

Beyond Historical Humiliations

New ways of understanding the significant role of historical conflicts in Chinese history education

TROELS KJEMS PETERSEN

ASIA IN FOCUS

In recent years, various studies have taken on the task of examining history education in Mainland China. However, within this field of study there has been a tendency not to include classroom observations as empirical data on the grounds that history classes in China are so heavily dictated by curriculum stipulations that it is sufficient to analyze the textbook material in order to understand Chinese history education. In this article, I present research results which refute this statement and show that there are differences to be found between the content of the textbook and the reality of classroom sessions in China. Based on four months of classroom observations in China, I present how historical conflicts play a much larger and more profound role in the narration of the Chinese past in the classroom than in the textbook. Furthermore, I demonstrate how my observations show that conflicts other than the struggle with Western imperialism are emphasized in class – most notably the Cultural Revolution – which indicates that the narration of the past in Chinese history classes is about more than promoting anti-Western sentiment and presenting a grand narrative of ‘national humiliation’ to the students.

Keywords: China, history education, collective memory, historical narratives, historical conflicts, classroom observation

In recent years, history education in Mainland China has become a subject of major interest to many researchers. Some have examined Chinese history education since the 1990s as a political instrument for political legitimation of the CCP leadership and promotion of anti-Western nationalist sentiments (Callahan, 2004; Gries, 2005; Hughes, 2006; Wang, 2008, 2012). Other researchers have been preoccupied with viewing Chinese history education as part of the post-1945 political issue in East Asia of mutual misrepresentation of a common past in the region (Mash, 1991; Vickers, 2005; Müller, 2011; Sneider, 2011; Morris, 2013). Despite their difference in focus and scope, all these previous studies on Chinese history education have had a similar tendency to only view Chinese history education as a matter of political socialization. Thus, previous researchers have tended to focus exclusively on political stipulations, curricula outlines and textbook materials when examining Chinese history education, and actual observations of history classes have never been incorporated as a method before.

The long-standing argument of many scholars is that in East Asia in general and in Mainland China in particular, classroom sessions are heavily dictated by the textbook content, and thus analyzing the content of textbooks should be sufficient to give a proper understanding of how history is taught in the classrooms throughout China (Mash, 1991; Vickers, 2005). Furthermore, since the task of observing classroom education in China is a very difficult and time-consuming anthropological exercise, it is logical that previous studies have not engaged in classroom observations when analyzing Chinese history

education. However, it is my belief that the exclusive focus on textbook material and political stipulations by previous researchers suggests a serious gap in our understanding of Chinese history education, since they only offer insight into the politics behind history education in China, rather than give a deeper understanding of what is actually taught within the reality of the classroom. Hence, in this article I present the research results of my master dissertation from the University of Copenhagen (Petersen, 2014) and, as the first researcher to do so, I offer new insights to our understanding of what is taught in Chinese history high school classes by using classroom observations as empirical data.

The results I present in this article are based on four months of classroom observations at a high school in Zhejiang Province. In the fall of 2013, I observed the history classes of four different *gaoyi* (first year) classes. The high school gave me permission to use all the PowerPoint slides from the classes that I observed, and allowed me to interview one of the teachers for my research project, as long as the school, teachers and students involved were anonymous in my research. Thus, in order to keep the school's anonymity intact, the high school is referred to as "the school" in this article.

I did all the observations at the school on my own without the use of a translator or interpreter, as my education in China Studies has given me a high proficiency in Mandarin Chinese. I am aware that my presence as a foreign observer in the classes at the school may have affected the teachers' way of narrating and communicating the content of the classes to the students, however, there was no ob-

vious sign of this. To the contrary, all of the teachers at the school used the same pre-produced PowerPoint slides for all their lessons on Chinese history. Even the few teachers using the blackboard tended to write up the same content on the blackboard as that of the PowerPoint slides. The PowerPoint slides thus represent very well the exact content of each lesson I observed, and the history teachers of the school's collective interpretation of the textbook material.

In the following, I present how it was possible to observe central differences between textbook and classroom sessions during my time at the school, despite the textbook dictating the chronological order, historical themes and topics in class. I use examples of PowerPoint slides used in class, as well as excerpts from my interview, to underscore these differences between textbook and classroom narration. It is also important to emphasize that the results presented in this article do not offer a way to generalize about how history is taught in Chinese high schools. Rather, I present a methodical example of new insights that can be achieved by incorporating classroom observations.

The difference between textbook and classroom narration

In Chinese history education today, Chinese national history is divided into three broad periods: ancient times (*gudai*) (2000 B.C. - 1840), modern times (*jindai*) (1840 - 1949) and contemporary times (*xiandai*) (1949 - 2000). Previous studies have been preoccupied with examining the teaching of the modern period as a central period in Chinese history education, mainly because many researchers argue that China's 'humiliating' conflicts with foreign imperialism between 1840 - 1949 are the most central trauma and narrative in Chinese collective memory today (Callahan, 2004; Gries, 2005; Hughes, 2006; Wang, 2008, 2012; Sneider, 2011; Morris, 2013).

Given that previous studies have only analyzed Chinese history education on the basis of political stipulations and textbook material, it is logical that

many researchers see the conflicts with Western and Japanese imperialism to be the main focus of Chinese history classes. If we look at the narrative structure of the textbooks used at the school (Zhu, 2013), which followed the official curriculum outlines in Mainland China (MOE, 2006), the conflict with foreign imperialism was very much the clear pivotal center in the narration of China's national past (see Table 1). In the textbook, the ancient period was narrated as a stable, progressive and peaceful period with no real conflicts, which served as a sharp narrative contrast to the struggles and wars in the modern period (Zhu, 2013, p. 2-21). Likewise, the contemporary period only served as a narrative epilogue to the modern period, with the purpose of showing how well the CCP leadership developed Chinese society after China was 'liberated' in 1949.

However, in the classes that I observed at the school, the narrative structure was very different to that of the textbook. Where the textbook only focused on China's conflicts with feudalism and Western imperialism in modern times, the teachers focused on narrating historical conflicts as central to the historical development of each historical period of the Chinese past – both ancient, modern and contemporary (see Table 2).

HISTORICAL PERIOD	NARRATIVE FOCUS
ANCIENT PERIOD (2000 B.C. - 1840)	No historical conflict or drama.
MODERN PERIOD (1840 - 1949)	Dramatic period. China is in conflict with feudalism and foreign imperialism
CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (1949-2000)	No historical conflict or drama.

Table 1: Narrative structure of the textbook content

When teaching the students about the ancient period, the teachers followed the official guidelines, and taught about the constant, progressive development of the political system throughout the ancient period. However, unlike the textbook, the teachers explained to the students why it was important to

HISTORICAL PERIOD	NARRATIVE FOCUS
ANCIENT PERIOD (2000 B.C – 1840)	Dramatic period. China is in a conflict with regionalism and bureaucratic corruption
MODERN PERIOD (1840 – 1949)	Dramatic period. China is in a conflict with feudalism and foreign imperialism
CONTEMPORARY PERIOD (1949-2000)	Dramatic period. China is in a conflict with the Cultural Revolution

Table 2: Narrative structure of the classroom content

Notes: Table 1 & 2 gives an overview of the difference in narrative focus between the official textbook content and the content of my classroom observations.

develop the political system in ancient times. In the lessons on ancient Chinese history, the teachers heavily emphasized that developing the political system of autocracy was a way of solving ‘two pairs of fundamental conflicts’ (liang dui jiben maodun) that existed in ancient China. These two pairs of fundamental conflicts were on the one hand Centralism vs. Regionalism, and on the other hand the Emperor’s power vs. the Prime Minister’s power (see Figure 1 & Figure 2).

Even though the textbook characterized the development of the political institutions as a means to strengthen centralism and the administrative power of the central authorities in ancient China (Zhu, 2013, p. 14-16), the textbook did not mention the attempt to solve regionalism or bureaucratic corruption as the main reason for political institutions being constantly developed throughout the period. Yet, by placing an explicit focus in the classroom on the conflicts with regionalism and the corruption of ministers, and by giving them the name of fundamental conflicts, the teachers added a deeper level to the narration of an ancient, unified China. They did so by underlining that all the different rulers fought the same two conflicts throughout the whole ancient period.

If we look at the contemporary period, the difference between textbook and classroom narra-



温故而知新

秦朝

提问1: “大一统”的君主专制制度形成于何时?

提问2: 在演进与强化的过程中包括着几对基本矛盾?

皇权与相权、中央集权与地方分权

提问3: 在明以前的封建历史进程中, 统治者是怎样逐步解决这两对矛盾的?

皇权与相权: 三公九卿制→中外朝制→三省六部制→参知政事

中央与地方: 郡县制→州郡县→道(路)州县→省路(道)府州县

Figure 1: PowerPoint slide from the class on ancient Chinese history

Notes: The slide illustrates how the teachers, in contrast to the textbook, explained to the students that all political development was a result of the Chinese rulers attempt “to solve the two fundamental conflicts” (jiejie zhe liang jiben maodun) with “regionalism” (difang fenquan) and “the power of the ministers” (xiangquan). (Petersen, 2014, Appendix I)

回顾一下

发展线索

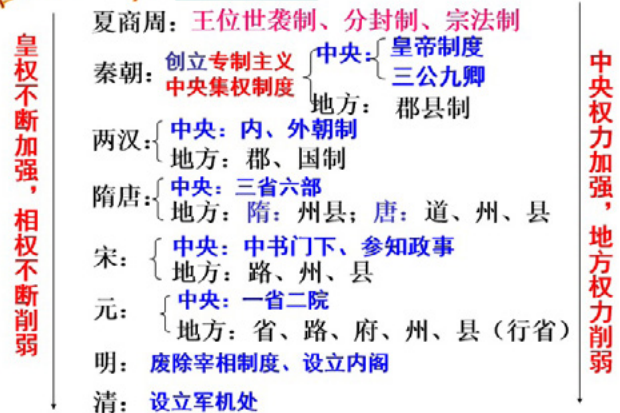


Figure 2: PowerPoint slide from the class on ancient Chinese history

Notes: The slide illustrates how the teachers emphasized to the students that the development of political institutions in each dynasty had the same purpose of both “strengthening the political power of the Emperor and weakening the political power of the Prime Ministers” (Huangquan

buduan jiaqiang, xiangguang buduan xueruo), but also “Strengthening the central authorities and weakening the regional authorities” (*Zhongyang quanli jiaqiang, difang quanli xueruo*). (Petersen, 2014, Appendix I)

tion was even more apparent. Where the textbook narrated the period as stable, and only very briefly mentioned the Cultural Revolution, the teachers instead dedicated a whole lesson to teaching about the Cultural Revolution (CR), and clearly emphasized to the students that it was a pivotal event of the contemporary period.

Only one other specific historical event was given an equal amount of classroom time, the Sino-Japanese War of 1937-45. Similar to when teaching about this war, the teachers did not hesitate to emphasize that the CR was a terrible period with many victims. This was reinforced by all the teachers telling the same story of former president of The People’s Republic of China Liu Shaoqi, who died during the CR as a direct result of physical abuse by the red guards. Besides telling the martyr story of Liu Shaoqi’s sufferings under the CR, the teachers also used a lot of photos and pictures to illustrate the problems encountered during the CR. In many ways, the lesson on the CR was very similar to the lesson on the war with Japan, in the way that the teachers relied on vivid pictures and illustrations when narrating the event, rather than tables, diagrams or maps. Even if the pictures illustrating the errors and abuses of the CR were not as terrifying as the pictures showing the war crimes of Japan, they still served the same purpose of showing the reality of the event to the students; a reality of suffering, which was at no point mentioned or illustrated in the textbook (Zhu, 2013, p. 71-72). The teachers also went further than the textbook by listing four manifestations (*biaoxian*) that were examples of how the CR destroyed the democratic legal system in China: 1) The reckless abuse of the Constitution and the fundamental human rights of the citizens. 2) The insane personal cult of the Red Guards assaulted the democratic institutions. 3) The establishment of

various revolutionary committees was a step backwards in the building of political organization. 4) The National People’s Congress and the institutions of consultation encountered violations and destructions. (Petersen, 2014, Appendix I)

It is clear from these four manifestations that the CR was narrated in the classroom as being ‘unconstitutional’ in its violation (*pohuai*) of the Chinese society. This narrative focus is also the explanation as to why the teachers could teach the students about the violence and errors of the CR so explicitly. By criticizing the CR for violating the constitutional rights, and at the same time narrating the 1982 constitution and “Reform and Opening” policy as a return to “the rule of law” (*yifa zhiguo*), the teachers then narrated the CR as a violation of the political foundation and political development of the PRC. Moreover, all critique of the CR would at the same time promote the current CCP government, since all of the post-1978 policies of the CCP leadership were explained in class to represent a “development to perfection” (*fazhan wanshan*).

Conflicts as the ‘driving forces’ for historical development

What is interesting about my observations is not that the teachers’ focus on historical conflicts in the ancient and contemporary period should be seen as discrepant from the textbook material, but rather that it should instead be seen as an indication of some level of autonomy given to the teachers in interpreting the textbook material. Neither the textbook material, curriculum outline, nor the teaching guidelines mention “conflicts” directly or that the teachers should focus on “conflicts” when teaching national history. Nonetheless, the teachers at the school still focused heavily on historical conflicts in their classes. The teacher that I interviewed elaborated this point further:

Well, this guideline does not tell us “hey, you have to know about these conflicts”. Instead, it says like this (points in the guidelines). For

example here, when describing “lesson three” [in the chapter on Ancient Chinese political history] the guideline mentions the “3 secretaries, 6 ministries” of the Tang Dynasty and the “partition of the ministerial power” of the Song as an illustration of the development of the characteristics of the political system in ancient China. When we have to teach these characteristics to the students, we take measures to explain that this was actually about the continuous reinforcement of the emperor’s power and a continuous weakening of the prime minister’s power.

Petersen, 2014, Appendix II

This supports my observation of the difference between the classroom and textbook narration of the ancient period, and the teacher further explained that the history teachers at least had the liberty to interpret the textbooks themselves:

Well, it is like this that these characteristics might be based on our interpretation of the teaching material. It might be just like, you know, in regards to viewing an event how different people have different points of view.

Petersen, 2014, Appendix II

When asked why then they all tended to emphasize historical conflicts in each period, the teacher explained:

The conflicts are not important in themselves, but rather the intention is to explain to the students with this method [of focusing on the conflicts] the social context of the things that happened. Many things are connected to these conflicts.

Petersen 2014, Appendix II

Based on this interview and my classroom observations, I would argue that the historical conflicts were much more central to the classroom narration than the textbook because the teachers wanted to emphasize that these specific historical conflicts were the underlying ‘driving forces’ for the historical development of each period in Chinese history. Thus, the teachers illustrated the dynamics of historical development in each period in a more detailed way than the textbook. This was even apparent in the lessons on the modern period, where the conflicts with Western imperialism were narrated as more than tragic humiliation in the classroom, since they were narrated as being connected to the historical development of the period. Even though the teachers spend a great deal of time showing the students vivid depictions of the war crimes of Japanese and Western soldiers, the teachers, unlike the textbook, also explained the different reasons behind the many wars and conflicts with the foreign powers, and also addressed how these conflicts shaped Chinese society:

Now, this Western influence ... From our nation ... from a sovereign state [‘s point of view], we received a violation on our sovereign rights, so we call the Western influence an aggression. However, from the aspect of civilization development, we transformed progressively from a form of self-sufficient Chinese economy towards a modern industrial civilization.

Petersen 2014, appendix II

What the teacher was hinting at here is an interpretation of the historical conflict with imperialism as not just an antagonizing force that threatened and humiliated China, but also as a necessary conflict that was the key to propelling China into modernity. This narration of the conflict with imperialism as something difficult and hard, but something which China had to endure and solve in order to develop itself, is similar to the description of the conflicts

in the contemporary period. In Figure 3, the teachers used a graph to illustrate to the students the political development in the contemporary period, and at the bottom, it is stated that the building of democratic politics was characterized by: “The path is complicated, but the future is bright” (*daolu shi quzhe, qiantu shi guangming de*).

I would argue that this idea of the necessity to ‘walk a complicated path’ in order to reach a brighter future was central to the classroom narration of each period, and that it is through this that the historical conflicts should be understood as having a narrative role as ‘driving forces’ for the historical development of each period.

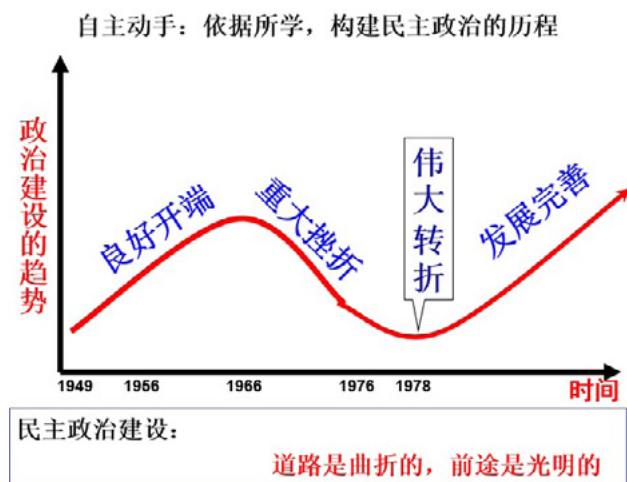


Figure 3: PowerPoint slide from the class on contemporary Chinese history

Notes: The slide is an overview and conclusion to the political development in the contemporary period given to students by the teachers. This overview both illustrates how the teachers described everything after 1978 as being symbolized by “development to perfection” (*fazhan wanshan*), but also how the “establishment of democratic politics” (*minzhu zhenzhi jianshe*) were viewed as being characterized by “the path is complicated, but the future is bright” (*daolu shi quzhe de, qiantu shi guangming de*). (Petersen, 2014, Appendix I)

The national myth of the decline and rebirth of *Zhonghua minzu*

Inspired by the theories of Anthony D. Smith (1993) and Bruce Lincoln (1992), I argue that the role of historical conflicts as ‘driving forces’ in each period represented a dialectical narrative-structure in class, which seemed to be formed around a national myth of decline and rebirth. At the center of this national myth was a discursive vision of *Zhonghua minzu*, which translates as ‘Chinese nation/people’ and represented the imagined idea of an eternal, timeless Chinese essence that was symbolized by the good values of unity, progress and good governance. From the ancient Chinese rulers’ struggle with regionalism and corruption to the Chinese people’s modern conflict with foreign imperialism and contemporary conflict with the Cultural Revolution, it was always the unity, progress and good governance of *Zhonghua minzu* that was at stake in the classroom narration of each period.

DIALECTIC PROCESSES	SYMBOLIC REPRESENTATION (VALUES)	SOCIO-POLITICAL PROCESSES
THESIS (Period’s Stable Beginning)	Unity, Development and Good Governance triumphs	Hegemonic status of <i>Zhonghua minzu</i>
ANTITHESIS (Historical Conflict of the Period)	Disunity, Stagnation and Corruption triumphs	<i>Zhonghua minzu</i> is threatened by conflict and temporarily loses its hegemonic status
SYNTHESIS (Resolution of Conflict in the period)	Unity, Development and Good Governance is invincible	Hegemony of <i>Zhonghua minzu</i> firmly re-established

Table 3: Overview of the dialectic process of the decline and rebirth of *Zhonghua minzu* in the narration of each period

Notes: With inspirations from Bruce Lincoln’s theory of dialectic development in narratives, Table 3 presents how both the ancient, modern and contemporary period had the same dialectic process within their narrative structure. It is important to note that Lincoln’s theory differs from classical Hegelian dialectics by not seeing the synthesis-stage as a novel stage different from the thesis. Instead, it merely reestablish the thesis-stage. (Lincoln, 1992, p. 158-159)

In the narration of each period, *Zhonghua minzu* would go through the same socio-political process of first having a stable hegemonic status, then being threatened by the period's conflict, and finally having its hegemony re-established after the resolution of the period's conflict, that is, the thesis, the anti-thesis and the synthesis as exemplified in Table 3. My observations, which have shown a heavy focus on historical conflicts by each history teacher at the school when they narrated each period of the Chinese past, indicate that the overall story or the 'grand narrative' when teaching Chinese history at this school was a narrative of the continuous process of decline and rebirth of the *Zhonghua minzu*.

I argue that this grand narrative had a narration structure that resembles aspects of traditional Chinese historiography: the cyclical repetition of a decline and rebirth of *Zhonghua minzu* in each period resembled the dynastic cycles of decline and rebirth of the Mandate of Heaven in traditional Chinese historiography.

In addition, the teachers' focus on the struggles between conflicting impersonal forces as the 'driving force' of historical development resembled aspects of historical materialism, which according to historian Alisa Jones (2002) defined Chinese history education in the period from 1949 to 1976. In historical materialism, class struggle and peasant uprisings were seen as the 'driving force' of historical development. In the classes at the school, the teacher still narrated the struggles between conflicting impersonal forces as the 'driving force' of historical development, but unlike the history education of the Maoist era, these conflicting forces were no longer the heroic peasant-class struggling against the villainous landlord-class, or the socialist people struggling against capitalism. Instead, the conflicting forces were the heroic united people of the *Zhonghua minzu* struggling against the internal and external antagonizing forces of disunity, stagnation and corruption.

The history classes taught at this particular Chinese high school anno 2013 were clearly in-

spired by both traditional Chinese historiography and Marxist materialism. Given that both the traditional cyclical view of the past and the linear view from historical materialism is an integrated part of Chinese historiographic tradition, it seems only natural that the teachers at the school would take inspirations from both views when teaching Chinese history. However, in the classroom, the heroes of the past were no longer members of a given class, or of a Confucian entity but members of the ethnic and national entity of *Zhonghua minzu*. Similarly, the purpose of history was no longer to save socialism, or Confucian values, but to save *Zhonghua minzu*. This is further supported by the teaching guidelines and curriculum outlines where *Zhonghua minzu* is clearly visible as central to the narration of the national past: 'Through the study of the clan-system, [the students should] realize affections of love for *Zhonghua minzu*.' (Lü, 2013, p. 4); '[The students should] realize the heroic and unyielding fighting-spirit of *Zhonghua minzu*.' (Lü, 2013, p. 6); '[The students should] understand the great significances that the achievement of the motherland's complete unification had for the revival of *Zhonghua minzu*.' (MOE, 2006, p. 4).

Necessary conflicts or Western humiliations?

The research results presented in this article offer important new insights for the understanding of how the national past is narrated in Chinese history classes and, in particular, the role of historical conflicts in narration of the national past. I believe that the national myth of the decline and rebirth of *Zhonghua minzu*, which I found to be central in the focus of each teacher on historical conflicts, adds a new aspect to the works of scholars like Alisa Jones (2002, 2005). Jones has argued that in the history of collective memory in China the conception of the past has always been connected to a totalized discursive vision of China as one eternal and inviolable nation (see Jones 2005, 2002). I would argue that this totalized vision canonized itself in

the lessons that I observed with the teachers' use of the concept of *Zhonghua minzu*. In the lessons at the school, the *Zhonghua minzu* represented the historical essence of China that went through a cycle of decline and rebirth as each historical conflict threatened its hegemony. I would argue that Jones' concept of 'One China' and that of *Zhonghua minzu* represent a shared imagined idea of a Chinese essence in today's Chinese collective identity in much the same way as the concept of the Mandate of Heaven represented a shared imagined idea of a Chinese Confucian essence in traditional dynastic historiography.

The research results can furthermore serve as a critique of some scholars' interpretation of Chinese history education as being primarily anti-Western in its nature (see for example Callahan, 2004; Gries, 2005; Hughes, 2006; Wang, 2008, 2012). These scholars have argued that Chinese history education is shaped by a grand narrative of 'national humiliation', and that historical conflicts are narrated as traumatic humiliations in the history classes in order to promote anti-Western sentiments. Zheng Wang even sums up Chinese collective memory today with the phrase: "never forget national humiliation" (*wuwang guochi*) (see Wang, 2012 p. 3), and furthermore characterizes history education in China since the 1990s, as simply being "education on national humiliation" (Wang, 2008, p. 792).

However, my research suggests a different interpretation of the role of historical conflicts. In the classes that I observed, historical conflicts were narrated as significant to the development of the Chinese nation, not just as tragic humiliations. Furthermore, my research has shown that conflicts other than the modern struggle with Western imperialism were emphasized in class as being a threat to *Zhonghua minzu*, most notably the Cultural Revolution. In the classes that I observed, the students were taught that the Cultural Revolution was "unconstitutional", and that the Cultural Revolution violated the central government and the hegemony of the CCP, and as such violated the hegemony of *Zhonghua*

minzu. Thus, my research indicates that the narration of the past in Chinese history classes does not rely solely on anti-Western narratives in order to promote national sentiments to the students.

Conclusion

The research presented in this article suggests that it is relevant and necessary in the research on Chinese history education to incorporate classroom observations in order to achieve a more profound understanding of how the national past is narrated in different ways in Chinese history classes. By incorporating the method of classroom observation, I have shown that the content of the history classes at the school in Zhejiang Province differed from the content of the national textbook in terms of the role of historical conflicts: the latter played a much more significant role in the classroom narration than in the textbook. The teachers clearly had some liberty in interpreting the textbook material, and thus could place emphasis on things not mentioned in the textbook. Consequently, I argue strongly for the inclusion of classroom observations as empirical data when attempting to define or understand what is being taught in Chinese history classes.

Troels Kjems Petersen has an MA degree in History and China Studies from University of Copenhagen. His primary research interests are history education and collective memory in Mainland China.

Email: troels_kp@hotmail.com

References

- Callahan, William A. (2004). National Insecurities: Humiliation, Salvation and Chinese Nationalism. *Alternatives*, 29, 199-218. DOI: 10.1177/030437540402900204
- Gries, Peter H. (2005). *China's New Nationalism, pride, politics and diplomacy*. London: University of California Press.
- Hughes, Christopher R. (2006). *Chinese Nationalism in the Global Era*. New York: Routledge.
- Jones, Alisa. (2002). Politics and history curriculum reform in Post-Mao China. *International Journal of Educational Research*, 30, 545-566. DOI:10.1016/S0883-0355(03)00050-8
- Jones, Alisa. (2005). Changing the Past to serve the Present: History education in Mainland China. In Edward Vickers et al. (Ed.), *History Education and National Identity in East Asia* (pp. 65-100). New York: Routledge.
- Lincoln, Bruce. (1992). *Discourse and the construction of society, comparative studies of myth, ritual and classification*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lü, Hanzhi.(Ed.). (2013). Zhejiangsheng putong gaozhong xueke jiaoxue zhidao yijian, Lishi [Guidelines for teaching courses at Zhejiang Province's normal senior secondary schools, History]. 2012 Edition. Second Print. Hangzhou, Zhejiang Province: Zhejiang jiaoyu chubanshe.
- Mash, C. & P. (Ed). (1991). *Curriculum development in East Asia*. London: Palmer.
- Morris, Paul et al. (Ed). (2013). *Imagining Japan in Post-War East Asia: Identity politics, schooling and popular culture*. London: Routledge.
- MOE [The Ministry of Education for the People's Republic of China]. (2006). Putong gaozhong lishi kecheng biao zhun (shiyān) [History curriculum criteria for normal senior secondary schools (experimental)]. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.
- Müller, Gotlied et al (Ed.). (2011). *Designing History in East Asian textbooks, identity politics and transnational aspirations*. London: Routledge.
- Petersen, Troels Kjems. (2014). *Unity through conflicts, narration of a national past in high school history classes in the People's Republic of China* (Master Thesis). Available from The Royal Library and Copenhagen University Library Service. (Thesis No. 4727-1110-4).
- Smith, Anthony D. (1993). *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*. Reprinted edition. Oxford, UK: Blackwell Publisher
- Sneider, Daniel C. et al. (Ed). (2011). *History textbooks and the wars in Asia, divided memories*. London: Routledge.
- Vickers, Edward et al. (2005). *History Education and National Identity in East Asia*. New York: Routledge.

- Wang, Zheng. (2008). National humiliation, History Education, and the Politics of Historical Memory, patriotic education campaign in China. *International Studies Quarterly*, 52 (4), 783-806. DOI: 10.1111/j.1468-2478.2008.00526.x
- Wang, Zheng. (2012). *Never forget National Humiliation: Historical memory in Chinese politics and foreign relations*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Zhu, Hanguo (Ed.). (2013). Putong gaozhong kecheng biao zhun shiyan jiaokeshu, lishi bixiu (diyice) [Experimental textbook of normal senior secondary school curriculum criteria, Compulsory History (vol.1)]. Fourth Edition, Eight Print. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe.