

New Patriotism of The Post-1980s Generation in China

A thesis submission to the University of Birmingham as part of
the fulfillment of

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY in Cultural Study

By

Chaoyi Liu

Department of Sociology
The University of Birmingham

December 2010

UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

University of Birmingham Research Archive

e-theses repository

This unpublished thesis/dissertation is copyright of the author and/or third parties. The intellectual property rights of the author or third parties in respect of this work are as defined by The Copyright Designs and Patents Act 1988 or as modified by any successor legislation.

Any use made of information contained in this thesis/dissertation must be in accordance with that legislation and must be properly acknowledged. Further distribution or reproduction in any format is prohibited without the permission of the copyright holder.

ABSTRACT

This dissertation analyses the new characteristics of patriotism of Post-1980s generation in China. The analysis is based on a carefully-designed research process. The findings are focused on the research questions. The new patriotism of Post-1980s generation in China has been presented by newspapers. The secondary aspect of the current study concerns the impact of media to the young people.

The Post-1980s generation has grown up in a different environment compared with older generations. Rapid economic development and the information boom have had a key impact. Based on this current study and personal experience, criticism of the Post-1980s generation lasted more than ten years. But the media suddenly changed their view overnight. The Post-1980s generation became a hopeful generation in the media. Different from their parents, they do not believe everything the state says like their parents. The results were got from the different voice from the internet and BBS in China. They could keep loyalty and love for the country but questioned it at the same time.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The completion of this dissertation would have been impossible without the love and support of my parents. I give my deepest gratitude to them. Their dedication is my main power to do this. I would like to extend my warmest thanks to my supervisors, Dr. Gezim Alpion and Dr. Sin Yi Cheung Sin Yi Cheung, for their effective guidance and warm concern.

I would like to thanks to who aided me in carrying out my data collection: Ms Yao Haiping, and Ms Jiang Tao. Many thanks to Miss Wu Ying who copied all the newspapers for me

Finally, I would like to dedicate the dissertation to my dear fiancé Mr Zhandong Wang who have always been there for me.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter 1: Introduction	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 The outline of the research	3
Chapter 2: Literature reviews	6
2.1 Patriotism and nationalism	6
2.2 Patriotism in China	15
2.3 Summary	26
Chapter 3: Methodology and data collection:	28
3.1 Methodology	28
3.1.1 Documentary analysis	29
3.1.2 Sampling design	35
3.2 Data collection:	36
3.2.1 Introduction to three Chinese newspapers	36
3.2.2 The Discourse of Three Newspapers	40
3.2.3 The Discourse from two BBS	42
3.3 The framework of the analysis and findings	42
Chapter 4: The Findings	47
4.1 The 5-12 Wenchuan earthquakes	47
4.1.1 Summary of the data	47
4.1.2 Analysis of the data	52
4.2 The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games	56
4.3 Negative issues	62
4.4 The summary	67
Chapter 5: Conclusion	72
5.1 Introduction	72
5.2 The patriotism of the Post-1980s generation	72



5.3 The limitations of the media representing the Post-1980s generation	74
5.4 Expansion of research into this field	75
Bibliography	79
Appendices	90
Appendices 1: the reports and comments from ‘China Daily’	90
Appendices 2: the reports and comments from ‘the People’s Daily’	151
Appendices 3: the reports and comments from ‘China Education Daily’	166

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

This research will consider the patriotism of the Chinese Post-1980s generation in terms of the media's representation of them in China since 2008. This study has been triggered by two significant events that occurred in China in 2008: The tragic Wenchuan Earthquake on 12th May 2008 and the Beijing Olympic Games which opened on 8th August 2008.

During the earth quake, Chinese people suffered enormous grief and loss as a result of massive tremors. The great spirit of the volunteers and soldiers (the majority of whom were 20-30 years old) was strongly praised at the time. As the Chinese national newspaper 'the People's Daily' (3rd June 2008) commented, 'the powerful quake shook our prejudices towards the China's Post-80's generation - the only-child generation born in and after the 1980s'. Coincidentally, the same situation occurred during the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic Games three months later. The volunteers and competitors were highly commended by the media both at home and abroad with the younger generation in China seeming to have grown up overnight. They know the value of a helping hand, taking responsibilities and caring the weak. Their higher educational background, better economic environment, and patriotism could help them to become pillars of China's future. (Singapore's Lianhe Zaobao, August 2008).

It is interesting to note that the people who received these positive comments were the

same generation who were questioned and judged by the older generations for more than 10 years. Post-1980s Generation was the first generation born after the implementation of the Chinese 'One-Child Policy'. Unlike children born during the 1970s', most of them do not have siblings. As the only-child in the family, they have been previously referred to as the "sun" in the family, at the center, well-fed and over-protected (the People's Daily, 22nd June 2008). The Post-80s generation has long been branded as spoiled, egotistical, aloof and rebellious and has social reasons to be selfish, irresponsible and individualistic.

On the other hand, they have grown up following the "opening-up" and economic reforms in China. They have witnessed the process of China's globalization. They have enjoyed greater opportunities than their parents, and political incidents seem to them to be far away. They have benefited from prosperity and affection although they are a troubled generation, brought up in a mixed atmosphere, where hot competition for higher grades has coexisted with unprecedented material comforts. Fully exposed to the modern commercialized society, they are so accustomed to 'junk food', the Internet, and all kinds of conveniences that they tend to refrain from pursuing the coddling by their parents. They have felt the impact of technology, global cultural influences, and the consumerism that has accompanied the Chinese economic boom.

But during the earthquake and the Olympics, the young people's behavior was found to be unexpectedly pleasant. They seemed to grow up overnight. They received many positive comments from national and foreign media. The people who received these

positive comments were the same group who were questioned by the older generations for more than 10 years.

Based on this phenomenon, the main focus of this research lies in the representation of the ‘new patriotism’ of the Post-1980s generation by the print media in China. This dissertation aims to examine the ways that the Post-1980s generation showed their love for their country. Compared with the older generations like their parents, to establish what these new characteristics of their patriotism are and the ways they displayed. It is hoped that this dissertation may demonstrate how the new patriotism of Post-1980s generation has been influenced by both traditional and contemporary culture. They are not ‘’ as their parents concerned. They are not being patriotic on purpose. Their performance may display the patriotism in more moderate ways.

1.2 The outline of the research

This dissertation is divided into five parts: the introductory chapter provides an overview of the topic that will be analyzed in this study. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the basic definitions, relevant theories and the previous research conducted in this field, and also describes the development of Chinese patriotism in different eras and the previous research that has examined this topic. This chapter also presents an analysis of the principle outlines of this piece of research and applies it to the current situation in China. Chinese traditional patriotism and Maoist patriotism are also described in this second chapter.

The methods which are used to collect data will be described in Chapter 3. The documentary research method will be implemented based on the topic and time limits. Chapter 4 will describe the research findings. It will provide an evaluation of the success of the fieldwork research and will present a comprehensive analysis of the results. The print media in China has a strong voice and this will require less time to collect compared with either interviews or questionnaires. The research data will be collected from the three main newspapers in China each of which have different audience groups. In this chapter, internet resources will be used with the aim of complementing the data because media identity in China is strong. It will also show the advantage and limitations of this research method. In addition, it will bring together the findings regarding the main issues within the current study. Questions regarding the patriotism of the Post-1980s generation will also be answered. Their patriotism may be more sensible and modern compared with older generations; they have more freedom of thought and so they do not only listen to the voice of the government; they have also been influenced by traditions, modern culture, and new technology, which has helped them find new ways to gain information and give feedback. Their patriotism could be more rational and moderated than older generations. At the same time, some potential problems may be found during this research: the passion and new perspective of the Post-1980s generation may have been built by the media. They have a wider field of vision than the older generation but they are still influenced by the political media environment. They may also have different opinions that cannot be presented by the media.

The conclusion will provide a summary of this research, describing the limitations and possible further improvements of this study. A number of possible strands of research which may be carried out in the future will also be described.

Appendices 1-3 will provide the some of the selected reports and comments from ‘the People’s Daily’, ‘China Education Daily’ and ‘China Daily’ that will be utilized in this research. Appendices 1 and 2 are printed in Chinese. The titles are translated into English in the second part of bibliography. Appendix 3 provides a collection of relevant reports and comments from the ‘China Daily’ English edition. The appendix of ‘China Daily’ is from the electronic edition. The original newspapers are not allowing copying and scanning.

Chapter 2: Literature reviews

2.1 Patriotism and nationalism

Patriotism is commonly defined as ‘the love of country’ although this is obviously subjective and psychological. The word comes from the Greek *patris*. There is a similar concept ‘nationalism’, and a comparison between the definitions of these two concepts would be helpful in clarifying what is patriotism.

Maurizio Viroli (1995) distinguished between the two concepts saying that patriotism is the ‘love of country’ while nationalism is the ‘love of the nation’. Leonard W. Doob (1964) contrasted ‘patriotism’ and ‘nationalism’ with patriotism focusing on the degree of people’s conscious towards personal interests or ‘significant groups to which they belong being dependent upon the preservation or expansion (or both) of the power and culture of his society...Nationalism means the set of more or less uniform demands’ including people’s social share and their patriotic roots.’ (p6)

According to Doob’s definitions of patriotism and nationalism, both of these two concepts could be used by governments, while some aspects of nationalistic requirements may incline people to make personal sacrifices to help achieve their government’s aims, which may or may not result in appropriate action.

Peter Alter (1989) has claimed that nationalism is a political force which has been more important in ‘shaping the history of Europe and the world over the last two centuries than the ideas of freedom and parliamentary democracy or of communism’

(1989, p4). He suggests that nationalism was one of the main thoughts of the nineteenth century and became extremely successful in the 20th century. Patriotism was considered as a form of nationalism.

Nationalism may be related with the ‘forces striving for political, social, economic and cultural emancipation’ when oppression was needed (1989). The emancipation and the other world ‘revolution’ could be regarded as two main reasons for nationalistic wars. In Alter’s opinion, there are so many different forms and ‘national variations’ that have been argued frequently. Alter (1989) has indicated that patriotism could be explained as the love of country, and as a love for one’s country is combined with universal human ideals, it is easy to be both a patriot and a citizen of the world. The meaning of patriotism shifted the allegiance to the nation and the nation-state, and has the same meaning as nationalism and national consciousness, though it has been less and less used as such (Alter, 1989). However, ‘unlike nationalism, patriotism has virtually never had the effect of an aggressive political force’.

Traditional theorizing has focused on extreme expressions of nationalism thus making it an exotic and remote concern.

In contrast Michael Billig (1995) has turned his attention to everyday and less visible forms that are deeply ingrained in contemporary consciousness. Banal Nationalism considers the reasons why people have always remembered their national identity. National solidarity is built on the everyday representations of the nation, and people feel a belonging to a particular nation through these representations. Billig has

provided some examples of banal nationalism. These are normal symbols that people may frequently encounter such as sporting events, national songs, the use of flags in daily contexts, popular expressions and unique symbols appearing on money and bank notes. These symbols may be repeated many times. The flags hanging outside public buildings; the symbols on money may be political leaders or other national celebrities; or reports of major sports events all of reinforce the awareness of nationalism amongst people. These images will be built in people's sub consciousness, and these small symbols may convey assumptions of nationhood.

Billig wanted to differentiate the nationalism that is present in everyday lives with more extreme examples of nationalism. He agrees with Doob's idea that nationalism could be used in an extreme way which may be dangerous. He has argued that in the 1980s and 1990s, academics and journalists have focused on extreme nationalists, separatist movements and xenophobes. He believed that the modern strength of nationalism has been obscured. He used the 'protect Kuwait during 1991 Gulf War' and the 'Falkland Islands' in 1982 as examples to express how the 'unspoken assumption' displayed the importance of the nation in political discourse.

Banal Nationalism pointed out some core factors of nationalism. It is meaningful when people relate them to their nationality. His opinion is related to the current study in that patriotism may be demonstrated in a similar manner. The language, flag, and other symbols make people feel part of the same group. The nature of protecting and loving may be very powerful. The nature of patriotism in China is a very powerful ideology, partially because it remains largely unexamined and unchallenged, yet

remains the basis for powerful political movements and most of the political violence in the world today.

Adopting a very different position, Benedict Anderson (2006) has explained the relationship between nationalism and history/culture. He has discussed the origins of nation and nationalism. He has stressed the theoretical analysis and described the 'four waves' process focusing on how nationalism has spread since the seventeenth century. He described several methods of building/constructing nationalism in peoples' minds. He has defined nation, nationalism and nationals as 'cultural artefacts' of a particular kind. 'It is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. (p6)' He has pointed out the three factors of nationalism as being imagined, limited, and sovereign. Anderson believed that the discussion about nationalism should be put into bigger cultural system (religions). He considered that 'nationalism has to be understood by aligning it, not with self-consciously held political ideologies, but with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which-as well as against which – it came into being' (p12).

One of the most useful points about Anderson's idea is that he claimed that newspapers and novels have played a role which can make the readers feel that they are living in the same period. 'Newspaper readers, observing exact replicas neighbours, is continually reassured that the imagined world is visibly rooted in everyday life' (p 35). According to this argument, 'print-capitalism' could make people relate themselves to others, in non-religious ways.

Anderson highlighted the meaning of language in the origins of national consciousness. The empery of Latin language collapsed because of print-capitalism and their print products. And then, administrative vernaculars were born in 16th century. ‘The print language laid the base for national consciousnesses (Anderson, 1991, p44). He also paid attention to youth. He explained that the ‘schooled-youth’, means that education system has played a special role in promoting colonial nationalisms. The different education style was the main reason of their patriotism. He tried to answer his own question: ‘Why people are ready to die for these inventions’ (p141). He mentioned the cultural products of nationalism – poetries, prose fiction, music, and plastic arts- that show love for the nation in many ways. But the products related to fear and loathing of nationalism were very difficult to find. These cultural products demonstrate an admiration for the passion of the nation even the spirit of self- sacrifice. Because people cannot choose their nations, their sacrifice becomes natural and just. He also described the methods of colonial state building through nationalism including census, maps, museums and also the biography of nations.

Anderson has claimed that nationalism should be related to culture and history. He has highlighted that language has played the main role in nationalism. And he has explained how the ‘imagined communities’ are built. According to Anderson’s discussion about the armed conflict in Indochina, he thought that the ‘state’ is equivalent to the ‘nation’. It should be argued that related to China, the relationship between the state and nation might not be self-evident. In some levels, the state concept can be more important than the nation. Or, else building the national

‘imagined communities’ could be more convenient to legalize/rationalize the state-building process. On the other hand, his thoughts about print media and language power could support this current study. The performance of Post-1980s generation was representing by the newspapers, and the Chinese media uses a similar voice for the main national events. The power of the media and language may lead people to think as the government wants them to. The image of ‘being in the same nation’ may encourage young people to be more patriotic during the media process.

After the reviews about nationalism, the concepts of patriotism may be clearer. Does patriotism has different kinds or it could be divided into different stage? As Doob has claimed (1964), there were two major levels of patriotism these being strong and weak patriotism. Strong patriotism may be understood as the person who always connects his benefit with those of the nation. Based on his definition, people who has ‘strong patriotism’, his welfare is bounded by national power and cultural tradition. He prefers to respond to the state’s demands rather than his own needs most of time. The country’s benefits always come first, and patriotic feelings and nationality are impacted in his daily life. His country’s uniqueness, aspirations and his citizenship are reasons to be proud. The common ideal is the goal that he wants to promote; and he chooses loyalty for his country over any other groups. ‘The state is supreme, and should be so’ (p12) is the specific concept in his mind.

In the case of weak patriotism this is when a person puts his own welfare before the nation or other group in which he belongs. The national power and cultural rules do

not alter his behavior very much. The country will be important to him only when he has curiosity or hostility. He will not be particularly willing or proud when he supports the country's needs. He does not keep thinking that his country is the best and he does not boast about it. He does not use evidence to prove that his country is perfect. In fact he may think that this behavior would be ignorant. He usually considers himself as an individual rather than a member of any group. His life plan is practically focused on his own goal rather than the national ideals. In his opinion, the state exists to serve the people. The content of patriotism has included land, people, and culture. Although patriotism depends on individual thought, it is also deeply influenced by the cultural and traditional political environment. The definition of strong patriotism and weak patriotism showed that he divided the stages of patriotism as people's behavior. Strong patriotism is more emotional than weak patriotism. Weak patriotism does not mean not loving the country but it showed patriotism in a more tame way. The strong patriotism inclined to an extreme way.

Related to this current study, Doob expressions regarding the features of 'strong' and 'weak' patriotism fit with the patriotism seen in China. The Chinese government has tried to build 'strong patriotism' in people's minds since 1949. Patriotic education is still a major part of Chinese basic education. It has played the lead role of providing political education from the first grade to college. Based on the contents of seven editions of the political text book over the past 40 years, the classes have focused on 'strong patriotism' up until 1995. The direction of political education has slowly changed since 1995. Now 'strong patriotic' education is not as strong as in the past.



This change might be due to the peaceful period in which China finds itself.

To avoid the extreme ways of ‘strong patriotism’, Nathanson (1993) defended “moderate patriotism” as a ‘form of patriotic loyalty that does not have the chauvinistic and belligerent qualities that anti-patriotic critics rightly reject’ (p15). He used an anti-patriotism example to expand the discussion regarding anti-patriotism, the moral limits of patriotism, and moderate patriotism. His views based on the argument about Tolstoy’s description about super patriotism. Some critics considered that his defense of moderate patriotism was too weak. The moderated patriotism could not be called ‘a real form of patriotism’. He argued with their opinion and tried to improve that the moderate patriotism is enough. Nathanson discussed moderate patriotism based on the following aspects: the loyalty basis, universal morality, the possibility of people judging their country, and the dimensions of loyalty. He indicated that patriotism may be inappropriate when someone’s country ‘leads to neglect of other greater needs’ (p16) because the world is in a vast unbalanced situation among nations in due to economic and technological disparities. He also considered the criticism that patriotism is undesirable because it is a form of nationalism. Furthermore, he argued that some forms of nationalism, like extreme patriotism or super patriotism, would be very dangerous in moral and political aspects. But they are legitimate at the same time. Finally, he pointed out that popular patriotism and the relationship between it and moderate patriotism where ‘popular patriotism is ruled by ‘flags, parades, and military values’. Based on the basic conception of patriotism, moderate patriotism compared with other typical forms of

patriotic expression; is still true and sufficient. To be different with Doob's idea, he considered that the 'Moderate patriotism involves the following features: special affection for one's country; a desire that one's country prospers and flourishes; special but not exclusive concern for one's own country; the support of morally constrained pursuit of national goals and the conditional support of one's country's policies.' (p34)

His standards of dividing the level of patriotism are more close to the ethic and thoughts. He proved that the moderate patriotism is enough for most modern country and in some level; it brings more benefits for people and the country than the extreme patriotism. Related to banal nationalism (Billig, 1995) moderate patriotism may also be found in everyday life. Examples of this include singing national songs, learning about national celebrities, the feelings of belonging in the country and contributing to major sports events.

For the stages of patriotism, Robert Audi (2009) also discussed it. He combined nationalism, cosmopolitanism and patriotism in 2009. He expressed that nationalism may be understood as a position regarding the status and responsibilities of nation states. He thought that similar to nationalism, patriotism may also be considered in propositional forms or in related attitudinal forms; but unlike nationalism and cosmopolitanism; patriotism can exist in the form of an emotion being essentially, love of one's country. Determining the strength of nationalism and patriotism is the relative importance it ascribes to national versus human concerns (Audi, 2009). In the case of an extreme form of nationalism the kind encapsulated in the phrase, "my

country right or wrong,” ‘roughly, this view is that where national interest calls for an action, citizens have an overriding obligation to act accordingly’. For moderate nationalism, one’s country has a high priority over others, but not absolute priority (pp.366-367). The term “patriotism” may be used to designate at least three different factors: a trait of character, as where people speak of a person who is patriotic to the core; an emotion, as where people are described as glowing with patriotism or bursting with pride in their country; and a position, such as the view that one owes loyalty to one’s country. Audi (2009) has pointed out that Patriotism is commonly enlisted in the service of nationalism, but it can also be a force in the opposition direction, and can indeed be a lever that redirects nationalism. It can also produce national self-criticism or national embarrassment as well as national pride.

In the current study, the new patriotism of Chinese young people seems to be different from the older generation. Doob, Nathanson and Audi’s idea prove that there are different kind of patriotism could be performed. The extreme/super patriotism is clearly had strong influence. It also has long history in China. If it is true that Chinese young generation performed different kind of patriotism, it could be weaker than older generation and it also could have some features of moderate patriotism. The new patriotism of Post-1980s generation may belong to one of the forms. Related to the Billige’s banal nationalism, the patriotism could also relate to daily behaviors or symbiotic performance. To find out more features about patriotism in China, the historical review and cultural influence are the other major concepts to study.

2.2 Patriotism in China:

The patriotic concept has been one of the most important ideals in Chinese culture and belief. It has a long history, and has developed through several eras. Based on historical articles, the meaning of patriotism has evolved through four main periods in China: the ancient China (BC 221 to AD 1840), pre-Modern China (1840-1949), Maoist (1949-1976) and the Period of opening-up (1979-present). (Zhao, 1991 & Zhu, 1985)

The first period defined the ideological roots of Chinese patriotism. In that time, patriotism meant the patriotism and loyalty to the throne. These thoughts came from Confucian thought which was the one of the leading ideals in ancient China and even to the present day. Clarifying the factors of Confucian patriotic thoughts became the basic standards of patriotism in people's minds in China (Yang, 1991). According to research into Chinese ancient history, Ye Wenxian (2006) wanted to define the boundary between 'the love of the country' and patriotism. He claimed that there are four main concepts these being the state, people, nations, and patriotism. Ye believed that when the state belongs to people, the love of the country may be explained as patriotism. But in ancient China, the empires and Kings controlled the economy and policy, and consequently patriotism in ancient China and even the Confucian theories might be confounded with nationalism or with loyalty to the King. He tried to find an effective way to correct the misunderstandings in the Chinese mind.

The main factors of Confucian patriotic thought may be understood through the



following aspects:

- The loyalty for the monarch. In ancient China, the status of monarch was higher than all else. The absolute monarchy system had lasted for more than 2,000 years. The country, the nation and the people belonged to the King. So the patriotic spirit was mostly represented by this loyalty. Patriotism was not as obvious as this loyalty (Zhu Xi, 1130-1200 & Nan Huaijin, 1976).

- Blind loyalty was not to be promoted. According to Confucian idea of loyalty (BC551-BC479), loyalty should be based on the monarch's behavior. He pointed out a series standards to judge 'right' and 'wrong' which were adopted during the entire period of ancient China.

- Zhuzi who was a major ideologist during the Song Dynasty (1130-1200) and developed Confucian ideas. He built a more strict system regarding loyalty and patriotic behavior. The monarch's orders were implemented completely for the country's benefit. Self-sacrifice for the national interest became more common behavior. His ideas strengthened some aspects of Confucian thought and had far-reaching effects in China.

The second Chinese era, the history of China was full of shame. World War I and the modern colonial war brought grave disaster and humiliation to China and feudal royal power became weaker. The loyalty for the monarch could not save the country from failure and weakness. The New Cultural Movement (from 1919) and Salvation thoughts changed some aspects of the patriotic spirit in China. 'Save the country', 'do

not betray the country' and also 'sacrifice for the country' became the key features of patriotism. The sacrifice was still the key factor but the object had changed. The monarch was no longer worthy of sacrifice and instead sacrifice for the country become a major expression of patriotism (Chen, 1919 & Hu, 1919).

In the Maoist period, patriotism had some of the following characteristics: patriotism was displayed based on a high degree of political principles; the independence in politics and the economy gave people confidence in the country; the patriotism was given more attention in education, the mass media and in people's social lives (Guo, 2006 & Ye, 2006).

The blindness of patriotism was strong during this time. People believed that their country/nation was better than the others especially the Western countries. Political issues influenced the standards of patriotism. The nation or the government always being right became a general idea in people's minds (Yang, 1991). Patriotism was considered a basic virtue and was related to political awareness. And absolute and extreme patriotism was demonstrated during that time. The famous Chinese radical writer Wang Shuo (1992) said that: 'There is always a group of people who have been called Fascist in Japan, Nazi in Germany, and Patriot in China.' His statement at a certain level reflected the situation of Chinese patriotism in 1970-1980. The patriotism was demonstrated to a super degree.

This patriotism had specific factors which have never been seen before: working hard and make a contribution were also seen as a kind of patriotism. This new meaning of

patriotic spirit at that time has continued to the present.

Since then, patriotism and patriotic education have become major aspects during the growing up of young Chinese people.

For the last period: 1979-the present. The Opening-up policy in brought rapid changes for China. Economic, technological, and cultural aspects were impacted upon by the globalization process and the information explosion. The Chinese traditional ethic has now been challenged. During this time, the population control policy-‘One Child policy’ begun, and the Post-1980s generation were the first generation born following the implementation of this policy. Two main factors caused them to be more unique than the previous generations. Guo Shuilan (2006) believes that the modern state includes the existence of geographical conditions - territory (territory, leading air, sea and nurture the resources), citizens, and sovereignty which are the three elements of their composition. The modern state is the social community which is made up of these three basic factors. So, the logical basis of patriotism is the territory, citizens and sovereignty of the country. The basic requirements of modern patriotism in the final analysis are the love of the homeland territory, citizens and sovereignty. A change in the territory, citizenship and sovereignty determine the change and development of the content of the patriotism.

The world wide information explosion brought different values of culture into China. The importance of personal values received more attention. This challenged the spirit of collectivism which was also a major ideal during the Maoist period. On the other

hand, the One-Child policy and Chinese clan mentality led to the Post-1980s generation become more spoiled. Educators and researchers noticed the problem 15 years ago. When the Post-1980s became teenagers, they demonstrated selfish, fragile and personal interests above everything else. Patriotism may have even died following this ‘beat generation’ (Liu, 2008)

The correlative research:

A lot of Chinese articles have expressed the problems of young people’s patriotism since 1985. The patriotic education is one of the most important topics of Chinese education. Young people have been seemed as the simplistic population of the nation’s future. The loyalty and love for the country is always a major issue in China. Educators and researchers expressed their ideas about the patriotism and patriotism of young people.

Ren Xujie (2009) has considered that the Post-1980s generation may have forgotten the central spirit of Chinese patriotism. He has written about this in an article consisting of four main parts these being, the definition of patriotism, the importance of patriotism in China, the collective forgetting of patriotism amongst Chinese young people (based on survey results), and recommendations for young people’s history education. The definition of patriotism in the article was based on Lenin’s definition. He explained patriotism as a kind of strong emotion/love of the home country. Combined with Chinese history, the author also pointed out the importance of patriotism in Modern China and the present. According to three research projects

about patriotism and Chinese modern history, he considered that the post 1980s generation may have forgotten the central spirit of Chinese patriotism. At the end, he provides some suggestions to re-build the patriotism amongst young people in China through history education. He presented deep concerns about the young people especially college students' patriotism. He stood by the older generation to point out the reality which is not optimistic. But according to his research, he seems be dogmatic. Indeed he has used some opinionated sentences such as 'young people are falling into the abyss of forgetting their country'. But he does not provide enough evidence to support this statement. This topic is also related to the current study in that: the young people in China have been criticized for several years.

Since the college students is a major group of Chinese youth. They have huge population. The situation of college students could reflect some aspects of young people in China. Other researchers have also paid attention to them. Liu Shu Zhen and Meng Qingen (2008) have discussed the characteristics of the post 1980s college students' considering their patriotism and their education. There are two main findings in their study; the first is that the characteristics of the college students are the unity of individuality and sociality; the coexistence of discontinuity and inheritability; the combination of perceptiveness and plasticity. The second considers the educational policy for the post 1980s college students. They also mention the 'Wenchuan earthquake and the performance of Post-1980s students'. To be different from Ren's opinion, Liu and Meng considered the unique features of Post-1980s college students. They noticed their performance in Wenchuan earthquake. They were more optimistic

about these young people. They believed that the education about individuality and sociality could be an effective option to strengthen the patriot education for young generation. They also mentioned the new kind of patriotic education is necessary in China.

What kind of patriotism is 'new'? Compare with the history of patriotism in China, Chinese researchers discussed the question. Lu Li Ge & Xue Hua (2009) have provided an interesting opinion that the emotional aspect of patriotism deeply exists in people's minds. Their article considers the advanced education of patriotism. There are three main parts to this study: the relationship between the emotion and rationality of patriotism in China; combining the emotion and rationality of patriotism is requested by the times; and the role of education. They believe that when some significant events occur, the emotions may erupt and reach new peaks. They use the Beijing Olympic Games 2008 and the Wenchuan earth quake 2008 to explain their ideas. On the other hand, when the emotions become very strong, they may go to extremes. At that time, the rationality will play a role in controlling the emotions and keeping them within a safe range. These points even the examples are similar to current study. Emotion and rationality should be a part of the new characteristics of the post 1980s generation. According their view, the spirit of scarifying in the earthquake could be the emotional aspect of patriotism and the love for the people. The rationality of patriotism of young people was performed better during the Beijing Olympic Games. After the tragic disaster young people still able to show their smile and kindly service the whole world. To Similar with their idea, Gong Zhijuan & Xu

HuiYing (2009) have also described that patriotism should not only be spread in emotional ways, but also requires rational control. The emotions related to the patriotism of post 1980s college students is difficult to sustain as their activities cannot last for long time, and so the passion of patriotism should be displayed in everyone's daily lives. They have focused on the emotional aspects of patriotism, showing that sometimes the passion may go in the wrong direction. The importance of rationality was proved in their article. The authors also pointed out that Chinese young people's passion for patriotism cannot last, which may be one of the new characteristics of Post 1980s generation. Another point is that they advocate bringing patriotism into people's daily lives. In their opinions, the emotional aspects of patriotism is a potential factor to make the patriotism go to the wrong way. The power of the state and media would be the driving force of it. It is worth noting that the government control and the identity of media is still a main characteristic in China. The authors suggested that the education and media should pay attention to the influence for Post-1980s generation.

Based on the process of the passing of the Olympic Torch, Chen Li & Lei Tao (2008) admired the emotional patriotism of the Chinese young people. The passion of youth was appraised. They described the young people's performance in an emotional way. The youth performance delivered described political position which is very common in Chinese academic articles. The case was related to the political issues between China and some western countries about Tibet issues. The young people's performance has got major supportive in China because people do not want to related

the great sports festival to the serious political issues. It could be called the overture of their performance during Olympic Games.

Above all, the patriotism of young people in China has been mentioned by researchers. They all point to a similar position: Chinese young generation may have different understanding and performance of patriotism. The change was brought by the 'opening-up' policy since 1979, which means that the globalization process has been mentioned because last 30 years was also the important stage of globalization.

Globalization

“After three thousand years of explosion, by means of fragmentary and mechanical technologies, the Western world is imploding. During the mechanical ages we had extended our bodies in space. Today, after more than a century of electric technology, we have extended our central nervous system itself in a global embrace, abolishing both space and times as far as concerned. As electrically contracted, the global is no more than a village.”

- Marshall McLuhan, 1964, (pp.11-12)

The world has become a 'global village' as McLuhan has described. The new technology of transportation leads to shorter distances among people especially following the successes of people going into outer space; the definition of global in people's mind may have changed and is now smaller than it used to be.

Harvey and Soja (1989) have pointed out that “advocates of a postmodern break in history argue that developments in transnational capitalism are producing a new

global historical configuration” (Appadurai, 2006, p580). Harvey (1989) has created “complex relations between local involvements (circumstances of co-presence) and interaction across distance” (Sreberny, 2006, p605). John Street (1997) has claimed that the word ‘globalization’ is misunderstood, while Marjorie Ferguson suggests that “all discussion of globalization refers to a more visible and powerful supranational order, a ‘world system’ ...that shifts many former national concerns to the world geopolitical stage” (p77). Until 1992, researchers expressed their understanding of globalization, believing that globalization could change the world into an interactional and complex system; with the relationships of different notions become tighter and the supranational order being the main characteristic in the globalization process. As Jan Pieterse has stated, globalization is a multidimensional process, encompassing a wide variety of human practices in social, political, and cultural arenas (Appadurai, 2006).

Related to patriotism, Guo Shui Lan (2008) has discussed Chinese patriotism in the global environment. The essence of globalization is the process of humans crossing the spatial, institutional and cultural barriers to communicate worldwide and reach a consensus and common behaviour. The process is involved with "nationalization", "localization" and "regionalization." Guo has claimed that globalization has impacted upon national sovereignty. Globalization makes national power become less centrally controlled and strengthens the construction of democracy and the laws of the state. On the other hand, globalization has strengthened international cooperation as well. It makes the state take the responsibility for protecting the benefits of the people in the

homeland. She also pointed out that globalization has changed the maintenance of territorial sovereignty.

Guo showed that the basic examples of patriotism in the global environment include: It encourages participation in international affairs, and actively guards a country's authority; consciously abiding by the law and safeguarding the country's dignity; supporting the ruling party and actively being involved in building of the democracy of the motherland; supporting socialist and developing Marxist ideas; promotes the reunification of the motherland and safeguards national sovereignty and integrity. It is not difficult to see that Guo's opinions regarding patriotism under globalization are very much focused at a political level. Guo wanted to express the importance of maintaining patriotic spirit during globalization which is a common idea amongst the Chinese older generation. But younger generation may think differently about the globalization process.

2.3 Summary

To sum up, the discussion about the patriotism of the Post-1980s generation in China should clarify the definition of patriotism and its differences compared with nationalism. The concepts of nationalism could be used in analysis of patriotism. Banal nationalism in the print media and different kinds of patriotism are used as a basis for analysis. Moderated patriotism may be the closest interpretation of the performance of Post-1980s generation, although at the same time, cultural influences are strong in this case. Chinese patriotism has a long history and has been influenced

through rapid changes in China since 1979. Older generations has been impacted by the history. Young generation has been influenced during the rapid change of society. The performance of young people will be different; with modern culture and traditional culture, globalization and local traditions impacting their thoughts.

Chapter 3. Methodology and data collection:**3.1 Methodology**

This study focuses on the new patriotism displayed by the Post-1980s generation in China. The topic is based on the sudden change in the attitude of the media towards the Post-1980s generation in 2008. The Post-1980s generation was appraised by the national newspapers for the first time. Does the Post-1980s generation have the same kind of patriotism as older generations? Or have they displayed a new image to people? How do the Chinese newspapers represent them? To answer these questions, this study will start with the implementation of a basic research method, this being the qualitative research method which is the basic method used in this study, which will include documentary and discourse analysis. According to Michael Quinn Patton (2002), there are three types of qualitative research method: interviews, observations and documents. Qualitative methods facilitate the study of issues in depth and detail. Approaching fieldwork without being constrained by predetermined categories of analysis contributes to the depth, openness, and details of qualitative inquiry (Patton, 2002, p14).

Due to the short term of the study and a word limit, interviews or questionnaires could not be conducted in this study, with this topic being examined through the use of newspapers and other media. The quality of the basic data from newspapers is likely to be satisfactory for this study. As Patton has said, “data consist of excerpts from documents captured in a way that records and preserves context” (p14), consequently



the documentary research method should be suitable for the current study.

3.1.1 Documentary analysis

The documentary research method has been implemented here because this approach has gradually evolved in the field of historical research. The documentary research does not just mean historical research and is not only used in historical research. Instead it is one of the most basic and common research methods (Chen, 2008).

Gary McCulloch (2004) has described the characteristics of documentary research. Compared with other research methods, culture and politics play a major role. He also pointed out the conditions required when using documentary research method. He suggests that documentary research is suitable for many research areas especially in education and social sciences. He also examined international comparisons in the use of documentary research. He has also claimed that the documentary research method can be combined with other research methods depending on the research strategies used (pp.10-35).

Because documentary materials are the basis for this type of research, it is usually used in historical, social and cultural studies. This current study is focused on one aspect of youth culture. The data used were all obtained from newspapers and BBS comments which are all documentary materials. The relevant literature provides the theoretical basis of the study. The data from previous research will also be used in this study.

Using documentary research, the resources come from the phenomena that have

already happened or concluded. The advantages of the method are:

Firstly, it can help researchers to decide on the topic of the research and help the research based on a scientific basis. Literature can help researchers to find the relationship between different concepts. And then, researchers can choose the most useful concepts and recourse to improve their research hypothesis.

Related to this study, an aim was to initially relate globalization and media development to the topic. Following the primary literature research, it was found that these two concepts were not important and would make the relationships between concepts become more complicated.

Globalization has impacted on almost every aspect of the lives of young people. It is seen in the way they speak their languages, the ways they communicate, their entertainment, their life styles, while even their value systems have changed.

In China there is a socialism government. The Communist Party of China has always been serious about fostering the political views of people especially the young. During the Maoist era, patriotism and collectivism were the leading ideals amongst young people. Following the policy of opening-up in China, multiple cultural factors and values have begun to feel their presence in China. As a consequence of this, young people might start to realize that there are many other different ideas that are associated with patriotism.

At the same time, the one-child policy has increased the focus of young people on themselves more so than with other generations. Personal benefit has become

increasingly important for young people especially in the minds of the Post-1980s generation, and consequently the older generation and the states may worry that patriotism will become weaker and weaker over time. However the performance of the young people during the two events considered in this research has helped to provide an insight into the current attitudes of young people.

On the other hand, globalization has influenced the world through the media, and the performance of the Post-1980s generation has also been described by the media with stories and comments being reported by newspapers and TV reports. Because of the difficulty in collecting video records from two years ago and the time limit of this study this study has been reorganized to focus on the patriotism of young people in China and the way the newspapers have reported it.

Secondly, although the scope of the study can be without the constraints of time and space, personal experiences and actions are always limited by time and space. Time and space can also restraint people who live at the current time as researchers cannot speak to everyone related to the research topic because of time and budget limits (McCulloch, 2004, Yang, 2003 & Chen, 2008). In the current study, analysis of the topic begins with news and comments that appear in newspapers. The benefits of incorporating the views of individuals with personal experience of the Wenchuan Earthquake and Beijing Olympic Games were not incorporated in this study. Instead this study could not continue without information from newspapers, comments, documents and literature. Meanwhile, this researcher did not join the volunteers for the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing. Based on information provided in documents

and records, the question of current study could be answered.

Thirdly, the research process is more realistic. Most of the literature and documents were not produced for research purposes, instead their purpose was usually to record the events. The researcher may not be impacted upon by documents; but through interviews, researchers could be influenced by both the attitude and performance of the interviewees.

Lastly documentary research is easier to implement in practice, and less costly than most other research methods.

Due to the advantages of documentary research and the basic features of current research, the documentary research method is the main research method used in this study. The fieldwork of the topic has been concluded in China. As Michael Quinn Patton (2002) has pointed out the data of qualitative analysis usually come from field work. In current study, it is difficult to divide the fieldwork and the data collection. The whole topic came from the feelings after reading the newspapers. Most of the data were collect from the newspapers. The basic fieldwork should be the process of choosing newspapers. There is hundreds of newspaper in China. The two main parts are central newspaper and local newspaper. Considered the study is not focus on the young people in any particular. The study paid attention to the youth who belong to a certain age. Because of these factors, the local newspaper was dropped.

The data this current study is undertaken through the collection of comments and news reports from newspapers. The comments and news should relate to the patriotism of young people especially the Post-1980s generation. Following the



analysis and comparisons of the data, the new patriotism of the Post-1980s generation can be demonstrated.

No research method is perfect. The limitations of the documentary research method are as follows:

-the documents may be poorly represented. Most literature is recorded in written form, and the quality of the literature is directly related to the educational level of the author, while on the other hand, historical factors and cultural factors can also influence the content of documents (McCulloch, 2004, Yang, 2003 & Chen, 2008).

- the subjective opinion of authors can impact on the authenticity of the content of documents. The authors of documents are likely to have different backgrounds, while the documents may have been written for different goals. The literature, records, or diaries may have gaps in the truth, and the influence and these gaps cannot be controlled by the researcher (Yang, 2003 & Chen, 2008).

The difficulty of document collection means that some literature and documents are difficult to obtain in some research fields. Subjective selection may impact on the completeness of the recourses. Some government files may not be available due to privacy issues. Due to these reasons, researchers may not be able to obtain all the documents they need.

The quality of the analysis may not be sufficient. The quality of documentary analysis is not only decided by the documents incorporated in the analysis, but may also be affected by the capability of the researcher. Researchers need to understand documents according to their own background, and as there is no standard with which

to evaluate analysis, the quality of analysis cannot be guaranteed.

The researcher is dependent on the resources that exist, which may not be impartial.

The resources that are available may be difficult to interpret in terms of how far they represent real tendencies – as in the case of some official statistics (McCulloch, 2004, Yang, 2003 & Chen, 2008).

To avoid the disadvantages of documentary research, this research has incorporated the following aspects:

Documentary literature and data are all selected from academic and official publications including books, academic journals, and official newspapers. These official printed documents may help to preserve the high quality of resources used in this study.

The literature review here incorporates more than 50 publications. The main part of the fieldwork is based on three official Chinese newspapers: ‘the People’s Daily’, ‘China Daily’ and China Education Daily. These newspapers each adopt a different position and the data from them could avoid the second disadvantage this being the subjective opinion of the authors.

The newspapers were borrowed from the national library, while reports from the ‘China Daily’ may be obtained from their official websites since 2007. And finally because the topic is about China’s youth, the data collection was concluded in China, and as most of the data was written in Chinese this was not a problem to this researcher who has Chinese as a first language. This helped to understand the resources more accurately.

Although some of the disadvantages could be avoided, there were still limitations of the documentary research approach in this study. The Chinese government control of the media meant that the comments from the newspapers were often very similar. It is difficult to identify a ‘different voice’ from Chinese newspapers. The underground media is not a suitable resource for this study. Firstly, it is not easy to find legal newspapers in the mainland of China. Some of the underground newspapers have published some political views which were anti-CPC. It will take political risk to choose these newspapers and it might impact the researcher’s future career. Fortunately, the underground newspaper is not the only way to hear the ‘different voice’.

Considering that the freedom of speech on the Internet in China is better than with the official media, some reports and reviews of the Post-1980s generation came from the two most powerful BBS in China these being Mop BBS (<http://dzh.mop.com/>) and Baidu Pots Bar (<http://tieba.baidu.com/>).

3.1.2 Sampling design

This sampling design of this study includes two main parts: the data and the research objects. The data came from three official newspapers in China. The unique features of each newspaper are the reason I chose them. Here the topic considers one aspect of youth culture in China. The two key events analyzed here demonstrated a new image of the Post-1980s generation which has attracted the most attention over the last 15

years. The generation has a unique background in the huge population of Chinese young people. Based on personal experience and the major part that the Post-1980s generation played in the events, the Post-1980s generation is the main sample group under consideration in this study.

3.2 Data collection:

Based on the two events chosen here, the articles consider the volunteers, young people, and patriotism displayed during the Wenchuan earthquake and Beijing Olympic Games both in 2008. There were three different kinds of newspapers considered in this study: ‘the People’s Daily’ (The newspaper of the Communist Party of China), ‘China Daily’ (English newspaper providing news from China) and ‘China Education Daily’ (focusing on youth topics but non-government). The time range for inclusion in this study was from 12th May to the end of June in 2008 and from 8th August to 18th September also in 2008.

3.2.1 Introduction to three Chinese newspapers

The People’s Daily

People's Daily, a daily newspaper is the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. On the 15th March 1949, the daily press moved to Beijing. In the same year, the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee was formed. With publication first starting in June 1948 and with a current circulation of 3 million, ‘the

People's Daily' is among the most influential and authoritative newspapers in China and according to the UNESCO. It becomes one of the top 10 official newspapers in the world wide.

The People's Daily brings the latest news dispatches of policy information and resolutions of the Chinese Government, and major domestic news and international news releases from China.

The People's Daily represents the views of the Communist Party of China (CPC). It provides the latest news dispatches of policy information and resolutions of the Chinese Government, while major domestic news and international news releases from China are also provided. The other major content of the People's Daily consider the decisions made at the state's meetings, the local governmental news, reports from the leaders of CPC and official comments on the news. The newspaper aims to report important news and provide the official views of the government to the people. Comments and reports from the People's Daily usually represent the attitudes of the Chinese State, and may represent the leading voice of the opinions of the Chinese public in the newspapers. Maintaining a positive image of the CPC is one of the most important tasks of the People's Daily, although opinions that are critical of the CPC may also be found in the newspaper.

China Daily

'China Daily' was established in 1981 and is the only national English-language newspaper in China. The average daily circulation is more than 200,000, one-third of

which is sent abroad to more than 150 countries and regions. Over the past 28 years, it has evolved into a multi-media group focusing on providing comprehensive information for readers through traditional and new media.

‘China Daily’s reports are the most frequently quoted by foreign media. ‘China Daily’ also serves as important source of information for high-end Chinese readers who want to know more about the world.

Although China Daily is also one of the official newspapers in China, it does not directly belong to any level of CPC. The first edition of China Daily was published in Hong Kong in 1900, although publication was stopped during the war between the CPC and KMT (Kuomintang nationalist Party). Following the ‘Opening-up’ policy in 1979, China Daily was published as a national English-language newspaper.

In contrast to the People’s Daily, the news described in China Daily does not focus on political events and big news but instead includes many aspects of people’s lives and technological news. It includes sections such as health care, fashion information, entertainment news and arts, and literature and art.

The views and comments that appear in China Daily are more general than the People’s Daily. It is still an official newspaper but has less political factors than the People’s Daily. The English-language newspaper needs to be understood by foreign readers, and its language could also be one of the reasons that the views provided are more open in China Daily than compared to the People’s Daily.



China Education Daily

‘China Education Daily’ was established in 1983 and is sponsored by the Ministry of education in China. It is focused on education oriented - national daily news. Its purpose is to be comprehensive, accurate, and timely, promote the party and the State's education policy, policies and deployment, and communicate educational reform and the development of information and experience. The circulation is 400,000.

China Education Daily is not the top youth newspaper in China. The biggest newspaper for young people is the China Youth Daily which is published by the Communist Youth League in China. Under the leadership of the CPC, the Chinese Socialist Youth League held its first national congress in Guangzhou in 1922, and proclaimed its establishment. Thereafter, the organization changed its name several times and in 1957 it was finalized as the Communist Youth League (CYL) of China. The reason why China Youth Daily was excluded from this study was because of its ideological characteristics. Because the CYL of China is led by the CPC, encouraging young people to follow the Party’s lead is the duty of the organisation, and therefore the views and content are similar to those of the People’s Daily except its focus is on youth topics.

Compared with China Youth Daily, China Education Daily has more educational content. The topics also focus on young people and young students but are less political than compared to China Youth Daily. The educators not only consider loyalty

towards the country or the state of young people, but they also consider all characteristics of young people. And so the China Education Daily has sufficient content relevant to this study. Another reason that I chose China Education Daily was that young educators did an important job during the earthquake. Their performance stood out amongst all of the young people at these two events.

3.2.2 The Discourse of Three Newspapers

1: The People's Daily:

About the earthquake: The reports and comments were all focused on the role that the government and the Party played. In most of the comments, young people were displayed as being followers of the Party, with patriotism being mentioned many times. The news and comments about patriotism focused on the importance of patriotism in China's development, and the ways of building a stronger patriotic spirit in the minds of young people. Most of the descriptions of the Post-80s generation were of young soldiers and not volunteers.

About the Olympic Games: the reports focused on the young players and the volunteers. Winning the games was displayed with a type of patriotic spirit. At the same time, many comments and reports praised the great behaviour of the participants. The news and comments seemed to demonstrate the good example of the volunteers to the people. The comments were very official without many subjective ideas. There were also some positive comments about the volunteers which were quoted from some foreign newspapers. Some articles mentioned that the Post-80s generation may

have been misjudged in the past. A discussion of the Post-1980s generation could also be found.

2: The China Education Daily

For the earthquake: The newspaper paid more attention to the behaviour of the Post-80s generation during the earthquake. The volunteers were highly commended. The articles were written in various ways including letters, volunteer's dairies, poems, and comments. Some good examples included the appearance of new heroes.

About the Olympic Games: The volunteers and players seemed to be mentioned on every page. Some comments could be directly related to this research topic. The discussion of the Post-80s generation lasted for 2 weeks, with the reasons for this being that the Post-1980s generation were being misunderstood by the older generations especially by their parents.

3: China Daily

About the earthquake: Good examples of behaviour and new kinds of heroes were highlighted. Every article described the young volunteers and how the young heroes saved people without fear. Helping people and saving people from the disaster became a most important standard with which to judge these heroes. The Post-80s generation was mentioned many times, and the patriotism of the young people became a basic topic appearing in reports every day.

About the Olympic Games:

The stories of the volunteers played a major role in all the articles. Most articles were aimed at the readers for them to learn patriotic spirit from the story. The heroes were not only the men who protect the country, or save lives. The news reports showed that daily behaviour could also help people to become heroes.

3.2.3 The discourse from two BBS:

As described above, the ‘different’ voice was also important for the study. The material from the Internet will be helpful for this analysis. The two main BBS that will be utilized in the current study are described below:

The Mop BBS may be regarded as the centre of Chinese Internet popular culture. It is also the most radical BBS on the Chinese mainland. The speech and posts may reflect far more the real thoughts of Chinese young people. (<http://www.mop.com>)

The Baidu Posts Bar is the biggest Chinese BBS in the world. Posts are divided into different bars by themes. It is difficult to count the number of the bars, although it is easy to find a post by theme or by topic (<http://tieba.baidu.com>).

The posts and comments from these two BBS discuss the negative issues and different voices from young people in the Wenchuan earthquake and at the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008. This will help the analysis and help to answer the research questions.

3. 3 The framework of the analysis and findings:

The discourse analysis and content analysis are the main methods of analysis in this research.

Discourse analysis focuses on talk and text as practices and on the resources that are drawn upon to enable those practices (Potter, 1996, p126). Based on Potter's observations, there are four main themes related to discourse analysis, 1: discourse analysis takes discourse itself as its topic. The term 'discourse' is used to refer to all forms of talk and text, whether they are naturally occurring conversations, interview materials, or written texts. 2. Language is constructive. Potter (1987) and Wetherell (1987) have argued that the metaphor of construction highlights three components of this approach. Firstly, discourse is manufactured out of pre-existing linguistic resources. Secondly, the metaphor illuminates the fact that the assembly of an account involves a choice or selection from a number of different possibilities. Finally, the notion of constructions, which is not in a way that is somehow 'direct' or unmediated; but 'in a very real sense, texts of social life that is taken for granted' (p142).

Potter (1996) demonstrated that discourse analysts regard all discourse as a social practice. Language is viewed not merely as an epiphenomenon but as a practice in its own right. 'People use discourse in order to do things: to offer blame, to make excuses, to present them in a positive light and so on' (p142).

Hasen, Cottle, Negrine & Newbold (1998) have introduced mass communication research methods. In their book, they have described content analysis which is a method for the systematic and quantitative analysis of the content of communications.

The early uses of content analysis aimed principally at identifying the intentions of the originators of media messages, while the aim of content analysis in media research has more often been that of 'examining how news, drama advertising, and

entertainment output reflect social and cultural issues, values and phenomena.’(p120)

Although content analysis initially begins by considered constituent parts that can be counted. Moreover, and in contrast to many ‘qualitative’ or ‘interpretative’ approaches, content analysis, because it follows clearly articulated rules and procedures, lays open to scrutiny the means by which textual meaning is dissected and examined (pp. 91-124).

According to their opinions: the steps of content analysis are:

In the current study, research is focused on the patriotism of the Post-1980s generation in China. The media utilized are three official newspapers and some comments from the BBS. The samples include the particular generation under consideration in this case the Post-1980s generation and the newspapers. Based on these methods the framework for describing the research findings here consists of two main parts, these being the data summary and data analysis. This are divided into the contents of the reports and comments from the newspapers. The first part will focus on data describing the 2008 Wenchuan Earthquake and the second part will be the Beijing Olympic Games 2008.

The data summary may be divided into the two events considered in this study: the earthquake was a national tragedy and the Beijing Olympic Game 2008 was a huge happy event. Because the features of the two events are different, the newspapers reported and commented on them in different ways. The number of reports and comments may reflect how much attention the young people received from the earthquake. The different types of reports and comments will demonstrate the social

views towards young people especially the Post-1980s generation and the new patriotism that exists amongst them. Following the 2008 earthquake, more and more people found that the Post-80s generation demonstrate a new kind of spirit.

Through an analysis of the data, the differences between new patriotism and old patriotism may be identified during this research. The main characteristics of the new patriotism and new kinds of heroes appeared. The differences when compared with the older generations could be identified through comparisons with the older generation. The reasons why they demonstrate this new patriotism and the reasons why they were misunderstood for a long time may be found.

The framework demonstrating the research topic is displayed through the figure below:



Chapter 4. The Findings

4.1 The 5-12 Wenchuan earthquakes:

4.1.1 Summary of the data

The Wenchuan earthquake was a deadly earthquake that measured 7.9M and 8.0M. It occurred at 14:28:01 on the 12th May 2008 in Wenchuan County, in the Sichuan province of China (the People's Daily, 15th May, 2008,). Over 68,000 people died and 374,640 people were injured in the disaster (the People's Daily, 15th May, 2009,).

The very first reports describing the behavior of young people in the earthquake region were all appeared in 'China Education Daily', 'The People's Daily' and 'China Daily' on the 15th May 2008. 'China Education Daily' reported a story about a 26 year old female teacher who saved 27 students but then later died in the aftershock. Her name was Yuan Wenting, (China Education Daily, 14th May, 2008,) and was the first 'Earthquake Relief Heroes' named in the print media at that time. The other two newspapers focused on the behavior of the volunteers. "Zhang Yan, chairwoman of Mianzhu county women's federation, who was in charge of distributing relief materials to survivors, said: 'Volunteers have also donated a lot of food and bottled water. A volunteer put his own jacket on a survivor clad only in shorts when he arrived to help'" (14th May, 2008, China Daily).

Young educators, students and volunteers became the key focus of reports since then.

The number of reports and comments regarding the behavior of young people was basically stable in 'the People's Daily' and 'China Education Daily' over the five week period. There was an average of four reports per week in 'the People's Daily', while the average in 'China Education Daily' was ten reports per week. The number of reports in 'China Daily' decreased from the third week even though it had had an average of 8 reports per week. The trend shows that the performance of Chinese young people was not temporary phenomenon, and continued throughout the period of the earthquake.

Based on the contents of the reports, these may be divided into four main types of articles: the stories about young people in the tragedy edited by reporters; the social comments about young people; the dairies and interviews from young people; the organizing process and the contribution of the Chinese Communist Youth League.

- More than 40% of the reports considered here were stories about young volunteers and heroes.

Some of the more famous stories appeared several times in different newspapers. 'A 20-year-old youth that was saved, Li Qingsong repays with volunteer work' (China Daily, 2nd June, 2008, & China Education Daily, 4th June, 2008); twenty four-year-old pregnant nurse Chen Xiaohu saved 66-year-old Li who was suffering kidney failing disease but lost her baby in the process (The People's Daily 24th June, 2008 & China Daily, 22nd May, 2008). Two days earlier she had learned she was one month pregnant but still joined the medical volunteer team. "I only remember those patients

who couldn't walk on their own. Their eyes were full of helplessness and fear. I did what anybody would do in my situation," Chen explained. "I'm still young and can have my baby later." (China Daily, 22nd May, 2008); University students Li Yi and his classmates donated blood: 'I want to donate 800cc if it is allowed' (China Education Daily, 14th May, 2008)

In these stories, the post-1980s generation gradually became the focus of attention especially from the second week. The words 'young volunteers' and 'youth' were used instead of 'post-1980s generation'. Some of reports' titles included: 'New Image of Post-1980s generation', 'The Great Answer from Post-1980s generation' and so on. Positive reports about Post-1980s generation appeared in different newspapers.

- The second main type of reports was the social comments.

These consisted of nearly 30% of all reports describing the young people in the disaster. Most of the replies from readers were published in the 'China Education Daily'. There were some thoughts and comments from educators, young students, and leaders of the local ministry of the Chinese Communist Youth League (CCYL). Most comments appearing in 'China Daily' and 'the People's Daily' were from reporters, leaders of the local ministry of the CCYL and the Party and State leaders. Some of the comments mentioned that people in the past may have misconstrued the Post-1980s generation (China Education Daily, 4th June, 2008). Liao Xuemei, secretary of the Communist Youth League Committee of Mianyang city, Sichuan province, said her attendance at the congress of CCYL represents the "fearless and selfless contribution"

of young volunteers in the quake areas in her province. She described the Post-1980s Generation as being like sand, ‘they are small but they can fill any gap. They were not shiny but they will be shiny from now on’ (China Education Daily, 13th June, 2008). Liu Xiaoliu, secretary of the Communist Youth League Committee of Chengdu city, Sichuan province, believed that regarding the Post-1980s Generation, they did not have many chances in the past, but today they have proved the great spirit of the country and the people to us (China Education Daily, 13th June, 2008). At a higher level the party and state leaders also gave positive comments about young people. Hu Jintao, the General Secretary of the Communist Party of China since 2002 and the President of the People's Republic of China since 2003, and Wen Jiabao, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, gave speeches about young people emphasizing their great patriotism during the disaster (China Education Daily 4th June, 2008, &The People’s Daily, 4th June, 2008). The government spread the patriotism and related this to the behavior of young people in the earthquake region.

Nearly 20% reports about the earthquake were diaries, interviews, and letters from volunteers. The first published diary was written by a PhD student of Tsinghua University (China Education Daily, 16th May, 2008,). The diary described the progress of the first group of volunteers arriving into Wenchuan following the earthquake. The diary described the difficulties encountered and the hard work of the young soldiers. Following this the ‘China Education Daily’ created a column to publish the diaries and letters from the volunteers. Most of the diaries were filled with simple feelings without the use of much ‘glorified language’. The volunteers recorded their daily lives

and feelings, for example: 'there are too many people lying under ruins. We need to move faster. The medical support should be more important than other things.' 'My tears cannot be stopped when I return to my tent. What can I do tomorrow? I have to do more, save more. Otherwise I will shed more tears tomorrow.' 'The soldiers are so unselfish; I want to be like them. I need more courage.' (China Education Daily, 17th-25th May, 2008)

The interview records also represent their voices:

"Whenever I'm caught up in my work, I'll naturally stop weeping and bury myself in what I must finish. But when I go back home and lie down on my bed, I just cannot help shedding tears," said Huang Qiong, who had finished 100 operations in a Mianyang hospital where she is a surgeon. She had received news that seven of her relatives lost their lives in the quake (China Daily, 20th May 2008).

Most interviewees only provided one or two simple sentences. They simply described the relief situation and then soon returned to work. They were not often heard to say 'the country is always in my heart' or 'I will serve the people wholeheartedly' which is in contrast to the older generation. They frankly admitted their fear and sadness when they faced death and disaster, although they still displayed young people's optimism at the same time. One of them even wrote posthumously about 'returning his comic books'.

In other reports describing significant events in China, the role of the party and the government is frequently stressed. However in the Wenchuan earthquake, the

performance of the young people was a big surprise to the whole of Chinese society. The impact of the leader of the organization of Chinese youth would be stressed, with nearly 10% of reports being focused on the contribution and the leadership of CCYL. In these reports, several local leaders of CCYL had praised the performance of the Post-1980s generation.

4.1.2 Analysis of the data

According to the summaries of the data, a discussion of the performance of the Post-1980s generation during the Wenchuan earthquake will now be considered:

- It was a real surprise to the Chinese society that the Post-1980s generation performed with such great spirit during the earthquake.

Phrases such as ‘new images’, ‘new look’ and ‘XINWEI’ were frequently used, where ‘XINWEI’ means to provide widespread relief. The comments provided above also demonstrate this point. Many people were so worried that young people were part of a potentially irresponsible and selfish generation, but they now had to change their minds. ‘the People’s Daily’ on 20th May 2008 commented that the Post-1980s generation brought a ‘very different image’ from that in people’s minds. They were surprisingly brave and unselfish. ‘They were so sad and felt such pain because of the tragedy, but in spite of this they continued to encourage people in the afflicted areas at the same time. These made us think about our prejudices towards them’ (Yang, 2008).

The great performance of the Post-1980s Generation was not a temporary phenomenon. The population of volunteers increased over the 5 weeks following the earthquake, and gradually there was a reduction in reports about the earthquake. Compared with the start of the relief effort, the volunteers were soon working faster and were better organized. More and more young heroes appeared, and consequently the media and their audience seemed to accept the new image of the Post-1980s Generation. Their original ideas that the 'Post-1980s generation may not love the country very much' was overthrown. It was shown that the Post-1980s Generation do have great patriotism for their country in their minds.

- The Post-1980s generation carried forward a good traditional patriotic spirit during the disaster.

Based on the description of the heroic deeds by the young people, the media expressed concerns about the disaster area. On the other hand, the way they described the stories was with Chinese characteristics where self-sacrifice remained a glorious thing to promote. Although it is sad to read these reports, at the same time, the articles do describe some sort of passion. Certainly, the media expressed its deepest grief for the loss. The reports were more emotional than the reports that appeared in Chairman Mao's era in China, and they still acknowledged people giving their lives for the benefit of the country. The sacrifice for glory was a cultural influence that originally came from ancient China. This is a major issue of Chinese culture. It has been called 'She sheng qu yi, sha shen cheng ren'. It means people should give life for the justice;

people should sacrifice for the greater value. The thought influenced Chinese people for thousands of years. It is not easy to change it in short time. On the other hand, Mao's are built up after the World War II. The society needed people to contribute all the strength to build a new home. That was the reason that Chinese media represent by this kind of style sometime.

From the time when the P. R. China was founded, sacrifice was not necessary deemed the only way to meet the needs of the country. The actions of the Post-1980s Generation were consistent with the traditional concept, they put aside their grief and fear to aid other people and support country's crisis. They carried on this part of tradition, and it may be for this reason that the community was happy to accept their performance.

The unity of patriotism and nationalism were the other traditional spirits that were taken forward by the Post-1980s Generation. In Chinese history, 'Chinese' appeared as a national concept in 1910 which was the era of the Republic of China (2007, Zheng). 'Chinese' was a concept which unites 56 nations in China and according to this, one of the traditional approaches to Chinese patriotism is the unity of patriotism and nationalism. During the earthquake, the disaster areas were the Qiang and Tibetan areas. These two nations located in Sichuan province and Tibet. They are minority in China.

Most of the volunteers came from the eastern and northern provinces. They are not the same nation with most people in disaster area. They did not mention the regions in

any of the reports or dairies. The concept of being ‘Chinese’ encouraged the volunteers’ performance.

- Some new characteristics of patriotism were expressed by the Post-1980s Generation.

According to the diaries and letters and even the posthumous papers of the volunteers, the standards of the heroes were changing. The young people were more real than the heroes in the past.

The behavior of the Post-1980s Generation was not only a shock for the older generation but even for themselves. They did not completely realize that they were heroes. This was because they had been criticized for such a long time, and consequently they could not relate the actions of heroes to themselves. Another reason could be that they were not perfect people, they did not constantly say the “country first” or ‘for the people’, instead they expressed their fears naturally. The heroes in the past generally had a perfect image and were therefore accepted by the older generations. They had to earn a ‘higher ideological consciousnesses than normal people. And so when they were interviewed, they would often say ‘serve the people wholeheartedly’ or ‘our country is always in my heart’. In contrast, the Post-1980s generation would use much more normal words; they kept their usual image while still behaving heroically at the same time.

In addition, the influence of the Post-1980s Generation grew during the disaster.

According to Figure 1, the number of reports increased up until the second week.

Newspapers spread news of their performance and this influenced even more people and even themselves. Their diaries expressed their admiration for other volunteers and soldiers, and they were moved by the spirit of their peers. Their patriotism became more mature during the disaster.

Above all, the first change of the image of the Post-1980s Generation occurred during the Wenchuan earthquake. The media and the older generation of Chinese started to correct their preconceptions of the young people. However a second opportunity to review these perceptions came with other large events that soon attracted the attention of the media.

After this national tragedy, the focuses of reports and comments of newspaper has been change to the other great events in China 2008. The Beijing Olympic Games 2008 in coming. The young generation is still a focus in this event.

4.2 The Beijing 2008 Olympic Games

The reports during the Olympic Games can be divided into two main types: those focused on the volunteers and those about the athletes. There were 1,500,000 volunteers that helped to run this event, with more than 75% being from the Post-1980s Generation. 80% of Chinese athletes were also Post-1980s individuals (the People's Daily, 10th August, 2008), showing that the Post-1980s Generation played a key role in this event.



-The volunteers

Protecting the country and defending the competitor is central to the spirit of traditional patriotism in Chinese history. In the Wenchuan earthquake, saving lives, helping people, and not being afraid to give one's life were also some examples of the traditional patriotism displayed in modern day China. As a result of the Post-80s Generation showing great spirit during the Wenchuan earthquake, the media paid more attention to their contribution during Olympic Games. The first report about young people in 'China Education Daily' was that 'young people should take responsibility for the building of the new international image.' At the same time, 'the People's Daily' mentioned that 'the smile of the volunteers will be the best postcard of Beijing'. The volunteers were the focus of Chinese news from the beginning.

This new style of patriotism was accepted by young people and the whole society. In contrast to the lifesaving work during the earthquake, the volunteer work at the Olympic Games was serving people. It was different from the traditional patriotic behavior, but during the Olympic Games, serving people, smiling and building a positive image of Beijing was still regarded as patriotic behavior (The People's Daily, 12th August, 2008,). This kind of new patriotism started from the Opening Ceremony on 8th August 2008. People not only in China but in the worldwide were shocked by the performance of Chinese young volunteers and actor in the Ceremony.

The volunteers made important contributions to the opening ceremony. They participated in the training for months prior to the ceremony. They prepared food and

drink for the actors in the Opening Ceremony, while some of them joined the opening show and did a brilliant job. Some of them could not join the ceremony because of volunteer work in other stadiums. College students Huang Yin and Wei Shaocong, volunteers at the Wukesong basketball stadium in Beijing, said they would celebrate together as soon as they finished their preparatory work. "We won't finish until 10pm, but we'll spend the last few hours of the festival on the roof of my flat, sitting together and staying up waiting for the dawn of the big day," Huang said (China Daily, 8th August, 2008,).

The opening ceremony lifted the spirits of volunteers again following the Wenchuan earthquake. On the one hand, the patriotic image of the volunteers had been built on that night; while on the other hand, the publicity of the ceremony inspired the patriotic enthusiasm of volunteers through the flags, the songs, and the excitement. The media and the volunteers interacted, helping to promote this symbol of Chinese patriotism.

Following the ceremony, all the newspaper reports describing the volunteers were focused on their 'service with a smile'. In the Olympic Village, the volunteers no longer represented themselves. They represented their country and the city. The service they provided for the athletes would impact on the image of the country, and would become a major concept.

Traditionally the approach had been to display the power of the nation to foreigners as a kind of patriotism. But during the Olympic Games, the act of showing friendship and kindness became the main way to promote China and Chinese culture. Volunteers

learnt ‘the way to help people, care people and built a new image of the nation was through their daily behavior’ (China Educational Daily, 10th August, 2008,).

-About the athletes:

The other focus of the news reports about the Olympic Games considered the athletes. In Beijing Olympic Games there were many famous Chinese athletes such as Liu Xiang, Yao Ming and so on. The reports of the gold medal and the champions have taken most of the space of newspapers. There were one kind of feeling from the reports showed that: Chinese athletes should almost every game in their own country. Reports about the great successes of the Chinese athletes also dominated the news reports in the newspapers.

In the Chinese sports system, the government pays for all the costs of living and training for the athletes that are selected for the national team. In contrast to most other countries, the athletes are selected into the national team when they are children. They are all well trained for major sports events like the Olympic Games, the World Championships and so on. The athletes live with other national team mates. Their mission is to be selected for major events and then achieve good results. It appears that the nation/government has paid for them to win since they were children. They usually do not join clubs but go straight into the national teams.

Therefore achievements of the athletes were linked to national honor far more than personal glory. Chinese athletes needed to obtain good results at the Beijing Olympic Games, as every good result would be a contribution towards the success of the

nation.

At this time, Liu Xiang, a World Champion in 110-metre hurdler and Olympic Gold medalist in 2004, had to withdraw from the games because of year-old injury minutes before the start of his race. 'For all his fans, for all those wanting to see him sustain the miraculous breakthrough in Chinese track and field, Liu Xiang's last-minute withdrawal was a disappointment beyond description' (China Daily, 19th August, 2008). The audience of millions all regretted his withdrawal. The audience response to the issue could be divided into two opposite groups. In the first group the audiences could not accept his explanation for the withdrawal.

Spectator He Sheng from Beijing said: "I'm extremely disappointed. I think maybe he wanted to win too much and caved in under the pressure." (China Daily, 19th August, 2008)

In this case the spectators felt that Liu Xiang should have insisted on running even if he was injured. This is an idea which follows the traditional ideas of ethics and patriotism in China. He could be a hero even with his injured ankle. The traditional cultural concept influenced many people. An injured ankle with glory is always better than to withdraw from the games safety. People doubted Liu Xiang's patriotism.

While in contrast other groups of spectators showed their understanding for Liu. Fang Zhen, who was in the crowd at the time of Liu's withdrawal, said: 'It was a disappointment, of course, because we all came hoping to see him win. But this is a sports competition, so we understand. I just hope he can overcome his injury soon and

win more medals in the future'. (China Daily, 19th August, 2008) Jiang Hua, one of the volunteers, said that 'of course we are sad, we want him to win and we worry about his injury. But this is the Olympic spirit. He did everything he could. He is still a hero'. (China Education Daily, 19th August, 2008)

According to the reports and some comments from Olympic Games BBS, the Post-1980s Generation showed more tolerance to Liu Xiang and his injury. They showed far more understanding of the situation than the older generation and encouraged him to get treatment soon. It was a rational view and was rare for a younger generation. They expressed their disappointment without anger, and supported Liu in recovering from his injury and earning more honor and prestige for the country in the future. The younger generation displayed their love of their country in a more rational way. The emotional aspect of patriotism exists deeply in people's minds. When significant events occur, emotions can run high. The performance of the Post-1980s Generation during the Beijing Olympic Games 2008 and Wenchuan earthquake 2008 can explain this. On the one hand, when emotions become very strong, they may go to extremes. At the same time, rationality can play a role in controlling emotions and drawing more rational conclusions. Emotion and rationality seem to be a part of the characteristics of the Post-1980s Generation (Li, G. & Hua, X., 2009).

Following the analysis about the reports and comments from the official newspapers, it is easy to see that the official newspapers consistently reported many positive images without providing one negative counter-example. In these two main events, it

is impossible to believe that all the young people were happy to be volunteers or all happy to be contributing in these events. The stories describing the negative aspects of these events could also help to describe the new patriotism of Post-1980s generation.

4.3 Negative issues:

‘Fan Paopao’

‘Fan Paopao’ could be the most sensational negative issue that was present during the Wenchuan earthquake. ‘Fan Paopao’ was actually called Meizhong Fan. He was a teacher who worked at a high school in Dujiangyan City. He was called ‘Fan Paopao’ (means running fast Mr. Fan) because he abandoned his students when the earthquake occurred. From his Blog (<http://blog.sina.com.cn/guangyafanmeizhong>, 22nd May, 2008) he revealed that he ‘ran very fast from the classroom and was almost the first one who arrived in the playground.’ All of his students were shocked; they had been hiding under their desks until the first wave of the earthquake had stopped. His explanation was that he was trained to save lives and that was just his natural reaction. However his students were all 17 years old or 18, and could easily have run outside with him. He wrote in his blog: ‘I am not Lei Feng or Dong Cunrui (Two renowned heroes since 1949); I am not trained to be a hero. I ran away from the danger by instinct and there is only one reason that I made this choice when I faced death and this was for my daughter. Everyone should know it is not about ethics or patriotism, it was just human instinct.’ After he wrote the blog, his words and behavior brought a

major discussion about patriotism especially ethics. It is not easy to find negative images amongst the official China media during such a big tragedy. Negative images were not regarded as being good for the people who had suffered loss and pain. However in this case, 'the People's Daily' and China's Daily reported the case in simple language. Instead most of the reports and comments came from the internet. Users on Mop BBS and Baidu Posts Bar took part in discussion. Certainly, in the main, people were critical with many people choosing to abuse him with very strong words. His behavior obviously reached the bottom line of people's tolerance.

According to the replies and comments on the BBS, it was interesting to note that some views about Fan did not display strong aversion towards his actions. Some comments demonstrated pity for him. 'He is shamed but at least he was honest' ('Little Fox', Mop BBS, 24th May, 2008). 'I cannot promise that I would have saved other people first before myself at that time.' 'Sufei' posted the following on Baidu Posts Bar on 27th May, 2008: 'I was there. It was really scary. Suddenly your world is shaking. I know Fan was wrong and his behavior was not acceptable. But I asked myself after the earthquake, and I could not answer this question. Could we always put other people's benefit first? I joined volunteer team then, but it is still a difficult question.' This user had used an internet name to demonstrate real feelings about the earthquake. Some other volunteers replied to these posts as supporters. 'The news on the TV or newspapers are true, we are brave in the disaster area. But sometimes we are even more scared. I cannot stop thinking what would happen if I made the wrong choices. Could I say it out loudly and admit them?' wrote 'Wo Ai Luo' (Baidu Posts

Bar, 31st, May, 2008). Another user commented ‘we have been spoiled for several years. We are the Post-1980s generation, everyone is worried about us. Suddenly we have become great people who always put other people first. I cannot believe this, we are still us and we cannot take a lot of responsibility, and instead we need to experience more. It may be too early to say whether we are good or not.’ ‘Meishi’ said that (Baidu Posts Bar, 2nd, June, 2008)

From these voices expressed on the internet, ‘Fan Paopao’s behavior was seen to be unacceptable, but it also raised the questions: Do young people really have that great spirits as described by the media? Does the patriotic spirit ‘build a solid foundation among young people’? (China Daily, 22nd June, 2008). Is it possible that media was selecting positive reports and stories on purpose? Are there other aspects of young people’s performance that might be covered by the media? At almost the same time another incident occurred, which once again shocked the people.

‘Zhang Ya’

Following the first wave of the Wenchuan earthquake, the government decided that from the 19th to 21st of May, 2008 these would be National Mourning Days for the Wenchuan earthquake victims. On the 21st May 2008, a Chinese National Mourning Day, a teenage girl called Zhang Ya (Post-1990s generation) from Liaoning province, Northeast China, posted a 5 minute video of herself complaining that she could not play online games because of the National Mourning Day for the Wenchuan

earthquake victims. An intense response from Internet vigilantes resulted in the girl's personal details (even including her blood type) being made available online. Following the video, dozens of abusive videos in response appeared on Chinese websites and blogs. The girl's behavior led to intense arguments between the Post-1980s and Post-1990s generations (Sohunews, YouTube, Baidu Posts Bar, Mop BBS and Sina-cn Website, 2008)

This was regarded as a shameful event for Chinese young people. Other young people's anger and their sense of injustice about the girl's behavior were represented by internet posts and especially self-recorded videos on websites. But as with the 'Fan Paopao' event, the response from some members of the Post-1980s generation was of interest. Besides blaming Zhang Ya, they also asked questions such as: why did she do this kind of thing? 'She may too selfish to ignore other people's pain; she may have had a bad family education; but was she angry for a reason?' 'Xiaoyudian' and 'Feiying' (Mop BBS, 27th, May, 2008). It was also expressed: 'Three days for mourning means what? People can mourn the victims in their own way; is it necessary to shut down all the entertainment systems and websites for three days?' (Huo Huo Posted in Baidu Posts Bar, 25th May, 2008). 'Zhang Ya was a selfish kid...but does it mean that we have lost so much that we have no right to be happy in these days? This might simply be typical Chinese conformity'. (Mi Yue, 26th Baidu Posts Bar, 25th May 2008)

These views were certainly not representative of mainstream opinion. But it is still

worth noting that young people were willing to ask difficult questions at a sensitive moment. The answers to these questions are certainly very political but not relevant to the current study. The main point is that young people especially the Post-1980s generation have the courage to ask them. They demonstrated their loyalty for their nation and their love for the people in the disaster areas by directing their anger at Zhang. However they also revealed a new spirit by questioning the government policy regarding this huge event. It is very unusual to question the policies towards a tragic disaster because common sense suggested that ‘the deceased should be the priority.’

By linking these two un-harmonious events, it is easy to see that firstly, there are many problems amongst Chinese young people, with their being reasons for the apprehension amongst older generation came for reasons. While their great performances cannot be denied these cannot disguise all of the problems within this generation. Secondly, the Chinese mainstream media does not tend to provide negative reports with the purpose of the press being very strong. As Anderson has claimed, the print media, language, and other media may build a fake picture describing national spirit. This did not mean that the reports from these three official newspapers were not real; but may reflect some censorship by the official media in China. Finally, the Post-1980s generation is very different from the older generation because they do not believe and accept everything ‘the country’ says. They are willing to ask very sensitive questions if they are based on common sense. They have found new ways to present their opinions like the Internet.



4.4 The summary

According to this analysis, there is a new patriotism that is displayed by the Post-80s Generation. The Post-1980s Generation has taken forward traditional patriotism and unexpectedly represented in their actions at the time of the earthquake. Their performance overthrew the negative image of these young people in many people's minds. They proved their deep love for their country, although they demonstrated this patriotism in their own way. They did not realize they had this patriotic spirit until the time of the earthquake. The traditional patriotic images of the old time heroes have been changed into something more real and relevant. The patriotic heroes were all perfect for the past, with the benefits to the country having to be considered first at all times. However during the Wenchuan Earthquakes, the image of the new heroes was different. The Post-1980s Generation was not perfect, they displayed their own weaknesses and emotional feelings, but as with other young people, they became stronger with help from their peers.

These younger people have demonstrated a new way of showing patriotism, and while it is always related to a love and personal devotion to the country, it may be softer and more subtle than that of older generations. A passion may lead people to act in wrong way, but this passion cannot last whereas the approach of someone with a rational mind can be continued. As Doob and Nathanson have claimed, extreme patriotism may even lead people in the country in to danger. To avoid this, moderate or

non-extreme patriotism is acceptable and preferable during peaceful time. The Post-1980s generation demonstrated a good response through their performance at the Beijing Olympic Games in 2008. They showed a more rational patriotic spirit. Moderate patriotism was seen in practice in these two events. The Post-1980s generation has brought a new image into society showing that they have passion but are rational at the same time. They have shown a non-extreme way to show their love for their country.

The reasons why the young people displayed these characteristics could be due to their living environment. In cultural and economic aspects, they have lived in a rapidly changing period in which reform and the policy of opening up to the rest of the world have brought major changes in China. The traditional ethics and lifestyles have changed, as they have grown up in a society full of change. Traditional and international ethics have impacted on them deeply. Therefore their performance has displayed different ethics. They have grown up during a changing period for China, which means they were influenced by both the traditional ideologies and the modern culture. As Billig pointed out using his 'Banal Nationalism', the same language, the symbols of money, and other patriotic issues have involved the evolution of the Post-1980s generations. The education they have received has changed at the same time. Their patriotic education has changed from the past. They have accepted the reformed education system which means that they can learn more about new ideas about the country /the nation.

The reason why they had been questioned for years was that the environment in which they had grown up was vastly different from older generations. This is a kind of general knowledge for older generations. They have seen the childhood of the Post-1980s generation and their teenage era, however they did not show a lot of patriotic passion during their early lives. The national songs, the flags, and the patriotic symbols became only abstract images in their life. They have no chance to feel the patriotic spirit. While their parents grew up following World War II, and at that time it was difficult to rid them of the influence of the war. The country was being built up from the ruins. Believing in the state was important to build for the confidence of people. The country needed the spirit of sacrifice to overcome its difficulties. Because of this, the parents of the Post-1980s generation did not want their children to suffer any pain. They gave everything to Post-1980s generation. They spoiled them leading them to be selfish and lack responsibility.

However the Post-1980s generation had not forgotten about patriotic spirit, they just needed an opportunity to demonstrate it. On the other hand, because of the one child policy in China, they have been doted on for more than 20 years. Their patriotic spirit was inspired by a huge disaster but they may still need some time to establish a complete identity. The problems of this generation are still existent, and it is difficult for the Post-1980s Generation to bring their great spirits into daily life, and this patriotism cannot cover all of their problems.

Another aspect of the new patriotism of the Post-1980s generation should be their

objective views about the state. They have the sense to even question the policies related to a national tragedy. It is not easy to image this being undertaken by the older generation. The ‘Zhang Ya’ and ‘Fan Paopao’ events showed the modern ideology of the Post-1980s generation from the other side. They agree that patriotism should be displayed based on the spirits of the voluntary mind. People should not be forced to perform patriotism. Although this idea could not be expressed by the official media, it cannot be ignored. Their idea could separate with the mainstream views and find way to present themselves. Certainly the negative issue should not be agreed, but the interesting opinion of Post-1980s generation about these events could not be covered.

Finally, the influence of the media should not be ignored. In China, the media represents the voice of the government. The main limitation of this analysis is that due to limits of time and space only 3 newspapers have been considered here all of which are official newspapers from China. To avoid the danger of researcher, the underground newspaper was not in this study. The main aim of the official newspapers is promoting the positive aspects of Chinese society, with the reports and comments that they publish being for a similar purpose. As Anderson’s (2006) has pointed out, the print media and power of language could be major factors to impact on people’s performance. It would be argue against the view that the official media selected their positive reports for a specific purpose. The support of young people is important for every country, is therefore good for the government to display the positive spirit of young people. At the same time, the volunteers and audiences were all impacted upon by the media. The Post-1980s generation could realize the



significance of their patriotic spirit after these many reports and comments. The media not only described their performance but also encouraged them to do better.



Chapter 5: Conclusion

5.1 Introduction

This concluding chapter reviews the key themes at the center of this study, summarizes the related findings and discusses the possible implications of the findings for future research into the ‘patriotism of post-1980s generation in China’. It will also describe the research questions and methodologies that could not be explored in the current study.

5.2 The patriotism of the Post-1980s generation

As described in Chapters 1 and 2, ‘patriotism’ is an old theme since the birth of nations. According to common definitions, patriotism usually means ‘love of the country (nation)’ (Doob, 1964; Viroli 1995). It may belong to one stage of nationalism and also has its own dimensions: super (strong), moderate (banal) and weak patriotism (Doob, 1964; Alter, 1989; and Billig 1995). In relation to the current study, patriotism in China is also another key concept. Chinese patriotism has been influenced by Confucian and Zhuzi’s thoughts and has developed for thousands of years. In Maoist times, patriotism had been given new standards. The parents of the Post-1980s generation have grown up during this period, and their common notion of patriotism and patriotic performance may be the reason why they have criticized the Post-1980s generation.

The Post-1980s generation has grown up in a different environment compared with

older generations. Rapid economic development and the information boom have had a key impact. And at the same time, the one-child population control policy was just implemented when they were born. The special attention towards this generation has come from both their families and the whole of society.

Based on this current study and personal experience, criticism of the Post-1980s generation lasted more than ten years. But the media suddenly changed their view overnight. The Post-1980s generation became a hopeful generation in the media. Based on the results described in Chapter 4, the data collection showed that most reports and comments about the Post-1980s generation in Chinese official newspapers were positive. The two main events became significant events for this generation. Young heroes, volunteers, soldiers and athletes represent their great spirit within society.

The patriotism of the Post-1980s generation is new because it is not as extreme as was demonstrated by the older generation. The perceived perfection of the country is not regarded as being very strong any more. The individuals that helped in these two events developed their patriotism into a new direction in China: they love their country even if it is not perfect; and they choose new ways to show young people's patriotism. This was done not by fighting or even by sacrifice, but by helping people to display a new patriotism, and even for some 'un-patriotic' ideals, they reflected on these in different ways instead simply criticizing them all.

The final feature of patriotism of the Post-1980s generation is that younger generation starts to question the decision or policies from the government. Different from their

parents, they do not believe everything the state says like their parents. The results were gathered from the different voice from the internet and BBS in China. They could keep loyalty and love for the country but questioned it at the same time. That is different from the thought: ‘everything in my country is the best’. The conclusion could be suggested as, the Post-1980s generation does not love the country less, and they just love it in a different way.

5.3 The limitations of the media representing the Post-1980s generation

It should be noted that all the distinguishing features of the Post 1980s generation were based on findings from the data. This means that the new image of the Post-1980s generation was built by media in some way. Newspapers published the reports and comments with a specific aim. They may have been trying to show that young people in China stand with the country (nation). As shown in Chapter 4, it was difficult to find negative reports regarding the Post 1980s generation in any of the three kinds of newspapers. All the voices from the newspapers were almost unified. This is a special condition in China because China’s official newspapers are controlled by the government and the party. The media represented the young people’s performance in those two events and influenced them at the same time. The new image of the Post-1980s generation may have been built by them, but also built by the media.

The main limitation of this study is that all the data came from official Chinese newspapers. Because there is a big risk for the researcher accessing underground

newspapers, for the safety of researcher, the underground Chinese newspapers could not be chosen. To avoid one-sided analysis, some negative events were picked up from primary BBS in China. However the resources from the Internet were only used to supplement the major resources. And the reflection of the Post-1980s generation towards the negative events displayed some rational characteristics. They did not just abuse or criticize them; they began to adopt a more tolerant view. Related to the reflection of Liu Xiang's dropping out of the Olympic Games, the Post-1980s generation views regarding patriotism have become much more moderated. This is a new phenomenon in China.

On the other hand, the official media avoiding reporting on negative events is a unique and interesting phenomenon in China. The information boom has brought different kinds of thoughts into China since 1979. China still needs to provide an open mind that is wider for the media industry. And the government wants to provide the image that young people are growing up in a correct way as they have wished.

In addition, the language barrier was another limitation of this current study. Since most of the data was printed in Chinese, the gap in understanding the language may be large. This may result in mixing personal ideas during the translation. As one of a Post-1980s generation from a one-child family, personal experience may be useful but also subjective at the same time.

5.4 Expansion of research into this field

Suggestions have been made at various points in this dissertation regarding how

certain issues relating to the structure, implementation and analysis of a research project into patriotism of young people especially Post-1980s generation may be addressed. The results from the current study obtained through this fieldwork research only represents a small sample of the current issue and a far larger pool of data is necessary to draw any substantial conclusions about the situation in the youth culture area in China, or indeed anywhere else. In light of this, some thoughts are offered here regarding how future research may be approached in order to provide an overall picture regarding this topic.

There are many different methods that may be used in order to gain an insight into the young people's performance and thoughts at main national events. If time limits allow, interviews and questionnaires can provide more direct information. Combined with documentary research, this data will be more informative. It should be noted that, if interviews or questionnaires are selected, the population under consideration should be chosen more carefully. The population of any type of group in China is likely to be huge due to the enormous population size of the country. This current study could also be taken forward by considering other kinds of media resources like movies, television programs, and books. Young people's performance is an interesting aspect in many areas, and it is not difficult to find the relevant resources.

Patriotism in China will always be a relevant topic. This is not only because its general meaning is important for all countries, but also because the P. R. China was based on revolutionaries' patriotic spirit. Consequently patriotism has been a major political subject in China ever since 1949.

As described in Chapter 3, the Chinese state has always paid much attention to the development of young people. Youth is one of the most important groups in every country across the world. Youth represents the fresh power of society, and consequently it is beneficial for any government to gain the support of young people.

Because of those issues, the education regarding patriotism takes a prominent position across schools of all levels in China.

The values of young people have been influenced by the increasing openness in China. They now adopt different positions compared to their parents during the Maoist Era. They have seen some of the disadvantages of the state, and have learnt new ways to think about it. They may also have received non-positive images about the state.

The Chinese state has one major party (CPC) cooperating with other parties in the ruling system. At this time, it is necessary to foster young people's patriotic spirits in new ways to make sure that they can accept this. The two significant events considered in this study represented great opportunities to encourage young people by their own performance. The Post-1980s generation demonstrated great spirits and they deserve to be praised. But the Chinese state and official media also needed these chances to improve young people's patriotism.

Therefore research regarding the patriotism of young people is valuable in both academic and social areas.

Further interesting topics that could be researched may be related to other cultural aspects of the Post-1980s generation. The one-child policy has been relaxed since



2000, while the policy of opening-up has lasted for 31 years. The Post-1980s generation may be the only generation that has been impacted on by both policies while growing up. The Post-1980s generation is a very special group in China, and as they begin to turn 30, their values, love life, families and culture will provide greater interest over time.

Bibliography:

- Alter, P. (1989), *Nationalism*, London: Edward Arnold
- Anderson, B. R. O. (1991) *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso
- Appadurai, A., (2006), Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Culture Economy, *Media and Cultural Studies*, London: Blackwell Publishing (pp. 584-604)
- Audi, R., (2009) Nationalism, patriotism, and cosmopolitanism in an age of globalization, *Springer Science Business*, Vol.: 13 No.: 4
<http://www.springerlink.com/content/f3530117r736w630/> (12 February, 2010)
- 白龙, 杨沫, 2008,8,10, 170 万志愿者微笑奥运
- Bai, L. & Yang, M., (2008), 1,700,000 Volunteers' Smiling Olympic Games, *the People's Daily*, 10-08-2008, p. 12
- Bao, D., (2008), Liu limps off to a trail of tears, *China Daily*, 19-08-2008, p.1
- Baradat, L. P., (1979) *Political Ideologies: Their Origins and Impact*, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall
- Bell, A. & Garrett, P., (1998) *Approaches to Media Discourse*, Oxford: Blackwell,
- Billig, M., (1995) *Banal Nationalism*, New York: Sage,
- Carlyle, T. (1898) *Heroes, Hero-worship and the Heroic in History*, London: Chapman and Hall
- 柴葳, 2008,6,29 英雄少年的奥运情结
- Chai, W., (2008) Junior Hero's Olympic Complex, *China Education Daily*, 29-06-2008
- China Daily, (2008), A chance to help others, *China Daily*, 25-08-2008, p. 10
- China Daily, (2008), An occasion to Smile, *China Daily*, 09-08-2008, p. 10
- China Daily, (2008), Greater than Gold, *China Daily*, 19-08-2008, p.10
- China Daily, (2008), Letters and Blogs, *China Daily*, 20-08-2008, p.11
- China Daily, (2008), Letters and Blogs, *China Daily*, 12-08-2008, p.11

China Daily, (2008), Liu: I Feel Sorry for Pulling out with Injury, *China Daily*, 20-08-2008, p.1

China Daily, (2008), One World, One Dream, One Million Volunteers, *China Daily*, 25-08-2008, p.10

China Daily,(2008), People Do What They Can 'Just to Help'. *China Daily*,21-05-2008 p. 5

China Daily, (2008), Tears Fall as King Surrenders Crown, *China Daily*, 19-08-2008, p.5

China Daily, (2008),The Sun Always Rises, *China Daily*, 02-06-2008 p. 7

Chen, J.,(2008), It's all about wearing and owning smiles, *China Daily*, 18-08-2008 p. 10

陈家兴, 2008,8,13 志愿者, 奥运因你而增色

Chen, J.X.,(2008), Volunteers Add colour for Olympic Games, *the People's Daily*. 13-08-2008

Chen, X.,(2008), Putting Others First, *China Daily*, 22-05-2008 p. 19

陈俐 雷涛, 圣火传递与理性爱国——谈爱国主义及对大学生爱国主义教育的再认识, 思想教育研究, 2008 (6) pp36-38

Chen, L. & Lei, T., (2008) 'Passing the Olympic torch, Passing Prosperity Dream', *Studies in Ideological Education* Vol.: 156, pp36-38

Chen, S. H., (2006) *Qualitative Research Method*, Beijing: Qinghua University,

Chen, X.R., (2008) Putting Other First, *China Daily*, 05-22-2008 p.19

评论员文章, 2008,9,5 北京奥运的另一枚金牌

Commentator, (2008), the Other Golden Medal in Olympic Games, *the People's Daily*, 05-09-2008

Cui, M.,(2008), No One Left behind, *China Daily*, 21-05-2008 p. 13

Cui, X., (2008), Stars Turn up to Thank Volunteers, *China Daily*, 03-09-2008, p.6

Cvetkovich, A. & Kellner, D. (1995) *Articulating the Global and Local*, Oxford: Westview Press,

Confucius, (2009) *The Analects of Confucius*, Shanghai: SanLian Publishing

北京大学邓小平理论研究中心, 2008,6,17 民族精神在抗震救灾中的彰显与弘扬
Deng Xiaoping Research Centre of Beijing University, (2008), National Spirits Was Represented in the Disaster, *China Education Daily*, 17-06-2008

Dijk, T. A. V. (1988) *News as Discourse*, New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates

专栏, 2008,6,22 歌声与秋千, 感恩与祝福
Disaster Column, (2008), Review of the Relief Action, *China Education Daily*, 22-06-2008

Doob, L.W. (1964) *Patriotism and Nationalism*, Westport: Greenwood,

樊氏刚, 2008,6,22 片段汇聚的力量
Fan, S. G.,(2008), The Power of Youth Stories, *the People's Daily*, 22-06-2008

傅振国, 2008,9,3 奥运会, 中国收获世界的友善
Fu, Z. G.,(2008), Olympic is a Chance China could get Friendship from the World, *the People's Daily*. 03-09-2008

巩志娟 许慧英,新时期大学生爱国热情的辩证分析, *内蒙古师范学院学报*, 2009 30(11) pp208-209
Gong, Z. J. & Xu, H.Y., (2009) Dialectical Analysis of College Students' passion of Patriotism in the New Era, *Journal of zhaowuda Mongolian teachers college* Vol.:30, No.:11, pp208-209

Grant, P.S. & Wood, C. (2004) *Blockbusters and Trade Wars – Popular Culture in a Globalized World*, Columbia: Douglas & McIntyre,

郭嘉, 2008,6,18 ‘90后’士兵, 我们行
Guo, J., (2008), ‘We Can Do It’—From the Post-1990s Soldiers, *the People's Daily*, 18-06-2008

郭晓丽, 夏凤芝, 2008,9,5 弘扬志愿精神, 构建和谐社会
Guo, X.I. & Xia, F.Z., (2008), the Spirits of Volunteers could Contributes to Build Harmonious Society, *the People's Daily*. 05-09-2008

郭水兰,全球化条件下的爱国主义, *学术专题*, 2006 (8) pp47-50
Guo, S.L., (2006) The patriotism under the globalization, *Academic forum*, Vol.: 187, No.: 8, pp47-50

郭水兰, 疆域、公民、主权是现代爱国主义的逻辑支点, *学术专题*, 2006 (12) pp43-45, p130

Guo, S.L., (2006) The sovereignty, Territory, citizens, is the logical fulcrum of modern patriotism, *Academic forum* Vol.: 191, pp43-45, p130

郝勤, 2008,7,3 走出象牙塔, 服务奥运会

Hao, Q., (2008) Out of the ivory tower, Serve to Olympic Games, *China Education Daily*, 03-07-2008

郝云甫, 2008,8,22 外媒赞奥运会志愿者向世界传达中国新形象

Hao, Y.F.,(2008), Foreign Media Appraised That: Olympic Volunteers Represent New Image of China Youth, *the People's Daily*. 22-08-2008

Hassan, R. (2004), *Media, Politics and Network Society*, Glasgow: Open University Press,

Hansen, A., Cottle, S., Negrine, R. & Newbold, C. (1998) *Mass Communication Research Methods*, London: Macmillan

Hesmondhalgh, D. (2002) *The Cultural Industries*, London: Sage

Howard, E.V.(2004) *Classic Readings in Sociology*, Beijing: Peking University Press

侯宝森, 2008,8,10 为志愿者喝彩

Hou, B.S., (2008), Cheers for Volunteers, *the People's Daily*. 10-08-2008

黄毅, 2008,6,22 杨松尚: 先救女生和伤重的同学

Huang, Y.,(2008), Heroes: Yang Songshang , *China Education Daily*, 22-06-2008

Huang, Z. & Zhang, H.,(2008), Farmer Takes Up Grim Task in Town, *China Daily*, 15-05-2008 P. 3

霍国栋, 2008, 6, 17 抗震救灾凸显中华文化价值

Huo, G.D., (2008) The Values of Chinese Culture Has Been Displayed During the Relief, *China Education Daily*, 17-06-2008.

姜泓冰, 2008,5,19 我们还能做些什么

Jiang, H. B., (2008), What Can We Do?, *the People's Daily*, 19-05-2008

蒋方军, 论理性爱国主义的提出与弘扬, *中国青年政治科学学院学报* 2008 27(6) pp61-64

Jiang, F. J., (2008) On the Proposing and Promoting of Rational Patriotism, *Journal of China youth college for political sciences* Vol.: 27, No.: 6 pp61-64

柯昌万, 2008,5,14'多一袋血就多救一个灾民'渭南师范学院争领献血登记表

Ke, C. W., (2008), The Report about Blood Donate from Weinan Education College, *China Education Daily*, 14-05-2008

雷声, 2008,5,15 70 公里, 生命接力

Lei, S.,(2008), 70 Kilometres: the Relay of Lives, *the People's Daily*, 15-05-2008

李瑾, 李伦娥, 2008,5,25 抗震救灾, 高校志愿者在行动

Li, C. & Li, L.E., (2008), College volunteers in Relief Action, *China Education Daily*, 25-05-2008

Li, X., (2008), Where Lives and Loves Lie in Ruins, *China Daily*, 2008-05-15 P. 8

李战吉, 曾华锋, 2008,5,28 可以托付生命的人

Li, Z. J. & Zeng, H. F.,(2008), People Who Can be Entrusted to Lives, *the People's Daily*, 28-05-2008

李志起, 林卫平, 徐扬, 邱柏墨, 2008,5,15 今天, 我们都是汶川人

Li, Z.Q., Lin, W.P.& Xu, Y.,(2008), We Are All Wenquan people Today, *the People's Daily*, 15-05-2008

林中凯, 黄壁, 2008, 6, 13 张春玲以残缺之躯冒死营救同学

Lin, Z.K., & Huang, F (2008), Zhang Chunling: Incomplete footer risking death to rescue the students. *China Education Daily*, 13-6-2008

刘邦琨, 2008,5,14 美丽天使定格在瞬间-记为保护学生牺牲的年轻教师袁文婷

Liu, B. K., (2008), The Story of Young Teacher Yuan Wenting who died for Protecting Students, *China Education Daily*, 14-05-2008

刘宇虹, 陈佳妮, 马宁 2008,9,5 志愿奥运, 无怨无悔

Liu, Y.H., Chen, J.N. & Ma, N., (2008), The Stories of Volunteers in Olympic Games, *the People's Daily*. 05-09-2008

刘淑珍 孟庆恩, 浅议"80 后"大学生爱国主义教育, *素质教育*, 2008 (10) pp140-141

Liu, S. & Meng Q., (2008) Discuss the Patriotism education of "80 post" college students, *Quality Education*, Vol.: 92, pp140-141

刘维涛, 陈一鸣, 2008,8,19 微笑着, 美丽着

Liu, W.T. & Chen, Y.M. (2008) Smiling, Beautiful, *the People's Daily*, 19-08-2008

龙超凡, 范庆洪, 2008,7,13 廖小荣 为灾区患者捐骨髓

Long, C.F. & Fan, Q.H., (2008) Liao Xiaorong Donate Bone Marrow for the Patient of Disaster Area, *China Education Daily*, 13-07-2008

路刚, 高翔, 艾玛利, 李云威, 梁学亚, 2008,5,6 我为奥运做贡献

Lu, G., Gao, X., Amarty, Li, Y.W. & Liang, X.Y., (2008) My Contributions to Olympic Game, *China Education Daily*, 06-05-2008

卢黎歌 薛华, 试论爱国精神表达的情感与理性, *思想政治教育研究*, 2009 (2) pp81-84
Lu, L. & Xue, H., (2009) The patriotic spirit of the expression of emotion and rationality, *Journal of ideological & theoretical education* 2009(2), pp81-84

马成胜, 2008,7,7 看: 真的 80, 90 后

Ma, C.S., (2008) Look at the Real Post 1980 and 1990 Generations, *China Education Daily*, 07-07-2008

McCulloch, G., (2004) *Documentary research in education, history and the social sciences*, London: RoutledgeFalmer,

Murphy, P.D. & Kraidy, M.M. (2003) *Global Media Studies – Ethnographic Perspectives*, London: Routledge

Naghshpour, S. (2008) Globalization: Is It Good or Bad? *Globalization*, 228-332-1186

Nathanson, S.,(1993) *Patriotism, Morality, and Peace*, Leicester: Rowman & Littlefield

Nan, H.J., (1976) *Another View of The Analects of Confucius*, Beijing: The People's Literature

Ni, J.,(2008), Making a Better Name, *China Daily*, 28-05-2008, P. 20

聂敏里, 2008,8,19 如当节日一般, 时政观察专栏

Nie, M.L., (2008), The Sport's Festival, Politics Observer column, *China Education Daily*, 19-08-2008

Patton, M.Q., (2002), *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Method*, London: Sage Publications,

彭斌, 2008,6,16 灾难让我们挺起脊梁

Peng, B., (2008) Disaster Makes Us Stronger, *China Education Daily*, 16-06-2008

彭斌, 汪炳青, 2008,7,9 在服务社会中升华自我

Peng, B. & Wang, B.Q., (2008) Sublimating Myself In serving to Society, *China Education Daily*, 09-07-2008

任旭杰, 当爱国主义遭遇集体遗忘——80 后大学生国史教育的思考, *经济研究导报*, 2009 (19) p237-238

Ren, X., (2009) When the patriotism faces to collective forgetting: thoughts about the history education of post 1980s generation, *Economic research guide* Vol.:19, 2009, pp237-238

Richardson, J. T. E. (1996) *Handbook of Qualitative Research Method for Psychology and the Social Science*, Leicester: the British Psychological Society

Sardar, Z. & Loon, B.V. (1997) *Cultural Studies for Beginners*, Cambridge: Icon Books.

Scott, A. (1997), *The Limits of Globalization: Cases and Arguments*, London: Routledge,

Smith, A. D. (1990) Towards a Global Culture? , *Global Culture*, London: Lighting Source UK

Sreberny, A. (2006), The Global and the Local in International Communications, *Media and Cultural Studies*, Lodon: Blackwell (pp. 604-626)

Street, J. (1997), ‘Across the Universe’: The Limits of Global Popular Culture, *The Limits of Globalization: Cases and Arguments*, (pp. 75-89) London: Routledge

Storey, J. (1996) *What is Cultural Studies?* London: Arnold

孙葆丽, 2008,6,19 志愿行动是人文奥运的完美诠释

Sun, B.L., (2008) Volunteering Is A Perfect Interpretation of Olympics, *China Education Daily*, 19-06-2008

孙葆丽, 江丹, 毛捷, 刘福恒, 2008,6,26 我为奥运做贡献

Sun, B.L., Jiang, D., Mao, J. & Liu, F.H., (2008) My Contributions to Olympic Game, *China Education Daily*, 26-06-2008

孙润, 田雨, 2008,5,15 那一刻, 他张开双臂保护 4 个学生

Sun, r. & Tian, Y., (2008), He Protected Four Kids with His Arms, *the People's Daily*, 15-05-2008

孙琦子, 2008,8,16 北京奥运会: 一个中国文化场

Sun, Q., (2008), Beijing Olympic Games: A Chinese Cultural Field, *China Education Daily*, 16-08-2008

唐景莉, 王锋, 乔欣, 2008,5,1 向世界展示中国志愿者风采

Tang, J.L., Wang, F. & Qiao, X. (2008) Showing the Elegant Demeanor of Chinese Volunteers to the World, *China Education Daily*, 01-05-2008

唐景莉, 卢丽君, 焦思文, 2008,7,8 理想在心中绽放 青春为祖国闪光

Tang, J.L., Lu, L.J. & Jiao, S.W., (2008) Ideal in the heart bloom, Youth Flash for the Motherland, *China Education Daily*, 08-07-2008

唐景丽, 杨晨光, 王友文, 刘琴, 2008,6,4 危难中青春之歌如此激昂

Tang, J.L., Yang, C.G., Wang, Y.W. & Liu, Q.,(2008), the Song of Youth in the Disaster, *China Education Daily*, 04-06-2008

Thompson, J.B. (1996) *Tradition and Self in a Mediated World, Detraditionalization*, Oxford: Blackwell

2008,5,29 英雄榜: 谭千秋, 张米亚, 向倩, 苟晓超, 吴忠红

The People's Daily, (2008), Heroes: Tan Qianqiu, Zhang Miya, Xiang Qian, Gou Xiaochao and Wu Zhonghong, *the People's Daily*, 29-05-2008

专栏, 2008,9,19 奥运回顾: 奥运志愿者的日记

The People's Daily, (2008), Olympic Game reviews: Volunteers' Dairies, *People's Daily*, 19-09-2008

社论, 2008,8,8 '志愿者的微笑是北京最好的名片'

The People's Daily, (2008), The smile on volunteers' Faces Would be the Best Postcard of Beijing, *the People's Daily*, 08-08-2008

专栏, 2008,5,9 唱响爱国主义的时代强者

The People's Daily, (2008) The Song of the patriotic era, *China Education Daily*, 09-05-2008

田丰, 陈娟, 2008,6,10 青春在抗震救灾中激情燃烧

Tian, F. & Chen, J., (2008), The Passion of Youth Burning in the Disaster, *the People's Daily*, 10-06-2008

Viroli, M. (1995) *For Love of Country*, Oxford: Clarendon press

万呼春, 2008,5,18 救治, 以秒计时! - 医疗志愿者灾区日记

Wan, H. C., (2008), Medical Volunteers' Dairies, *China Education Daily*, 18-05-2008

Wang, N. & Sun, Y. (2008) Translation, Globalisation and Localisation, Mixed Sources.

Wang, Q.,(2008), Elderly volunteer full of passion, *China Daily*, 22-08-2008, p.5

汪晓东, 2008,6,9 大爱, 让青春更闪亮—记共青团北川书记马晓燕, 英雄榜专栏

Wang, X. D., (2008), Interview of Ma Xiaoyan (secretary of the Communist Youth League Committee of Beichuan city), *the People's Daily*, 09-06-2008

Wang, Y.,(2008), Counselling Road to Recovery for Deeply Traumatized Survivors, *China Daily*, 20-05-2008 P. 17

Wang, Z.,(2008), League to Boost Voluntary Work, *China Daily*, 11-06-2008 P. 4

Wang, Z.,(2008), Saved Youth Repays with Voluntary work, *China Daily*, 02-06-2008 P.1

Wang, Z., (2008), Top Meeting of Youths Opens Today, *China Daily*, 10-06-2008 P.4

Wang, Z., (2008), CPC Official Praises NGOs' Role in Relief Work, 27-05-2008 p.2

魏贺, 徐元峰, 周婷玉, 黄书波, 李宣良, 2008,5,15 那声音的力量—抗震救灾记者现场记录

Wei, H., Xu, Y., Zhou, T.Y., Huang, S.B. & Li, X. L., (2008), Reporters' Records from the Earthquake Relief, *the People's Daily*, 15-05-2008

Wu, J. & Li, A.,(2008), Volunteers Fulfil Dreams, Ambitions, *China Daily*, 08-08-2008

Wu, R. R., (1999) *The Weight of Identity: the Guide of Imagined Communities (the brief account of the Anderson's life)*, Shanghai: The Peoples of Shanghai Publishing

徐春妮, 2008,8,11 志愿者意味着荣誉

Xu, C.N.,(2008), The Honour of Volunteer Work, *the People's Daily*. 11-08-2008

徐涛, 杨晨光, 2008,5,25 为了灾区我们义无反顾- 成都大学师生投身志愿救灾队伍

Xu, T. & Yang, C. G., (2008), the Report about College Volunteers from Chengdu University, *China Education Daily*, 18-05-2008

杨晨光, 2008,5,14 我恨不得献血 800 毫升-北京交通大学李轶献血记

Yang, C. G., (2008), The Sory of Blood Donate from Beijing Jiaotong University, *China Education Daily*, 14-05-2008

杨晨光, 2008,8,25 服务奥运我们选择坚守

Yang, C. G., (2008), Serving the Olympic Games, *China Education Daily*, 25-08-2008

杨晨光, 2008,8,26 宣传奥运让人们尽享快乐

Yang, C. G., (2008), Olympic Promotion Makes People be Proud, *China Education Daily*, 26-08-2008

杨彦, 李发成, 2008,6,9 ‘害怕也不能丢下同学’

Yang, Y. & Li, F.C., (2008), ‘Left No One’, *the People's Daily*, 09-06-2008

Yang, Y., (2003) *Research Method in Social Science*, Beijing: Beijing University Press

叶文宪, *中国古代有没有爱国主义*, 自由探索与观察, 2006 (1) pp9-12

Ye, W. X., (2006) Did Patriotism Exist in Ancient China? *Exploration and Free views* 2006(1), pp9-12

Yu, L.,(2008), Tourists Dispel Myths about China, *China Daily*, 01-09-2008, p.10

袁建强, 2008,1,16 北川日记: 震后救援, 志愿者在行动

Yuan, J. Q., (2008), Earthquake Dairies: Volunteers in Relief Action, *China Education Daily*, 16-05-2008

袁新文, 蒋潇, 2008,9,15 成长为有担当的一代—记奥运会大学生志愿者

Yuan, X.W. & Jiang, X.,(2008), Reports of the Volunteers from College, *the People's Daily*, 15-09-2008

余荣华, 孔祥武, 2008,6,27 灾难面前, 有我们

Yu, R.H. & Kong, X.W., (2008) Do Not Be Afraid of Disaster, We Are Here, *China Education Daily*, 27-06-2008

翟帆, 2008,5,25 大四学生网上发起‘北斗行动’

Zhai, F., (2008), Senior College Students Start to Search Relatives, *China Education Daily*, 25-05-2008

翟帆, 2008,6,13 青春的力量让人震撼-地震灾区共青团代表与大学生谈话

Zhai, F.,(2008), The Power of Youth in the Disaster, *China Education Daily*, 13-06-2008

张蕾, 陈晓航, 2008,9,3 奥运奖牌背后的故事

Zhang, L. & Chen, X. H., (2008), The Stories behind the Medals, *the People's Daily*. 03-09-2008

张卫中, 2008,9,1 委内瑞拉高度赞扬北京奥运会组织工作

Zhang, W.Z. (2008) Venezuela's highly praised the organization of the Beijing Olympic Games, *the People's Daily*. 01-09-2008

Zhang, Y.,(2008), Olympic spirit breezes into the city, *China Daily*, 08-08-2008, p.60

Zhang, Y., (2008), Fine Organization Ensures Success, *China Daily*, 20-08-2008, p.24

Zhang, X.,(2008), City Sets Sail for Success, *China Daily*, 10-08-2008, p.20

Zhao, B.,(2008), Special Supplement: Sweet dreams are made of these, *China Daily*, 11-08-2008

赵婀娜, 潘兰婷, 2008,9,14 在服务中享受快乐—采访志愿者叶裕惠

Zhao, E.N. & Pan, L.T.,(2008), Enjoy the Service Work—interview of Volunteer Ye Yuhui, *the People's Daily*, 14-09-2008

赵丽丽, 孙琦子, 康怡, 2008,8,17 奥运点燃民众精神升华的焰火

Zhao, L.L. & Sun, Q.,(2008), Olympic Games was firework of National Spirit, *China Education Daily*, 17-08-2008

赵秀东 1991, 爱国主义漫谈, 青岛海洋大学出版社

Zhao, X.D., (1991) *a Discussion about Patriotism*, Qingdao: Qingdao Ocean University Press

Zheng, L., (2008) Smiles without Borders, *China Daily*, 25-08-2008

志强, 2008,6,11 青春在祖国需要的地方闪光

Zhi, Q.,(2008) Youth are Shining When the Country needs, *the People's Daily*, 11-06-2008

Zhou, R.,(2008), Heroes in White, *China Daily*, 20-05-2008 p. 13

周文鼎, 2008,8,18 雨中“站岗”

Zhou, W.D., (2008) Stand guard in raining day, *the People's Daily*. 18-08-2008

朱立文 1995, 陈嘉庚爱国主义思想研究, 今日中国出版社

Zhu, L.W. (1995) *Patriotism Research of Chen Jia Geng's Thought*, Xiamen: Today's China Press

The appendices are not available in the digital version of this thesis.