of data is used in this study. The data analysis process of phenomenography is similar to other qualitative research methods, especially the approach of grounded theory, in which data are transcribed, selected, interpreted, arranged and rearranged, sorted and resorted, and finally narrowed into categories (Bowden, 2000, p. 10; Marton, 1988, p. 154; Kinnunen & Simon, 2012; Richardson, 1999). The founders of phenomenography, Marton and Booth (1997), even directly cited Glaser and Strauss's grounded theory approach for analysis of interviews. However, different phenomenographers can have different ways of analysis. For instance, Bowden (2005) suggested using the whole transcript, or each individual, as the analysis unit and fitting it into one category. Marton (1994), however, insisted that "the same participant may express more than one way of understanding the phenomenon, [so] the individual is not the unit of analysis" (p. 4434). I agree with Marton and will not use the individual as an analysis unit. The analysis unit is the perception of patriotism, which means that I will read and examine the transcripts back and forth and then look for categories of perceptions across the transcripts instead of classifying an individual transcript as a whole.

Considering that 15 transcripts were collected, Nvivo 12 Pro was used to help organize and analyze the data. This study refers to both Marton's (1994) approach of data analysis and Dahlgren and Fallsberg's (1991) seven steps of analysis, which is widely cited and adopted in phenomenographic research, to analyze the data. The data analysis steps are as follows:

Step1. Familiarization. I imported the translated transcripts to a project created in Nvivo and read through all the transcripts once to get familiar with the contents. Meanwhile, as I read the

transcripts, I wrote down some insights and reflections with the “Annotations” function. Later, these annotations were reviewed.

Step 2. Condensation. As I read the transcripts slowly and carefully for the second time, I started to create nodes by selecting some short but representative statements made by the interviewees. When I read through the transcripts, I would “distinguish between what is immediately relevant from the point of view of expressing a way of experiencing the phenomenon in question and that which is not” (Marton, 1994, p. 4434). Any statements related to participants’ experiences of and perceptions about patriotism would be coded under certain node(s) or I would create a new node for a new perception. This step helped me find the large number of emerging categories that needed to be condensed again and again by dragging similar categories together in step 3 and step 4.

Step 3. Comparison. I read the relevant statements again and compared the initial coding, and looked for some similarities and differences among the nodes. In phenomenographic research, there are two ways of comparison:

When we find that two expressions which are different at the word level reflect the same meaning, we may become aware of a certain way of understanding the phenomenon. When two expressions reflect two different meanings, two ways of understanding the phenomenon may become thematized due to the contrast effect. (Marton, 1994, p. 4434)

In this step, I re-examined the initial coding nodes and the placement of each node and statements to put similar ones together and separate the different ones. Meanwhile, when comparing the nodes and statements, I started to look for and write down the specific descriptions of the features that differentiate each category in “Annotations.”

Step 4. Grouping. In this step, “answers which appear to be similar are put together” (Dahlgren and Fallsberg, 1991, p. 152). Just like in step 2 and step 3, I repeatedly read and compared to assign the statements and group the nodes into preliminary categories and sub-

categories. I also created new nodes or renamed the old nodes for the preliminary categories and dragged the other grouped nodes, which became the sub-categories, to each preliminary category. In this step, I looked at the transcripts again to see if there was any non-dominant way of experiencing neglected.

Step 5. Articulation. In this step, I took a closer look at the preliminary categories and sub-categories to further condense the categories. When evaluating the categories generated, two criteria were taken into consideration: first, each category should tell a distinct way of experiencing patriotism; second, “as few categories should be explicated as is feasible and reasonable” (Marton & Booth, 1997, p. 125).

Step 6. Labeling. In this step, the categories were finally named with suitable linguistic expressions: irrational patriotism, extreme patriotism, identity patriotism, constructive patriotism, and cosmopolitan patriotism. Each category has its own features that distinguish it from the others. The remaining work was to find the relationship among the categories, which is the outcome space in phenomenography. The logical relationship was developed based on the distinguishing features determined in step 5. I read the findings thoroughly once again and used Nvivo’s “Explore” function to take a look at the “Tree Map” of all nodes (*Figure 1*). This “Tree Map” suggested that identity patriotism was mentioned in the interviews the most times, extreme patriotism was mentioned the second most times, constructive patriotism was the third, and irrational patriotism was the fourth. Cosmopolitan patriotism was only expressed by one participant: Zhonghua. Then I created a “Tree Map” for each individual to see the distribution of the categories. “Tree Maps” for each individual participant can be found in Appendix D.

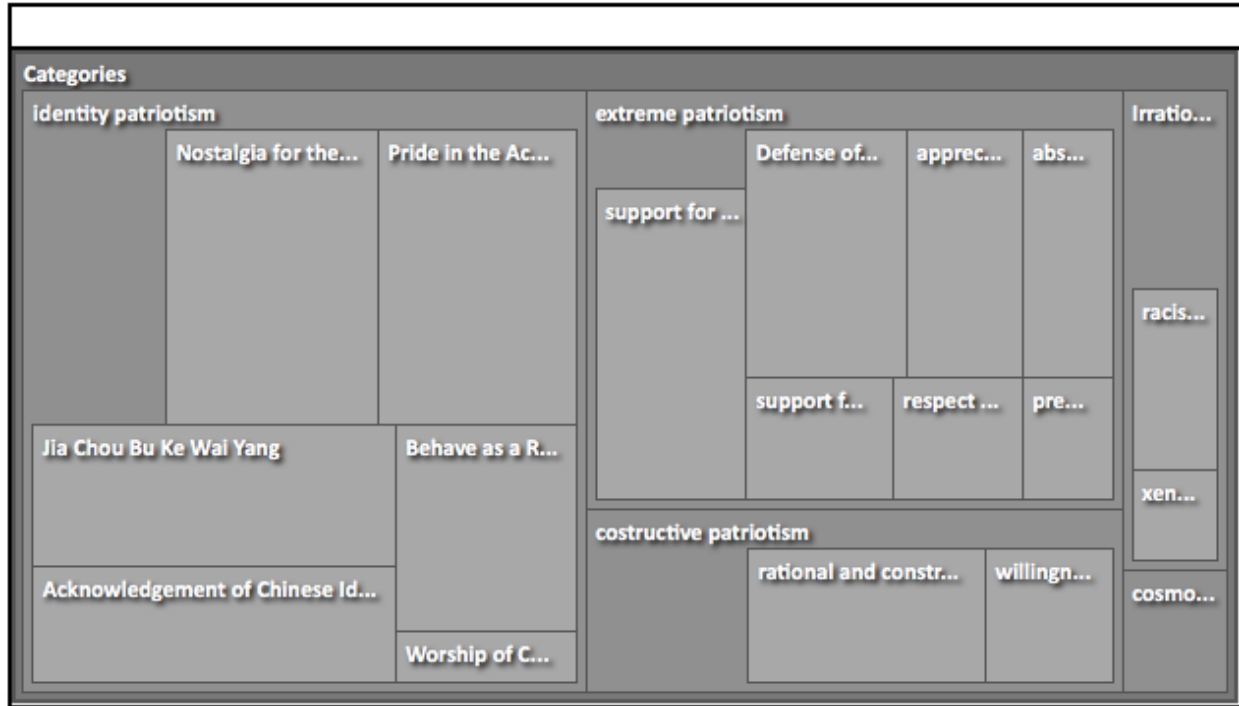


Figure 1. Tree map of all nodes of all interviews. Size by items coded, color by hierarchy.

Step 7. Contrasting. I clearly described and compared the features of each category, drew a figure to show the structure of relationship, and recorded my results.

### Trustworthiness Issue of this Study

#### Potential Limitations and Threats to Trustworthiness

This research is challenged by several threats to the descriptive validity, interpretive validity, and generalizability. First, this research solely uses interviews as the way to collect data since it aims at understanding Chinese international students' conceptions of patriotism. This may threaten the descriptive validity of this study due to the possible differences between language and meaning in interview data, while the research completely relies on the analysis of interview data to generate conceptions (Maxwell, 1992; Sin, 2010).



Second, a threat to the interpretative validity that addresses the “inference from the words and actions of participants in the situations studied” (Maxwell, 1992, p. 290) exists in that the researcher’s interpretation and construction of participants’ accounts might not be accurate. In this study, what the researcher does is reconstruct participants’ construction of the phenomenon (patriotism), and the categories as well as the relationships among the categories to be generated are based on the researcher’s interpretation. In this sense, a threat to theoretical validity in this research also needs to be paid attention to.

Finally, there is a threat to the generalizability, transferability, or external validity due to the fact that the research took place at a Midwestern University that specializes in engineering and is located in a small town (Maxwell, 1992; Sin, 2010). Although it is unknown whether the background and location of this university will have impacts on Chinese international students, the researcher and the readers ought to be cautious when trying to draw inferences from this study to other settings.

### **Validation Strategies**

In order to address the potential challenges, several validation strategies were adopted, including: member checking, low-inference descriptors, clarifying researcher bias, thick rich description, and maximum variation sampling method. At the request of the participants, the transcripts were sent back to some of them, and the participants made sure the content was correct. It should be noted that, although solely relying on the researcher’s interpretation of interview data threatens the descriptive and interpretive validity of this study, I did not seek feedback from the participants regarding the credibility of the findings because the interpretations are made on a collective basis and the participant’s understanding of patriotism could change with time and situation, according to phenomenography (Åkerlind, 2012). One

trick to ensure data objectivity in this phenomenographic study is called the intentional-expressive approach (Sin, 2010), which means encouraging interviewees to clarify and confirm the meanings in the expressions they use during the interviews through asking follow-up questions, as discussed in the interview protocol. I also went back to some participants when I found that more clarifications on a point were needed.

Low-inference descriptors, which means “verbatim accounts of what people say, for example, rather than researchers’ reconstructions of the general sense of what a person said” (Seale, 1999, p. 148), is used in my research to obtain validity. I have provided direct quotations in the findings part as evidence and chose words phrased close to the interview data to generate the categories and relationships of categories. In addition, I will clarify my own bias and presuppositions later in this research and set them aside in order to fully understand participants’ experiences. To ensure that the interviewees were not influenced by my bias, I only asked questions that facilitated participants’ descriptions of their experiences instead of leading questions with intentions (Sin, 2010). For instance, I never asked them whether boycotting the Dalai Lama’s visits to the U.S. is patriotic behavior; instead, I only asked them to describe their opinions of what qualities make a person a patriot.

I used thick rich description to provide details about the participants and the setting of this research for readers to make transferability judgment (Creswell, 2013; Sin, 2010). Besides, the maximum variation sampling method discussed earlier was adopted to increase the diversity of the participants as to generate a wide range of variation, which will hopefully benefit the transferability of this study.

### **Preconceptions of the Researcher**

I hold some preconceptions about patriotism, and it is my responsibility to clarify them and reflect on them to remind myself of possible bias and try to avoid bringing them into my research. In phenomenographic research, reflexivity helps me take measures to minimize the influences of these preconceptions and thus deals with the issue of objectivity (Sin, 2010). Throughout all the stages of this research, identifying and being aware of my own bias and preconceptions has helped me fully engage in understanding participants' experiences and conceptual meanings.

Growing up in a small town in China, staying in the Chinese education system for nearly 20 years, singing the national anthem and watching the news on CCTV (China Central Television) probably indicate my holistic experience of formal and informal patriotic education and radical understanding of patriotism in the past. I remember when the 9/11 attack happened: I was in elementary school and I wrote in my diary that the U.S. deserved it because it bombed the Chinese embassy in Belgrade in 1999. I know this sounds horrible, considering that I was only 10 years old at the time. I think my reactions to the 9/11 attack resulted from the patriotic education in China, and my understanding of patriotism as a child merely meant an unquestionable support for China and hatred toward the evil Western countries. Except for the stories told in textbooks, as a teenager, I was also taken to visit museums and watch movies to learn the glorious history of the Communist Party fighting against the invaders. In a chorus competition, I was responsible for reciting the story of little hero Wang Er Xiao, who was brutally killed by the Japanese when he was only 12 years old. I still can recall my rage and sadness in the end.

My pride in being Chinese hit a climax when the Olympics was held in Beijing; but soon after, I was admitted to Peking University, which was famous for its liberal tradition and involvement in several social movements in China (Sinkkonen, 2013). Double majoring in international relations and history, I got the opportunity to learn from many amazing professors and re-examine the ideologies I was once infused with. I read the works of Hayek, Orwell, and Tocqueville, whose books were very popular among Chinese students interested in politics at that time. I started to comprehend concepts such as individualism, neoliberalism, authoritarianism, totalitarianism, and of course the basics of freedom and democracy, and as a result, I began to re-examine my role as a citizen and also as a human. I became interested in observing people's opinions on and behaviors related to politics. I witnessed Chinese net users attacking online forums of Korean pop stars in recent years, stating that "celebrity worship is inferior to safeguarding interests of the nation (guo jia mian qian wu ou xiang)," due to tensions between China and South Korea. I also experienced the 2012 anti-Japanese demonstrations in which the indignant people scratched my mom's Mazda car, which was a Japanese brand but was produced and bought in China. For a long time, I thought patriotism was evil and impenetrable and patriots were just brainwashed and undereducated. Patriotism, to me, simply meant blind loyalty to the government at the sacrifice of individuals.

However, the fantasies I had about the Western world and complaints about China were smashed after I came to the U.S. I admired the freedom and rights that American people enjoy, especially when I saw how actively my American peers were talking about the 2016 presidential election, after which some students who were disappointed gathered together to speak their views. But I also began to have a more concrete understanding of some problems that I had no idea of, such as racism, the unfair education system, and gun violence. Moreover, my own

attachment to China became salient when I missed Chinese food, the high-speed train, the low living costs, and the extremely low tuition that allowed me to obtain two degrees without being indebted. I even started to watch popular Chinese TV dramas that I never watched before because I wanted to feel Chinese, like a person who still has strong connections to my parents and friends in China.

My loneliness seemed to have made me “patriotic,” and my face was wet with tears when I listened to the Chinese song “Clouds of Homeland,” singing, “Come back, come back, I’m weary of being adrift.” I realized that patriotism could be a natural sentiment composing one’s identity. Although I would not directly say “I love China,” which sounds too vague to me, I found that when I criticized the dark sides of China, especially the political system, I was actually showing a deep concern and care for people living in this country, and this could be a different expression of patriotism.

My personal experiences showed the evolution of my understanding of patriotism, suggesting that even the same person could view the same concept differently at different times. The impacts of formal patriotic education faded as I read and learned extensively. My research project on military training and Chinese university students also demonstrated the diverse understanding of the similar indoctrination process. One quote I like a lot from a participant in that research says: “I have never thought about the real life of soldiers... I think I will never be cynical to say ‘why not start a war’ [because soldiers are just normal men like us].” To my surprise, military training had not made the students militaristic but enabled them to interpret their experiences from some personal perspectives. Thus, I believe international Chinese students also hold varied understandings of patriotism, and I would like to know more about their experiences constructing their perceptions.

## **CHPATER 4. FINDINGS: CATEGORIES**

Based on the data analysis of participants' perceptions, five categories of conceptions of patriotism are identified and presented in this chapter. It should be noted that these categories are not mutually exclusive, which makes the relationship of the categories more complex rather than simply hierarchical. In addition, some patriotic behaviors identified by participants may fall into two or more categories, depending on how intense the behavior is. For instance, support for trade war and "made-in-China" goods could sometimes lead to vandalization of imported products, which is identified by several participants as irrational patriotism; but it also could imply defense of China's economy, which benefits Chinese people and is rational, as some participants suggested. I will elaborate on this in this chapter. I will first present the categories of patriotism and show the relationship of these categories in the next chapter.

### **Irrational Patriotism**

The first category of patriotism is "irrational patriotism," and it is directly quoted from participants' (i.e., Mike and Zhonghua) descriptions. This category of patriotism generally represents intense xenophobia, hatred, racism, and sentiments of superiority. It is also irrational because the purpose of such patriotic behaviors is to vent anger and other emotions. Irrational patriots vandalize imported products or products of foreign brands and verbally abuse people who are different from them, including both compatriots and foreigners. While participants in this project do not recognize such behaviors, six of them mentioned irrational patriotic behaviors in the interviews and called them an extreme representation of patriotism.

## Xenophobia and Hatred

Irrational patriots tend to be xenophobic. For instance, in the 2012 anti-Japanese demonstrations in China, some Chinese patriots called for a boycott of Japanese goods and smashed Japanese cars due to the Senkaku Islands dispute between China and Japan. Three participants mentioned this in their interviews and showed disapproval of such patriotic behaviors. A female participant, Xinxin, viewed such behaviors as a way of venting emotions:

Xiaoyue: Then do you agree to a boycott of Japanese goods?

Xinxin: I don't agree, but I understand these people, they need some venting of emotions.

Xiaoyue: What kind of emotion?

Xinxin: It's just because politics is not so close to them, and they only look at the international relations and interactions from a distant perspective, and they blame the entire Japanese nation for some consequences rather than blame some certain behavior. So they boycott Japanese goods and smash Japanese products.

Xiaoyue: What do you think of Japan?

Xinxin: I like Japanese goods very much, and I really appreciate the Japanese people. The Japanese Bushido is very powerful and striking. The nation has a soul worth learning.

Xiaoyue: Do you think that boycotting Japanese goods is a patriotic act?

Xinxin: I don't think it is a very appropriate behavior. That is, Japanese goods are only business of merchants, and merchants are ordinary people, not politicians. So, these patriots are treating ordinary people like politicians, and that is problematic.

Piupiu, who came to the U.S. seven years ago when he was a senior high school student, was unhappy with comments on Chinese international students on social media. Some patriots called Chinese international students “chong yang mei wai (崇洋媚外),” which means having blind worship of foreign stuff and pandering to overseas powers. And if something bad happened to Chinese international students, irrational patriots thought these students deserved it because they are “chong yang mei wai”:

Piupiu: In fact, I think the concept of patriotism is too vague to me. You can say that you are patriotic and unpatriotic from different perspectives and based on different behaviors. For example, when us Chinese students go abroad, people in China would say that we are “chong yang mei wai,” and we are able to study abroad because we have a good family background. They say that we are not patriotic and some other derogatory words. Especially when I was in high school, these words were very ubiquitous.

Xiaoyue: Who said this?

Piupiu: People online. For instance, there were shooting cases and car accidents (in which Chinese international students were involved), and domestic Chinese people would say, “Oh, see? That student drove a luxury car.” I remember once there was a case at the University of Southern California, which was a shooting murder. It was an American who wanted to rob a BMW, a used BMW, which was actually very cheap. The point of focus of the domestic people’s discussion is that you are driving a BMW, and you are abroad, so you deserve it. You are able to buy such a good car because your parents are rich, and you have a good daddy. But the core issue of this case is the public security issue of the university. This is obviously something that should not have happened, and people in China did not offer any help, but cursed you, it is very hard for me to accept.

Xiaoyue: Do you think these people’s behaviors are patriotic?

Piupiu: No, there is no face-to-face communication online, and they know that it is safe to post irresponsible comments without personal information being exposed. So they just say whatever they want, be disrespectful and provoke a controversy. There are also a lot of uncritical netizens who will simply follow them. They may feel unfair in the case of unequal distribution of resources and abilities, and they have no chance to go abroad, so they want other people to have such good opportunities.

While Piupiu criticized the irrational patriots, he also showed sympathy for these people, who have limited resources, and reflected on the privileges he has.

Sometimes, abuse is not only aimed at compatriots like Chinese international students, it also targets people with different political views. For instance, Jay, a graduate student in engineering, expressed his criticism of “Expedition to Facebook,” in which a large amount of Chinese netizens flooded into Facebook to comment on Tsai Ing-wen’s page to show their anger about the “Taiwan independence” controversy in 2016. According to Jay:

Jay: Some people are very emotional patriots. For example, if something happened, this person would not try to understand why it happened. He immediately became agitated and felt that his country (China) was insulted, and he felt eager to go on an expedition for the



country and to cuss online. It is very emotional. Just express patriotism with emotional words.

Jay explicitly said he does not like this kind of stuff. He thinks these irrational and emotional expressions are not critical enough and will not do any good.

### **Racism and Sense of Superiority**

Racism and sense of superiority are related, both suggesting a tendency to think that one's own race is better than others. Zhonghua, the only participant who believes himself to be a cosmopolitan, pointed out that racists are usually xenophobic as well:

Zhonghua: Because cosmopolitanism and nationalism are two totally opposite concepts, if you want to accept different cultures and different races, then you should be cautious with nationalism, or the extreme nationalism.

Xiaoyue: For example?

Zhonghua: Well, the behavior of boycotting Japanese goods is particularly stupid. And of course, the U.S. also has such problems. For instance, there are many Americans who are xenophobic, or white supremacist. It is also a kind of nationalism and racism, which can be called fascism to some extent. That is, I certainly do not support this extreme version of nationalism...

Xiaoyue: Then do you think boycotting Japanese goods is patriotic?

Zhonghua: Of course not. But in a sense it is, and you can call it irrational patriotism.

Whisky, a senior undergraduate student who came to the U.S. two years ago, thought that the sense of superiority is actually an extreme form of inferiority complex. He suggested that a patriot always tends to be a racist who thinks his or her race is superior to others:

Whisky: I think a patriot will certain racist characteristics... Maybe it is not the case in the U.S., but in China, it definitely is. It is kind of rare in the U.S. because students are educated at a young age about resisting discrimination. In China, the superiority is not about your race or skin color, it is your identity as a Chinese in general that is superior. People in China think that Chinese are superior. This is also the case with the Germans in Nazi Germany. Anyone who says he or she is a patriot, then this person will definitely has a tendency to feel superior... There are two extreme types of superiority in China: on the one hand, some people say that Chinese is a race that is inferior to others; on the other hand, some people become very proud after feeling inferior, and they say some discriminatory words about

other races to cover up their inferiority complex... They may call a foreigner “Yang Gui Zi (洋鬼子)<sup>6</sup>”, or a black man a nigger... Discriminating against others and seeing one’s own race as superior actually suggests that you lack self-esteem.

According to Whisky, patriots who have racist characteristics usually want to gain some self-esteem by discriminating against others.

### **Extreme Patriotism**

The second category of patriotism is extreme patriotism. Extreme patriots do not support xenophobia, hatred, racism, and sense of superiority, but they show unconditional support for the government and the CCP. Extreme patriots tend to consider the government an absolute authority whose policies are always right because it has more information and intelligence than the ordinary people do. Extreme patriots prefer collectivism to individualism and believe that it is understandable for the government to sacrifice a certain population’s benefits to achieve something bigger. In other words, extreme patriotism refers to the support for and trust in one-party dictatorship. It also entails support for protectionism without showing xenophobia or hatred towards foreign goods. Extreme patriotism is also embodied in the preference for collectivism and a rigid and firm defense of the integrity of sovereignty. The term “extreme patriotism” is directly quoted from Xinxin’s interview, in which she admitted that she is an extreme patriot in terms of supporting the CCP unconditionally:

Xinxin: There are some people who are extreme patriots. They feel that everything the government or the Party does is correct and reasonable. They never raise any objections, and just follow the Party’s lead. I think that might be a kind of patriotism, but it is in lack of assertive... I think that I am probably the same. Because I feel that I cannot change any decisions made by the party, I should stick to the regulations set by the Party. But I can imagine that if I take up the position of decision-makers one day, I will play my part, but not now.

<sup>6</sup> Yang Gui Zi (洋鬼子): foreign devil.

## Support for the One-party System

One significant feature of extreme patriotism is the unconditional support for the CCP. To extreme patriots, love of the country is equal to love of the Party. For instance, Anne said that only the territory led by the CCP should be considered China, and thus love of China means advocating the CCP's rule of China. She also pointed out that although Taiwan is not currently governed by the CCP, it is still considered part of China as it was a part of China in history; but her love of China does not include love of Taiwan. Such thought is aligned with the CCP's propaganda and further proves Anne's strong support for the Party's agenda. However, it is interesting that Anne also mentioned that she supports CCP simply because CCP is the ruling party and she has no choice:

Anne: Because the CCP is now the ruling party, we must support it. If the ruling party changes, I will then support the new one. No matter who rules the country, in China, I have no voice in decision... I am just too powerless.

The CCP's absolute control of the country and people also made Anne lose interest in participation in politics, as Anne felt everything about politics in China is simply "formalism," which means there is no actual political participation in China since the Party has the absolute power to make all decisions. Anne mentioned the impact of censorship on her support for the CCP's rule:

Anne: I heard that a professor of Peking University was reported having a sex scandal. But someone told me that this professor said something sensitive that he was not supposed to say in a class, and there were some people from the inspection team in that class, so the university found it out, and then he got fired. I also heard that there was a tendency for a second Cultural Revolution. I'm not sure. But in this case, I feel that it is safer for me to keep my mouth shut.

To Xinxin, her unconditional support for the CCP was not only because she has no choice or feels powerless; it was actually her own choice to become a CCP member. Xinxin believed that

being a party member is honorable because the Party has done a lot for the country and party members are always portrayed as heroes in the news:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what comes to your mind?

Xinxin: You can't say bad things about the Party, you can't say bad things about the leadership, you should always praise them, because after all, China is a one-party dictatorship. This country is a single-party system, so every time you mention the country, you are referring to the Communist Party. So, patriotism is to love the Party.

...

Xiaoyue: What makes you join the CCP?

Xinxin: I feel that joining the Party at that time was due to the surrounding environment, in which everybody felt that joining the Party was glorious. Moreover, in the news reports, the party members and what they have done are always the focus. For instance, when a policeman sacrificed his life for others, the news always stresses that he is a party member, so I would feel that being a party member was an honorable thing. And then I would think naturally that I should help others when needed and do good things because I am a party member and this is what I should do.

Xiaoyue: Then do you love the Party? Why or why not?

Xinxin: Yes. I think the CCP is great, because historically speaking, it was able to lead the country with over 40 million people, while the Party was only equipped with poor weapons and all the members were mainly peasants. At current time, China now has a population of 1.3 billion. China's economic development is not bad, although it is still a developing country. I think it is great that the CCP can feed 1.3 billion people without letting them starve to death, and Chinese families can feel that life is getting better and better. No other country has such a large population. Furthermore, China used to be extremely underdeveloped and kept declining since Late Qing Dynasty. Everything started from scratch at that time; the economy began to develop without any external support... In this case, the CCP did a really good job. This is great. So I approve the Party's rule... My love for the CCP drives me to take the initiative to do some good things because it is my duty to do good things as a CCP member. Although I cannot make enormous contributions yet, I feel that doing something good and helping other people is the performance of loving the Party.

Serena, an undergraduate student in engineering, expressed her support for the one-party system by comparing China with the U.S., but she is also aware of the possible consequences:

Xiaoyue: Did you ever feel extremely patriotic at a certain moment?

Serena: I always feel very patriotic. There is no any particular moment. When people ask me where I come from, I always say China. Because I think China will definitely surpass

the U.S. in the future, but the American people often look down on us, and I don't know what makes them feel so good about themselves... I think China is more powerful.

Xiaoyue: In what way? Which aspect is more powerful?

Serena: First of all, the Chinese economy is rising gradually. Second, I think the U.S. is now in a mess and it is very chaotic especially after Trump took office. There are several parties in the U.S. fighting with each other, it is totally a mess and not as united as China is. If they keep fighting like this, something bad will happen.

Xiaoyue: Is there anything else that makes you feel the U.S. is chaotic?

Serena: Guns. And I think the U.S. is too diverse today, it is kind of... That is to say, the immigrants are suppressing the real Americans.

Xiaoyue: How do you define "real Americans"?

Serena: Except for the Native Americans, I think the real Americans are the white people. But now the population of minority is about to exceed the population of majority, which could lead to a good future. Still, it poses another issue, which is that people from various backgrounds are coming, including some criminals. So although the immigrants are making the U.S. more multicultural, some of them are criminals.

...

Xiaoyue: Then do you prefer the one-party system?

Serena: Yes, it means unity. Unity... If the party agrees on something, then it is done; if the party disagrees, then no more argument is needed; the authority will not be divided into two factions or several factions. However, there are also some negative effects of the one-party system. If a policy that is only good for a certain group of people is proposed, and no one stands out to oppose the proposal, then the rest of us will suffer from it. There are good and bad sides of the one-party system.

## **Respect for National Symbols**

National symbols remind participants of the government and the Party and tell the stories of the country, as some participants claimed. To some participants, respect for national symbols is absolutely patriotic. Anne, Xinxin, and Serena all mentioned how symbols, such as the national flag or the red scarf of Young Pioneers, have influenced their understanding of patriotism.

Zhonghua, the only student who claimed to be a cosmopolitan, also admitted that speaking of patriotism, the first thing that came to his mind was the national anthem and national flag, which

“symbolizes the blood and suffering of revolutionary martyrs that built the new communism in China,” because “that is taught by patriotic education.”

Serena also suggested that the “national flag symbolizes revolution and victory.” Xinxin talked more about how the reward system associated with red scarf and red flower had influenced her when she was a kid:

Xiaoyue: Can you recall a moment when you felt patriotic?

Xinxin: When I was kid, I sang the national anthem, wearing a red scarf, during the flag-raising ceremonies; I felt most patriotic at that time. Wearing a red scarf was the most prestigious and proud thing.

Xiaoyue: What does the red scarf mean?

Xinxin: The red flower. When I was a child, the teacher would give a little red flower to kids who behaved well. And both [red scarf and red flower] are red. And about red scarf...because my understanding of the party was not very profound as a kid. And at that time, I just felt that wearing it was good, because those who were older were not eligible wear it but I was, I just felt proud.

Xiaoyue: What does “proud” mean?

Xinxin: It means that you are outstanding. For example, in China today, one of the factors taken into consideration is whether a student is a CCP member or not when evaluating someone during elections or scholarship nominations. Then this prompted me to think that being a CCP member a glorious thing.

The national flag was also the first thing that came to Julian’s mind when he thought of patriotism. Julian is an American-born Chinese raised in China until 16 years old, and his grandfather infused him with patriotic ideas. He also liked wearing red clothes because red is the color of the national flag:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what comes to your mind?

Julian: National flag. Um... I also think of my grandpa and grandma.

Xiaoyue: Why do you think of the national flag?

Julian: Because I think our national flag is quite unique from national flags of other countries. Then, for me, I have always liked wearing red clothes since I was a child. I think this is also kind of... the revolution complex that my grandfather passed to me.

Xiaoyue: You said that our national flag is very different, in what way is it different?

Julian: I think it is because... for instance, the American national flag is composed of red, blue, and white. But the Chinese national flag is composed of red of yellow, both of which are bright and positive colors.

Xiaoyue: Why do you think of your grandpa?

Julian: Because my grandpa joined the Party and grew up under the leadership of the Party since he was young. He is a very patriotic. He used to be a journalist and also participated in the Korean War. And nowadays, he writes poems. He always writes poems during every Party's Day, Army Day, or National Day to praise the development of the country. He always instills patriotic complex into me.

### **Absolute Trust in the Government**

While the one-party system and censorship has made Anne lose interest in political participation, Anne also suggested that China is not ready for democracy because “many Chinese people are not well educated... and having these people participate in democracy is not necessarily a good thing.” Another participant, Li Hua, a CCP member, also shares similar views. Li Hua believed that Internet censorship and the Great Firewall of China makes sense. He thought a patriot would have a better understanding and be more tolerant of the government's policies from the perspective of policy makers, such as the Internet censorship and the birth control policy, the one-child policy:

Li Hua: People always mention the freedom of speech issue in China. I don't think the government has gone too far overreacting in terms of the blockade of Google and YouTube. I think that if I were in that position, I would have done the same.

Xiaoyue: What position?

Li Hua: For example, policymakers and ministers. I think this policy is understandable. Because China has a large population and the demographic composition is quite complicated. Although I don't have evidence to support my argument here, I think the reality is still very complicated, and once China becomes really open to the Internet, it does not necessarily have positive impacts on the society. I think it is understandable. After all, the government must have considered more to make a decision than our ordinary citizens do. The government must have a lot of data, including data on national security.

...

Xiaoyue: Can you think of any other policy that is more understandable from the perspective of policymakers?

Li Hua: I do not know for sure. Take the birth control policy for example. For instance, some people say that birth control policy is human rights abuse and it deprives people of their basic reproductive rights. However, if the population kept growing in China at the time, the state might not be able to solve the basic subsistence problem for all, and it might bring an even greater disaster. This is my guess, but I am thinking about this policy from this perspective. In such a special situation, you really are not able to consider the so-called human rights issue. China has such a large population. If the government let people starve to death, are there any human rights? I don't think so.

Both censorship and the birth control policy in China are truly complicated issues, but it is not this study's aim to argue on these two topics. However, Li Hua's attitude is pretty straightforward here: Li Hua admitted that he does not have enough evidence to support his argument, but he trusts the government and believes that the government must have made their policies and decisions with ample evidence. Mike, a master's student in social science, also believed that censorship is right because terrorists could utilize foreign websites that would spread harmful information and threaten national security, as the government claimed.

Cici believed that people should stay positive about the future of the country, even if it meant to "blindly trust and love the country." She thought that negative aspects of the country, such as corruption, should not impede one's love for the country:

Xiaoyue: Is there any other moment you feel patriotic?

Cici: Sometimes, for example, during group discussions in some ideological and political classes, some of my classmates would have ambiguous comments on the whole country, like many things here are wrong, and the country is hopeless. Or some people would say this country is too bad to be changed. Then I would think that as a young person, you should not think like this. I think that young people, even if you blindly trust and love the country, still need to be positive. I hope you won't be so negative.

Xiaoyue: What topics did they talk about?

Cici: National conditions, like corruption and a society that values relationships... They would consider these as a tumor-like existence, which is so bad and will erode the country, making the country too bad to be changed. I thinking there is nothing that can't be changed.



Xiaoyue: What do you think of corruption?

Cici: I think that everything is two-sided. Some corrupt officials did have achievements although they were greedy for money. They might have done a lot in some respects. Of course, the corruption problem needs to be fixed, but I don't think you should radically claim that this is a problem that can never be solved... I just think this is an objective issue that needs to be solved. I don't like it when they talk about it as a thing that damages the image of our country. I think, first, this is quite distant from us, so you can't have a very clear understanding of it. I think you should not allow these things to make you have negative thoughts about the society and the country.

Xiaoyue: What do you mean by "this is quite distant from us"?

Cici: I mean politics is distant from us.

Xiaoyue: Then how should we deal with these problems in society?

Cici: I feel that it would be better if we can do anything to improve this country. I just don't like it when they say weird things and stop loving this country because of these problems.

Tina, a graduate student who is a Han Chinese born in Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, described how education affected her and people she knew. Tina believed that the compulsory political campaign had deeply influenced people's attitudes toward the CCP, and a way of showing patriotism was to resolutely support the country and the party:

Xiaoyue: Do you consider yourself a patriot?

Tina: Not really. I won't allow other countries to trample on my homeland, but I am not that kind of person who loves the country and serves the country.

...

Xiaoyue: Can you tell me more about "love the country" and "serve the country"? What do these two terms mean?

Tina: Well, it means that we should be proud of our country, and see the good sides of our country. We must study hard for the country and contribute to the development of our country. It simply means working hard, sacrificing your entire life for it, well, just... keep working hard for the development of Chinese society, science, and technology.

Xiaoyue: Why do you think so?

Tina: It's taught since I was little. Basically speaking, it's brainwashing. The core values of socialism are propagated every day and the textbooks are full of similar cases. They just influenced you deeply. And in Xinjiang, songs about the core values of socialism are

broadcasted on buses every day. You probably don't know this, but it is literally happening every day. And there are posters everywhere, just like the 20th century. And all the K-12 schools and corporates are required to learn core values of socialism and patriotic stories. You must remember all the details and be able to recite because there are some tests.

Xiaoyue: Could you give me an example of the patriotic story?

Tina: Cases in textbooks include Xiao Luo Bo Tou and Wang Er Xiao<sup>7</sup>. I think the stories are really horrifying, but I assume that they were made up for brainwashing. Well, probably they are not made up, but they were included in textbooks for a purpose.

Xiaoyue: What purpose?

Tina: To make people feel an obligation to firmly support the country and CCP before they have established their own independent understanding of the society and the world. That is, [the textbooks are] deliberately guiding the students' thoughts. I think it is certainly effective.

Xiaoyue: How can you tell it is effective?

Tina: Many of my classmates and my parents do not have an objective understanding of our country or nation, or they do not have any independent thoughts. They just follow whatever the state-run media say. They hardly accept or agree with any negative information about our country from outside world.

Xiaoyue: What is an "objective understanding" like?

Tina: I think every country and nation are two-sided. It not only has good sides, but also bad sides. You should not indiscriminately believe in the speech of the government or the mainstream media. You should have your own positions and judgments, always have doubts and insist that your own rights and interests are inviolable.

Unlike Li Hua and Mike, Tina does not think that people should have absolute trust in the government or mainstream media. But meanwhile, Tina also pointed out that the brainwashing of formal and informal education is effective and has caused many people to support the government without having their own judgments. To Tina, patriotism, which means "love the country" and "serve the country," is just an infused idea.

<sup>7</sup> The story of Xiao Luo Bo Tou tells the experience of the youngest martyr Zhenzhong Song in China, who was imprisoned when he was eight months old and killed at the age of eight by a Kuomintang spy. Wang Er Xiao was a 13-year-old cowherd boy who sacrificed his own life to save the whole village. He lured the Japanese army into the ambush of the army of the CCP and was killed by the Japanese.

## Appreciation for the Country

In addition to support for and trust in the government, some participants also mentioned that people should be grateful to what the country or government has done since we were raised by the country. For instance, Julian thought that Yang Shuping's speech was inappropriate because "she did not appreciate what the country has done for her":

Xiaoyue: You mentioned the Maryland University student. What do you think of her?

Julian: I think she is... of course, China does have air pollution problems, but it is not as serious as she said, or it is not that serious to make her hate China. I think this is the country that has raised you. In fact, her success in the U.S. also lies in her past in China. So I think what she did is very unpatriotic. She did not appreciate what the country has done for her, but kept comparing the two countries to see which is better, and failed to see the positive side of our country...

Xiaoyue: You said Yang was raised by the country. Can you further explain how she was raised by the country? And how do you define "country"?

Julian: I think the word "country" is quite vague. It may refer to the government and the school, and compulsory education. I think compulsory education is one aspect of how the country raised us. Then I think, my family is actually part of the country. After all, we were all born in the country, and my mom and dad are also part of the country. Your success also lies in them, too. I think it also includes the government. I know that China used to be very closed before the reform. I think the decision of the government to reform and open up is also an important aspect, which allows people to have the opportunity to go abroad for education and grow, this is also the aspect of the parenting of the country. My mom went abroad to get her master's degree in the U.S., and some others of our big family also came to the U.S. to study and then settle down. That is to say, I think that the country is developing and keeps making progress, so that its citizens can get what they want and succeed. I think this is also part of the parenting of the country.

Anne expressed similar opinions. She thought that since one lived in a country, then this person must have enjoyed the benefits and welfare there. In this sense, people should be grateful and be patriotic:

Xiaoyue: You said it is hard to define patriotism. Then can you think of any unpatriotic behaviors?

Anne: First, leaking state secrets; second, not maintaining the country's honor, such as trampling the national flag. Besides, saying anything bad about China in front of foreigners is also unpatriotic. But this is not always the case, unless that person is very extreme and

always says bad things about China, which is not patriotic. This kind of person always finds foreign countries better and everything about the U.S. is good while everything about China is bad. This is too extreme.

Xiaoyue: Have you seen anyone like this?

Anne: No, I haven't seen anyone like this, but I have heard it. And I think a lot of Chinese immigrants share this thought. I really don't understand why these people would have this kind of thoughts. They have the biased view towards the country that has raised them. I know some people who stayed in China for K-12 education then came to the U.S. for a bachelor's or master's degree. But they became treasonous later. Although I understand that if you have made the pledge to be an American citizen, then you should stand by the American side. But still, you should at least feel the attachment to China...

Xiaoyue: You just mentioned "the country that has raised you." What does this mean?

Anne: It means that you live in this land. For example, you will receive compulsory education and other resources when you are a kid in China. Although the welfare is not as good as in the U.S., you are still supported by our country.

Xiaoyue: How does the country support you?

Anne: I think there is support from both the government and the Party, of course. I'm grateful to the both... But I'm also grateful to myself. Because to some extent, the support comes from the taxes we pay, I'm actually spending my own money. My parents also have contributed a lot. But the operation of the entire society and the allocation of resources rely on the government. This is the same in the U.S. I think the point is, if you are born and raised in the U.S., then you are supported by the U.S. If you are born and raised in China, then you are supported by China. It's mainly about the territory. You are enjoying the benefits given by the country in which you are born. This is what I think. I think those people, who went to good schools and good colleges in China but finally decided to stay in the U.S., are taking all the benefits of the country without giving back. This is a loss to our country, a loss of talents.

## **Support for Protectionism**

Extreme patriots are also more likely to support trade protectionism, which is also a way for them to show their support for and trust in the government. For instance, Mike only uses Baidu.com today to search information and never uses Google.com due to the concern of data security and the fact that "Baidu.com is a Chinese search engine and we don't have to use the American product." Mike said under the context of "Trade War," it is a Chinese citizen's duty to support made-in-China goods, but she clearly said that the "Trade War" would not do any good

to both China and the U.S. Mike believed that the support for Chinese products is a way of self-defense against the U.S.'s aggressiveness. Despite her obvious support for "Made in China," Mike also pointed out that she definitely does not support the anti-Japanese demonstrations and vandalization of Japanese products. Mike thought these behaviors are irrational and blind.

Another participant, Serena, also mentioned her support for "Trade War" because she trusted the government's ability of making the right decision. Serena thought "Trade War" would boost economic development in China because if not, the government would not join the "Trade War":

Xiaoyue: Could you give me some examples of unpatriotic behaviors?

Serena: ...For example, many people in China tend to say that products made in China are of low quality and they only want to buy imported goods. Well, I admit that household appliances manufactured in Japan, South Korea, and the U.S. are usually well-made, but many people feel that all the foreign products are good including food. I think this kind of thought is not good. After all, China has a history of five thousand years, and it is a tradition for us to eat Chinese food, then why cannot these people eat Chinese food? Why do they say everything in foreign countries is better? I remember that when I was in middle school, my physics teacher was a leader in the school and he always bragged about the imported household appliances in his home. I thought: "Wow, my teacher is so rich!" But I felt uncomfortable about him. It turned out that he did immigrate all his sons to the U.S. later. At that time, I already thought that, as a Chinese, you do not have to use anything imported; after all, you are Chinese.

Xiaoyue: Do you mean that Chinese people should use Chinese products?

Serena: At least we should try our best to support Chinese products.

Xiaoyue: Speaking of this, do you support Trade War?

Serena: I cannot say if I support it or not. If you support the Trade War, the exchange rate for USD to RMB will rise, but it will harm us international students. If there is no Trade War, the exchange rate will drop then. However, if the Trade War continues, it will benefit the Chinese economy.

Xiaoyue: How so?

Serena: The Trade War can boost the domestic economy partially I think, although my family will not benefit from it. I feel that more or less, it will increase the income of domestic households because some Chinese families are doing their own business, and

when the purchase of domestic products is promoted, the income of those families will rise. I always believe that if the country can make more money, the more benefits people will get.

Xiaoyue: Do you mean that China will profit from the Trade War?

Serena: I think so. But I am not a student in economics, I just feel that China will be richer. If this is not the case, why would the government do this?

While Mike and Serena have different understandings of the impact of the Trade War, both of them tend to support trade protectionism and the Chinese government. Xinxin also expressed her support for the CCP and Chinese government, but she considered anti-Japanese demonstration inappropriate and admired good characteristics of the Japanese people and products. Extreme patriotism is different from irrational patriotism in that they have either shown their disapproval of hatred or admiration for some foreign stuff, but at the same time still prefer Chinese products.

### **Preference for Collectivism**

The support for the one-party system is consistent with a preference for collectivism. For instance, Li Hua, who believed that the government has more intelligence than ordinary people do and thus can make better decisions, especially mentioned the importance of “considering the big picture” when assessing a policy. Although his sister lost her job because of the birth control policy, Li Hua did not blame this policy:

Li Hua: I think that some policies may not make sense from an individual’s own perspective, but when you try to understand why such a policy is implemented in this certain country, this certain region, you should consider the basic context as a whole. Because sometimes your personal situation is inconsistent with the overall context. Some policies, like the blockade of YouTube, just cannot take everybody’s interests into account.

Xiaoyue: Could you elaborate on this? Could you give me an example of when “you should consider the basic context as a whole rather than personal interests”?

Li Hua: Yes, for example, the recent two-child policy that encourages Chinese families to have a second child. In fact, this policy will cause many problems. The policy has changed from completely banning the second child to encouraging the second child in the past five years. This is a very sharp change in a very short period that has very obvious impacts on a

lot of people. For example, I have a sister who had a second right before the two-child policy came out, so she lost her job as a public sector employee because of this.<sup>8</sup> But only after half a year, the two-child policy was released, and policies really impact individuals.

Xiaoyue: Then do you think we should view the birth control policies from your sister's perspective or from the state's perspective?

Li Hua: This is rather a more complicated topic. On the one hand, it is related to my family and myself; on the other hand, it is related to the whole country. My family would say that the timing was not right for my sister to have the second baby. It would be better if my sister could wait for another six months. But they just talked about it. They didn't say that it was a regret that my sister lost her job. She did not expect to make money doing this job, so it's totally fine. So everyone thinks from the perspective of the state. They just feel this is the wrong timing, and as individuals, we cannot make decisions for national policy. Everything would be perfect if we could have waited for half a year.

Xiaoyue: Do you think it makes sense to lose your job because you have a second child?

Li Hua: I think it makes sense. Because this policy, especially for public sector employees, was not something new. It has been there for two or three decades. Under that policy at the time, no one said you were not competent to do the job or what (so you were fired). It's just the policy. My sister resigned voluntarily and even if she did not resign, she would be fired, so she resigned in advance. She was quite aware of the consequences of having a second child, so she made a choice when she got pregnant and had the second baby. After all, she could find another job.

As mentioned earlier, Li Hua believed that the birth control policy had solved the starvation problem of China and he supported it. He further elaborated on this topic by telling his sister's story. Li Hua tends to prefer collectivism to individualism, and his point was that when assessing a policy, people should consider the whole context and sometimes sacrifice personal interests.

Julian also preferred collectivism to individualism; and just as Serena said about her support for the one-party system, Julian also believed that a leadership that can unite the people and make decisions is important. To Julian, collectivism is a lifestyle he enjoyed:

Julian: I think Americans usually live in their own world, and their houses are always separated. But in China, many people live in one single building; it is more like a real community, where people communicate more. It makes me feel more like a Home, a group, and people in the neighborhood just communicate with each other.

<sup>8</sup> Before the two-child policy, a one-child policy was implemented in China. According to the one-child policy, women who violated the regulations would lose their government employment.

Xiaoyue: Does more neighborhood communication make you feel more connected?

Julian: Yes, there is a feeling of people being closer. Although the American people also greet me when we see each other, to me, I feel more like a stranger here. I think the Americans, their culture is more inclined to individualism, while China is more partial to groups, and I prefer a group lifestyle.

Xiaoyue: Does this group lifestyle affect your feelings about the country?

Julian: Yes. I think China is a country that is particularly united. People do things together. I remember that there was a spring outing when I was in high school in the U.S., and it was voluntary, but it turned out that no one participated, and the outing was canceled. But China is different; China is a collective organization. If a group tour is set, then everybody will join it happily. However, I feel that everything in the U.S. is based on the vote, and everything is voluntary, which is not necessarily a good thing. Voluntary sometimes makes a lot of things impossible to happen. So it is better to have a leader to unite everyone and tell everyone how to do something. If there is a leadership to guide people, I think a lot of things can be done. I think it is the real unity.

Julian also showed preference for collectivism and trust in the government when talking about sacrificing the environment for economic development:

Julian: I think we should have more tolerance. I feel that the government has its own difficulties, and consequently, when it has to take into account one aspect, it may not be able to take care of the rest. For example, if the government wants to give everyone a better life, then it has to develop the economy to raise the GDP. Then many factories will be built, and the environment will be polluted; there is always a reason for things like that to happen. I think it is not easy for the Chinese government to rule a country with more than a billion people, and the price for development could be air pollution. Many people complain about pollution, but if we see this issue from another perspective, we will understand it is not easy to solve it... In fact, China is not always full of smog. Several days ago when a very important meeting was held in Beijing, the air was super clean because the factories in the suburb were shut down. As you can see, the government can solve the pollution, but there are some things you cannot give up on.

Both Julian and Li Hua mentioned how hard it is for the government to take care of such a large population, so people should be more tolerant of the government and think from the government's perspective; and they both agreed that making certain sacrifices for the development of the whole is necessary.



## **Defense of Unification of the Country and Integrity of Sovereignty**

While defense of integrity of sovereignty does not necessarily imply “extreme” patriotism, in some cases, it shows one’s uncritical alignment with the government’s propaganda. Besides, defense of unification of the country and integrity of sovereignty is also a duty of all Chinese citizens. Article 52 of the Constitution of the People’s Republic of China directly states that “[i]t is the duty of citizens of the People’s Republic of China to safeguard the unification of the country and the unity of all its nationalities” (The National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China, 2004). And as the Preamble of the Constitution states, “Taiwan is part of the sacred territory of the People’s Republic of China. It is the inviolable duty of all Chinese people, including our compatriots in Taiwan, to accomplish the great task of reunifying the motherland” (The National People’s Congress of the People’s Republic of China, 2004). It is interesting that some participants (e.g., Serena, Anne, and Xinxin) all talked about their perspectives on the Taiwan issue, which means disputes regarding whether Taiwan is part of China, and these participants tend to agree that Taiwan is part of China and share similar views about why Taiwan should be part of China.

Anne thought patriotism was an ideal infused by education she received since she was a little kid, and defense of integrity of sovereignty is a very important part of the education. While she admitted that patriotism was an infused concept, she accepted what she was taught and she believed that when it is necessary, China should unify Taiwan with military force:

Anne: I think patriotic sentiments are related to the education I have received since I was a child.

Xiaoyue: What kind of education?

Anne: I always seem to feel that patriotism is a quite general idea. It means maintaining the honor of the country and never leaking state secrets. These seem to be part of patriotism. Patriotism also means to remember what the martyrs did for us, such as people who fought

in the war, people in the army, the soldiers. They are all very patriotic. And most importantly, patriotism means maintaining unification of the country.

Xiaoyue: Can you give me an example of “maintaining unification of the country”?

Anne: For example, Xinjiang must be part of China. Besides, we should oppose the independence of Taiwan; and the South China Sea is also an inseparable part of us. (*Anne laughed.*)

Xiaoyue: Why are you laughing?

Anne: I feel that it is funny for someone like me who doesn't care much about politics to talk about politics... I feel that the concept of patriotism is too general.

Xiaoyue: All right. Can we explain why Taiwan is part of China?

Anne: Because before the Kuomintang fled to Taiwan after the civil war, Taiwan was already part of China, but then Kuomintang occupied it. This is why Taiwan is not led by the Chinese Communist Party, but it is still considered part of China.

Xiaoyue: When you said patriotism (love of the country), does that include love of Taiwan?

Anne: No, it means Mainland China alone. Because Taiwan is still different from China conceptually.

Xiaoyue: So does patriotism means love of the People's Republic of China?

Anne: Actually, it does not. I just feel that Taiwan is not that different from us. I think, to me, patriotism includes love of Mainland China, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan. But I think the Taiwan issue is trickier. Taiwan is a relatively independent area politically. I think it can be an independent region, just like Hong Kong and Macao; but it should not be an independent country.

Xiaoyue: What is the difference?

Anne: Because the independent regions are still led by the Communist Party of China, but an independent country is completely independent and will cause conflicts.

...

Xiaoyue: Let's go back to the Taiwan dispute. How do you define Taiwan?

Anne: From the perspective of Mainland China, Taiwan is not an independent country but an independent region. I do not personally recognize it as an independent country either. And historically, it has never been an independent country.

Xiaoyue: Then do you support achieving unification with Taiwan by military force?

Anne: If we have a big chance of winning, I will support it. Of course, I still hope for peaceful reunification. If we were to use force and have no chance of winning, I will not support it. I think there are still many uncertain factors. It is best not to use force, though. The policy continues to call for a peaceful unification, but the use of military force will not be ruled out when necessary.

Xiaoyue: Do you agree with that?

Anne: Yes, I agree.

Serena also firmly claims that Taiwan is part of China because the history of Taiwan she learned from school and her parents verified this. She also supported banning Taiwanese stars who do not consider themselves Chinese from Mainland China's entertainment market. While Anne believed that it is one's duty to defend the integrity of sovereignty, to Serena, the Taiwan dispute has much to do with one's identity: If someone from Taiwan insisted that he or she is not Chinese, that means this person disdains and rejects the identity of Chinese or the whole group of Chinese people, which makes Serena feel offended:

Xiaoyue: What other behaviors indicate patriotism?

Serena: Patriotism... For example, Taiwan and Hong Kong are still part of China. Although some people said Taiwan is independent from China, it is still part of China, and Taiwanese are all Chinese, and their lifestyle is more like Chinese. However, some Taiwanese people will directly say: "Oh, I am not Chinese!" He or she will not say that "I am a Taiwanese," but specifically points out that "I am not Chinese." I have encountered this kind of situation more than once or twice, and probably nine out of ten Taiwanese in the U.S. will say the same thing. However, when I heard it, I felt very embarrassed.

...

Xiaoyue: Why do you think Taiwan and Hong Kong are part of China?

Serena: I don't know how to say it. It seems that they were originally part of China in history. But they were invaded by the British and then returned to China. But people in Taiwan and Hong Kong seem to feel that their lifestyle is very Western and they no longer belong to China... I think Taiwan has always been and must be part of China. We live in a common cultural community, so I think it should be part of China. And Taiwanese, well, a lot of Taiwanese stars are coming to Mainland China to make money. That is to say, Taiwan, I think it should be part of China, and there are some Taiwanese stars who have developed on the mainland but said that "I am not a Chinese," and then they were banned.

Xiaoyue: Do you support the ban?

Serena: I support it. I think that even if you feel that you are not Chinese, you should not say it. You are too stupid when you say it. It is a taboo in China; so when you say that you are not Chinese, you are deliberately being provocative. And some of them like to show off, saying Taiwan's economy is good, life is good, and cities in Taiwan are more developed than cities in Mainland China.

Xiaoyue: How did you feel when you heard this?

Serena: I was very angry. I was mad when they said that Taiwan does not belong to China because I think that Taiwan is part of China, no matter what they say about Taiwan being independent, but their roots are still in China.

Xiaoyue: You talked about the history of Taiwan to prove it has always been part of China. Where did you learn this history?

Serena: My grandfather and my father used to read history books to me and I also took history classes in school [in China].

Xiaoyue: So do you think a patriotic person should support unification of the state?

Serena: Absolutely.

...

Xiaoyue: Can you tell me more about why you feel angry when a Taiwanese says he or she is not Chinese?

Serena: Because... I... I just became upset when I heard a Taiwanese saying he or she is not Chinese. I can't tell exactly what this feels like, I just feel angry...

Xiaoyue: When did you start to feel this way?

Serena: I met some Taiwanese people since I went to college [here in the U.S.] and they always said something like this.

Xiaoyue: Can you give me an example?

Serena: I remember very clearly that in a computer science class, there was a Taiwanese in that CS class. Once we were doing homework together with other classmates, I asked him where he came from, and he said that "I am Taiwanese." Another classmate asked if there is a lot of delicious food in Taiwan just like in Mainland China, then he said that Taiwan does not belong to China. Then our classmate asked if he is Chinese, and he said: "I am not Chinese." At that time, I felt that Taiwanese do not see themselves as Chinese, and they are quite eager to draw a line between themselves and Chinese. I feel that they just look down on China.

While Serena felt offended upon hearing her Taiwanese classmate saying Taiwanese is not Chinese, Xinxin tried to avoid discussing this issue with people she met in the U.S., although she believed that Taiwan is part of China:

Xiaoyue: Do you consider yourself a patriot?

Xinxin: When I first came here, I was very patriotic. If others discussed whether Taiwan is part of China, I would become very aggressive and claim that Taiwan is part of China. But gradually, I found that academics is different from politics: if you argue with other people too aggressively, it might affect academic progress, and I started to learn to respect other people's opinions. Now I don't do a lot of patriotic talks. But I feel that maybe I am still patriotic. When I say "maybe," I mean that now there is nothing for me to show whether I am patriotic or not.

Xiaoyue: What if someone says that Taiwan is not part of China, what would you do now?

Xinxin: I wouldn't react to it. Everybody has their own opinions and I have my thoughts. We can be different, and I will not continue to talk about this topic with that person. I don't think it is necessary.

Xiaoyue: Then what do you think of the Taiwan issue?

Xinxin: Personally, I still think that Taiwan is part of China.

Cici, a junior undergraduate student, also expressed her ideas about Taiwan. Unlike Anne, whose love of the country includes love of Hong Kong and Macao, Cici explicitly clarified that patriotism means love of Mainland China. To Cici, love of the country entails a sense of belonging, and Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan cannot offer that. While Cici was aware that these three places are distinct from Mainland China and especially that Taiwan is not unified with China, she still felt uncomfortable when people said Taiwan is not a part of China. Cici believed that such feeling was due to the education she has received:

Xiaoyue: So how do you define "country" when we talk about patriotism?

Cici: To me, country means a piece of land. When I say China sometimes, it does not include Hong Kong and Macao. This land must be a place where I can roam freely without having to apply for a visa or going through other processes. Besides, language is another factor; when you are in this area, you can communicate in your language. I think this is what country means to me.

Xiaoyue: You specifically mentioned that it does not include Hong Kong and Macao, then what about Taiwan?

Cici: After all, China and Taiwan are not yet unified, and so we claim that Taiwan is part of us. But after going abroad several times, I found that when I was in Hong Kong and Macao, including Taiwan, it made me, a Chinese, feel that I don't belong to that place. But I won't feel that kind of feeling in any other places in China, or other cities. But in Hong Kong and Macao, I just felt that I didn't belong there when I was there. This is due to the "one country, two systems" policy. Because of that, everything is different and cannot communicate, like your phone, and you need a new ID (when you live in Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan). This is just like coming to the United States. I need a new ID here, and I need a visa or a pass (to enter), and a new phone number. It is the same when I go to Hong Kong and Macao. This is what I call sense of belonging. It is obvious that these places are not my motherland and I have no sense of belonging there.

Xiaoyue: What about Taiwan, then?

Cici: Well, Taiwan cannot give a sense of belonging, either. But it is supposed to be a part of China.

Xiaoyue: Why?

Cici: Because I want everyone to think that Taiwan is part of China. That is, having no sense of belonging is one thing, being a part of China is another thing. For example, Hong Kong and Macao do not give me a sense of belonging, but they are still part of China. Although it is one country with two systems, it is still one country and we are unified. It would be better if there is a sense of belonging. Although I admit that Taiwan is not part of China yet, but I don't want to hear other people saying that. It is my feeling...

Xiaoyue: That kind of feeling?

Cici: It's very contradictory. Even if I know the facts... I won't... It's the fact that I don't like. Although we are not unified yet, I just think that I will definitely say Taiwan is part of China when discussing this issue.

Xiaoyue: Since it is said that there is no unity yet, why don't you like people saying that Taiwan is not part of it?

Cici: I just feel uncomfortable in my heart, but I don't mean that you cannot say it. If you say it, I won't say that you are wrong, but it will make me feel uncomfortable. So I hope you do not say this.

Xiaoyue: Since when did you start feeling uncomfortable?

Cici: I think this thing is all because of education; because the education I received since I was a little child keeps telling us that the Mainland, Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan are a family, so we will gradually believe that we are a family. Therefore, rationality and

emotions are not consistent. If you were not told so since a young age, you would not think that way. This is a subtle and unconscious influence.

Anne, Serena, Xinxin and Cici all firmly believe that Taiwan is part of China. Among these four participants, Serena and Xinxin have especially mentioned their experiences hearing people saying that Taiwan is not part of China. While Serena felt offended and angry, Xinxin started to avoid arguing with other people. Still, both of them tended to hide their true feelings and kept their opinions to themselves. This is a way for them to show their respect for others, but does not seem to facilitate meaningful and participative exchange of opinions.

Tina suggested that patriotism means opposing racial discrimination and separatism. And as a Chinese, she would not allow other countries to trample on her homeland. Tina especially disliked it when UC Irvine publicly supported independence of Tibet by inviting the Dalai Lama over:

Xiaoyue: Do you consider yourself a patriot?

Tina: Not really. I won't allow other countries to trample on my homeland, but I am not that kind of person who loves the country and serves the country.

Xiaoyue: What does "trample on my homeland" mean?

Tina: Racial discrimination and nationality discrimination. And I don't like any speeches or behaviors that aim at separating China.

Xiaoyue: Do you have any experience of being discriminated against?

Tina: Yes. When I worked part-time in a café on campus, there were another Chinese student, two white girls, and a black girl. After the Chinese student got off work, the other three girls began to imitate the way that student talked and his facial expression. They thought I am Korean. So they just made fun of Chinese students' accents, saying that Chinese students only know about coursework and have no social skills.

Xiaoyue: How did you feel?

Tina: I just felt very unhappy and powerless. I cannot change the situation. I mean, I respect other people, but they do not necessarily respect me.

...

Xiaoyue: When you said you would not allow “other countries to trample on my homeland,” you also mentioned that you don’t like any speeches or behaviors that aim at separating China. Can you give me some examples of such speeches or behaviors?

Tina: For example, UC Irvine once publicly supported independence of Tibet. Everybody was talking about this on the “1point3acres” forum<sup>9</sup> at that time. The university invited Dalai Lama to give a lecture and put it on the homepage of their application website.

Xiaoyue: How did you feel when seeing this?

Tina: I wouldn’t apply for such a stupid university.

Xiaoyue: What do you think of Dalai Lama?

Tina: He wants independence of Tibet. Although he has his own proposal and some evidence, he is not supported by the Tibetans. Most of the Tibetans do not support him. People think their life is good nowadays and they do not want independence.

Xiaoyue: How do you know this?

Tina: I have many Tibetan friends. They said their life is much better as compared to the past when Tibet was not liberated yet. They have a lot of benefits today.

Xiaoyue: How did your friends know this?

Tina: They heard it from the elders. And after all, they feel that life today is just fine. They are pretty satisfied with it.

While Tina did not directly express that discrimination made her more patriotic, she was pretty upset about her Chinese coworker being laughed at, and her anger about UC Irvine suggested that her identity as a Chinese became more salient in both situations. When her Chinese fellow was mocked, she felt upset as a Chinese; and when UC Irvine invited the Dalai Lama, she could possibly feel assaulted as her opinion and understanding of Tibet, or the Chinese way of interpreting the Tibet issue and separatism, was not respected. While Tina did not think that she was a patriot, it is actually very hard to categorize her as an extreme patriot. And her understanding of the Tibet issue directly came from her interaction with her Tibetan

<sup>9</sup> 1point3acres.com: an online forum for Chinese international students to discuss school and job applications.



friends instead of education or propaganda. Her understanding of patriotism is more or less about identity, and identity patriotism is the third category, introduced next.

### **Identity Patriotism**

The third category of patriotism is identity patriotism, which indicates that patriotism is more about recognizing and defending one's identity as Chinese; and here, "China" and "Chinese" refer not only to the People's Republic of China, they have a broader definition that includes the history, culture, nationality, and one's own living experiences. Being abroad, many participants felt their Chinese identity had become more salient, and started to admire the positive sides of China after comparing it with other countries they visited. The achievement and development of China also reinforced their pride in being Chinese, and their living experiences and memories of growing together with the country and seeing the changes had become an inseparable part of their identity. As these participants' identities were so closely related to this country, they would think that any comments or behaviors insulting China is actually insulting them, and the traditional culture of "Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang" also urged them to defend the dignity of China when confronting criticism of China. Identity patriotism was also manifested in participants' awareness of behaving themselves and worship of Chinese culture.

### **Acknowledgement of Chinese Identity**

A common phenomenon that nine of the participants mentioned is that their identity as Chinese has become more salient after they went abroad. For some students, it is due to the fact that when they are abroad, all their other identities are diminished and only "Chinese" could correctly classify them. For instance, both Jay and Zhonghua talked about how location impacts their identity:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what else comes to your mind?

Zhonghua: Identity, one's nationality.

Xiaoyue: How do you define identity?

Zhonghua: For example, when you introduce yourself to others, you first think of your ethnicity, your nationality, first language, or... Generally, when introducing myself, I will tell people that I am Chinese, instead of telling them I am Asian. And such awareness of being a Chinese became more intense when I am abroad.

Jay also expressed similar thoughts:

Jay: I rarely thought about patriotism when I was in China. Because when you are in China, such thing doesn't exist... I mean, you would not even consider whether you are patriotic or not. When you are abroad, you may talk about patriotism.

Xiaoyue: Why do you think so?

Jay: Because your identity as a Chinese becomes more salient when you are abroad. For example, I used to go to school in Chongqing, but I am from a different city, so my identity at that time was represented by my hometown. When you introduce yourself, you won't say "I am from China" in that circumstance. But here in the U.S., when I introduce myself, I always say "I am from China."

Piupiu said Chinese people abroad would help each other and unite like a family because of their common identity as Chinese:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what is the first thing that comes to your mind?

Piupiu: Unity. Because we are living abroad, and as Chinese people, we all like to get together. One reason is that we can speak Chinese with each other instead of speaking English. And also, we can help each other... For instance, we help each other with study and daily life. Like, if I want to go out for dinner and I don't have a car, then other Chinese people would take me with them. They take care of me like family. They don't have this obligation, but they help me as a friend because we are all Chinese.

Xiaoyue: Have you ever sought help from foreigners?

Piupiu: I have, but I still feel that patriotism is a very broad concept... I seek help from Chinese people mainly because I feel more close to them. There are some cultural differences between the Americans and me. I can't fully assimilate into them. Although I have many friends from different countries, I can only say that we are friends and that's it. Most of the time, habits, values, and culture shock make me feel more comfortable with the Chinese, because we have the same values.

“Identity” also becomes more salient when some Chinese international students realized the benefits they could get as legal Chinese citizens. More specifically, for international students, they need a visa to study and live in the U.S., which is unstable, and this caused some of them to rethink their identity. Both Li Hua and Laura talked about this. According to Li Hua:

Xiaoyue: You just mentioned “a sense of belonging.” Can you describe this?

Li Hua: A sense of belonging... I think it is the identity given to me by my country.

Xiaoyue: Then what does identity mean?

Li Hua: Identity, for example, I am a Chinese, and there is the influence of the country’s culture on me, including eating habits, the opportunities it offers, and I think, respect for me. After all, I am a Chinese citizen. When you are in the U.S., whether you apply for a green card or an H1B work visa, if any issue develops during the application process, for example, when you are laid off, you may lose your work visa and you will have to leave. Sometimes I think about human rights. For example, in the U.S., your right to live in this country can be deprived at any time. Does this indicate human rights? If someone feels that your visa is problematic, then at any time, you... For example, I have seen something like this. I know someone who worked in the U.S., and they suspected that his visa is problematic, so they investigated the travels of his relatives to the United States, making him too afraid to go back to his country for 10 years. He is not Chinese, it is someone from other countries. Now, he has stopped his work and went back to his home country to deal with his visa issue. He will not be able to return to the U.S. during the processing time.

Laura expressed the similar concern. She believed that without the legal identity given by China, she would not have the opportunity to apply for a foreign school and study abroad. And when the travel ban came into effect, Laura felt lucky to be a Chinese citizen.

Discrimination is another reason for some students to reinforce their Chinese identity and feel patriotic. They could not feel the sense of belonging in the U.S., and as a result, their identity as Chinese became more salient. Three of the participants also talked about their experiences of being discriminated against and how discrimination made them feel unaccepted in the U.S. and become more patriotic. For instance, Jack, an undergraduate student, mentioned how he was discriminated against because of his accent when speaking English:

Jack: Sometimes the Americans deliberately pretend that they do not understand, because we sometimes have an accent, or because of the grammar, I'm not sure... But I find it very strange that when some Indians say something with an accent, Americans can understand. But when we speak English, Americans will say "I beg your pardon?" I have asked some American friends about this. They said that they actually understood what I said, but they just want us to repeat and say it more clearly. I feel that this is like discrimination. And such cases did happen. They understand it, but still ask me to say it again. I am very unhappy. I don't know if they really don't understand or... Is this feeling the so-called patriotism? I just feel very uncomfortable about it.

Piupiu said the racism and discrimination he suffered made him more willing to go back to China instead of staying in the U.S.:

Piupiu: When you are in foreign countries, now there is Trump, and in such a system... Well, when we are abroad, we would encounter racists for sure, and we are just getting used to it. However, under Trump's leadership, racism has just become more obvious. Sometimes, the superiority of some people will show up, and it makes me hate it here.

Xiaoyue: Have you ever encountered racial discrimination?

Piupiu: Yes. For instance, I was at MIT once and there was a Starbucks over there, and there was a kind and normal American in front of me, and the cashier was talking and laughing; but when it's my turn, I just saw an upset poker face, and the cashier just asked me to look at the menu and say what I want. The cashier never talked back and the cup of coffee was then made and thrown back. I feel that I have been treated differently. But anyway, this is the land of theirs, they are the boss, you just can't do anything. But I would never experience such things in China. One of the reasons why I sometimes desperately want to go back to China is that people here are too arrogant, and regardless of your background, you have a high probability of running into this kind of situation.

Xiaoyue: Can you explain what is "arrogant"?

Piupiu: It means the Americans have some privilege, mainly the white people, and it started with slavery a long time ago. So sometimes, I just feel that I am unwilling to stay here and make contributions, I would rather go back to China.

### **Nostalgia for the Positive Sides of China**

Some Chinese international students learned more about China and the U.S. and began comparing these two countries after their arrival. Whether it was the rapid development of China, the safety concern related to gun violence in the U.S., or cultural gap they encountered, all contributed to their strengthening identity as a Chinese. They began to find more positive sides

about China, missed their Chinese lifestyle, and thus loved China more after comparison. Their nostalgia contributes to their patriotic sentiments. For example, Li Hua believed that studying abroad is the best way of patriotic education as it makes students see the development of China and admire the positive sides of China more:

Li Hua: I don't think political education has a big impact on me. I think what I have seen during the last few years abroad has more impact on me. I have always firmly believed in this argument. One of my teachers once said, "You don't need to talk to the kids, the college students, about ideological and political theories or socialism. You just need to let him stay abroad for half a year, and he will know it."

Xiaoyue: Know what?

Li Hua: The impacts will be much stronger than that of receiving patriotic education for years. Before I went abroad, I did not have any comparison, and did not view this issue from this angle. After coming to the U.S., I feel that many places in China are actually very good. I have some evidence. For example, when I first came here, I taught freshman writing classes. Later, after the end of that semester, some Chinese international students became my WeChat friends. From what they post in WeChat, you can see that they made dumplings together, watched the CCTV New Year's Gala, and you can tell their joy seeing their motherland's development and strength. I was surprised to see this because most of them were born in 1994, 1995, or 1996, very young. I think this is great. I think it has something to do with the economic development and urbanization process of China. For example, if they grew up in Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, or other big cities, then they would feel the gaps between their hometowns and the Midwest, in terms of infrastructure, cultural activities, internationalization, and prosperity. I think that when the economic development and internationalization of the big cities in the eastern coastal areas of China reach a certain level, they will be able to catch up big cities like New York and Los Angeles in Western countries. There are still some gaps, but the gaps will be smaller in the future. They are unlike the group of international students 30 years ago, who left China and came to the Western countries admiring everything of the West. Just as Trump said, the infrastructure of the U.S. airports today is still the same as in the 1960s. So when these students' hometowns have started to develop very fast, the gap is no longer that big. Some international students may even feel that their life in China is much better than their life here. Such a difference may inspire more patriotism among them. Another example is my cousin. He has never been in the Midwest. He always stayed in big cities on the West Coast, such as Seattle, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. But he still didn't feel that the U.S. is better. He always wanted to go back to China.

Xiaoyue: Why did your cousin want to go back?

Li Hua: I am not sure. I guess he may feel that life is more comfortable for him. And he loves Chinese food. I also heard him talking about the glass ceiling, the desperation of being

unable to get promoted. As a non-native speaker, he was sort of discriminated against. If he goes back to China, he will have more opportunities.

Whisky felt that when he was far away from his homeland, he started to miss more of the positive side of China. He also believed that he had a more objective view of both China and the U.S. because of his experience in both countries. While Whisky admired the freedom and justice in the U.S., he disliked gun violence and was having a hard time fitting into the American lifestyle:

Xiaoyue: Do you consider yourself a patriotic person?

Whisky: Yes, and I started to feel this way since being abroad. I used to feel China is not good enough, and wanted to go abroad when I was in China. But it turns out that I have become more and more patriotic since being abroad. I become very upset when I hear people saying bad stuff about China, but I was not like this when I was in China.

Xiaoyue: How come?

Whisky: When I am far away from home, I begin to miss its beauty more; all my memories of China have turned into good impressions.

Xiaoyue: You mentioned people would say bad stuff about China. What did they say?

Whisky: The American people actually rarely say these to me. It's the Chinese netizens. They sometimes say bad stuff about China and I really want to refute because that's not the truth.

Xiaoyue: Can you give me any example?

Whisky: For example, I heard some people say that the Chinese people are bad-mannered, like littering garbage and disobeying traffic lights when crossing the road, and they say people in foreign countries will never do that... But I have seen people in New York cross the road without obeying the traffic lights, too. I think it has little to do with the quality of the population. In every country, if there is no car, people will just cross the road... These netizens haven't got a chance to go abroad and see, so they feel everything about China is bad. I sometimes feel unhappy when I see their comments. Although they live in China, they are biased against China. I used to be like them, too, because I had never been abroad before and the outside world is perfect in my imagination. But since I landed in the U.S., I started to view both countries more objectively. It's hard to tell which one is better or which one is worse. When I first arrived in the U.S., I felt everything was so fresh and natural, it's like living in a natural reserve; but the longer I stay, the more I feel desolated, it is just so empty. Maybe it's because I live in a small town. Living in a big city may be a different experience. But I also feel very unsafe here since people have guns...

Xiaoyue: Is there anything else you feel different after comparison?

Whisky: I can't think of more at the moment. But I had more thoughts and reflections after I went back to China from the U.S. The first thing I felt is closeness. I just felt more familiar with the Chinese style. In the U.S., sometimes when they make jokes, I feel it is stupid and don't want to talk. Their jokes are more intense than that of Chinese. Sometimes I feel very uncomfortable about their jokes, but they still feel it is very funny... I know their humor, well, they are being kind, but it is just not funny.

### **Pride in the Achievement and Development of China**

As mentioned earlier, some Chinese international students tend to admire more of the positive sides of China after comparison. Another common phenomenon that is closely related to this admiration is students' pride in the achievement and development of China, especially achievement in sports events and economic development.

For instance, Julian, who was born as an American citizen but raised in China, talked much about the development of China and felt extremely proud especially when foreigners praised it:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what else comes to your mind?

Julian: I recently watched the Asian Games, and I am a basketball fan, so when I saw Chinese basketball players cheering after they won the championship, I felt very proud. China is now ranked first in the Asian Games, and I think it is top in all of Asia, and I think this is particularly making me feel proud.

...

Xiaoyue: Can you recall a moment when feel particularly patriotic?

Julian: Oh! I think it is when I watched the Olympics in 2008. Because I am a Beijinger, and I received a ticket from a friend, I went to watch the Olympic Games. I have also been to other countries and have seen other Olympic venues there. But I think our Chinese Olympic venues are the most impressive. I felt very proud when foreign people came to China to watch the Olympics, and they would feel, "Oh, China is actually very great, their venues are much better," and they saw the magnificent changes of China. And when I was in Beijing, there were many foreigners in Beijing. They said that Beijing is good and they didn't want to go back to their home country. They also said Beijing is developing particularly fast, and everything is the latest. Then I felt particularly good, especially when foreigners praised our country.

Xiaoyue: What else can you think of besides the Olympics?

Julian: Besides the Olympics... I think... when Chinese companies go public in the U.S., I feel very proud. For example, Alibaba. I have a lot of American classmates who know Alibaba and Jack Ma, and I feel very proud. Sometimes, the professor uses Jack Ma as an example in class. When the professor uses Chinese companies as cases for lecturing, I feel very proud.

Xiaoyue: Under what circumstances would the professor cite Jack Ma as an example?

Julian: It was in the entrepreneur class. At that time, everybody was talking about successful entrepreneurs in the world, and he gave us a few examples and talked about Jack Ma. Then the professor asked us who knew Jack Ma, and many people raised their hands. This shows that Chinese companies are going global. Besides, many foreign people know Huawei and Xiaomi, because I have been to Europe and I saw many people using Huawei and Xiaomi cell phones, which is also a very proud moment. Huawei is really amazing. Also, I am very proud to see that Xi Jinping and Peng Liyuan are using Huawei cell phones.

Piupiu also expressed similar thoughts. Piupiu was born and raised in Shenzhen, which is a city bordering Hong Kong and has been a leading city in economic reform since 1979. He saw foreign people admiring the development of Shenzhen and felt proud, too:

Piupiu: I can only say that I feel proud. For example, people always say “the 40 years of Shenzhen,” which means 40 years since the establishment of the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone. I grew up in Shenzhen and have seen the changes there. My parents also contributed their efforts there. We watched Shenzhen transforming from a small fishing village into a very developed economic zone. I have friends who come to China from abroad, and my high school teacher from the U.S., they would fly over and I would take them to travel in China. My teacher felt very different. High technology is everywhere, very modern and prosperous, especially in the city center of Shenzhen, it is very developed. Every time I go to the city center, I would imagine living there, I always have a vision and I feel very proud. I appreciate that this is the country where I grew up, which many foreign people really like and see a difference from what they used to see on TV. Some of my mom’s friends who moved to Hong Kong went back to Shenzhen with their family. They used to say that Hong Kong is prosperous and think Mainland China is still like a fishing village and very poor. But when they came to Shenzhen, all their views changed because they had finally received information and really saw things from a different channel. They started to visit Shenzhen often and bought a house there eventually. I just feel that our country is really powerful and strong now. It used to be just so-so. Now I really feel that we are also a very strong developing country, although I think China is no longer a developing country. Especially in terms of technologies, I think it is very strong. It is a country that has a say and other countries would take consideration when China says something.

Both Julian and Piupiu lived in big developed cities in China and they had the chance to meet foreigners who visited China. Some of them also started to compare China and the U.S., as



mentioned earlier, finding that China is more developed in terms of infrastructure and other aspects. For participants that lived in small cities in China, their admiration of development of China directly came from their comparison of the past and the present. For example, to Cici, she has seen the development of her hometown since her childhood, and such development is part of her life. Hence, Cici felt that she was closely related to this country, and that is why she wanted to love it and to be patriotic:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what is the first thing that comes to your mind?

Cici: The first thing I can think of is patriotic film, and the impassioned prologue of every national celebration event with the background music “Ode to Red Flag.” I also think about our life today, life is getting better. As long as I remember, life has changed a lot, the quality of life, and I also feel that the country is getting better.

Xiaoyue: Can you talk specifically about how life is getting better?

Cici: I am from a small city, Zhangjiakou. It used to be a city without a decent street, and there was a river passing through, which basically is dried-out and covered with overgrown weeds. In recent years, however, the city was completely refurbished. Sometimes, when I recollected the days of my childhood, I felt completely different. Many places are turning more modern and convenient. Later, I went to Beijing to go to college, and I felt that every aspect... at least for college students, we don’t have to worry about food, clothes, or housing, so basically what we think about is how to enjoy life besides study, and then we found that the city could provide a lot of convenience, and you could get all the resources needed. So I feel that this country can let me live a very good life.

Xiaoyue: How is this related to patriotism?

Cici: Well, I can tell that the country is developing and getting better, so I will love it. I feel that I am growing with it. I grew up a little bit, and it is also developing a little bit. There is a feeling that this country’s development is closely related to me, so this country and I are connected by blood. So I feel that I want to be patriotic.

To Julian and Piupiu, the achievement and development of China made them proud and appreciate the country more. But patriotism does not simply mean that a strong country and good life makes people patriotic. To Cici, and some other participants like Serena, Anne, and Xinxin, they all have seen and experienced the development of their hometowns and the country. The

development is part of their life, their memory, and they have grown with the country. The development of the country has become part of their identity.

### **Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang**

Some participants mentioned China as a big family, and as part of the family they had the obligation to defend it and should not say bad things about China in front of the outsiders or the foreigners. This is called “Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang (家丑不可外扬)” in Chinese, meaning that family disgraces must not be spread abroad. As Cici said, her memory and experiences about her hometown and the country has become part of her identity, which has made her patriotic. Such attachment to the country also made Cici want to defend China in front of outsiders:

Xiaoyue: Do you consider yourself a patriotic person? Why?

Cici: I think so. But it's hard to tell why. I just think that it is my motherland, no matter what. For example, I love my parents because they gave me my life and raised me. This cannot be chosen. My country is not chosen by me, either. It is just my motherland and I can only love it... No matter where I go, no matter how many years later, I only have one motherland in which I grew and became related to it in every aspect. This country has brought me everything, including my household registration and compulsory education. Therefore, every step of my life is inseparable from the things given by this country. So my feelings for my motherland are like my feelings for my parents. I didn't choose to love it or not, because everything about me is related to it.

Xiaoyue: What behaviors show that a person is patriotic?

Cici: For example, if there is something wrong, you will think about what to do, you will be concerned about this country and the people, and you will find a solution to solve this problem. However, those people who are unpatriotic will choose a very radical or negative way, like cursing the government, which makes things negated and pessimistic... Besides, I think being patriotic means feeling angry from the bottom of my heart when someone else insults my country...

Xiaoyue: Can you give an example of “insulting my country”?

Cici: It mainly happened after I went abroad. In foreign countries like in the U.S. or my friends in Japan, even in Hong Kong, people tend to have some misunderstandings about Mainland China. But I don't what the specific misunderstanding is, because they will not directly tell you. But still, you can feel their bias against China. So on one hand, I hope people won't be biased against China; on the other hand, I just feel very angry sometimes. I

heard a friend telling me that in one, there was an Asian student who didn't know my friend is Chinese, and directly asked my friend: "Hey, you are Asian too. So you must also be biased against China, right?" When people thought you are Asian but not Chinese, they will just... they will say that China is particularly poor, and the Chinese live a very bad life because the air is not clean. Or they will ask if we only eat rice and tofu every day. I feel they don't know much about China, but they just say something bad.

Xiaoyue: How do you feel when you hear these bad words?

Cici: Angry. No matter whether the country is good or not, I don't think you should say that it is bad. Especially, you should not say that in front of the Chinese. Chinese always say "shield the shortcoming," or protect one's child. That means, even if I know that this country has a lot of problems, I can't let outsiders say that it is not good. This is a feeling.

Xiaoyue: How did this feeling come about?

Cici: It is attachment. If you have attachment to it... Like, parents may reprimand their child, but parents won't want the outsiders to do the same to their child. When you have attachment to this country, you will involuntarily want to defend it in front of the outsiders.

Xiaoyue: How to defend it?

Cici: I hope that we can tell those people who don't know much about China that China is great and it has kept changing and growing. And we should tell them that Chinese people are nice and well-mannered by doing the right things ourselves, and that we live a good life... I hope that we can leave people a good impression of China. Objectively speaking, China is still a developing country. Especially after coming to a developed country, I started to feel that we still haven't caught up with the developed countries. However, no matter what, I still hope other people won't have bad thoughts and prejudices about China.

Serena expressed similar opinions when she talked about Yang Shuping's speech. She directly said "Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang," which is actually a tradition or culture in China:

Actually, everyone knows that China's air quality is not good. Let's put the question of whether it is caused by China itself aside. One thing that is obvious is that the gap between the rich and the poor is really huge in China, so some Chinese people just try their best to make money illegally. But I think you can discuss this with friends and family, but if you talk about it publicly at the graduation ceremony as a Chinese, then it is not good. In private, Chinese people all know about it, but you should know that "Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang." If you talk about it in public, then you are showing disrespect for Chinese.

Serena also tied her identity closely with China. Thus, any behavior insulting China is equal to insulting her. Serena told me:

I remember very clearly that I was in a computer science class, and a Taiwanese was also in that class. And when we did homework together, I asked him where he was from, he said

that “I am a Taiwanese.” So, another classmate asked him if Taiwan has a lot of delicious food like the mainland. Then he said Taiwan does not belong to China. Then my friend asked him if he is Chinese, and he said that he is not. So the Chinese students in that class including me all felt that the Taiwanese we’ve met do not see themselves as Chinese, and they are eager to distance themselves from the Chinese, and we felt that they look down on China.

Hank, who talked a lot about the problems of China and criticized some aspects of the Chinese government, also felt the same way when he heard foreign people say bad things about China. Hank admitted that this feeling was not about facts, it was just a subjective feeling:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what comes to your mind?

Hank: Patriotism... The first thought is that you wish this country to get better and better.

Xiaoyue: In terms of what aspect?

Hank: I think there are two aspects. One is the comprehensive strength of the country, and the other is people’s daily life. I hope that the people’s life will be better and better, and that the country's comprehensive strength, including economics, education, culture, or military, will get better in all aspects, so that we will have a sense of honor.

Xiaoyue: What is the sense of honor?

Hank: If you are from a great country, when you talk with other people, they also think your country is great, and then you will feel good. If you come from an unpromising country, then people may have negative opinions about it and you will feel uncomfortable.

Xiaoyue: Have you ever encountered anyone talking about China negatively?

Hank: I have. Occasionally, I will talk about politics with others, including some of China’s policies, like the one-child policy. Some foreigners, they may say Chinese people eat everything, and sometimes there are conflicts about the way of doing something between the Chinese and foreigners, which may be incomprehensible [to foreigners]. Then foreigners will talk about these things like telling a joke, and you will feel uncomfortable.

Xiaoyue: Can you tell me more about what the discomfort is like?

Hank: I think that when other people make such jokes, they are actually saying that you Chinese people are bad-mannered, you are treated unfairly, you are not like them, and they will think that you need help. That is to say, when they make jokes about these things, I am not very happy. I don't want my country or things related to me to become a joke.

Xiaoyue: What did they say when you talk about things related to China?

Hank: They may say, for example, that Chinese people eat everything, and that you are so great at eating, but the implication is that the Chinese really have no taste for food, or that you are cruel. When it comes to family planning policy, they will say that some policies in China are very backward, and so on. Well, I admit that they are right and they telling the truth, but I still feel unhappy.

Xiaoyue: Then why are you unhappy when they tell the truth?

Hank: I think this feeling is normal. As for myself, I hope that things related to me are always good... But if someone tells me “you are not good, and you should come to me to learn from us,” then I will feel uncomfortable. It is a subjective feeling, which has nothing to do with the facts.

Laura also felt that “judging this country equals judging me.” For one thing, Laura thought that she was taught to defend China as a child; for another, Laura also shared the idea of “defending China is defending herself” because of her identity as a Chinese:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of “patriotism,” what is the first thing that comes to your mind?

Laura: Well... For example, if I hear some bad comments about my motherland, I will refute. This is my understanding of patriotism. And even if I have negative opinions about my own country, I don’t want outsiders to have the same thoughts.

Xiaoyue: Can you give me some examples of bad comments?

Laura: For example, China is a one-party state, there is only one party in China, and this party has monopoly of power. Then I will say that this is actually a solid system. Because there are so many people in China, a stable system is needed. This is the Chinese socialism with its own specialties. I will tell other people the same. I must think this way because I have been taught to think this way since I was child.

...

Xiaoyue: You just said, “Even if I have negative opinions about my own country, I don’t want outsiders to have the same thoughts.” Why?

Laura: For example, I often think that some behaviors of our government are not right. But if people from other countries also criticize the Chinese government... For example, I used to listen to NPR radio with my classmates in the car, including some Korean students, and we would talk about China and South Korea. If they said the Chinese government is not good, I would be unhappy about it. It is okay for the Chinese to criticize the Chinese government in private. If people from other countries talk negatively about it, it is obviously a judgment. They are judging our government, our country. They are mocking it.

Xiaoyue: Why does mocking the government make you unhappy?

Laura: Because I am still a Chinese citizen led by our government. When my identity still belongs to this country, judging this country equals judging me.

Xiaoyue: Can you recall anything you discussed with people from other countries?

Laura: There are some things that can't be heard in the Chinese media, but are reported in Western media, such as the trade issues, like import and export, deficit, and control of tariffs. It is said that the Chinese government has been in conflict with the U.S. government in tariffs. I don't know who is right, but I know that the U.S. is pretty dominated. China is just trying to protect its own benefits, although sometimes it may have some extreme behaviors, making the Western media criticize it.

Xiaoyue: So you also agree that the China may have some extreme behaviors, then why should people from the other countries not talk about it?

Laura: Because they are not talking about it from my point of view, their arguments are in favor of their countries. But from my point of view, what China does is beneficial to us and protects our own industry. Thus, defending the interests of our country equals defending my own interests.

To Cici, Serena, and Hank, they feel that they are closely related to China, and being a Chinese is a very important part of their identity. They may have negative opinions about the government and they talk about the problems of China with their peers, but they do not allow the outsiders to talk. To them, this has nothing to do with truths or facts; it is due to the Chinese culture of “Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang,” and it is due to their attachment to this country that arises from their living experiences there. It is part of their identity. Thus, any behaviors insulting China is actually insulting them.

### **Behave as a Representative of China**

While several participants have mentioned “Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang,” it does not imply that these students do not want to interact with the outsiders. On the contrary, for some of them, it is important to show the outsiders the good qualities of Chinese international students so that foreigners will have a good impression of China. This is considered patriotism as well. It is also related to the topic of discrimination and stereotype. On one hand, the experience of being

discriminated against makes some Chinese students love their motherland more; on another, they are also reflecting on themselves to see how they can do better to improve the image of China and the Chinese people. For instance, Julian did not like the flaunting of wealthy students and suggested that Chinese international students should learn frugality and independence from the American students:

Xiaoyue: What behaviors do you think are unpatriotic?

Julian: Well... I don't know if it's an unpatriotic thing or not, you know that many Chinese international students are rich kids, right?

Xiaoyue: Right.

Julian: I think they have left a negative impression on the American people. When I was a freshman, I lived in the dormitory with American students. They asked me if I was an American because I don't have any Chinese accent. Then I said that I grew up in China, but I went to high school in the U.S. Then they said: "Wow, you Chinese people are rich and always drive a luxury car." Then I felt a little awkward. That is, I think this has caused Americans to have a bad impression of Chinese students, assuming they are here to spend money rather than study. They may also feel that Chinese parents spoil their kids and give them whatever they want. But I think the American students are very frugal and they know that if they want something, they must work for it instead asking their parents for it. I think we Chinese should learn from them. So I think patriotism also means that you should learn good aspects from other countries. You shouldn't do whatever you want to do in the U.S. and should be aware of your behaviors... Although this is basically a stereotype issue, I think we also need reflect on ourselves.

...

Xiaoyue: Is there anything else about patriotism you can think of?

Julian: I think there are more and more patriotic people now, and some patriotic people are visiting foreign countries... I think Chinese people around the world should show others that China is a great country and let everybody see China's success and leaps. All of these can be manifested in ourselves.

Xiaoyue: How are these manifested in Chinese international students?

Julian: The first one is academic success. It doesn't mean that you should get an A in every class, but when I see many Chinese students on the graduation boards of the Master's and PhD degrees, I feel great. I feel that academic success can show China's strength... I would feel proud when I see academic success of Chinese students. It shows the high level of education in China.

Laura also mentioned how glad she was when people say Chinese students are great:

Laura: Recently, one of my Korean classmates said she found that students from China speak English very well and that we have strong academic abilities. One of the professors in our department also likes Chinese students a lot, and that teacher is American but has recruited many Chinese students. I was glad when I heard this. I think praising the students from China equals praising our country... Chinese students also represent China.

In terms of academic success, Jack, an ethnic Mongol raised in Shanghai, directly pointed out that cheating is unpatriotic since such behavior will hurt the image of China. To Jack, patriotism is like a discipline that constantly reminds him of his identity as a Chinese and urges him to behave himself:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of patriotism, what comes to your mind?

Jack: I think patriotism has a deeper impact on international students like me because we represent the Chinese people when we are abroad. This is a much higher-level thing. It's not like that I used to represent the Inner Mongolian people when I was in Shanghai. Now we are presenting China, and whatever we do reflects the image of China. In the mindset of some foreigners, their impression of the Chinese may come from Crazy Rich Asians, but I find this movie's name particularly interesting. It is also a stereotype, and the Americans probably think that we are such people. I think it is a culture conflict. I think patriotism should be understood in different aspects... I think that the identity of a college student, regardless of whether you are in China or abroad, represents the image of our country. Because firstly, college students are highly educated, and when you go to college, you should fulfill the needs of the society and you will take over the leadership of a society. Since you have reached this age, what you do represents the country. The so-called patriotism, in fact, is to do the right thing. This is a form of patriotism.

Xiaoyue: What is the right thing?

Jack: For example, there were some international students who got expelled from school because of cheating. This is unpatriotic. When they cheated, they didn't think about the national image. And [the Midwestern University] was hosting an event inside a building, and a sign was put on the wall saying "There was an event inside, please don't come in," it was written in both English and Chinese. At that time, the Chinese organizations on campus protested and questioned why they especially wrote a line of Chinese, saying this is discrimination. I think this is a manifestation of patriotism. It defends the Chinese students' rights and I think this is great. But some people don't have this kind of awareness. I feel terrible for them. They just think discrimination is nothing and they just want to muddle along. Although patriotism probably does not really matter, I think you have it in your mind. It's just like religion, which is also optional and unreal, but it can discipline your behavior.



Li Hua also defended his identity and the country when he heard bias against China. He was particularly concerned about how Chinese international students present issues related to China in class since these presentations might reinforce stereotypes:

Li Hua: For example, sometimes I watch Guo Wengui's videos on Youtube. I think his comments on China are not objective and unfair. He said that the Chinese government is rotten to the core, there is no hope, and China will be finished, and so on. I don't quite agree. I don't think China is that bad. Besides, sometimes in classes, some Chinese students will present some issues in China, and I will think they are too young, too simple. That is, their description of the status quo of China will only increase the foreigners' prejudice against China and reinforce stereotype. Are they telling the truth? This is absolutely not the case. I don't know if there is a problem with the way they understand the issue, or if they don't know how to describe the issue. They just describe a very complicated problem in a very simple way, and say how bad China is. Is there no good aspect in China? Why don't you introduce these good aspects? Every country's educational development has its own dilemma. Why don't you show the dilemma? If you say that there is huge gap between China's education and the U.S. education, then are these two countries facing the same situation? Do they have the same student population? Anyway, when it comes to a very complicated issue, they simplify the issue, and simplification will result... Of course, I feel that the instructors will see such issues more objectively because they have a better understanding of Chinese education. But this kind of presentation will only reinforce the bad impressions that other classmates already have about China, including the American students. I used to argue with them, but recently I'm just auditing the class, so I don't want to confront them so fiercely. And even if they said that, not every instructor and student would believe in them. They had their own judgments. When such things happened, I tended to defend my identity and the development of my country.

Serena and Mike also talked about behaviors of Chinese people abroad. They believed that behaviors of some Chinese people, such as spitting everywhere, cutting in line, and talking loudly in public, would disgrace China and all Chinese people. Thus, paying attention to one's manner is also an embodiment of patriotism. According to Mike: "Defending the dignity of the country is defending our own dignity." In general, Julian, Laura, Jack, Li Hua, Serena, and Mike all considered themselves representatives of China and they believed that behaving themselves and doing the right things is patriotism, and that defending the country is defending their identity.

## **Worship of Chinese Culture**

The last element of identity patriotism is worship of traditional Chinese culture. Julian, Serena, Li Hua, Xinxin, Jay, and Jack all talked about Chinese culture during the interviews and thought that culture is also a part of their identity. For instance, Julian thought that inheriting traditional virtues is also an embodiment of patriotism:

Julian: I think inheriting traditional virtues is an embodiment of patriotism, including showcasing Chinese culture to outsiders. For example, there are crosstalk, dances, and music. I think these all show patriotic inheritance when performed in foreign countries. I have seen the performance by Chinese students on campus during traditional Chinese holidays. I think they did great and worked very hard on this.

Xiaoyue: What virtues are you referring to when you said inheriting virtue?

Julian: Well... I think that Chinese people are more humble, not as open as Americans. And I consider humility a virtue. And there is also comity, which is a very important Chinese virtue.

Jay also mentioned the performance by the CSSA, and he believed that when talking about patriotism, the definition of “country” consists of not only the People’s Republic of China but also the history and culture of China. Jay also believed that the recognition of the shared history and culture is the bedrock of the unification of Taiwan:

Xiaoyue: When we say love the country, how do you define “country”?

Jay: I think “China” does not simply refer to the People's Republic of China. Well, PRC cannot be defined as a country, actually. It is actually a government. I think the concept of country is much broader. That is to say, when you love this country, you not only love the present of it, you also love the past of it, like Qin Dynasty and Han Dynasty. For example, the current regime has only existed for a few decades, but your family has already lived in this land for many generations... I like reading Ch'ien Mu books, from which you can learn a lot about taxes, conscription, and so on in ancient China. Then you will understand that the current country is not born out of nothing. There is a continuation, and there is the inheritance of ancient systems. For example, we may feel that our current system is different from that of the Republic of China. But in the long run, when we look at the society of the Yuan, Ming, and Qing Dynasties, they are actually quite similar. However, people living in the Qing Dynasty would feel that their life was quite different from that of the Ming Dynasty.

...

Xiaoyue: You just mentioned the Facebook Expedition. Then how do you understand the relationship between Taiwan and Mainland China?

Jay: I have come to the United States to meet many Taiwanese friends and we sometimes talk about this. I think they are very nice people, and there is no culture gap between us... My personal understanding is that Taiwan should at least recognize our shared history. I think Taiwanese can be divided into several groups. In the past, Taiwan used to be ruled by Dutch colonial government. Later, Zheng Chenggong recaptured Taiwan and reclaimed it. Some of Taiwanese are native, but some were brought by Zheng Chenggong. And then Kuomintang retreated to Taiwan, bringing many people from the Mainland. From a cultural point of view, I feel that Taiwan and the Mainland are one. This is a relationship that cannot be denied. We are all Chinese descendants. Therefore, they should recognize the concept of the Chinese nation. But many supporters of Taiwan independence believe that the history of Taiwan is irrelevant with Mainland China. I think this fits the political needs of politicians. It is not the truth.

Jack is an ethnic Mongol born in Inner Mongolia and raised in Shanghai. He believed that patriotism means inheritance of traditional Chinese culture that has Confucianism at the core and has also absorbed minority cultures:

Xiaoyue: When you talked about the country, you mentioned traditional culture, then how do you define Chinese traditional culture?

Jack: Actually, I think that although I am a Mongol, I went to Shanghai for school at a very young age. So the culture I was raised in was Han culture. However, my personality is still very similar to the Mongols, I am bold and cheerful, and my friends are all northerners. I feel that I am not quite the same as the southerners. I think Chinese culture is actually very diverse. We have many ethnic groups. For example, the Tang Dynasty was permeated by many different cultures. Each time dynasties changed, Chinese culture was then influenced by other cultures and the new emperor. In fact, culture changes every year, including changes of national costumes. I think this is the power of Chinese culture, which can absorb other cultures. For example, the Zhongshan suit.<sup>10</sup> Sun Yat-sen is actually an American. As the founding father of modern China, he brought the American culture to China. After the end of the Isolationism of Qing Dynasty, China has also been absorbing other cultures. So I think we have Confucianism at the core, but we are also able to absorb foreign cultures. Chinese culture today is quite mixed. We are developing very fast and we are absorbing a lot of other cultures. Although China has some barriers—I mean the Great Firewall—that make us segregated from outside information, but I was surprised to find that foreign cultures have flowed into China, including some very popular short videos and applications, and everyone can still see some changes abroad. I used to tell people that when I came to the U.S. in 2015, activities like going to the bar were not quite popular, but the Chinese youngsters who are even younger than me are starting to participate in such activities. I was

<sup>10</sup> Zhongshan suit: The modern Chinese tunic suit. Sun Yat-sen, who is called Sun Zhongshan in China, introduced the style after the founding of the Republic of China.

amazed to find that these things have become quite normal in China. I feel that Chinese culture is getting more and more mixed now. Because I really like to watch the documentaries on YouTube, and there are some that record things happening in China. I feel that China has become very interesting and mixed. But the good news is that many people have inherited our traditions. For example, in Season Three of “A Bite of China,” there was a young man who specialized in mechanical engineering in Germany and had already become the head of a company, but he still returned to China to take over his father’s ancient craft workshop. I think inheritance is a very sacred thing. China has a history of more than 5,000 years and there is a lot we can pass on, like craftsmanship and culture. I think that as long as you continue to inherit these things, it is okay to absorb new things. But you should never forget your roots...

Xiaoyue: You just mentioned Chinese traditional culture, like Confucian culture. How is this related to patriotism?

Jack: I think culture offers restraints, which drive me to do things and helps form my personality. But I think it depends, some people just don’t give a shit about it, but sometimes I’m pretty serious about this... When I was in high school, I liked taking history classes. I’m very interested in those things, and I like ancient cultures very much. I think Chinese should look and behave like Chinese. I know that many pop singers are now talking about Chinese style. This is good.

### **Constructive Patriotism**

The fourth category is constructive patriotism, which implies more concern about the country’s development, more constructive criticism, and willingness to serve the country. Someone participants specifically talked about the issues of China and showed concern about it. They also considered the willingness to serve the country, participate in the process of decision-making, and make the country and society better. They would consider criticism of the country necessary and believed that a patriot would possibly seek solutions to change the situation.

### **Rational and Constructive Criticism**

A few participants mentioned constructive criticism of the government to slowly improve the society as patriotism. For instance, Li Hua believed that public expression of opinions could

push the society forward, and a patriot ought to have a sense of responsibility for the country's development:

Li Hua: I think the current situation is... like, judicial reform and education reform; many scholars are working on these. For instance, when the judicial reform meeting is held, experts in this field will be invited. And ordinary citizens also have obligations to participate in these processes. For example, if you see anything negative, you can post it online, and when the government sees it, they will rectify and reform. I don't know if you have ever watched the TV drama *In the Name of the People*.<sup>11</sup> One of the stories tells that the service window is very low, and the staff inside has air conditioning while people outside cannot enjoy it. I think this kind of thing is actually related to the people. When it comes to personal interests, like the cumbersome procedures, people will burst out complaining, then the government will gradually improve. I feel that every country has its own problems and you can't fix all of them in one year. It will gradually improve.

Xiaoyue: What characteristics do you think a patriotic person has?

Li Hua: I think it is rational criticism. You not only realize that your country has these problems, but you will also delve into the rationale behind it. And you also feel a sense of belonging to your identity, including culture and nationality... I think patriotism is too complicated. That is, I think it includes a sense of responsibility for culture, identity, and development of this country. For example, we can rationally criticize this country, see if it has any problems and what they are, what is the possible solution based on the current national conditions, and what is the best choice we can make based on the level of economic development and military level, and we should have a constructive and responsible attitude towards the development of the country.

Cici shared similar thoughts as Li Hua, and she also found inspiration in movies. Cici was concerned about the country's destiny and kept thinking about it, wishing the problems could be solved by the country:

Xiaoyue: Was there any moment you felt patriotic?

Cici: I recently watched the movie *Operation Red Sea*,<sup>12</sup> and I wondered why I didn't join the army. I was thinking that if I was younger, I would be able to join the army and go to the front line like them to do something for our country. I would feel so proud of myself.

Xiaoyue: Are there any other films or TV shows that are inspiring?

<sup>11</sup> *In the Name of the People*: a 2017 Chinese TV drama series that revolves around a prosecutor's efforts to unearth corruption in a present-day fictional Chinese city.

<sup>12</sup> *Operation Red Sea*: a 2018 Chinese movie based on the 2015 mission to evacuate Chinese citizens amid civil war in Yemen.

Cici: Any movies based on facts and national conditions always make me think. Like the movie *Dying to Survive*,<sup>13</sup> which talks about this country's drug monopoly issue, such films would keep me thinking about if our country needs to change. But I only think about it, I can't do anything about it. I might think about if my family would suffer from the same situation and how the country could solve it... I would be concerned about the destiny of the country and people involuntarily. After watching *Dying to Survive*, I felt that this is something that needs to be solved at the country level. If our country has established laws and regulations, especially those that could save the people like medical care, if the country stood up to make some policies, making those people in need less desperate, then those sad stories would have never happened.

Xiaoyue: What does “country” refer to specifically?

Cici: Like, if the Drug Administration Bureau and Price Supervision Bureau know what is happening, I hope they can change this through making policies and stop the pricy drugs from circulating in the market.

As mentioned earlier in the “extreme patriotism” category, Cici also thought that negative aspects should not impede one's patriotic sentiments and people should be positive about the country even if it meant to “blindly trust and love the country.”

Hank also mentioned constructive criticism as an embodiment of patriotism. He was especially concerned about some social issues and would actively follow news about China:

Xiaoyue: Do you think you are a patriotic person? Why?

Hank: I think I am. From my personal experience, I am a Party member, and I have been exposed to a lot of patriotic education when I was in China. And since I was a child, I have always been paying attention to political and economic topics, hoping the general strength of the country and its political and economic situations will get better and better. I still care about these till today, and when I saw something bad happen, I would be worried. I know I am a patriotic person.

Xiaoyue: What do you worry about?

Hank: Some social issues and economics. For example, Didi<sup>14</sup> is bad for Chinese women in terms of safety. And the death of the Kunshan gangster,<sup>15</sup> and then there are some mass

<sup>13</sup> *Dying to Survive*: a 2018 Chinese movie based on a true story of a Chinese leukemia patient who smuggled cheap pharmaceuticals from India to help hundreds of Chinese people suffering from cancer.

<sup>14</sup> Didi: a Chinese technology company that offers ride-sharing service. In 2018, a female passenger was murdered by the driver while using the Didi carpooling service.

<sup>15</sup> Death of Kunshan gangster: A road rage incident. A gangster in Kunshan, Jiangsu Province, tried to attack a passenger, but was slashed by the passenger with the gangster's own knife. The passenger was later released as he acted in self-defense.

protests in Hunan Province and Shenzhen. So I usually pay attention to these things and I feel that these are really awful. Of course, I don't wish these to happen in this country. I hope that the society can make some progress and put an end to such things.

Xiaoyue: How did you know about these things?

Hank: Sometimes I will visit some Chinese online forums. But it is very difficult for me to see reports on the online forums I normally visit in China. Since I am abroad now, I can see things through channels that are not available in China... I would pay attention to the news about China to follow up. If I saw something of particular interest, I would search it.

Xiaoyue: In Chinese or English?

Hank: Both. Sometimes I read overseas Chinese media, for example, topics related to international relations, like trade war, but I would pay more attention to first-hand information in English.

...

Xiaoyue: What behaviors suggest that a person is patriotic?

Hank: For example, paying attention to things happening in this country, and having positive attitudes instead of blindly criticizing. How to view things, whether paying attention or not, paying attention to what, and what is this person's attitude towards things, all indicate whether one is patriotic or not...

Xiaoyue: Can you talk more specifically about "having positive attitudes"?

Hank: I think positive means... I think it's easier to explain "negative," which means denying everything, like the CCP, Chinese people, the army, and many other things. This is definitely negative, and is not patriotic. And positive... well, you will view things more objectively. For example, if you are criticizing something, then it should be constructive criticism.

Xiaoyue: Can you give me an example of constructive criticism?

Hank: If you see some bad things, and you criticize it, but your criticism is valid with evidence, and you may be able to make some suggestions. And all your criticisms and all the suggestions start with an intention to change some bad situations.

Xinxin also talked about "death of Kunshan gangster," and she also directly said that paying attention to what happened in this country was a manifestation of patriotism. However, Xinxin felt especially powerless and emphasized that she could only pay attention to what was happening and couldn't do anything about it:

Xiaoyue: What is the second manifestation of patriotism?

Xinxin: It's paying attention to what is happening in China. Some people may want to return to China to serve the country, and some people are just concerned about this country just like me. I feel that I can't play an important role in the national affairs, and I can't take any actions, so I just pay attention.

Xiaoyue: What do you usually pay attention to?

Xinxin: Mainly the economy and people's livelihood, like, um, there is a murder case here, then how to judge it, why the murder happened, and then I will analyze the current situation of this country, thinking about how to stop such things.

Xiaoyue: Can you give me an example of "such things"?

Xinxin: For example, the recent amendment of the constitution.<sup>16</sup> I was shocked when I heard it, I wondered why he did this. But then I thought that there was nothing I could do, I could only talk about it, now I knew this and what people in China and abroad were thinking, but I was just a follower of this news. Another example is the Kunshan gangster incident that happened a while ago. It has also led me to refresh my understanding of the judiciary of China. I studied law for two years, and when the Kunshan court had not issued a ruling, I thought they would more or less punish the passenger. But in the end, it was judged as justifiable self-defense. I feel that it has expanded the dimension of defense in the legal sense. However, because of the development of the Internet, the public opinion is quite influential today and can impact the political decision in some sense. The judge probably considered the public opinion when making the final decision.

### **Willingness to Serve the Country**

While a few participants talked about constructive criticism that pushes the society forward, they not only talked about the power of criticism but also the specific behaviors to serve the country. In fact, eight participants mentioned that serving the country is an obvious reflection of one's patriotic sentiments. For instance, Li Hua considered himself a patriot and he used to argue with other people when he believed they had biased opinions about China. He mentioned that he used to argue with his Chinese roommate about censorship in China and he thought that this was true, but the government was not that bad and it had kept changing. Li Hua thought a patriot

<sup>16</sup> 2018 amendment of the constitution: On March 11, 2018, China scrapped the Presidential Term Limits written in the constitution, enabling Xi Jinping to rule indefinitely.



ought to participate in the process of making the society better. He directly told me he planned to go back to positively impact the society after graduation:

Xiaoyue: You mentioned censorship. What do you think of it?

Li Hua: First of all, I don't think that we should not criticize the government. You see that People's Daily always fiercely criticizes the government. But the critics should be unbiased and evidence-based. If your opinion is too extreme without any evidence, then criticizing the government is not a reasonable behavior. I think the Chinese government is not that occluded, or can't be criticized. I feel it is changing and getting better and better.

Xiaoyue: Then, what are the other ways to make the government better?

Li Hua: I think, um... Last night, I was having dinner with others, and they asked me what I want to do after finishing my PhD degree. I said I wanted to find a faculty position to support my family. In addition, I also strongly feel that I could change more people through doing my research or other ways.

Xiaoyue: Are you saying that you want to change the society through your work?

Li Hua: Right. Because I plan to go back to work, I will do some research and teach the students. Because I work on topics about English education, such as the reform of English education and English test, so my work will impact a lot of people. But you have to be very good at the research, like if you are a nationally famous professor or if you are a Changjiang Scholar Chair professor,<sup>17</sup> then you will have more power and more impact. I just wish that, besides making money to support my family, my work will change more people and serve more people, especially in the area of basic education.

Xinxin also expressed similar ideas, but Xinxin emphasized the contribution to local development of one's hometown. She believed that patriots "must be those who always think about local people, not the country, and when they find negative aspects of their hometown, they will go back to change these and serve the people." Some other participants, including Julian, Anne, Piupiu, and Laura, mentioned some famous scholars who used to work in the U.S. but decided to go back to China, such as Deng Jiaxian and Yang Chen-Ning.

<sup>17</sup> Changjiang Scholar Program: a very prestigious academic award issued to people who work in higher education institutions in China.

Cici majored in agriculture, but she was always interested in journalism and wanted to be a journalist. To Cici, patriotism meant “do something to make this country better” in terms of both contributing to the development of agricultural mechanization and exposing social issues:

Xiaoyue: What else do you want to say about patriotism?

Cici: I think patriotism is a very general concept, but it can be very specific, too... Although I am studying abroad now, I hope that I can learn more to make contributions to our country. If I am able to do something to promote our country’s development in the future, I hope to.

Xiaoyue: What does “development” refer to?

Cici: For example, I wish to do something to make this country better. Like, I am studying agricultural engineering now, and if I can learn this very well, I wish to help with the development of our country’s agricultural mechanization if I go back to China. Or if I am able to transfer to the media industry to write something the public will read, or to report the news, no matter what, I want the public to read some good stuff and comment on social issues. After all, media is very important. If I can do my part, I also wish to serve the country in terms of exposing news like fake vaccines.

While most participants agreed that serving the country is an embodiment of patriotism, they also expressed their own concerns about personal rights and development. Thus, although they agreed that going back to serve the country can show one’s patriotic sentiment, it is not always the case. For instance, Hank also thought that if a person studying abroad always wanted to return to China, then this person “must be very patriotic.” While Hank also identified himself as a patriot, he did not want to go back personally as he felt he was not sure about the future of China due to the current situation and changes in Chinese society:

Xiaoyue: Are there any other behaviors or characteristics indicating that a person is patriotic?

Hank: I think the most important thing is that if someone is studying abroad but always wants to return to China one day, then this person is obviously patriotic... I think if you want to go back, then you must care about your country’s interests.

Xiaoyue: Then do you want to go back to China?

Hank: I don't want to go back for now because the current situation in China is too bad. There is an old saying in China that says "jun zi bu li wei qiang zhi xia."<sup>18</sup> It's too risky, and I need to think for myself rationally.

Xiaoyue: What is "too risky"?

Hank: I mean the society is too turbulent, it is changing, and as an ordinary person, I can't tell which direction the country is heading towards. For now, there are some dangerous signals, such as too much rage within the society, the high rent, and possible loss of job opportunities due to the trade war. These are all bad signals. If you want to go back to work, you may need to think twice.

Like Hank, Laura directly said:

Laura: In fact, many international students return to China, but it's not because they are patriotic. Going back or not does not necessarily have anything to do with patriotism. Staying here does not mean that someone is not patriotic, it only implies one's desire to have a better life. I can't say that people who consider themselves first are unpatriotic. I think in most cases, the majority of people are patriotic.

### **Cosmopolitan Patriotism**

There was only participant, Zhonghua, who directly identified himself as a cosmopolitan.

While cosmopolitanism and patriotism seem to be two opposite concepts, Zhonghua found a balance between these two. As mentioned earlier in the "identity patriotism" category, Zhonghua admitted that patriotism was related to one's identity and his identity as a Chinese became more salient since he went abroad. He also considered himself a patriot as he was happy with the economic development of China, the lively atmosphere there, and a sense of belonging and protection the country offered him. Despite these similar opinions he shared with other participants, Zhonghua was quite different in regard to things he cared about, understanding of nationality, and his attitudes towards freedom and serving the country.

<sup>18</sup> Jun zi bu li wei qiang zhi xia: 君子不立危墙之下. It means "a wise man foresees and mitigates risks."

## Harsh Criticism of Negative Aspects

Unlike Li Hua who held a neutral opinions towards censorship and blockages of many foreign websites, Zhonghua directly expressed his harsh criticism of the control of speech:

Xiaoyue: You mentioned that there are some negative aspects about China that you are dissatisfied with. Could you please give me an example?

Zhonghua: Like food safety issues and environmental pollution, which are widely discussed. I think what concerns me most is freedom, which can be reflected in the freedom of speech, and, I don't know how to say this, but the environment as whole in China is still relatively tense, such as the blockage of the many websites, and the control of cultural products, resulting in many voices unheard and making me feel very oppressed.

Xiaoyue: What voices are unheard?

Zhonghua: The blockage of websites directly affects most. Every time I go back home, I feel particularly isolated and especially occluded. It's the feeling of being out of touch with the world, and it's like living in a small circle. Besides, I feel that I have less to talk about with my old friends in China, and my values have changed a lot because of my experiences of staying in the U.S., so we have quite different opinions towards the same topic.

Xiaoyue: Then what do you think of the censorship?

Zhonghua: I don't have any positive opinions about this. I don't support it.

## An Open Mind to Diversity

When I asked Zhonghua to give me some more specific descriptions of the positive and negative aspects of China, Zhonghua thought for a while but really couldn't recall any.

According to Zhonghua, he hadn't read any news about China for a while. This makes Zhonghua quite different from other participants who claimed that paying attention to what happened in the country showed patriotism. Zhonghua explained: "I am too busy, and I started to have a strong cosmopolitan feeling after coming here. I won't pay special attention to a particular country. Generally speaking, I care about more aspects." Then I asked Zhonghua what cosmopolitan meant to him. Zhonghua said:

Zhonghua: I think it is an open mind to cultural diversity. The so-called cosmopolitanism, well, is difference togetherness, which means recognizing the differences on the one hand,

and then on the one hand, and finding the similarities on the other hand. Just respect the cultural differences. I am trying to be a global citizen... Cosmopolitan and nationalism are actually very antagonistic, and if you want to accept different cultures and different races, then you will have some criticism of the narrow nationalism, or you may call it extreme nationalism.

Then Zhonghua described what behaviors showed extreme nationalism, and as mentioned earlier in the “irrational patriotism” category, he called behaviors like smashing Japanese cars “irrational patriotism.” He suggested that rational patriotism should include a more inclusive and open mind, and he learned all these from the doctorate program he was attending:

Xiaoyue: What is rational patriotism like?

Zhonghua: Accept the history and face the future.

Xiaoyue: Can you explain this?

Zhonghua: I think that a more inclusive mindset is very necessary for the future, such as being open-minded to diverse cultural, religious, and political groups, and we should not be constrained by the concept of country. That means, we should not say that “because I am Chinese, I need to do this and that, and I need to express patriotism.” To me, the concept of patriotism is gradually fading.

Xiaoyue: When did you start to realize this?

Zhonghua: It started after I attended this doctorate program. Because there are people from different countries in our program, and everybody does the research together and takes classes together. Nobody will focus on which country you are from or have stereotypes, people just care about your professional performance or you as a person. We seldom talk about what is the relation between you and your country. Of course, sometimes we may chat about what food people want to eat for lunch and we may consider which country a certain person is from. But we would never think that a colleague from a certain country is supposed to do a certain thing... For example, I recently read a book, and it talks about the topic we are discussing today. The author is a researcher of cultural studies, and she is Indonesia-born Chinese, went to school in the Netherlands, and then became a professor in Australia. Her book is like an autobiography, which talks about diversity, multiculturalism, and hybrid identity. I think the theme of that book is people, whether our identity is national, ethical, or racial, you are always in a hybrid status. For example, she does not have a clear idea of her nationality because she was not born or raised in China, she just has a Chinese face. Of course, now I am studying language, a popular discourse in our program is respect for diverse cultures, and since I hear this every day, I have the same thoughts too.

## Care for the World

While some participants mentioned that a person who used to study or work abroad and finally decided to serve the country was patriotic, Zhonghua did not agree. Although some participants also pointed out that “going back or not does not necessarily have anything to do with patriotism,” Zhonghua maintained that linking one’s choice of going back or not to patriotism is a stupid idea, and that real patriotism is care for the whole world:

Xiaoyue: What characteristics do you think a patriot should have?

Zhonghua: Well, in my opinion, patriotism does not simply mean love for a so-called country, because the concept of country is particularly illusory, and it is unclear whether it refers to the people in this country or the polity of this country. Um, yes, it’s a relatively... well, I don’t know how to say it... it’s not a good concept and is quite vague... When you say you love something, you must have done something to prove that. Like, if you only talk about love, then it is superficial love. Like if two people are in love, and they only say “I love you” all day long without taking any actions, then their relationship is meaningless. Speaking of actions, some people still have pretty narrow ideas. They may tell you that if you really are patriotic, you should go back to China to contribute to the modernization of the country. I think this is a stupid idea. I think most people make the choice based on realistic reasons and their own plan for future. So the real patriotism is cosmopolitan, it is care for the whole world, and it should not be constrained by the so-called concept of country.

In general, Zhonghua’s description of patriotism is quite similar to Appiah’s (1997) definition of rooted cosmopolitanism or cosmopolitan patriotism.

## **CHPATER5. FACTORS AND THE OUTCOME SPACE**

### **Factors Impacting Students' Perceptions**

During the interviews, some participants mentioned what factors had affected their perceptions of patriotism. I have already talked about them in the findings of categories, but I will elaborate on these factors and do a summary in this chapter.

#### **Formal Education**

Several students directly talked about the impacts of formal education on them. For example, as stated in the “extreme patriotism” category, Tina mentioned how education brainwashed people, making people absolutely support the government. Some participants also mentioned serving the country as a patriotic behavior because they learned the story about Deng Jiaxian Yang Chen-Ning in school.

Anne, who had expressed support for the one-party system and appreciation for the benefits provided by the government, and firmly defended the unification of the country and integrity of sovereignty, spoke pretty straightforwardly about how she was influenced by education, saying, “I was trained and educated this way when I was a kid.” Anne said although she liked the American lifestyle and she liked the U.S., this was not patriotism. Anne believed that patriotism was related to the education she had received since childhood:

Anne: I think patriotic sentiments are related to the education I have received since I was a child.

Xiaoyue: What kind of education?

Anne: I always seem to feel that patriotism is a quite general idea. It means maintaining the honor of the country and never leaking state secrets. These seem to be part of patriotism. Patriotism also means to remember what the martyrs did for us, such as people who fought

in the war, people in the army, the soldiers. They are all very patriotic. And most importantly, patriotism means maintaining unification of the country.

...

Xiaoyue: You just mentioned “not to leak state secrets” twice. Since when did you realize this?

Anne: Since elementary school, political classes, I started to feel that not to leak state secrets is a very important component of patriotism.

Xiaoyue: To whom should you not leak state secrets?

Anne: Foreign spies. Well, I actually don’t have any secrets to disclose. But if you reveal some secrets that can’t be told to foreigners, then this behavior is treason.

...

Xiaoyue: Why do you think wearing the red scarf and giving a speech under the national flag is patriotic?

Anne: Because children don’t have a general idea of what is patriotism. So I think doing these is patriotic education. Their awareness of patriotism is strengthened through singing the national anthem. Like me, I was trained and educated this way. Although I’m not very sure about what patriotism exactly refers to, I still have a general idea of it.

Like Anne, who told me that the education she received since childhood taught her that “patriotism means maintaining unification of the country,” Cici also expressed similar ideas. As mentioned earlier, Cici recognized that Taiwan had not become part of China, yet she still felt uncomfortable when other people said so. She told me it was due to the education she received since childhood, which made her believe that Taiwan should be part of China.

While Anne, Cici, and Xinxin all agreed on the impact of formal education, Xinxin said that such impact might decrease when one’s personal interests were threatened by the government’s policies:

Xiaoyue: You just mentioned something not so satisfying about the Party in history. How does this affect your evaluation of the Party?

Xinxin: It doesn’t have much impact on me because of the stuff I read and learned since I was a kid. I was instilled with ideas that say the CCP is great since childhood. And because it has not affected my personal interests, my perceptions about the Party have not changed



much. But I know some of my classmates, their parents used to work in state-owned enterprises and when their interests were threatened, they would say bad things about the Party. Besides, my classmate's dad was doing real estate business, and in 2007 or 2008, the government adjusted the policy on the real estate industry, causing her monthly pocket money to decrease from 3,000 RMB to 1,000 RMB. And she started to curse Hu Jintao, who was the chairman at that time, because this policy jeopardized her interests.

Actually, not every participant maintained that formal education had a big impact; for example, Piupiu directly told me he hated ideology classes:

Piupiu: I really dislike the education system in China, which is exploitative, too much homework every day, and what I learned is very general, useless, and there are some classes that not everybody should take, such as ideology and morality class, history class, this sort. I don't like them, but I have to take them... I have a very engineering mind, and I don't like memorizing things. I have to understand it, and then I need to have actual experience of something to see how it happened. But history class... it's all about forced recitation. I hate instilling; my test scores of history were always bottom of the grade... I hate this kind of education. Thus I can't remember any content of it.

### **Extracurricular Activities**

Hank talked about his memory about extracurricular activities, such as watching patriotic movies, singing revolutionary songs, and the cadre training program. However, Hank did not think that all these activities had positive impacts on students' patriotic sentiments; in fact, singing revolutionary songs and the formalistic cadre training program were counterproductive.

But Hank remembered one of the movies he watched and thought it was great:

Xiaoyue: Why did you cheer for the Chinese team while you actually like the player from the American team?

Hank: Because I would identify myself as a Chinese rather than as a basketball player's fan [when these two teams played a game].

Xiaoyue: Why?

Hank: I think it's due to the education I received. I think every country has this kind of education, including the U.S. So the government will try to unite everybody, and it tries to instill you with an idea telling you that you are in this country, and the 10 billion people are an integral whole, and you hope people's life will get better and better. I think it is an imperceptible influence and education.

Xiaoyue: What education impressed you most?

Hank: The first thing that comes to my mind is... when I was in elementary school, the whole class went to watch a patriotic movie called *Charging Out Amazon*. It tells the story of a Chinese special force, and the United Nations Peacekeeping Forces, and that soldier did great in the mission. I remember this.

Xiaoyue: Why did this give you a particularly deep impression?

Hank: Because that movie is good. At that time, all the foreigners, Americans, they were extremely muscular in the movies, and you would wonder if Chinese people were weaker, and when you did that comparison, you would compare yourself with them, and you didn't want to be weaker. But in that movie, you saw a person of your own ethnicity, as a representative of the country, he was quite similar to you, but he was great, and he could defeat soldiers from other countries in the competition, and you would feel that if he could do this, I would be able to do the same, we were not that bad, we were great, too. Then, you would have sort of patriotic feelings. Sometimes, the schools I attended also organized very formalistic activities. For example, when I was attending high school in Chongqing, Bo Xilai was still there at that time, the school would organize students to sing revolutionary songs like "The East is Red" and to wear Red Army uniforms. These were also patriotic education activities, but you would just find them boring because there was no emotional resonance at all.

Hank continued to talk about how formalistic activities, especially a cadre training program he attended, would actually be counterproductive:

Hank: The Chinese Communist Party is too fond of doing formalism, such as singing revolutionary songs. Once I was in a cadre training program, and we were taken to the place where Yugong Yishan (愚公移山)<sup>19</sup> happened and there was statue at the foot of the Wangwu Mountain. And we started to recite the story of Yugong Yishan, saying that there was a Yugong in ancient times, and now there is the CCP who digs the canal for people. It's totally formalism, and makes you completely disagree with it from your heart.

Xiaoyue: What do you disagree with?

Hank: Both the content and the form. First of all, if you don't accept this form, you won't feel good about the content. Because the information they gave you was not objective, it didn't tell you what it was like before the canal was built and what has changed after it was built. Because everyone processes information differently, once I got the information and I will evaluate it. Since I don't have enough information to evaluate this thing, then I won't have any impression of it. If you really treat this program seriously, you will say how hard it was to build the canal, and how bad the drought was before the CCP built the canal and how good it is now, right? Then I would probably be educated with patriotism. However, it is also possible that what the CCP didn't do anything great, and there was nothing worth

<sup>19</sup> Yugong Yishan (愚公移山), a fable from Chinese mythology that tells the story of an old man named Yugong who moved the Wangwu Mountain, which shows his perseverance and willpower.

telling, or the story was deliberately embellished. Anyway, both are possible, and this thing is completely counterproductive.

Xiaoyue: “Counterproductive” means?

Hank: That is to say, I am very disappointed with this training program and I am very disappointed with the form. You will feel that although you can’t deny everything of it, you still feel this school and this department are so bureaucratic. Of course you will have very negative comments, then you are even less likely to be patriotic. All they have done is totally a waste of resources and everybody’s time.

## Media Propaganda

Watching patriotic movies is of course not just an extracurricular activity; media propaganda also includes commercial movies and TV shows. For instance, Li Hua thought that the TV drama *In the Name of the People* showed that the government could fix their problems when people complained about it, thus people ought to have rational and constructive criticism of the government instead of losing faith in it. Cici said the movie *Operation Red Sea* inspired her passion to join the army. Piupiu found that American people were actually more patriotic because they were proud of the greatness of the U.S. and their movies always showed so:

Piupiu: I used to live in an American family before, we were friends, and I went to spend my holiday there. There was a street party at that time, and everybody in the neighborhood would come to the party. I saw every family taking the American national flag out, wearing Stars and Stripes tops and pants, but it wasn’t a special day that day. They just did this spontaneously. They were not forced to do this. When I had international conversation with my peers in high school, I could clearly tell the pride of the American people, they would tell you how great their country is. The American movies also always show how strong the Americans are, and people from other countries are losers. They don’t do this by indoctrination, but every generation of the American people are very patriotic. And when kids are born in families with a patriotic mom and dad, they become patriotic, too. I was born in such a family, too. But in China, sometimes they ask to you read the Party Constitution, and this way of education is indoctrination.

Hank suggested that some immersive propaganda also worked:

Hank: Some propaganda did work. For example, when the Chinese government did something, like during the 2018 Wenchuan earthquake or some floods, they adopted a tactic, which turns the sad news into good news by showing you scenes of the army saving lives. They would broadcast propaganda videos, and you would feel the government is great, and we have this group of people ready to support us at any time. And there are also

some documentaries, like those describing how China built the first aircraft carrier in the South China Sea, and how we built militant strongholds on the islands. Then they would insert some other propaganda telling you how China was invaded by others before, but now we have our own navy. Then, when you watched these, you would become... Some of the videos are really good; although they only show part of the whole story, such information still works, making you feel patriotic and start to think that we used to be humiliated and colonized. Anyway, I think good patriotic education is always immersive.

However, patriotic movies do not always work. For example, two participants mentioned *Wolf Warrior 2*, which was an action movie that became a huge commercial success for the Chinese box office but also caused controversy. The movie tells a story of a Chinese special force that traveled to Africa, got caught in a civil war, and finally managed to rescue African and Chinese civilians with the help of the Chinese Navy. *Wolf Warrior 2* was advertised as a patriotic movie at that time. However, two of the participants who mentioned this movie did not seem to agree with what the movie delivered. For example, Piupiu watched it and thought “it was too fake and exaggerated.” Piupiu also mentioned that there were similar movies in the U.S., too, but still, he did not like *Wolf Warrior 2* because of exaggeration. Whisky talked about his experience watching *Wolf Warrior 2* in an American movie theater. Whisky admitted that *Wolf Warrior 2* could have positive impact on national self-esteem, but personally, he also felt that the movie exaggerated too much and he felt embarrassed when he watched it:

Xiaoyue: Is there any moment when you feel particularly patriotic?

Whisky: I sometimes watch some particularly patriotic movie, like *Wolf Warrior 2*. But I felt extremely ashamed when I watched it here. I felt really embarrassed in that movie theater. But I still haven’t figured out why I felt this way. I mean, I should feel very proud, but instead I feel very embarrassed.

Xiaoyue: Which part of the movie made you feel particularly embarrassed?

Whisky: When I saw him holding the national flag and running, I felt very embarrassed. At that time, I might think that you should not exaggerate, saying that only you could do that, you were the best, and even the American troop was unable to do it, but our Chinese nailed it. In that movie, he just kept comparing us with the Americans, and even the heroine in that movie is also American. The movies described how undependable the Navy Seals were... I think you should not think so highly of yourself, you should be objective. In that movie, he

just elevated our position, feeling like we are the Number 1 in the world... Well, you can say that some aspects of China are world-class compared with some other countries, but we are not that good yet. There is still a lot that needs to be improved in our country. So, I felt embarrassed when I watched the movie... I think domestic reactions to this movie are still very positive; it has become very commercially successful and has positive impact on national self-esteem. But, I just personally feel that way.

### **Family's Influence**

Some participants talked about family's influence on their understanding of patriotism.

When talking about his respect for national symbols, Julian told me he was deeply influenced by his grandfather, who joined the CCP at a very young age and participated in the Korean War. Li Hua suggested that if someone's family members work for the government, then this person might be more patriotic because "if any of your family members work for the government, you would be more aware of the process of making a decision, or know more about their decision-makers' trade-offs and considerations, so you would have a deeper understanding than people who did not know this process."

Serena's parents also had impact on her by telling to behave herself abroad:

Xiaoyue: Do you consider yourself a patriotic person?

Serena: I think I am very patriotic.

Xiaoyue: Can you give me an example that shows you are patriotic?

Serena: I particularly pay attention to my image abroad. But it is hard to say that I have any patriotic behaviors. That is, whenever I do something, I would remind myself that I am a Chinese. And because my family is kind of patriotic, my parents always tell me things like, "You are Chinese. When you are abroad, you should behave yourself."

Whisky's father used to be a soldier and was particularly patriotic. He liked to inoculate Whisky with patriotic ideas, or even hatred. However, Whisky himself was not an extreme patriot as he did not show absolute support for the government or the Party when he talked about patriotism, and he directly criticized racism and the sentiment of superiority. However, when

Whisky's father tried to inoculate him with hatred, Whisky had no choice but to echo what his father said:

Xiaoyue: Is there anything else you want to say about patriotism?

Whisky: Soldiers are always very patriotic. They shout the same slogans repetitively every day and they started to believe in what they shout... When they are assimilated into a group, the individual personality gradually dissolves, everybody has become an army, has a group personality, which motivates them to sacrifice their life for it. Like my dad, he didn't stop me from going abroad, but if I told him that I want to change my citizenship into American, he would never approve. So, if there is going to be a war between China and U.S., whom should you support? My dad would tell me: "Son, you should go to throw a bomb at the U.S. Embassy."

Xiaoyue: How would you respond then?

Whisky: Well, I would just say ok, cool, I agree. But my dad also thinks that life is good and it is easy to make money in foreign countries. But when it comes to his bottom line, he would be very... He would just try to infuse me with that kind of thought, which might have something to do with his previous military service.

## **Chinese Culture**

The impact of Chinese culture mainly embodied in participants' description of "Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang." This tradition suggests that family disgraces must not be spread abroad, and if there are any negative facts about China, only the Chinese people are allowed to talk about it. Some participants tended to consider China as their family, and thus bad things about China should only be talked about between Chinese people. When people say bad things about China in public, especially in front of foreign people, they would feel insulted. That partially explains why some Chinese international students would mightily defend China when confronting criticism of China in public.

## **Life Experiences**

Chinese international students not only passively take information from school, media propaganda, or their family members, they also actively receive and digest information from

their own life experiences to form their ideas about the country, identity, and of course, patriotism. For instance, several participants mentioned the positive sides of China after comparing their life experiences in the U.S. with that back in China, and they started to miss China more and became more patriotic. In addition, the loneliness, the discrimination they encountered, gun violence in the U.S., the cultural gap, and also the help they received from the Chinese community all contributed to the strengthening of their Chinese identity.

To some participants, it is not just the comparison between China and the host country that leads to nostalgia and patriotism; the comparison between life in the past and the economic development today has also strengthened their ties to the motherland. Julian and Piupiu were very proud of the achievements of China, and Piupiu had personally experienced the transformation of Shenzhen from a fishing village to a very developed city.

Cici also witnessed her hometown's development and felt that she was closely attached to it as she and her hometown grew up together. The bond that connected participants to their hometowns and to China also provided an explanation for Whisky's patriotic sentiments:

Whisky: Sometimes, it is not patriotism. That is, you just don't have a choice. You were born in this place, and your bond to this place is hard to be disconnected. You may like Los Angeles, you may like San Francisco, but all these feelings are not patriotism. You may like a city because it has great scenery, nice local people, and tasty food. But you love this place, it is a much deeper attachment, it is your destiny. You were born in this place and you grew up here; your social relationships, your family, and your memories are all about this place, there is no way you can be disconnected with it. It might have brought you pain, like you might be bullied when you were a kid, but there is still no way... That is, you will still love this place. Love is about both happiness and pain.

While admiration of the positive sides of China contributed to some participants' patriotic sentiments, the opposite situation is that a student might find more positive sides about the host country and become less patriotic. And this is exactly how Laura felt:

Xiaoyue: You just mentioned that you have become less and less patriotic. Could you tell me what makes you feel this way?

Laura: When I was kid, I had no idea of what benefits the country should offer us. As I grow older, I started to know that some of the benefits available in other countries do not exist in our country. And even within this country, there are some benefits enjoyed by a certain group of people while some people do not have access to these benefits. Hence, sometimes I just feel that this is unfair, and I have become not so patriotic.

Xiaoyue: What benefits?

Laura: There are quite a lot of benefits that I have not enjoyed. For example, when I was a child, I lost the opportunity to have siblings because of the one-child policy. After I grew up, I needed to go to school. If I wanted to go to a good school, especially a good college, then I needed to take college entrance examination, but the test content differed in each province, the admission standard also differed. Even if some students got the same test scores, they would end up going to different schools. Actually, in the school, the teacher treated students with different attitudes. I can't tell if the country or individuals should be to blame. I just attribute all these unfairness and negative sides to the country that fails to protect my benefits thoroughly. So I just became less patriotic than before.

Since most participants rated their satisfaction level as “satisfied” or “very satisfied,” there could be some bias. Some participants, such as Tina, Piupiu, and Whisky, reflected on their family background and mentioned the wealth gap issue. Tina talked about how the benefits she could enjoy in China made her life better back home than her life abroad, but she also admitted that some of the benefits she enjoyed were due to her “middle class family background.” Whisky also expressed similar thoughts:

Whisky: The bad thing about China is that it has many social problems... I guess I may have an excessively good impression of it because I am an international student, my family background is good, and all the people I know here have comparable incomes and quality of life to those in Western countries. In fact, I also know some people whose salary was too low to support daily life, and these people were usually from the countryside, and their life was extremely hard, very hard, they worked so hard to live in the city. And if this person was dissatisfied with the society, I totally understand, because the society has a lot of issues. We may have enjoyed some unfair benefits, so that we can... but some people, they just... If I only could make two to three thousand RMB a month, couldn't find a girlfriend because of gender imbalance, and my dad was sick in bed, then I would be very unhappy with my life, too. And I think there are many people living a life like this. I used to join a university organization to visit rural migrant workers, and I could clearly feel the gap. The room I stayed in cost only 10 RMB a day; I had never stayed in a room like that. It gave me some new experience. I felt the huge gap in terms of people's salaries.



Finally, participants also sought information about things happening in China by themselves when they were abroad. They would have access to information blocked in China and form their understandings of certain issues. But the impact of such information varied among participants. For instance, as discussed earlier, Hank read news about protests in China and showed a concern for such social issues. Jay and Zhonghua have read books that refreshed their minds. Li Hua said he watched some YouTube videos blocked in China, which did not change his mind about the government at all:

Xiaoyue: Speaking of censorship, have you ever searched any blocked content?

Li Hua: I didn't do this when I was in China. But I have watched some videos about the Tiananmen Incident and Guo Wengui. I think these are blocked in China although I haven't tried searching them in China.

Xiaoyue: What do you think of these videos?

Li Hua: It makes sense to block some content, but I think the government's policies could be more open. I guess they are just not sure about the public's reaction... For example, I watched Guo Wengui's videos, but I didn't have any hostile view of this country or the government after watching them. Guo Wengui has his opinions, and the CCP has their opinions, so I can't tell who is telling the truth. And the Tiananmen Incident, I watched videos about it, too, it's quite complicated. But I kind of have doubt about it. There are some extreme descriptions of this incident without showing any evidence. I also read some records made by foreign reporters at that time, but I didn't find any so-called bloody scenes. So I think this incident, the authenticity of the descriptions, are yet to be verified. I did see tanks in the videos, and saw students protesting, but I definitely didn't see situations like massacre, or crackdown with gunfire.

Jack did not know about the Tiananmen Incident before he came to the U.S., but he watched the YouTube videos and learned about it. He felt "very shocked" after watching these videos.

However, Jack only got to know the existence of this incident, and he could not tell why this happened or what the consequences were.

## The Outcome Space

As shown in the “Findings” chapter, the five categories identified in this study include irrational patriotism, extreme patriotism, identity patriotism, constructive patriotism, and cosmopolitan patriotism. Each category is also a part of a larger structure, which is called the outcome space in a phenomenographic research (Marton, 1988, p. 146). As Marton (2000) said, “an object is the structured complex of all the different ways in which it can be experienced” (p. 115), and another goal of phenomenography is to find the essential structural aspects of how a phenomenon is experienced. Thus, the outcome space shows the relationship between the five categories. To identify such a relationship, it is vital to see how the categories and corresponding features are distributed throughout the cases (Appendix D).

As *Figure 1* shows, identity patriotism was mentioned in the interviews the most times, extreme patriotism was mentioned the second most times, constructive patriotism was the third, and irrational patriotism was the fourth. Cosmopolitan patriotism was the least mentioned since it was only described by one participant: Zhonghua. The tree maps for individual cases suggested that all the participants talked more or less about identity patriotism. In fact, their identity as Chinese is at the core of the five categories of patriotism. They would identify themselves as Chinese first and then talked about patriotism. Even Zhonghua, the only cosmopolitan patriot, also mentioned that the first thing that came to his mind when he thought of patriotism was his identity as a Chinese. He accepted his identity, but at the same time showed respect for other cultures, and through this way, he wished to be a cosmopolitan who cares for diversity and the wellbeing of all people.

Participants’ perceptions of patriotism are complicated, though, and every one of them mentioned more than one category of patriotism. Besides, when participants mentioned a certain

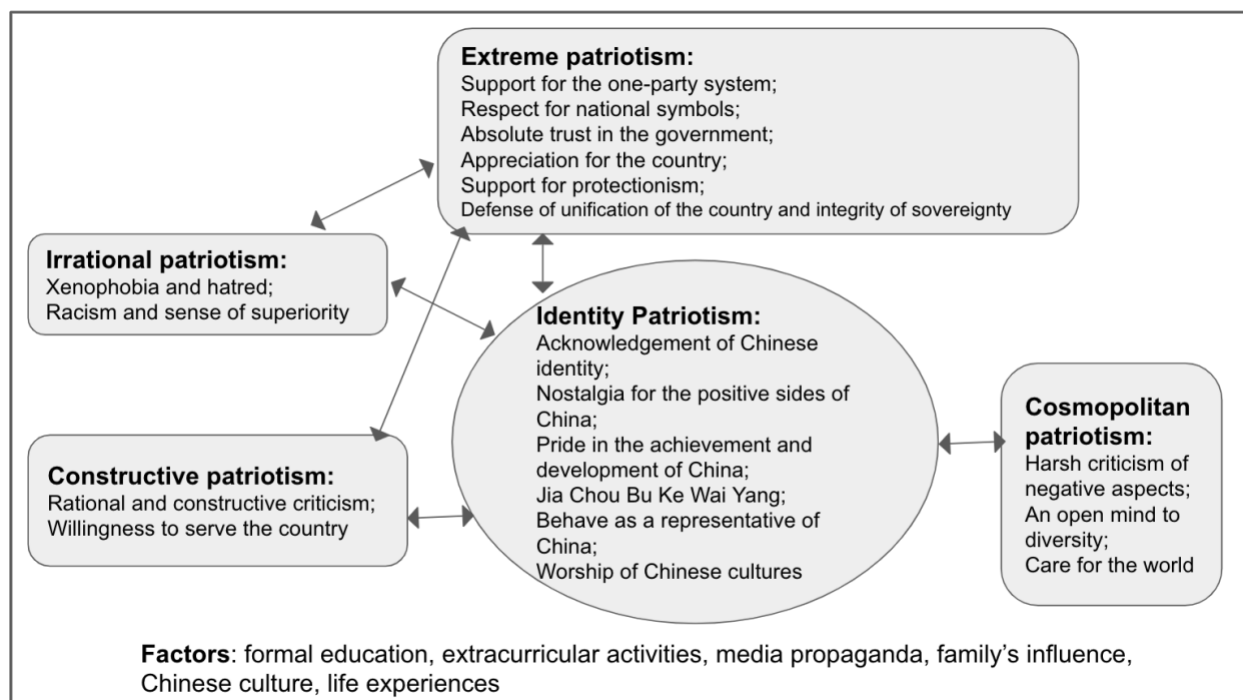
category of patriotism, it did not necessarily mean that they categorize themselves that way; for instance, several participants (i.e., Xinxin, Jay, Piupiu, Zhonghua, Whisky, Laura, and Mike) talked about irrational patriotic behaviors of other people, and they directly expressed their disapproval of behaviors like smashing Japanese cars, although these behaviors were considered patriotic to some extent. Zhonghua mentioned the willingness to serve the country as an embodiment of patriotism in other people's eyes, but he did not think so and he believed that linking one's choice of going back or not to patriotism is a stupid idea, and that real patriotism is care for the whole world. Taking this into consideration, interpretation of individual map trees for each participant will be more accurate. For instance, Jay's and Whisky's perceptions about patriotism fall solely on identity, Laura's perceptions are basically half identity patriotism and half extreme patriotism, and Hank's perceptions are half identity patriotism and half constructive patriotism. Cici, Julian, Serena, and Li Hua talked more about identity patriotism and extreme patriotism, but they also mentioned constructive patriotism. Anne and Xinxin are quite similar in terms of their emphasis on extreme patriotism, while they also mentioned identity patriotism and constructive patriotism. Tina's case is interesting, as she is the only participant that did not consider herself a patriot but did show some perceptions about identity patriotism.

In general, except for irrational patriotism, all the other four categories were generated from participants' descriptions of their own understandings of patriotism. Extreme patriotism mainly refers to absolute support for and trust in the CCP and government and their policies, identity patriotism refers to a strong Chinese identity reinforced by one's living experiences and Chinese culture, constructive patriotism refers to one's desire to make the country better, and cosmopolitan patriotism is more about acknowledgement of one's Chinese identity and more respect for global diversity at the same time. Some features of a certain category sometimes may

actually represent more than one category. For instance, “Defense of Unification of the Country and Integrity of Sovereignty” does not only imply one’s support for the government’s policy, but also could refer to identity and culture issues. Jay thought that no matter what, Taiwanese people should at least acknowledge the Chinese culture and history; Tina, who disliked the Dalai Lama, believed that Westerners might have some misunderstanding of the Tibetan issue, as her Tibetan friends were satisfied with their life and did not want independence. Another feature that could define more than one category is “Pride in the Achievement and Development of China.” As one’s Chinese identity might be strengthened due to the development of China, their support for the Chinese government could also be strengthened. For instance, Julian was pretty proud of the development of China, but at the same time, he showed preference for collectivism in terms of trust in the CCP and the government’s decision-makers to boost economic development although it might bring pollution. Besides, support for trade war and “made-in-China” goods sometimes could lead to vandalization of imported products, which is identified by several participants as irrational patriotism; but it could also imply defense of China’s economy, which benefits Chinese people and is rational, as some participants suggested. I will elaborate on this in this chapter. I will first present the categories of patriotism and show the relationship of these categories at the end of this chapter.

Generally speaking, almost all of these five categories are related to each other. Identity patriotism is like a base for all patriotic sentiments; none of the participants questioned their Chinese identity. Since none of the participants identified as an irrational patriot, what can be concluded from their descriptions is that irrational patriotism is a sort of extreme version of identity patriotism that entails racism, sense of superiority, and hatred towards Japan and other countries considered enemies. Besides, irrational patriots usually were pro-government, as

shown in the 2012 Senkaku Islands dispute, so irrational patriotism is also likely related to extreme patriotism. Extreme patriotism and constructive patriotism have some overlap; for instance, Cici expressed her desire to serve the country and thought that thinking positively about the future of China is an embodiment of China. Thus, on the one hand, she tended to criticize the negative parts of China, but on the other hand, she did not want people to be unpatriotic because of these negative parts. Cosmopolitan patriotism is a rather isolated category, as Zhonghua harshly criticized the negative parts of China and did not think that going back to serve the country should be linked to patriotism as it should be a personal choice. Based on the above analysis, the outcome space is shown in the graph below (*Figure 2*):



*Figure 2. The Outcome Space*

## **CHAPTER 6. CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION**

In this chapter, I will answer the two research questions of this study, discuss the implications and limitations of this study, and provide recommendation for future research.

### **Answers to Research Questions**

The purpose of this study is to explore the ways in which Chinese international college students in the U.S. perceive patriotism. More specifically, the study aims to answer two research questions:

1. How do Chinese international college students in the U.S. conceptualize patriotism?
2. What are the factors that impact Chinese international college students' construction of patriotism?

The findings in Chapter 4 and the outcome space in Chapter 5 answer the first question through discussing participants' perceptions of patriotism and how the categories of patriotism identified from their perceptions relate to each other. "Factors impacting students' perceptions" in Chapter 5 answers the second research question.

### **How Chinese International College Students Conceptualize Patriotism**

Five categories of patriotism are identified through analysis of participants' perceptions and descriptions, including irrational patriotism, extreme patriotism, identity patriotism, constructive patriotism, and cosmopolitan patriotism. These categories are also participants' different ways of understanding the concept of "patriotism."

The first category is irrational patriotism, and the features of irrational patriotism include: xenophobia and hatred, racism and sense of superiority. According to participants' descriptions,

manifestations of irrational patriotism usually include behaviors like vandalizing imported products or products of foreign brands, and verbally abusing people who are different from them, including both compatriots and foreigners. It is also irrational because the purpose of such patriotic behaviors is to vent anger and other emotions.

The second category is extreme patriotism. The features of extreme patriotism include: support for the one-party system; respect for national symbols; absolute trust in the government; appreciation for the country; support for protectionism; defense of unification of the country and integrity of sovereignty. Participants with extreme patriotism thoughts tend to consider the government an absolute authority whose policies are always right because it has more information and intelligence than the ordinary people do. Some of them also prefer collectivism to individualism and believe that it is understandable for the government to sacrifice a certain population's benefits to achieve something bigger, like air pollution vs. economic development. They suggested looking at the positive sides of and having faith in the government and the Party and trying to understand the dilemma of decision-makers. Extreme patriotism implies that even if the government or the Party is imperfect, it should not affect one's love for the country. They also firmly stood by the Chinese government's side when talking about unification and sovereignty issues, partially due to formal education.

The third category is identity patriotism. The features of identity patriotism include: acknowledge of Chinese identity; nostalgia for the positive sides of China; pride in the achievement and development of China; Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang; behave as a representative of China; worship of Chinese cultures. Identity patriotism indicates that patriotism is more about recognizing and defending one's identity as Chinese; and here, "China" and "Chinese" refer not only to the People's Republic of China or the CCP, they have a broader definition that includes

the history, culture, nationality, and one's own living experiences. As participants were far away from their homeland, they started to miss the positive sides of China, and their identity as Chinese also became more salient due to the geographic distance, culture gap, and discrimination they encountered in the host country. Some other factors also contributed to their strengthened Chinese identity, such as the pride in the achievement and development of China, and their living experiences and memories of growing together with the country and seeing the changes had become an inseparable part of their identity. Due to their strong identity, any comments insulting China equals insulting themselves. And the influence of a traditional Chinese culture "Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang" also made participants want to defend China when encountering criticism of China in public. Some participants also paid particular attention to their behavior as they considered themselves as representatives of China. Finally, worship of Chinese culture also showed one's patriotic sentiments, as perceptions of participants in this category suggested.

The fourth category is constructive patriotism, and the features making up this category include: rational and constructive criticism, and willingness to serve the country. Constructive patriotism was manifested in participants' concern about the country and a desire to make this country better through constructive criticism and actions to serve the country.

The last category is cosmopolitan patriotism, which has three major features mentioned by only one participant: harsh criticism of negative aspects, an open mind to diversity, and care for the world. This participant identified himself as Chinese first, but unlike other participants, he harshly criticized negative aspects about China like censorship, and he especially talked about respect for other cultures and extending love for a certain country to care for the whole world.

The relationships between the five categories of patriotism are shown in *Figure 2*. Identity patriotism is at the core of the outcome space since all the participants' descriptions of patriotism



mentioned identity, and participants would acknowledge their identity first. Irrational patriotism is related to identity patriotism and extreme patriotism because its two features also suggest support for the government and of course a strong identity. Although irrational patriotism is related to identity patriotism and smashing Japanese goods, none of the participants who talked about extreme patriotism approved of the behaviors making up irrational patriotism, even though some of them also supported protectionism. Extreme patriotism is also related to constructive patriotism, as some participants not only support the government but also pointed out negative sides about it, wishing it to improve someday. Cosmopolitan patriotism is not related to identity patriotism, as the only participant whose perceptions fall into this category directly expressed disagreement with certain features of irrational patriotism, extreme patriotism, and constructive patriotism.

It should be noted that a feature of a certain category might also make up another category depending on the intensity of behaviors; for instance, smashing Japanese goods was classified as an embodiment of irrational patriotism because participants thought such behaviors were meant to vent anger and emotions, although they also implied support for the government and protectionism. Also note that one participant's descriptions and perceptions about patriotism do not necessarily fall into one category and could have different emphases. For instance, Jay's and Whisky's perceptions about patriotism fall solely on identity, Laura's perceptions are basically half identity patriotism and half extreme patriotism, and Hank's perceptions are half identity patriotism and half constructive patriotism. Cici, Julian, Serena, and Li Hua talked more about identity patriotism and extreme patriotism, while Xinxin and Anne are quite similar in terms of their emphasis on extreme patriotism although they also mentioned constructive patriotism.

## **Factors Impacting Chinese International College Students' Construction of Patriotism**

As discussed in Chapter 5, factors impacting Chinese international college students' construction of patriotism include: formal education, extracurricular activities, media propaganda, family's influence, Chinese cultures, and participants' life experiences.

Formal education mainly impacted participants' construction of patriotism through instilling patriotic ideas with stories of people who sacrificed themselves or made contributions to the country, and history courses about Taiwan. But some participants did not like these classes, and one participant, Cici, suggested that the impact of formal education might decrease when one's personal interests were threatened by the government's policies.

Extracurricular activities included watching patriotic movies, singing revolutionary songs, and the cadre training program. However, Hank, who used to participate in these activities, did not think all of them worked. In fact, formalistic activities like singing revolutionary songs and the cadre training program were counterproductive. Nonetheless, Hank liked the movie he watched in elementary school because it helped establish national self-esteem.

Media propaganda includes commercial movies and TV shows that were not watched as a group in school. Some participants mentioned TV dramas and movies that inspired them a lot. A documentary about the Chinese army's service during natural disasters and the development of China's military force also worked. But some participants criticized a patriotic movie which is too fake and made them feel embarrassed.

Family's influence mainly came from participants' parents or grandparents. If their parents or grandparents joined the army, or are Party members, or simply are patriotic, they all tend to have an impact on participants' construction of patriotism.

The impact of Chinese culture was mainly embodied in participants' description of "Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang." This tradition suggests that family disgraces must not be spread abroad, and if there are any negative facts about China, only the Chinese people are allowed to talk about it. Thus, when people criticize China in public, especially in front of foreign people, participants would feel insulted.

Life experiences impacted participants' construction in many ways. First, the comparison between China and the U.S., the cultural gap and discrimination participants encountered, and the help they receive from Chinese communities abroad all tend to make students feel more Chinese, miss China more, and become more patriotic. However, seeing the more positive sides about the host country after comparison could also make international Chinese students less patriotic, as Laura's case suggested. Second, some participants compared their life in the past and life today in China and saw the huge difference and development. Some of them felt proud of this; some of them felt more closely related to the country as they grew up with it. Third, some participants also self-reflected on their family background, admitting that the benefits and good life they enjoyed, which made them patriotic, were partially due to their background. Finally, participants also sought information about things happening in China when they were abroad. They had access to information blocked in China and formed their understandings of certain issues. But the impact of such information varied among participants.

### **Implications of this Study**

#### **Country, Citizenship, and Patriotism**

Previous studies tend to apply theories of immigrant Chinese students or Asian students in general to Chinese international students, which can be problematic considering the differences among these groups (Ching et al., 2017; Zhang-Wu, 2018). This study dives deeply into Chinese

international students' conceptions of patriotism, revealing their dynamic and multifaceted political stances. It also reveals their different levels of understandings of country and citizenship, as well as the factors that contribute to their perceptions. Instead of dividing their conceptions into blind patriotism, constructive patriotism or other categories based on the basis and intensity of patriotic behaviors.

While in fact, most of the definitions of patriotism offered by Chinese international students could possibly fall into the category of blind patriotism, which means “a rigid and inflexible attachment to country, characterized by unquestioning positive evaluation, staunch allegiance, and intolerance of criticism” (Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999, p. 153). However, some of them also showed some characteristics of constructive patriotism, such as tolerance of criticism and a desire for positive change (Schatz, 1994; Schatz, Staub, & Lavine, 1999; Spry & Hornsey, 2007). But this group of participants' tolerance of criticism is quite conditional, meaning that they would only accept “rational and constructive criticism”; and most importantly, they believed that it is okay for the Chinese people to criticize China or the government in front of the Chinese, but it is not okay for the outsiders to criticize China or for the Chinese people to criticize China in front of the outsiders because “jia chou bu ke wai yang”. While western philosophers may have various explanations for people's patriotic sentiments (e.g., morality, love of republic or constitution, etc), these explanations may not be applied to Chinese international students considering the quite distinct cultural, social, and political environments they have lived in.

Chinese international students' perceptions of patriotism are also reflections of their perceptions of country and citizenship, which is why blind patriotism is not enough to categorize this group of students' different layers of definitions. The first category irrational patriotism and the second category extreme patriotism both have mainly reflected the rigid loyalty to the CCP

and the government, and when it comes to the definition of China, it almost only refers to People's Republic of China. The difference between these two categories relies in the attitudes towards the outsiders, foreigners, or any groups of people who are not considered Chinese ethnically and politically. Irrational patriotism entails hatred and racism against outsiders who have interest conflicts with China, especially Japan and people or products from Japan. Thus, irrational patriotism is also related to one's ethnic identity such as Chinese or White American as some participants pointed out. Extreme patriotism, on the other hand, mainly focuses on one's own support for the CCP, the government, the country, and the policies or regulations created by the authorities. It does not necessarily mean negative attitudes towards other groups. In fact, some of the participants whose definitions of patriotism mostly fall into this category directly mentioned their admiration of Japan and U.S., such as Xinxin and Julian, both of whom believed that Japanese people and the American people have some good characteristics that the Chinese can learn from.

When it comes to the third category identity patriotism, the object of patriotism is not limited to the party or government anymore; it has a broad definition that includes not only the current country or regime, but also the history, culture, nationality, and one's own living experiences. That means, patriotism is closely associated with one's identity as an ethnic, political, and cultural Chinese. "China" has become part of the participants, and it partially defines who they are. And that is why when some of them heard criticism of China, they would feel offended; because insulting China is now equal to insulting themselves. And on the other side, they are trying to behave themselves and be a representative of China since they want the other people to have a good image of China and the Chinese people.

When participants mentioned features or behaviors that constitute constructive patriotism, they are still referring to the PRC as the object of patriotism. However, unlike irrational patriotism and extreme patriotism that mainly entails unconditional support for the authority, constructive patriotism requires more critical views and more active participation. When participants started to show their concerns and criticism of the negative sides of the country, they were positioning themselves as a citizen that is responsible for the changes of the society. They did wish for a positive change. To them, to criticize the country is to make it better; and because of this, criticism must be rational and constructive.

The last category cosmopolitan patriotism is rather easy and simple to explain. The only participant not only acknowledged his identity as both an ethnic and political Chinese, but also was trying to be a global citizen that extends one's love to the whole world. To him, the real patriotism is the love of all groups and care for the world. In general, as described here, one's perception of patriotism is closely related to one's perceptions of country and citizenship. As a result, it is necessary to deeply understand the minor but important differences here instead of interpreting Chinese international students' conceptions of patriotism based on western theories.

### **Portrayal of Chinese International Students**

Rather than portraying Chinese students as “brainwashed” patriots, this study also offers more explanations for their patriotic behaviors. For instance, when we look back on the case of Yang Shuping, participants in this study actually offered four reasons why they felt unhappy with her speech: First, there is a traditional Chinese culture of “Jia Chou Bu Ke Wai Yang”; second, one of them suggested that Yang did not show appreciation for the country that raised her but slammed her motherland instead; third, some participants suggested that Yang's speech itself is problematic since she did not tell the whole truth and did not consider the tradeoff between

economic development and pollution; finally, some participants admitted that air quality and freedom of speech in the U.S. is better, but when Yang tried to please people in the West by criticizing China publicly, she actually despised her own identity, which is equal to despising all the other Chinese. Listing these reasons here does not imply that I agree with the denouncement of Yang Shuping. However, describing Chinese international students with stereotypes and neglecting their voices will not be able to prevent similar incidents from happening.

This reminds me of something that happened recently. As I was finishing my dissertation, Purdue University was celebrating its 150-year anniversary and invited the “barefoot lawyer” Guangcheng Chen,<sup>20</sup> a Chinese civil rights activist now living in the U.S., to give a speech on campus. As this event caused controversy in the local Chinese community, the Purdue University Chinese Students and Scholar’s Association (PUCSSA) published an article<sup>21</sup> on its official WeChat account asking students to be rational patriots, show respect for different political stances, and express their own opinions reasonably. As was expected, Mr. Chen criticized China harshly during the speech. One of my friends went to the speech and asked a question about the source of data Mr. Chen cited, and her question was not answered directly. She felt more frustrated when Mr. Chen implied that all the Chinese international students are beneficiaries of the current system, that they are potential spies, and that they are a group of people who are pretending to sleep and can never be awakened. She pointed this out to the school leadership after the event, believing that such viewpoints would put all Chinese international students in danger, but her concern was dismissed again. It seemed that being born in China has become Chinese international students’ original sin, and no matter what they say, their political stances

<sup>20</sup> More information about this event can be found at:

<https://www.purdue.edu/apsac/events/index.php?id=103792&m=&y=&c=&em=September&ey=2019>

<sup>21</sup> The article can be found at: [https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/-SCcSqzjE1-D\\_yDTQGOPAw](https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/-SCcSqzjE1-D_yDTQGOPAw)

and thoughts are worthless. And obviously, portraying Chinese international students as beneficiaries, spies, or brainwashed does no good for building a more inclusive campus that includes this group of students.

Contrary to the stereotyped image, the interviews with Chinese international students suggest that they are able to reflect on their privileges, and they are aware of the problems of China and the consequences of dictatorship. For instance, during the interviews, they mentioned some deficiencies of China, including inequality, wealth gap, aging society, dictatorship, pressure, and censorship. Nonetheless, to most participants, staying positive about the future of the country and finding a way to improve is more important than “irrational criticism.” Besides, despite the awareness of the possible consequences of dictatorship or the one-party system, some participants tend to see this system from a positive side, believing it is more efficient and stable. Finally, censorship could make them feel powerless and consider civic engagement unnecessary. In general, they did not “pretend to sleep” on purpose.

Chinese international students’ study abroad experiences, however, do have influences on them. For one thing, participants’ Chinese identity was strengthened due to the geographic distance, culture gap, and discrimination they encountered in the host country. For another, they do appreciate the fairness, freedom, and more relaxing lifestyle in the U.S., and one of them even felt less patriotic after seeing the positive sides of the U.S. One of the participants also felt more cosmopolitan after interactions with people from different countries, although he still maintained his Chinese identity. In traditional Chinese culture, there are also ideas about diversity. One of the participants, Jack, whose ethnicity is Mongolian, talked about the Chinese culture’s ability to absorb other cultures. Chinese anthropologist Fei Xiaotong proposed a cosmopolitan idea decades ago: “Ge Mei Qi Mei, Mei Ren Zhi Mei, Mei Mei Yu Gong, Tian Xia Da Tong (各美其



美，美人之美，美美与共，天下大同。），” which can be translated as follows: “If each beauty understands its own beauty and understands the beauty of beautiful people, then all the beauty is shared, this is the great harmony under heaven” (Parry, 2014, p. 41). Sadly, when discussing cosmopolitanism in class, such thoughts were not well presented.

### **Practical Implications**

Based on the above discussions, the implication of this study are fairly straightforward: multicultural education is needed on campus. A major goal of multicultural education is engaging students from diverse racial, ethnic, and social-class groups through accommodating them in a more culturally relevant and responsive educational setting and a more inclusive environment (Banks, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2010):

- First, educators should be aware that whether it is patriotism or other sentiments, at the core it is one’s identity. And Chinese international students’ identity is composed of the education and media propaganda they have received since childhood, the influence from their family members, the traditional culture, and most importantly, their life experiences in China. Their identity is their memory, their past, and their journey of growing up together with the homeland. Thus, it is impossible and unnecessary to force them to abandon their identity or force them to be less patriotic.
- Second, even if Chinese international students retain that part of identity, they are still able to accept the idea of diversity and show respect for other cultures through interactions with peers from different backgrounds. More opportunities could be created for Chinese international students to exchange their opinions with non-Chinese peers, encourage them to prove their points with solid evidence and critical thinking, and most importantly, treat them and their ideas without bias and stereotypes. If any

debate focuses on accusing each other as “traitor” or “spy,” the discussion will be meaningless. Everyone should feel safe enough to talk without fear of being discriminated against because of his or her different ideas.

- Third, a culturally responsive teaching strategy could be adopted in classrooms. This sounds easier said than done, but considering Chinese international students’ pride in their culture, encouraging them to relate topics or content in classes to Chinese culture or things happening in today’s China would possibly be an effective way of teaching. They would be more likely to engage in the exploration process of knowledge, such as the idea of cosmopolitanism.

### **Limitations of this Study**

There are two major limitations of this study in terms of data collection and data analysis. First, although I adopted a maximum variation sampling method in this study, I still would not be able to cover all the types of characteristics of participants. For instance, all the participants rated their satisfaction level of their family’s standard of living in China as “satisfied” or “very satisfied.” There is no participant who felt unsatisfied about their life in China, which might cause bias. Besides, when I was looking for minority Chinese participants, I finally found one ethnic Mongolian student and one ethnic Man student. In addition, I also found an ethnic Uigur student born in Xinjiang. He agreed to participate in this study at first, but after days of deliberation, he decided to withdraw from this project. In addition, participants in this study were all from the Midwestern University and their experiences in the U.S. could be quite different from Chinese international students in big cities on the coasts. And thus, their comparison between China and the U.S. could also be biased.

Second, when analyzing the data, I did not translate the transcripts since I wanted to ensure the accuracy of my understanding of the content. However, after I finished analysis of data and started writing, I found translation of the interviews could be quite tricky, as some specific words or terms participants used did not have a matching English term. Besides, some of the incidents or events participants talked about may not sound familiar to the readers. To help readers understand these, I usually provided a footnote about such terms and events. But I would still expect some difficulty for people not familiar with China or Chinese culture.

### **Recommendations for Future Research**

This study mainly focuses on students' conceptions of patriotism. But during the process of analyzing the data and writing my findings, I also uncovered some interesting topics worth further exploration.

First, participants mentioned that going back to China after graduation could be a sign of patriotism, but they also stated that this is sometimes not determined by one's desire to serve the country but by one's own choice or sometimes because of visa status. According to data provided by China's Ministry of Education, "at the beginning of the century, only one in 10 Chinese students returned to China after studying abroad. In 2017, it was eight in 10" (Zhou, 2018). It would be interesting to compare Chinese international students who choose to go back versus those who choose to stay. What are the incentives of going back? Or why do they choose to stay? How do these two groups of students conceptualize patriotism?

Second, some participants showed very distinct understandings of democracy. They seemed to consider democracy as inefficient and not suitable for China. More in-depth explorations are needed to investigate Chinese international students' perceptions about democracy, and what are the factors that have influenced their understanding of democracy.

Third, as proposed in the implication section, culturally responsive teaching could work to engage Chinese international students in the classroom. However, more research is needed to study the effectiveness of culturally responsive teaching on Chinese international students. Is it able to facilitate more meaningful discussions? How do Chinese international students feel about it? Such questions need to be answered before a conclusion is drawn. This strategy could be adopted in general education classes of social sciences and humanities where undergraduate Chinese international students are present, as well as in some graduate programs.

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## APPENDIX A. LETTER OF INVITATION

### Letter of Invitation

My name is Xiaoyue Qin and I am a graduate assistant in the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at Purdue University. I am currently working on a project that investigates Chinese international college students' conceptions of patriotism. As part of my current project, I would like to invite you to participate in an interview, which is designed to gather information about the following topics:

- your conceptions of patriotism
- factors that impact your construction of patriotism

If you agree to participate in the project, I will interview you in person. The interview will last approximately 30 to 60 minutes.

Please note that your participation in this project is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time prior to, or at any point during, this activity, without consequence. Any information you provide through the course of this project will remain confidential and will be used solely for this project. All information collected will be kept in a secure environment and will be destroyed after the completion of the project. If you withdraw from participation, your data will be immediately destroyed. No information that could identify you will be used. I will be happy to provide you with a copy of the proposal of this project in case you need it.

If you agree to participate or if you have any other questions concerning your participation in this project, please contact me at:

Xiaoyue Qin, Graduate Assistant

BRNG 4178, Purdue University

Phone: (765) xxx-xxx

Email: [xxx@purdue.edu](mailto:xxx@purdue.edu)

or the Principal Investigator of this proposal at:

Anatoli Rapoport, Ph. D., Associate Professor

BRNG 4176, Purdue University

Phone: (765) xxx-xxxx

Email: [xxx@purdue.edu](mailto:xxx@purdue.edu)

or the Purdue University Institutional Review Board at:

Human Research Protection Program

Ernest C. Young Hall

10th Floor, Room 1032

155 S. Grant Street

West Lafayette, IN 47907-2114

Thank you for taking the time to consider this request. I will be very grateful if you also forward this invitation to any other Chinese international college students you know on campus to join this research project.



## **APPENDIX B. CONSENT FORM**

### **RESEARCH PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM**

(CONCEPTIONS OF PATRIOTISM AMONG CHINESE INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS IN  
U.S. HIGHER EDUCATION: A PHENOMENOGRAPHIC STUDY)

Xiaoyue Qin

Purdue University

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

College of Education

#### **Purpose of Research**

The main purpose of this research is to explore the ways in which Chinese international college students in the U.S. perceive patriotism.

#### **Specific Procedures**

You will be interviewed in Chinese by the researcher in person or via online communication tools if requested by you. You will talk about your conceptions of patriotism and factors that impact your construction of patriotism. The interview is one-on-one interview and will be recorded with a recorder or computer-based recording software.

#### **Duration of Participation**

You will be interviewed only once.

The interview will last about 30 to 60 minutes depending on how much information you are willing to share.

#### **Risks**

We do not anticipate any risk greater than normal life. The risks to you are no more than you would encounter in everyday life. Although the breach of confidentiality is possible, we set safeguards in place as mentioned in the Confidentiality section.

#### **Benefits**

There are no anticipated direct benefits to the subjects participating in this study.

**Confidentiality**

Your name will not appear on any transcript and will not be mentioned in any document resulting from the study. Therefore, you cannot be identified from this study. Any records that may identify you will be destroyed immediately after data collection. Audio recordings will be transcribed by the investigator Xiaoyue Qin and examined by the co-investigator Fang Gao. The data collected, including audio recordings, will be encrypted and stored in the investigator's office desktop on campus. Only the investigator will have an access to these data. The data will be kept for 12 months after the completion of the study and will not be used for other purposes in the future. The project's research records may be reviewed by departments at Purdue University responsible for regulatory and research oversights.

**Voluntary Nature of Participation**

You do not have to participate in this research project. Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. The choice to participate or not will not have any impact on you. If you do not agree to participate, you can withdraw from the project at any time without penalty.

**Contact Information**

If you have any questions about this research project, you can contact Xiaoyue Qin ([xxx@purdue.edu](mailto:xxx@purdue.edu)). If you have concerns about the treatment of research participants, you can contact the Institutional Review Board at Purdue University, Ernest C. Young Hall, Room 1032, 155 S. Grant St., West Lafayette, IN 47907-2114. The phone number for the Board is 1-(765)494-5942. The email address is [irb@purdue.edu](mailto:irb@purdue.edu).

**Documentation of Informed Consent**

I have had the opportunity to read this consent form and have the research study explained. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the research project and my questions have been answered. I am prepared to participate in the research project described above.

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Researcher's Signature

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Date

## APPENDIX C. INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

Case ID

Date & Time

Pseudonym

Demographic information:

1. Gender: Male\_\_ Female\_\_ Transgender\_\_ Other

2. Age: \_\_\_\_ years old

First time came to the U.S. as a: high school/undergraduate/graduate student

Years in the U.S.:

Undergraduate / Master / Ph.D. Post-doc student; other:

3. Field of Study:

4. Ethnicity:

5. CCP membership: Yes \_\_\_\_ No

6. Place of origin (status of household registration): Urban \_\_\_\_ Rural

7. Satisfaction level of family living standard:

Very satisfied

Satisfied

Neither satisfied or dissatisfied

Dissatisfied

Very dissatisfied

*Comments on this question:*

1. Do you see yourself as a patriot? Why or why not?

你觉得你爱国吗？为什么？

2. What qualities or behaviors do you think a person should possess to be a patriot?

你觉得哪些行为或特征是一个爱国的人所具备的？

*Note: If a participant cannot think of any patriotic behaviors, ask the participant “What behaviors or characteristics suggest that a person is unpatriotic?” instead.*

- You mentioned:
- What do  (a quality / behavior mentioned)  mean?
- Can you give me an example of  (a quality / behavior mentioned)
- You talked about \_\_\_\_\_, then you talked about \_\_\_\_\_, how do they relate to each other?

3. What makes you think these qualities make a person a patriot?

是什么导致你认为爱国的人应该具备 X 特征呢？

- What do \_\_\_\_\_ mean?
- Can you tell me more about that?

4. Can you recall a time when you feel patriotic? What was the experience like?

你有没有过觉得自己很爱国的时候？你能具体描述一下这个经历吗？

- Can you tell me more about that?

5. Is there anything else about patriotism that you want to share?

关于爱国主义，你还有什么想说的吗？

## APPENDIX D. TREE MAPS OF NODES DISTRIBUTION

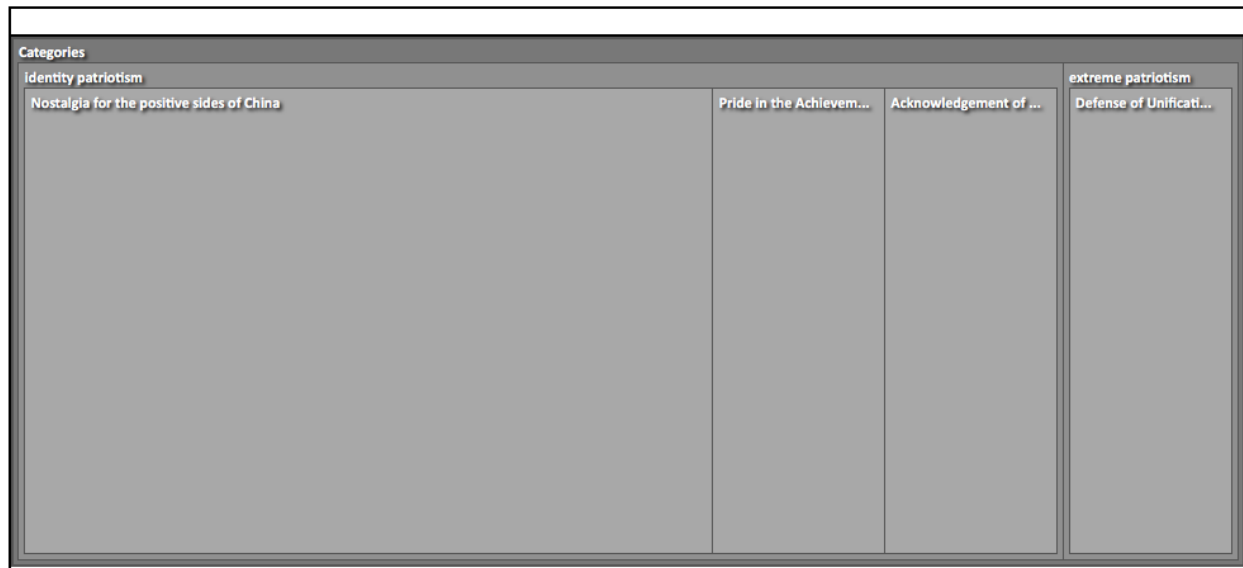


Figure 3. Tree map of nodes of Tina's interview



Figure 4. Tree map of nodes of Jay's interview

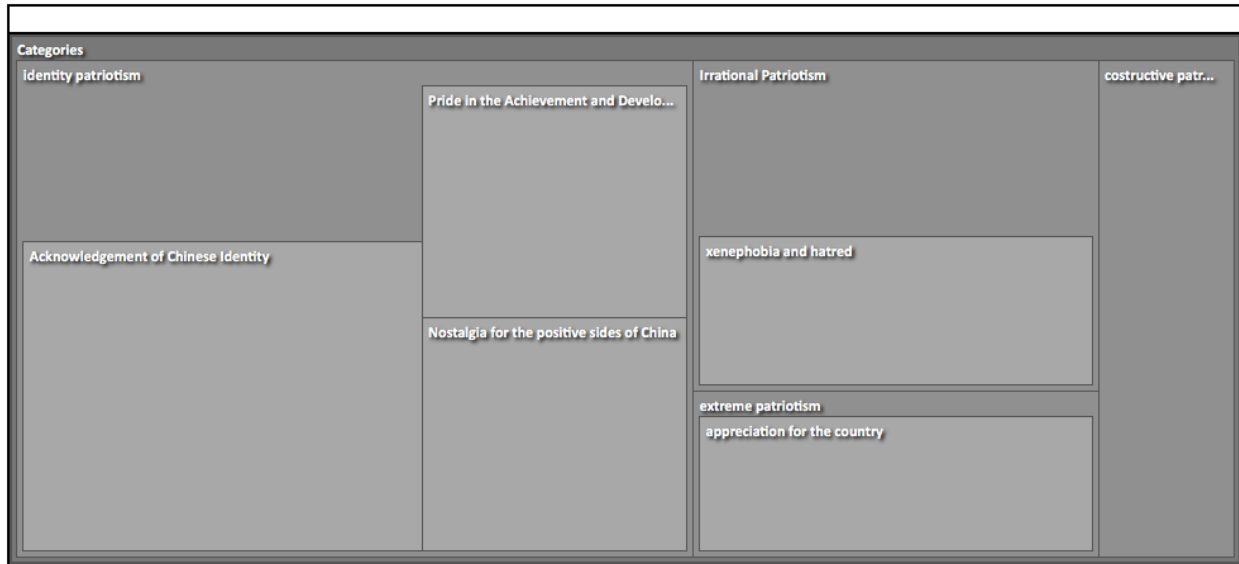


Figure 5. Tree map of nodes of Piupiu's interview

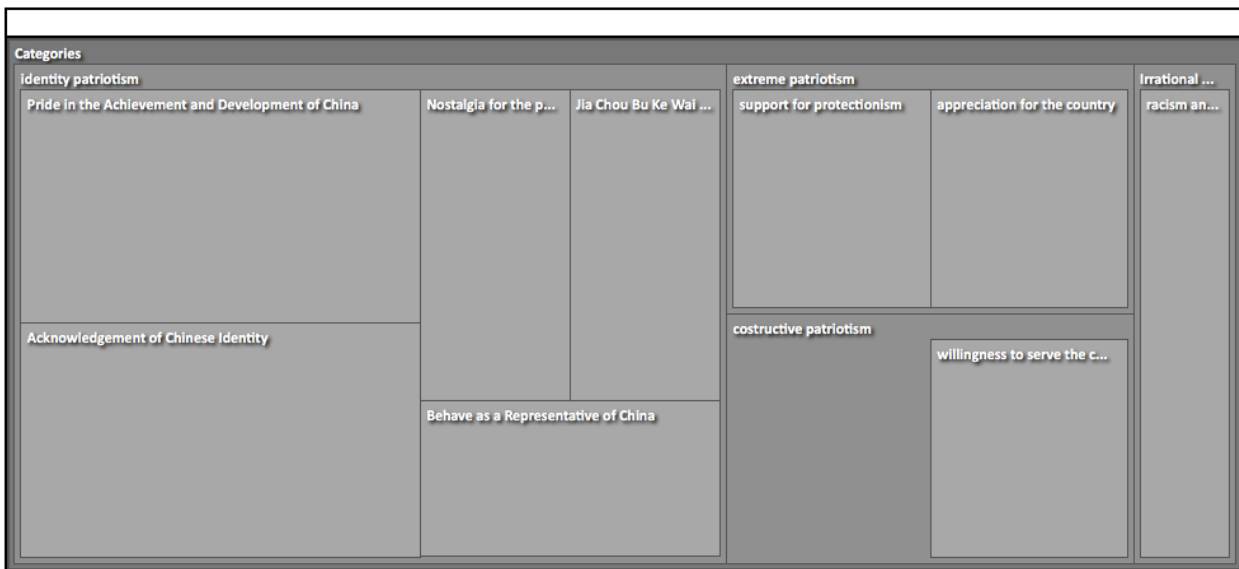


Figure 6. Tree map of nodes of Laura's interview

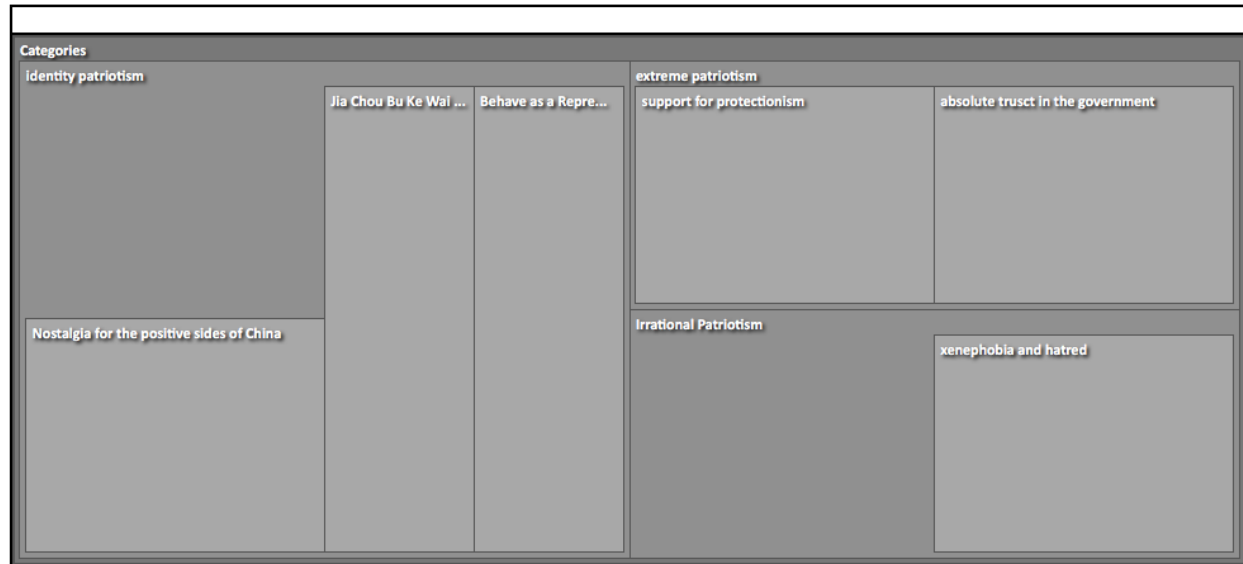


Figure 7. Tree map of nodes of Mike's interview

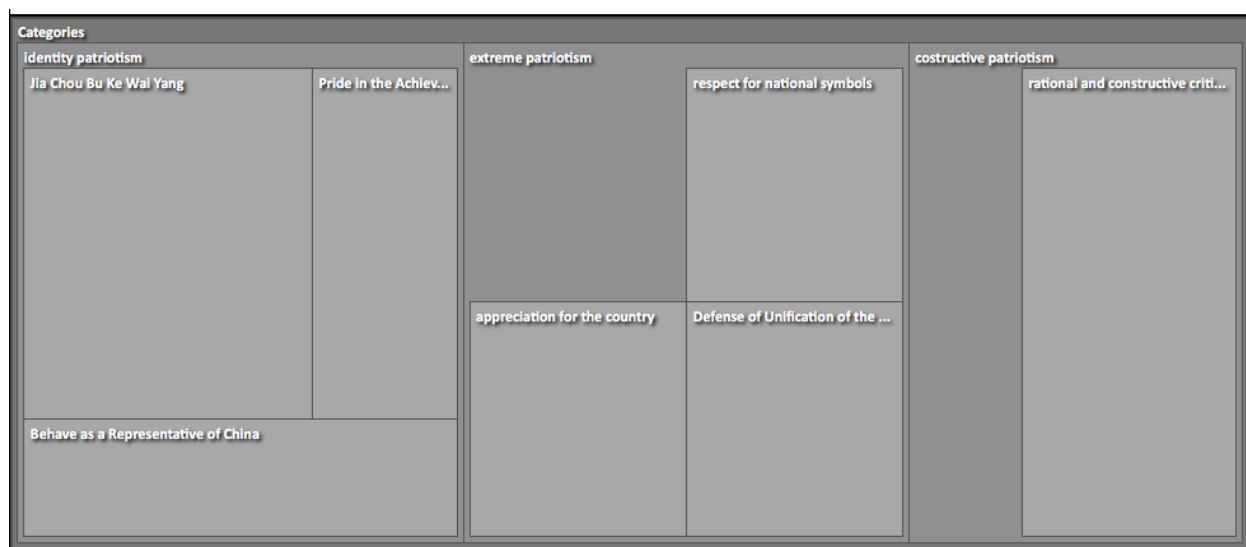


Figure 8. Tree map of nodes of Cici's interview



Figure 9. Tree map of nodes of Hank's interview



Figure 10. Tree map of nodes of Whisky's interview



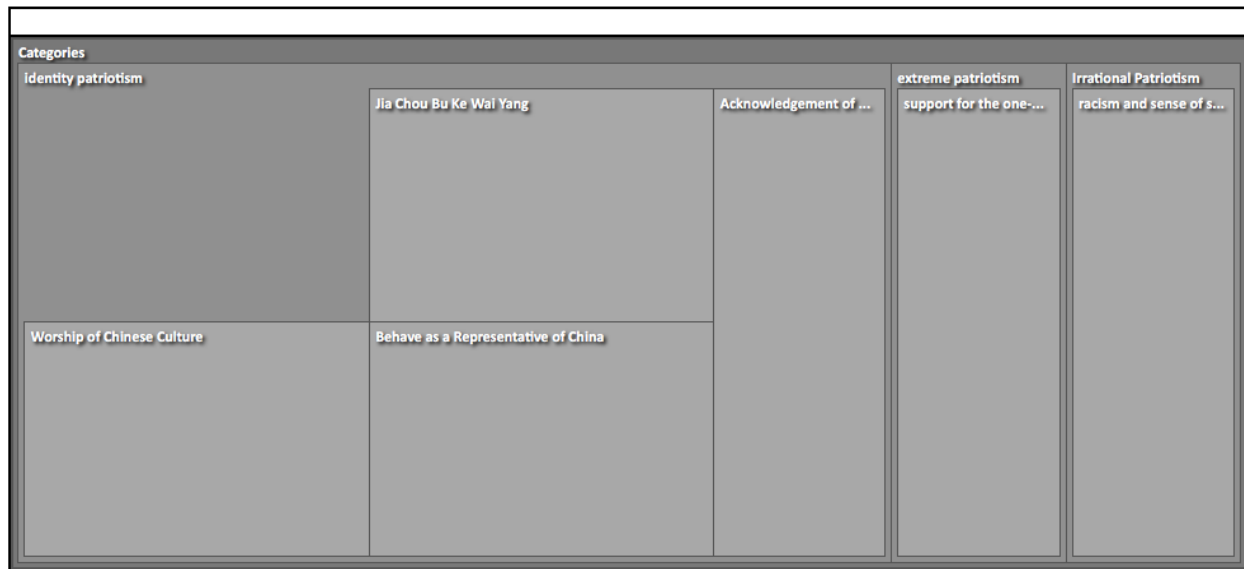


Figure 11. Tree map of nodes of Jack's interview

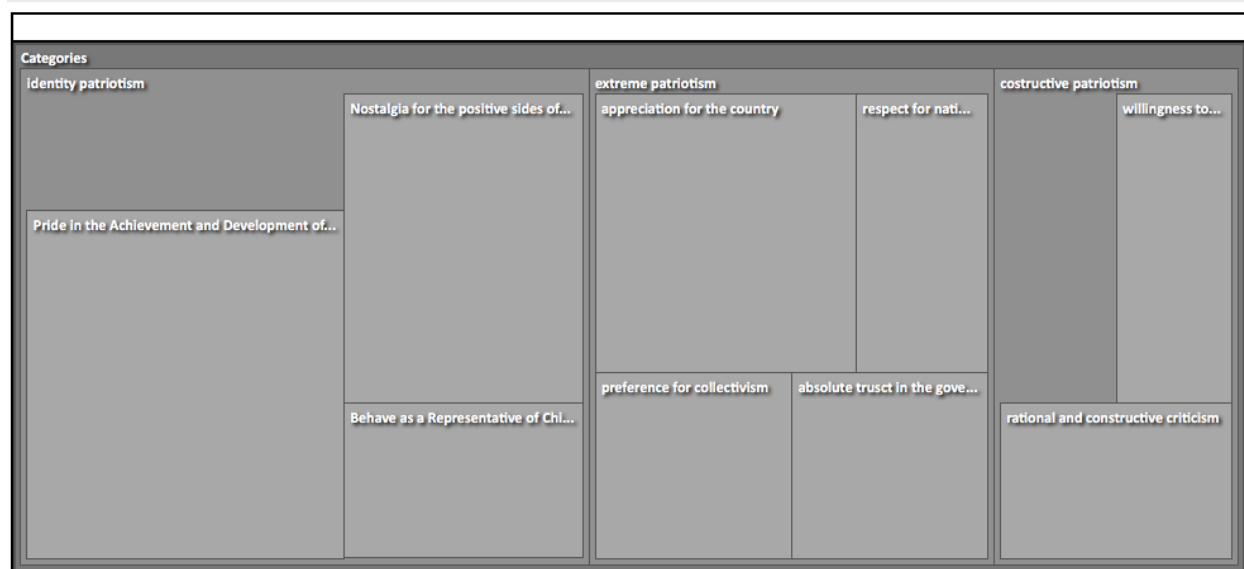


Figure 12. Tree map of nodes of Julian's interview

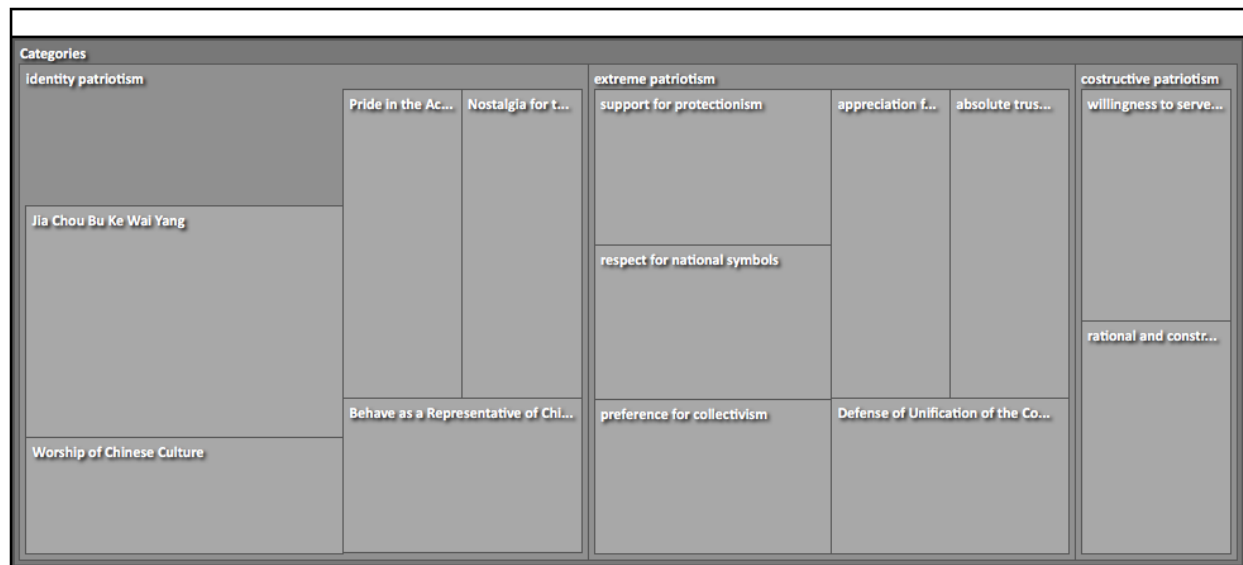


Figure 13. Tree map of nodes of Serena's interview

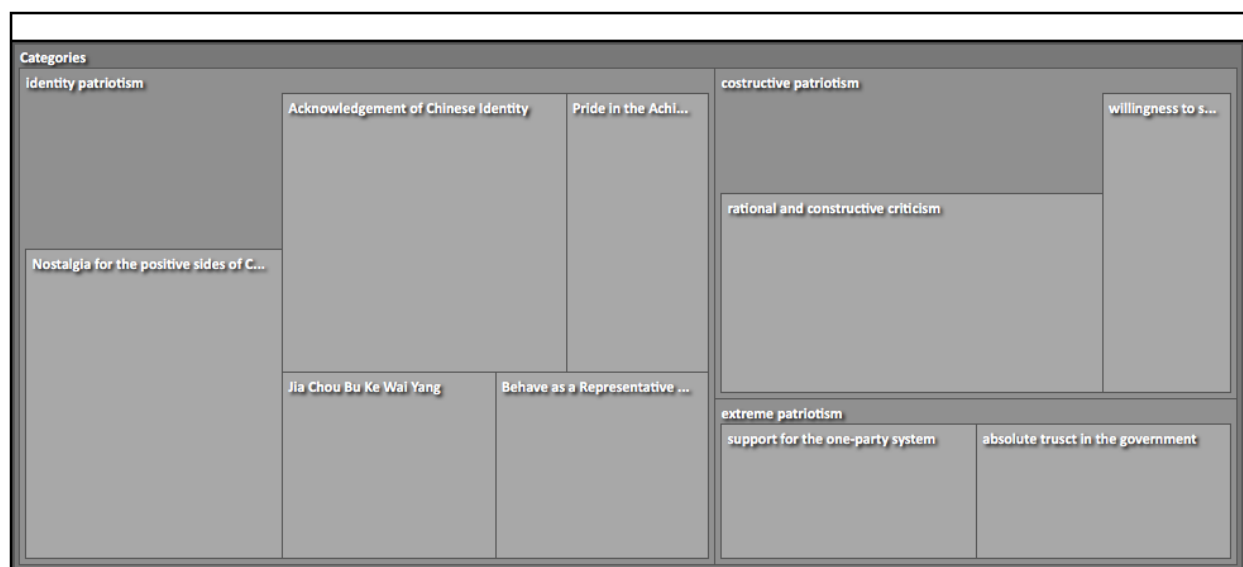


Figure 14. Tree map of nodes of Li Hua's interview

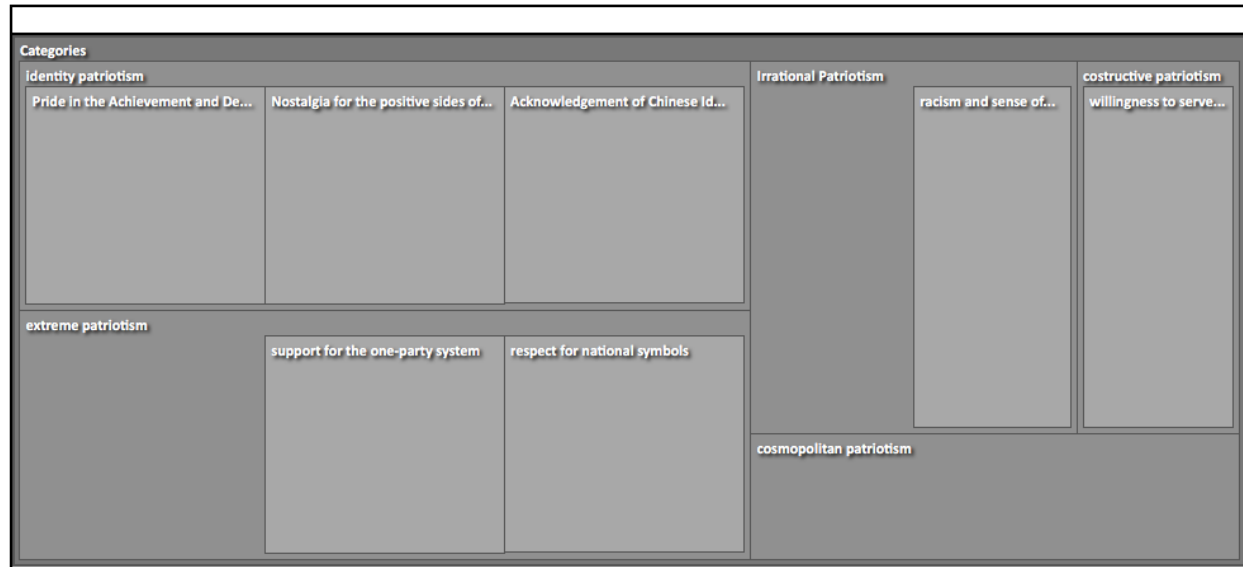


Figure 15. Tree map of nodes of Zhonghua's interview

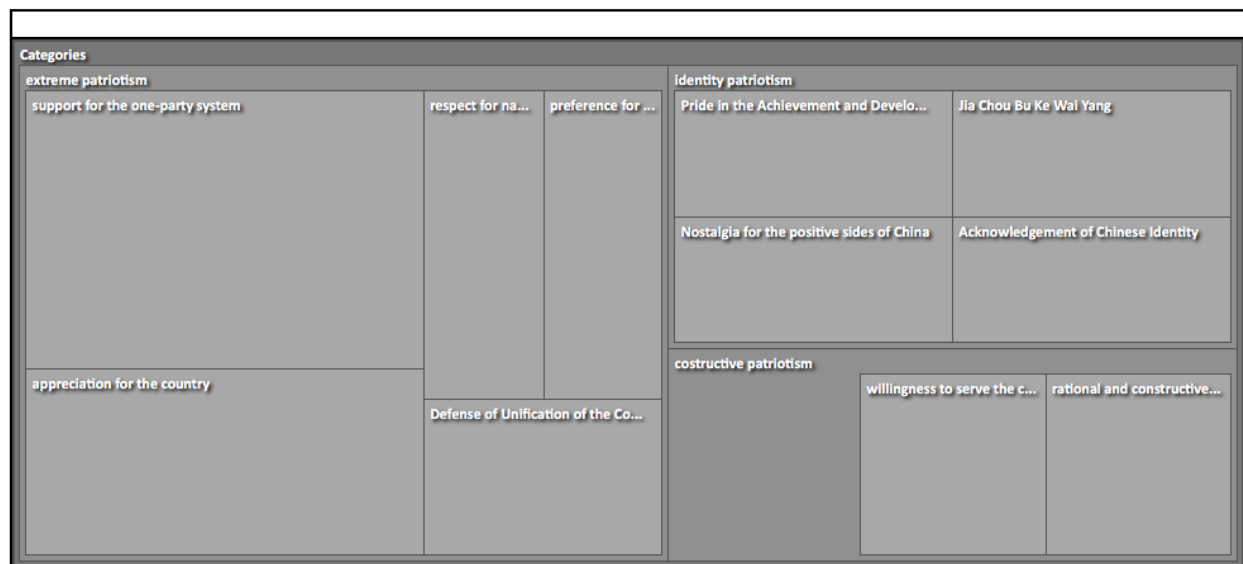


Figure 16. Tree map of nodes of Anne's interview



*Figure 17. Tree map of nodes of Xinxin's interview*

## VITA

**XIAOYUE QIN**

*Ph.D. Candidate of Social Studies Education*

*College of Education*

*Purdue University*

Department of Curriculum and Instruction

Beering Hall of Liberal Arts & Education

Purdue University

West Lafayette, IN 47906

Advisor: Anatoli Rapoport

### EDUCATION

#### **Doctor of Philosophy**

Social Studies Education -- College of Education, Purdue University

-- December 2019 (anticipated)

#### **Master of Education**

Educational Technology -- Graduate School of Education, Peking University, China -- July 2015

#### **Bachelor of Laws**

International Political Economy -- School of International Studies, Peking University, China --

July 2013

#### **Bachelor of History**

Department of History -- Peking University, China --

July 2013

### AREAS OF EMPHASIS AND RESEARCH INTERESTS

Citizenship education

Globalization and education

Comparative Education

Multicultural education  
Educational equity  
Online education  
Modern Chinese history and politics

## PUBLICATIONS

- Johnson, C.S., Szudnik, J., Bynum, C., Kong, N., & **Qin, X.** (2019). Learning about culture together: Enhancing educators cultural competence through collaborative teacher study groups. *Professional Development in Education*, 1-14.
- Sdunzik, J., Johnson, C.S., & **Qin, X.** (under review). Learning about Culture Together: Enhancing educator cultural competence through African American History-Centered Professional Development Experiences. *Multicultural Perspectives*.
- Johnson, C.S., Hinton, H., Maeda, Y., Ibriga, H., & **Qin, X.**(under review). A Public Good? Assessing the civic value of charter schools. *Education, Citizenship, and Social Justice*.
- Johnson, C.S., Hinton, H., Ibriga, H., & **Qin, X.** (under review). Black Adolescent Youth Racialized Identity and Political Efficacy in a Neoliberal Society. *The Urban Review*.
- Johnson, C.S., **Qin, X.**, Maeda, Y., & Hinton, H. (under review). In search of a panacea. Black-White civics achievement gap across school types. *Urban Education*.
- Qin, X.** (2018). Coping with the Challenge of Globalization at Home and Abroad: China's Patriotic Education. In *Competing Frameworks: Global and National in Citizenship Education*. Information Age Publishing.
- Kong, N. N., Bynum, C., Johnson, C., Sdunzik, J., & **Qin, X.** (2017). Spatial information literacy for digital humanities: The case study of leveraging geospatial information for African American history education. *College & Undergraduate Libraries*, 1-17.
- Chen, T., Ye, J.Y., **Qin, X.**, Ye, Y., Liang, J., & Bo, Q. (2011). Jueqi Beijing Xia de Weihejingcha Peixun (in Chinese). *New Thinking*. Vol. 010.

## CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- Qin, X.** (2018). *A Destined Future of Migrant Children? – Factors that Affect Academic Performance of Children in Shaoxing City*. Poster accepted at American Educational Research Association (AERA) Annual Meeting, New York City, NY, April, 2018.
- Qin, X.** (2017). *Teaching the Tibet Issue in Classrooms to Understand Controversy*. Paper accepted at National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS) Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA, November 17, 2017.
- Qin, X.** (2017). *Being a Part of the Nature: Environmental Education Ideas of Ancient Chinese Philosopher Zhuang Zhou*. Paper accepted at National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)/International Assembly (IA) Annual Conference, San Francisco, CA, November 17, 2017.
- Qin, X.,** (2017). *Effects of Hukou Status on Chinese Internal Migrant Children's Academic Performance in Shaoxing City*. Poster presented at Graduate Student Education Council (AGSERS), West Lafayette, IN, March 27, 2017.
- Qin, X.** (2016). *College Students' perceptions about Military Training in Mainland China*. Paper presented at National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)/International Assembly (IA) Annual Conference, Washington DC, December 2, 2016.
- Johnson, C., Bynum, C., Sdunzik, J., & **Qin, X.** (2016). *From Plessy to Brown: Using Museum Partnerships to Enhance Cultural Competence in Educators*. Paper presented at National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS)/ College and University Faculty Assembly (CUFA) Annual Conference, Washington DC, November 30, 2016.
- Qin, X.,** Zhao, X., & Wang, L. (2016). *"Empowering" the Youths: Ideological Representations in a Chinese Literature Textbook during the Cultural Revolution*. Poster presented at Graduate Student Education Council (AGSERS), March 24, 2016.
- Qin, X.,** Liu, M., & Guo, W. (2014). *A Research on Learning Environment Design of MOOCs and Users' Learning Participation*. Paper presented at Global Chinese Conference on Computers in Education (GCCCE), Shanghai, China, May, 2014.
- Qin, X.,** & Liu, M. (2014). *Instructional Design of MOOC, a Case Study on Peking University Online Open Courses*. Proposal accepted at eLearning Forum Asia, Taiwan, May, 2014.

## **ACADEMIC AWARDS**

The Dean's Doctoral Research Scholar Assistantship	2015-2019
General Wei-chin & Madam Phoebe Lee Graduate Scholarship	2016, 2017
Outstanding Master Dissertation of Graduate School of Education	2015
Excellence Scholarship of 2014 "+1 Innovation Fund"	2015
Second Prize of 22th "Challenge Cup" Academic Competition	2014
Scientific Practice Innovation Scholarship	2013, 2014
First Prize of 19th "Challenge Cup" Academic Competition	2011
Second Prize of the Academic Competition of SIS	2011

## **TRAVEL GRANTS**

Graduate Student Travel Award, \$500	2017
Graduate Student Travel Award, \$550	2016

## **WORK EXPERIENCES**

- Product Marketing Research Manager at Instructure, Inc.  
March 2019 – present, Salt Lake City, UT
- Research Assistant of Department of Curriculum & Instruction at Purdue University  
August 2015—August 2019, West Lafayette, IN
- Research Analyst Intern at Instructure, Inc.  
May 2018—August 2018, Salt Lake City, UT
- Product Manager Intern in Big Data Center of Sohu.com, Inc.  
April 2014—October 2014, Beijing, China
- Project Assistant in National Center For Educational Technology  
November 2012—July 2015, Beijing, China
- Department Assistant in Graduate School of Education of Peking University  
February 2013—June 2013, Beijing, China
- Editor of International Department at Qiushi Magazine  
August 2012—October 2012, Beijing, China



**PROFESSIONAL AFFILIATIONS**

Student member of National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS), Indiana Council for the Social Studies (ICSS) and The American Educational Research Association (AERA); student mentor of C&I Grad Peer Mentoring Program.

Reviewer for Journal of International Social Studies (official publication of International Assembly of the National Council for the Social Studies).