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**Creating a Philanthropic Culture and  
Citizenry in China:  
Child and Youth Philanthropy**

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Doctor of Philosophy in International Studies  
2015



## **Certificate of Authorship/Originality**

I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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## **Abstract**

This thesis looks at efforts to create a philanthropic culture and citizenry in the People's Republic of China (PRC) with a focus on education about philanthropy for young people. In this study philanthropy is defined as 'the planned and structured giving of money, time, information, goods and services, and voice and influence, to improve the wellbeing of humanity and the community' ('Philanthropy' n.d.). Efforts to teach children and youth about philanthropy are significant because of the relative newness of philanthropy as a concept in the PRC. Following the PRC's founding in 1949 and the establishment of a socialist society, older forms of organized charity were eliminated from everyday life. Government-organized charities were established in the 1990s, but the Chinese government has only given policy support for the development of a domestic non-profit sector since the 1990s, and especially since the 2000s.

The thesis begins by addressing the subject of philanthropy more broadly: What kinds of legal frameworks and institutions have government authorities put in place to promote the development of philanthropy in China? How have other actors and agencies been encouraged to engage in and promote that development? It then focuses on the subject of philanthropy education: What forms of philanthropic education have been developed for young people in the PRC? What particular capacities are Chinese children and youth expected to develop as a result of coming into contact with such education? These questions are addressed through a discursive examination of government documents on education and philanthropy and government-led campaigns to promote philanthropy and volunteering.

The thesis also examines different media designed to popularize philanthropy. These include: two school textbooks on philanthropy developed with public and private funding; a national public service campaign aimed at teaching children how to be contemporary philanthropic citizens through a re-vitalization of the exemplary character Lei Feng, who was a socialist-era role model; and programming with philanthropy-related content on central and provincial television.

The study reveals that philanthropy education in present-day China combines elements of neoliberal governmental rationalities with Chinese cultural forms, especially reconstituted concepts of ‘traditional Chinese virtues’ and ‘socialist’ imagery, ideals and practices. It is focused on the shaping and production of young Chinese people as simultaneously ‘Chinese’, socialist and international philanthropic citizens.

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- 2013 'Learning from Lei Feng: Media, Class and Citizenship in Maoist and Reform-Era China', Media and Cultural Politics of Class in Socialist China Conference, China Research Centre, University of Technology Sydney, 4–6 December.
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- 2012 'Creating a Philanthropic Citizenry in the People Republic of China: Children Textbooks and Television Programs on Compassion and Charity', Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences Higher Degree by Research Students Conference, University of Technology Sydney, 2 November.
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## List of Abbreviations

All-China Women's Federation	ACWF
China Central Television Station	CCTV
China Charity Federation	CCF
China National Knowledge Infrastructure Database	CNKI
Chinese Communist Party	CCP
government organized non-governmental organization	GONGO
National People's Congress	NPC
non-governmental organization	NGO
non-profit organization	NPO
People's Liberation Army	PLA
People's Republic of China	PRC
Public Service Announcement	PSA

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## **List of Glossaries**

### **Selected Lists of:**

- 1 Philanthropy Terminology
- 2 Philanthropy-Related Laws and Regulations
- 3 Chinese Philanthropies

# 1 Introduction: Creating a Philanthropic Culture and Citizenry in China

This thesis is about the emergence and development of education about philanthropy for young people, and thus efforts to create a philanthropic culture and citizenry, in the People's Republic of China (PRC).<sup>1</sup> Children and youth are new targets of government programs designed to create a philanthropic culture and citizenry in mainland China. This is a significant development because the very notion of philanthropy is a recent object of national policy in China (Jeffreys 2012b: 8–9).

Philanthropy – the planned and structured giving via a non-profit business model of money, time, information, goods and services, voice and influence to improve the wellbeing of humanity and the community – did not exist in the PRC until after December 1978, when a program of market-based economic reforms was adopted in the PRC.<sup>2</sup> Previously, the use of socialist forms of central planning and resource allocation meant that institutionalized philanthropy in the contemporary sense of the word was

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<sup>1</sup> This thesis does not look at philanthropy education in the context of Hong Kong, Macau and Taiwan, which have been marked by different historical, political and philanthropic traditions from mainland China since the founding of the PRC in 1949.

<sup>2</sup> The meaning and definition of philanthropy in the English-language literature is contested, being tied to different conceptions of human values and behaviour, and different historical forms of social organization (Daly 2012: 553; Payton 1987; Van Til 1990: 23–24). This definition of contemporary forms of professional/organized philanthropy is provided by Philanthropy Australia, <http://www.philanthropy.org.au/about-us/vision-and-mission/> (accessed 24 October 2014). It is used as a working definition of philanthropy throughout this thesis because philanthropy in present-day China typically refers to professionalized, organized and business-like forms of promoting human wellbeing. Chinese-language terms for philanthropy are discussed later in this chapter and also in Chapter 2.

restricted in communist China ('Zhengxie wenyuan: cishan xuyao touminghua fazhigua' 2011). Indeed, in *A Brief History of Charity in China* (*Zhongguo cishan jianshi*, 中国慈善简史), Zhou Qiuguang and Zeng Guilin (2006: 368) claim that charity was condemned in Mao-era China (1949–1976) as a 'decoration' that deceived the labouring classes about the actual extent of their exploitation by the propertied classes (*qipian yu mazui renmin de zhuangshipin*, 欺骗与麻醉人民的装饰品). In other words, charity and charitable organizations were viewed in Marxist-Maoist terms as a means by which elite members of 'old China' (landlords, entrepreneurs and representatives of foreign imperialism, including missionaries) prevented the poor masses from realizing the true nature of their class-based oppression, by offering them alms and other forms of assistance. Thus, from the early 1950s to end of the 1970s the concepts of 'charity and philanthropy' did not feature in Chinese government discourse.

In fact, in an article in the *People's Daily* in 1994 about the newly established Jilin Charity Federation, the author Sun Yuemu (1994: 4) highlighted the newness of philanthropy in China by stating that this was most likely the first time readers of the newspaper had come across the Chinese-language term '*cishan*' (慈善), which translates into English as 'charity' and 'philanthropy', even though the characters have a long history in China. The term '*cishan*' is derived from two characters – '*ci*' (慈) and '*shan*' (善). According to the 1994 edition of the *Modern Chinese Dictionary*, the character '*ci*' means 'kind' or 'kindness' (*heshan*, 和善) and 'love' or 'motherly love' (*ci'ai*, 慈爱), and refers to a hierarchical top down 'love' in the sense of the love of the mother for the vulnerable child (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 1994: 172). The character '*shan*' means 'good', 'charitable; kind' and 'friendly', as in 'doing good deeds' '*shanxing*' (善行) / '*shanshi*' (善事) or being 'friendly' (*youhao*, 友好), and is the opposite of 'evil' ('*e*' 恶) (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 1994: 999). Hence, the combination of '*ci*' and '*shan*' together, that is, '*cishan*', refers to the act

of ‘caring for others’ and demonstrating ‘sympathy, mercy or compassion’ (*duiren guanhuai, fuyou tongqingxin*, 对人关怀, 富有同情心) (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 1994: 173). Sun Yuemu (1994: 4) therefore concluded that ‘*cishan*’ means ‘helping others’, especially by addressing the problems associated in reform-era China with poverty and uneven economic development (Sun Yuemu 1994: 4). From a genealogical point of view, this offers an early example of the positive use of the term ‘*cishan*’ in PRC Government discourse during the reform era.

The 2014 version of the *Modern Chinese Dictionary* adds to the preceding definitions by describing ‘*cishan*’ first as demonstrating compassion for others and secondly as referring to the ‘charity industry’ (*cishan shiye*, 慈善事业) (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 2014: 213). This highlights the shift in governmental thinking about philanthropy that has occurred in China since 1994. Philanthropy is no longer understood as unnecessary or simply as an act of human compassion. It now refers to something that is organized in the manner of an industry or business, with the goal of overcoming problems associated with uneven economic development.

The newfound importance of philanthropy to the PRC’s development was confirmed in November 2014, when the State Council of the PRC, which is synonymous with the Central People’s Government, released a document titled ‘Guidance from the State Council on Promoting the Healthy Development of Philanthropy’ (Guowuyuan guanyu cujin cishan shiye jiankang fazhan de zhidao yijian, 国务院关于促进慈善事业健康发展的指导意见) (‘Guowuyuan guanyu’ 2014). The document urges local government to develop a comprehensive, transparent and legally registered philanthropic sector by 2020 to support the government’s key welfare goals of providing disaster relief, poverty alleviation, healthcare and education, and assisting elderly and disabled people (‘Guowuyuan guanyu’ 2014). It also urges local governments to develop a system of tax breaks and actively

use the media to encourage and publicize both donations and volunteering in communities, businesses, schools, and villages, and thereby promote national cohesion, customary practices of helping others and a positive social environment ('Guowuyuan guanyu' 2014). These developments point to a restructuring of state-society relations in present-day China, with the responsibility for wealth redistribution and social justice being redefined in part as the responsibility of the private sector and individual citizens (Jeffreys 2012c).

Organized philanthropy has become a focus of national policy in China since the early 2000s, in particular. The PRC's Tenth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development for 2001 to 2005 proposed developing philanthropic enterprises to strengthen the country's underdeveloped social security system, especially in the context of ageing population trends, highlighting a new governmental concern with the development and outsourcing of public service provision (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2001: Section 3, Chapter 8). The Eleventh Five-Year Plan for 2006 to 2010 advocated increasing the number of philanthropic organizations in general and especially organizations providing education and supporting street children (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2006: Section 4, Chapter 28). The PRC's Five-Year Plan for 2011 to 2015 was more extensive. Similar to the State Council's 2014 guidelines ('Guowuyuan guanyu' 2014), it proposed massively expanding the non-profit sector by creating a system of tax incentives to develop a comprehensive system of registered private, community and professional associations that will take over some of the functions of government in terms of developing the economy and acting as public charities (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2011: Section 1, Chapter 39).

Volunteering – defined by the PRC Government as the not-for-profit giving of time, strength, skills and intellect to support public benefit activities and thereby help to resolve social contradictions and promote social harmony – is also a growing phenomenon and an explicit object of government policy

in China (Minzhengbu guanyu yinfa 2012: Article 2). In 1987, the Ministry of Civil Affairs proposed organizing community-based volunteer services for disadvantaged residents of urban communities, with services developing rapidly in major cities such as Beijing, Tianjin and Shanghai ('Minzhengbu Zhongguo shehui gongzuozhe xiehui' 1994). In 1994, the China Young Volunteers Association (*Zhongguo qingnian zhiyuanzhe xiehui*, 中国青年志愿者协会) was established under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Youth League (Ding Yuanzhu 2005: 1). The PRC's Ninth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development for 1996 to 2000 subsequently proposed expanding community-based volunteering, under the rubric of 'building socialist spiritual civilization' (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo* 1996). This was followed by the introduction of city-, provincial- and national-level regulations. The PRC's first volunteering regulations were introduced in Guangdong Province in 1999 (*Guangdongsheng zhiyuan fuwu tiaoli* 1999). Provisional and national measures for managing registered volunteers were issued in 2002 and revised in 2006 ('Guanyu yinfa' 2006).

On 27 December 2013, the Ministry of Civil Affairs of the PRC issued a document titled 'Guidelines on Building Social Service Volunteer Teams in China for 2013 to 2020' (*Zhongguo shehui fuwu zhiyuanzhe duiwu jianshe zhidao gangyao*, 中国社会服务志愿者队伍建设指导纲要 2013–2020 年); the Guidelines advocate expanding registered volunteering to encompass 10 per cent of China's population by 2020 (that is, around 130 million registered volunteers) (Minzhengbu guanyu yinfa 2014). Although there is no definitive figure regarding the current number of volunteers in China, the numbers are large by most estimates. By the end of 2011, over 430,000 volunteers' organizations had been registered in the PRC, with an estimated 60 million people engaging in volunteering activities annually ('Zhongguo zhiyuanzhe renshu chao 6000 wan' 2011). These figures include over 33 million youth (people aged 28 years and younger) working in 175,000 volunteer service stations across the country (Zhang Ping and Yang Zhuchan 2013: 47–8; 'Zhongguo zhuce qingnian zhiyuanzhe zongshu yu

3000 wan' 2012). The number of volunteers in China is likely to grow as the Guidelines on Building Social Service Volunteer Teams in China (2013–2020) are translated into practice (Minzhengbu guanyu yinfa 2014).

The success of these plans clearly depend on Chinese children and youth becoming practicing philanthropists (donors and volunteers); I therefore examine how young people feature in governmental programs designed to create a philanthropic culture and citizenry in the PRC. In this introductory chapter, I first provide a brief overview of the development of philanthropy and citizenship education in China, and the associated roll-out of youth-focused philanthropy education campaigns via different media. I then outline the study's theoretical framework, research approach and methodologies. Finally, I outline the contents of the remaining chapters that comprise the study.

### **Philanthropy education in China and elsewhere**

Youth philanthropy may be broadly defined as children and youth giving their time, talent and resources, including money, to support philanthropic causes (Stanczykiewicz 2003: 68). However, the question of how to define the category of 'youth' is not clear cut. As Elaine Jeffreys (2012d: 39) points out, the concept of youth is socially constructed: it 'varies across cultures, academic disciplines and professional organizations, and in terms of legal rights and responsibilities'. In China, for example, a state-run system of nine years' compulsory schooling provides for six years of primary school education for children starting from the age of six and three years of lower secondary education for children aged between 12 and 15 years ('Compulsory Education Law' 2005). Another three years of upper secondary education may follow this period of free education, with tertiary education starting around the age of 18. The Criminal Law of the People's Republic of China (1997: Article 17) defines children as persons aged 14 years and under, and youth are variously defined as juveniles or 'becoming adults' between the age of 15 and 18 years, which implies that people aged



18 and over are adults from a legal perspective. However, the United Nations defines ‘youth’ as persons between the ages of 15–24 years (‘Definition of youth’ n.d.), and the PRC’s National Bureau of Statistics and the Chinese Communist Youth League define youth as persons between the ages of 15–28 years (Xi Jieying 2006: 79; ‘Zhongguo gongchan zhuyi qingniantuan zhangcheng’ 2013: Article I, Chapter I). The Contemporary Chinese Dictionary goes further in defining youth (*qingnian*, 青年) as persons between the ages of 15–30 years (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan 1994: 929). All of these definitions imply that youth as a concept refers to a transitional period, that is, a period wherein a person is in the process of becoming an ‘adult citizen’, however that may be defined. Hence, for the purposes of this study, the term ‘children’ is used chiefly to refer to school children under 15 years of age, and the term ‘youth’ is used to refer to young adults between 15 and 30 years of age.

In the context of the United States of America (USA), youth philanthropy first became a major focus of concern for non-profit organizations (NPOs) in the late 1980s and early 1990s (Cierlak-Lubben n.d.). Many NPOs faced financial difficulties because of reduced funding from individual donations and started to consider the future of the sector in general. Children and youth were viewed in this context as important to the expansion of philanthropy, both as people learning to give and as future donors (Cierlak-Lubben n.d.). This resulted in the development of dedicated websites to teach children and youth about the concept and value of philanthropy. Learning to Give, for example, was established by the Council of Michigan Foundations in 1997 (‘Why Learn to Give created the international philanthropy curriculum standards’ n.d.). It provides classroom curriculum, professional development, materials and resources for educators, with the aim of making philanthropy an integral component of general education ([www.learningtogive.org](http://www.learningtogive.org)). Another initiative established in 1994, and based on earlier projects developed by the USA National Crime Prevention Council, was Youth as Resources, a ‘youth-led and managed grant making, community organizing and leadership development organization’ that helps

persons aged 14–22 address the problems associated with ‘living in poverty’ in local communities (‘About us (Youth as Resources)’ n.d.).

While the idea of introducing children and youth in an *organized fashion* to philanthropy stemmed in the USA from the perceived need to reinvigorate the non-profit sector, the development of philanthropy education has since become linked to issues of children’s citizenship. Rather than viewing children as future citizens or as subordinate to adults, philanthropy education has, albeit not always successfully, attempted to focus on children as people who are already citizens in the sense that many youth already have responsibilities that are similar to those of adults. For example, children and youth in contemporary societies often look after themselves, as well as others, and they are expected to take responsibility for the learning they achieve at school (Cockburn 2013). Philanthropy education thus aims to encourage youth to share responsibility with adults for helping to improve the world in which they live. Specifically, philanthropic engagement is now described as helping youth build life-skills and self-esteem through active civic engagement with NPOs, and local, national and international communities (see Ahmed and Olberding 2008: 599; Chen Qinghua et al. 2011: 55–6; Chen Yangguang 2014: 155; Hao Junying 2010: 24; Hersey n.d.; Kennedy, Fairbrother and Zhao 2014: 1; Kerr 2003: 5–27; Laliberte 2006: 45–6; ‘Local, national and global responsibilities of citizens’ n.d.; Olberding 2012: 73; Pan Suyan 2014: 79; 134; Zhao Zhenzhou 2014: 220; Zheng, Qiu and He 2011: 56).

The western literature on citizenship education also typically focuses on the need to inculcate in young people an interest in civic engagement, given the perceived declining interest in political participation in western democracies. Philanthropy education and participation in philanthropy is often held up in this context as a vehicle that empowers children and youth as citizens by equipping them with the competencies to participate in an effective and constructive way in their local communities and society, and eventually in

working and political life. The Europe for Citizens Programme, for example, explicates the rationale for promoting volunteering as follows:

By giving one's time for the benefit of others, volunteers serve their community and play an active role in society. They develop a sense of belonging to a community, thereby also gaining ownership.

Volunteering is therefore a particularly powerful means to develop citizens' commitment to their society and to its political life. (cited in Kutay 2014: 83)

Similar claims are made on philanthropy education websites for children and youth in North American and Australian settings. The American website, Learning To Give provides philanthropy education resources to educate students with the knowledge, skills, and action required to become responsible citizens and to make a better world, by connecting 'students' civic lives to academic learning' ('About us (Learning to Give)' n.d.). In Australia, The Kids Thrive InSchools Philanthropy Program encourages children to connect with their communities through philanthropy by exploring their personal values and motivators through writing, drawing, music, play-acting and dance ('InSchools Philanthropy' n.d.). In a discussion of that program, Jackie King (2013) states that children learn skills from philanthropy education that 'fit squarely into the priorities of the newly released Draft Years 3–10 Australian Curriculum: Civics and Citizenship'. These skills include learning 'about worlds beyond their own experience', 'confidence in public speaking', 'tolerance and empathy', 'research skills, fundraising and entrepreneurial skills', and 'how to become a change maker' (King 2013).

Unlike in the body of research on youth, philanthropy and citizenship in the US context, there is only a limited body of English-language literature on citizenship education in the different context of the PRC – an authoritarian state and rising superpower. In an article titled 'Citizenship Curriculum in China: A Shifting Discourse towards Chinese Democracy, Law Education and Psychological Health', Zhong Minghua and Wing On Lee (2008)

provide an overview of the development of and changing approaches to citizenship education in the PRC. As they explain, school education in China between 1949 and 1978 focused on the teaching of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. It was also often anti-western and anti-capitalist in tone, and aimed to produce collectively-minded revolutionary successors (Zhong and Lee 2008: 63–5). Beginning in the 1980s, and especially since the 1990s, political and ideological education in schools in mainland China has been gradually replaced with a form of ethical education that is similar to citizenship education, even though it maintains injunctions to adopt ‘core values’ that are described as ‘socialist’ or ‘Chinese’, and goes by the different name of ‘education on political and moral thinking’ (*sixiang pinde jiaoyu*, *sixiang zhengzhi jiaoyu*, 思想品德教育, 思想政治教育) (Zhong and Lee 2008: 65–72). The primary aim of such education is to produce patriotic citizens that are aware of their rights and responsibilities as outlined in Chinese law, and who will engage with global capitalism, for example, by thinking locally and globally, and who will become confident people who are capable of reflective self-management (see also Jones 2013; Kennedy, Fairbrother and Zhao 2014; Kwan-Choi Tse and Chi-Kin Lee 2003; Law 2011; Wang and Tan 2014; Yu Tianlong 2014; Zhao Zhenzhou 2014).

The general goals of citizenship education in contemporary China were explicitly articulated in a document released by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in October 2001 titled ‘Guidelines on Building Civic Ethics’ (*Gongmin daode jianshe shishi gangyao*, 公民道德建设实施纲要) (Wo guo banfa 2001). The document states that Chinese citizens are patriotic and law-abiding people who embody the best ‘moral’ aspects of China’s traditional *and* socialist culture – creativity, resilience, thriftiness, a willingness to work hard, helpfulness towards others, and civility, etc., and who care for their families, local communities, the nation, the environment, and humanity/the world in general (Wo guo banfa 2001: Item 4, Item 6, Part II; Item 15, Part III; Item 27, Part V). The release of this document created widespread public debate about citizenship education in

China in general. This ultimately promoted a new form of citizenship education by encouraging the reform of textbooks on political and moral education in schools (see Kennedy, Fairbrother and Zhao 2014: 231; Wang Xiaofei and Tan Chuanbao 2014: 195–207; Yu Tianlong 2014: 87; Zhao Zhenzhou 2014: 208).

However, there is no English-language literature available, to my knowledge to date, on the development of philanthropy education as part of citizenship education in contemporary China. This thesis aims to fill that gap.

### **Philanthropy education as citizenship education in China**

On 15 July 2011, the PRC's Ministry of Civil Affairs issued a document titled 'The Guidelines for Developing Philanthropy in China' for 2011 to 2015 (*Zhongguo cishan shiye fazhan zhidao gangyao*, 中国慈善事业发展指导纲要 (hereafter the Guidelines) (Minzhengbu 2011). The Guidelines aim to 'strengthen the construction of a philanthropic culture' in the PRC (*jiaqiang cishan wenhua jianshe*, 加强慈善文化建设), by promoting innovation in modes of philanthropy, and increasing public awareness of participation in philanthropy through donations and volunteering (Minzhengbu 2011: Article II, Item 1). The Guidelines recommend that philanthropy education and promotional activities should be directed at schools and communities, for example, by embedding philanthropic education in the school curriculum and extra-curricular activities, and posting public service announcements on bulletin boards in residential communities (Minzhengbu 2011: Article III, Item 6). The Guidelines further state that China's media should contribute to the overarching political task in China of 'building socialist spiritual civilization' (*shehui zhuyi jingshen wenming jianshe*, 社会主义精神文明建设), by promoting awareness of the important role played by philanthropy in supporting the community, and hence promoting knowledge of both philanthropy and the activities of philanthropists (Minzhengbu 2011: Article III, Item 3).

Philanthropy is thus a recent addition to the broader political task of building a ‘socialist spiritual civilization’ in China. The expression ‘building socialist spiritual civilization’ was first used by a senior CCP leader, Ye Jianying (Chair of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress 1978–1983), at a rally celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the PRC in September 1979. Ye stated that the post-1978 introduction of market-based reforms, and hence efforts to improve China’s productivity and material standards of living, should be accompanied by efforts to build an advanced socialist spiritual civilization, by enhancing citizens’ levels of education and revolutionary ideals (‘Shehuizhuyi jingshenwenming de tichu yu fazhan’ n.d.). The CCP has since issued a wide variety of documents urging local governments to set up formal institutes to promote the development of social spiritual civilization, which is broadly defined as promoting Chinese Marxism and fostering new socialist people with appropriate ideals, education and ethics, and cultural and scientific awareness (Kou Zichun and Zhang Jiuying 2008: 49; ‘Shehuizhuyi jingshenwenming de tichu yu fazhan’ n.d.). Philanthropy education is now cited as part of the work of realizing those goals on the grounds that it promotes what are also described as Chinese cultural virtues, such as caring for others and helping those in need (Hao Junying 2010: 24; Qi Lanfen and Huang Jianling 2009: 26).

On 8 November 2011, four months after the Guidelines for Developing Philanthropy in China were issued, the China Charity Federation (CCF) in Beijing announced that it was distributing a free set of *Philanthropy Readers* (*Cishan duben*, 慈善读本) for primary and secondary school students across China – the first such textbooks in the sixty-odd-year history of the PRC (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a, 2011b; Shu Di 2011). The CCF was founded in 1994, under the auspices of the PRC’s Ministry of Civil Affairs, with the mission of promoting philanthropy and public support for poverty alleviation initiatives (‘Guanyu women (China Charity Federation)’ n.d.). It is one of the major government-affiliated charities in

China, but is described by its Chinese organizers as a non-government organization or NGO. Western observers, however, often describe it as a government organized non-governmental organization or GONGO (Georgia 2009). The production, publication and subsequent free dissemination of the *Philanthropy Readers* was the result of a special fund called the ‘China Charity Federation and China New Epoch Charity Education Fund’ (*Zhonghua cishan zonghui zhonghua xinjiyuan cishan jiaoyu zhuanxiang jijin*, 中华慈善总会•中华新纪元慈善教育专项基金), which was established in January 2011 by the CCF with start-up funding of CNY 1 million from a private education business – the New Epoch Education Group (a subsidiary of the New Epoch Industrial Group), and additional funding from the Wanda Corporation and wealthy individuals (‘*Zhonghua cishan zonghui she “Cishan jiaoyu zhuanxiang jijin”*’ 2011). This marks an important development because it suggests that the development of China’s emerging philanthropy sector involves cooperation between government-affiliated charities and the private sector.

The *Philanthropy Readers* aim to help school students develop philanthropic attitudes and behaviours and ultimately to build a culture of philanthropy in China (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a, 2011b). The editors explain the reasoning behind the creation of these textbooks in an ‘Explanatory Note’ as follows: ‘Youth education on philanthropy is an important project of benefit to the future of the nation’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a, 2011b: Preface). They add that the textbooks aim to encourage young people to develop an awareness of the concept of charity and a sense of social responsibility, as well as to build a ‘correct’ outlook on life and ‘correct’ values.

In a media interview on 15 November 2011, the President of the China Charity Federation, Fan Baojun, said that the CCF had supported the development of the *Philanthropy Readers* in accordance with the spirit of the Guidelines (Shu Di 2011). These comments were published in the *Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference News (Renmin*

*Zhengxie Bao*), the official daily of a political advisory body, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. As Fan explained, the *Philanthropy Readers* aimed to 'plant the seed of philanthropy in children's hearts' because charity is about more than donations: it involves awareness, compassion and (learned) habits (Shu Di 2011). Fan also stated that the CCF would work with charities and education departments across China to promote philanthropy education (Shu Di 2011).

To help realize this goal, the CCF and New Epoch Education Group also established the China Philanthropy Education Network (*Zhonghua cishan jiaoyuwang*, 中华慈善教育网) and made the *Philanthropy Readers* available online ([www.52cs.com.cn/main.action](http://www.52cs.com.cn/main.action)). This development further underscores the emergence of new forms of cooperation between Chinese government authorities and the private sector in the area of philanthropy. Designed as an online supplement to the *Philanthropy Readers*, the Network offers a broad range of participation-based learning activities about philanthropy for primary- and secondary-school students. The China Philanthropy Education Network includes webpages on: philanthropic figures (*cishan renwu*, 慈善人物); charitable pictures or images (*cishan tupian*, 慈善图片); philanthropic stories (*cishan gushi*, 慈善故事); charitable organizations (*cishan jigou*, 慈善机构); philanthropy songs (*cishan gequ*, 慈善歌曲); public welfare announcements (*gongyi guanggao*, 公益广告); and philanthropy slogans (*cishan mingyan*, 慈善名言). Students are encouraged to absorb and use this information through participation in related quizzes, and writing and photography competitions.

While the *Philanthropy Readers* are directed at young people in the specific context of schools, efforts to popularize youth philanthropy on a large-scale are also taking place through government-sponsored mega-events and 'PRC-anniversary' campaigns. Millions of people, including young adults and the elderly, volunteered for international events such as the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, the 2010 Shanghai World Expo and the 2010



Asian Games in Guangzhou ('2011 Zhongguo zhiyuan fuwu xianzhuang baogao' 2011; 'Beijing aoyun zhiyuanzhe baoming' 2007; Chong 2011: 33–59; 'Guangzhou shizhang zhixin zhiyuanzhe: yayunhui' 2010; Zhang Wangcheng 2011: 26–32). Millions of people also volunteered for public service campaigns conducted throughout 2012 to 2013 as part of the fiftieth anniversary of a 1960s campaign to learn from Lei Feng, a soldier with the Chinese People's Liberation Army who died in 1962 aged 22. Lei Feng became famous posthumously in 1963 when his diary, which celebrates the Chinese revolution and the 'socialist' ideals of altruism, thriftiness and working hard towards collective goals, was promoted in a nationwide campaign to 'Learn from Comrade Lei Feng' as an exemplary socialist citizen (Edwards 2010: 27–8). In March 2012, Lei Feng became the 'celebrity face' of government-led campaigns to promote youth and community volunteering across China.

Apart from these widely publicized activities, Chinese children and youth are learning about philanthropy from national and provincial television programming. These include televised charity concerts on China Central Television and philanthropy-related shows and segments on family variety shows broadcast on provincial television stations, such as *Children Meet Celebrities* (*Baobei lai shang damingxing*, 宝贝赖上大明星) on Shenzhen Satellite Television and *Happy Camp* (*Kuaile dabenyong*, 快乐大本营) on Hunan Satellite Television Station ('Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen' 2011a; "Fanmeile xiu" 2012 nian diyiqi' 2012; 'Kuaile dabenyong 2012' 2012). Like similar shows in other parts of the world (Ouellette and Hay 2008), these shows use the appeal and reputation of celebrities to attract audiences, support and money for 'good causes' through a 'feel good' framework.

The preceding discussion suggests that young people are a target of government policies and mediatized campaigns to create a philanthropic culture and citizenry in the PRC. But precisely what kind of citizens does the popularization of philanthropy education and philanthropy in China aim

to call forth? This question is best addressed with reference to the Foucauldian concept of governmentality.

### **Conceptual frameworks and methods**

The thesis examines efforts to promote youth philanthropy in the PRC with reference to the Foucauldian concept of governmentality. Michel Foucault (1982) coined the term ‘governmentality’ to describe a rethinking of the notion of government understood as relating to ‘the conduct of conduct’. Thus defined, the concept of governmentality refers to both ‘the government of others’ and ‘the government of the self’ (Foucault 1988: 1–20). It refers to a mode of thinking about governing populations that considers ‘the best way to exercise powers over conduct individually and en masse so as to secure the good of each and all’ (Rose 1999: 23). It therefore encompasses any endeavours designed to shape, guide, and direct the conduct of others and ourselves (Foucault 1982: 220–1; Rose 1999: 3).

The concept of governmentality has since become a key concept in the humanities and social sciences, being used as a conceptual framework for the analysis of both western liberal-democratic societies and the PRC (Dean 1999; Jeffreys 2011). Analyses of governmentality cover a wide range of interdisciplinary studies focusing on the ‘mechanisms of government’ that are found ‘within’ state institutions and those that are considered to be ‘outside them’ (‘civil society’, ‘the family’ and ‘personal life’) (Gupta 2001: 68). For example, the concept of governmentality has been used to examine matters such as: education; ethics and sexual politics; law; political theory; poverty and welfare; and psychology (Dean 1991, 1999; Hindess 1996; Hunter 1994; Hunt and Wickham 1994; Minson 1985, 1993; Nadesan 2008; Rose 1989, 1996). It has also been used to examine the governance of everyday life in contemporary China, with a focus on issues such as: children’s education, compulsory education in ethnic minority regions; human reproduction; migrant workers; religion; sexual health; and urbanization and environmentalism (Cooke 2011; Feng Xu 2011;

Greenhalgh 2003, 2005; Harwood 2011; Hoffman 2011; Jeffreys and Huang 2011; Woronov 2009).

The thesis addresses the subject of philanthropy as an object of governmental concern in contemporary China through the following questions: How has the subject of philanthropy been presented as an object of governmental concern and intervention in China today? What kinds of legal frameworks and institutions have China's governmental authorities put in place to promote the development of a philanthropic culture and citizenry? How have other actors and agencies been encouraged to engage in and promote the development of a philanthropic culture and citizenry in the PRC?

It then delves into an analysis of the practice of philanthropy education for children and youth in China with a focus on the following questions: Why have young people become the target of governmental programs designed to create a philanthropic culture and citizenry in the PRC, and how do children and youth feature in those programs? What forms of philanthropic education have been developed for young people in the PRC? What particular capacities are Chinese children and youth expected to develop as a result of coming into contact with such education?

These questions are addressed through a discourse analysis of a wide range of source materials in English and Chinese. Primary sources include: government documents and public service announcements on education and philanthropy; the *Philanthropy Readers*; information provided on the China Philanthropy Education Network website; and television programs with philanthropic content and focused on children and youth. Secondary literature in English and Chinese includes academic and professional material on governmentality, education, philanthropy, and philanthropy education.

Analysis of these materials is supplemented by the insights provided through fieldwork and surveys conducted in China. Formal approval was

obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Technology Sydney on 26 February 2013 to conduct fieldwork and interviews in China between 18 September and 14 October 2013. I had originally planned to conduct in-depth interviews with teachers in schools where the *Philanthropy Readers* had been distributed. However, I had to abandon this plan because of a series of events – the unwillingness of teachers and school principals to undertake formal interviews, followed by unexpected personal illness and ultimately the restrictions imposed on follow-up travel for fieldwork by the birth of my son in February 2014.

In September 2013, I attended the second China Charity Fair (*Zhongguo gongyi cishan xiangmu jiaoliu zhanshihui*, 中国公益慈善项目交流展示会), an event launched in Shenzhen in 2012 that aims to bring people together from across China who are involved in philanthropic initiatives, in order to showcase those initiatives and promote exchange (see Jeffreys and Su 2013: 23). Around 141,000 people attended that Fair, which involved nearly 830 exhibition stands featuring different types of philanthropic organizations, and included seminars and other activities on philanthropy-related subjects. One such example was a seminar on ‘Fostering Little Innovators and Modern Education’ (*Xiaoxiao chuangyejia peiyang yu xiandai jiaoyu*, 小小创业家培养与现代教育), which is a training system initiated by the Shenzhen Confucius Culture Research Association to train young Chinese entrepreneurs and elites through education in Confucian culture.

I also engaged in participant observation activities and conducted a quantitative survey with the aim of gauging how young people in different parts of China might think about Lei Feng, and his reappearance as a philanthropic role model. I observed Lei Feng content at the Charity Fair, which was mainly limited to an exhibition stand by the Ningxia Association of Volunteers who use Lei Feng as their volunteering mascot (‘Ningxia yigong lianhehui jianjie’ 2015). I also observed Lei Feng content around the city of Shenzhen, which chiefly consisted of ‘U Stations’ (*chengshi zhiyuan fuwuzhan*, 城市志愿服务站). These stations are staffed by volunteers who

provide a wide range of services, including giving city maps and directions to tourists, minding other people's belongings temporarily, collecting used batteries, providing lost and found services, and providing community information, for example, notices about missing persons. In September 2013, I also visited the Lei Feng Memorial Hall in Changsha City, Hunan Province, to see how a museum built in 1968 to commemorate a socialist-era role model is currently organized. Interestingly, a newly built Hunan Province Communist Party History Exhibition Museum (*Hunan dangshi chengliguan*, 湖南党史陈列馆) has since been opened next to the Lei Feng Memorial Hall to showcase the Party's historical and present-day achievements ('Guanyu women (Hunan dangshi chengliguan)' n.d.).

Approval was also obtained from the Human Research Ethics Committee at the University of Technology Sydney on 19 June 2013 to conduct a survey of Chinese university students focused on questions about Lei Feng, his significance as a role model, and the importance or otherwise of voluntary service. The survey was conducted on Sojump, a Chinese-language version of SurveyMonkey between 1 September and 31 December 2013. It obtained 415 responses from students located in three universities in northern, central and southwest China respectively. The results suggest that the revived use of Lei Feng is not necessarily viewed as irrelevant propaganda; the survey respondents generally seemed to view Lei Feng as a contemporary philanthropic role model (Jeffreys and Su 2016: 47–9).

I also had the opportunity to present and discuss my work at a number of philanthropy-related workshops hosted by the China Research Centre, the University of Technology Sydney. For example, in September 2012, I attended an international conference titled 'Give and Take: The Newly Rich and Social Conscience in China and India', organized by Associate Professor Elaine Jeffreys and Associate Professor Devleena Ghosh, Director of the Indian Ocean and South Asia Research Network. In December 2012, I attended an international workshop on 'New Mentalities of Government in China', organized by Associate Professor Elaine Jeffreys and Dr David Bray,

which included papers on elite philanthropy, volunteering and social work in China. In December 2013, I attended and co-presented a paper, ‘Media and Cultural Politics of Class in Socialist China’, at an international workshop organized by Professor Sun Wanning.

As a result of the insights gained from these different activities, I would argue that efforts to promote youth philanthropy in contemporary China refer to what Julie Hemment (2012: 523), in the context of Russia, calls a ‘complex fusion’ of what are usually seen as ‘neoliberal’ OR ‘socialist’ government rationalities, and thus as mutually exclusive dynamics. As Hemment (2012: 523) explains, the promotion of philanthropy, especially in the context of state withdrawal from the provision of comprehensive welfare services, is regarded as a ‘quintessentially neoliberal dynamic’. On this basis, some scholars criticize the Chinese Party-state for withdrawing from an alleged previous (socialist) commitment to providing universal welfare services as a sign of growing governmental acceptance of capitalist-style inequality, and the increasing dominance of neoliberal vis-à-vis socialist technologies of governing in China (Nathan and Kelkar 1997: 1; Shen 2007: 21; Wu Fulong et al. 2010: 4; Urio 2010: 121). Conversely, other scholars celebrate the emergence of philanthropy in China for opening the space for the development of a civil society (Brook and Frolic 1997; Chen 2012; Hann and Dunn 1996; Li 2011; Wang 2011), while simultaneously expressing concern that state controls over the emerging philanthropic sector are halting the revival of traditional practices and the perceived ‘inherent’ promise of a more democratic society (Chen 2012; Deng 2011; Hsu 2003). Yet others proclaim that China never has and is unlikely to develop a humanistic philanthropic culture (see Simon 2013: xxvii–xxxiii).

The notion of a ‘complex fusion’ suggests instead that philanthropy education in contemporary China may combine elements of neoliberal governmental rationalities with Chinese cultural forms, especially reconstituted concepts of ‘traditional Chinese virtues’ and ‘socialist’ imagery, ideals and practices, with often unpredictable results. This

‘unpredictably’ stems from the fact that governmental projects are undertaken by a multiplicity of authorities (even in China), ‘employing a variety of techniques and forms of knowledge that seek to shape human conduct according to specific norms so as to achieve particular ends’, with diverse and often unintended effects (Greenhalgh 2008: 7). It also stems from the fact that philanthropy, volunteerism and ‘doing good’ involve people and affect; they are sites of subjectification and self-making, rather than self-evident actions. Involvement in philanthropy can effect changes in the ways subjects (donors, volunteers and recipients) think about themselves and hence alter their subsequent actions. As anthropological work on volunteerism has variously shown (Chong 2011; Fleischer 2011; Hoffman 2014, 2013), Maoist-style conceptions of ‘working hard for the country and collective goals’ can be used to inculcate ‘modern’ citizenship norms, for example, civil behaviours such as eating politely, queuing and not spitting at the Olympic Games (Chong 2011). At the same time, neoliberal rationalities of entrepreneurial citizenship and self-improvement may resonate with or stimulate traditional and socialist imaginaries, rather than being experienced as ‘jarring’ or inherently ‘incommensurable’. The recent government slogan, ‘Learn from Lei Feng, Contribute to the Lives of Others, Improve Yourself’ (*Xuexi Lei Feng fengxian taren tisheng ziji*, 学习雷锋 奉献他人 提升自己), offers one possible example here. It evokes socialist concepts of helping others and working towards collective goals, reform-era conceptions of improving individual and national quality, and neoliberal concepts of self-entrepreneurialism and self-improvement.

In other words, Chinese philanthropy education as a ‘complex fusion’ promotes a new vision of the common good where the state reinserts itself as its guarantor (Hemment 2012: 535), while advancing a distinctly new set of societal/state relations and inculcating new models of Chinese subjectivity and citizenship that evoke traditional, socialist and international forms. Philanthropy education also promotes a dynamic understanding of ‘culture’, even as it refers to notions of ‘traditional Chinese values’, ‘(Chinese) socialist ideals’ and ‘modern Chineseness’, and so forth, by

drawing on a broad array of institutions, artefacts and practices that make up notions of ‘China/Chineseness’ and a ‘global’ world. It therefore references a form of Chinese culture and citizenship that is claimed to *already exist* but is simultaneously being created and *coming into being*. The remaining six chapters elaborate on this argument as follows.

### **Chapter outline**

Chapter 2 provides the necessary background for understanding the emergence of child and youth philanthropy education through formal institutions in the PRC. It first explains why philanthropy has become an object of governmental concern and intervention in present-day China. It then explicates why young people have become a site for public-private interventions designed to produce a philanthropic citizenry with reference to the concept of quality education (*suzhi jiaoyu*, 素质教育). It is worth noting here that Chinese-language term ‘*suzhi*’ is a contested and heterogeneous term because it refers to human qualities and capacities, which may be viewed as ‘innate’, ‘latent’ within an individual and requiring some stimulus to come into being, or as being absent from the individual and having to be acquired through active self and external effort (see Kipnis 2006). While recognising the imprecise nature of the term, I use the translation ‘quality education’ hereafter because the same ambiguity exists in English-language accounts of quality education. There is an extensive body of literature on the concept of ‘quality education’ in western contexts, which highlights the complex and contested nature of the term as referring to a host of efforts designed to alter human capacities and capital by not only improving access to education, the nature of the education provided, and the outcomes of education for young people as they enter the workforce and broader public life, but also improving the overall development and non-academic outcomes for individuals and groups (see Tikly and Barrett 2013). The term quality education is subsequently used NOT to denote a specific and obtainable ‘thing’, but rather as a short-hand to explain the different ways it is employed in Chinese discourses on education and philanthropy. Finally,



the chapter outlines some of the diverse institutions, agents and objectives that are involved in developing philanthropy education for children and youth with reference to the production and distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers*.

Chapter 3 offers a detailed analysis of the *Philanthropy Readers*. After examining the objectives of the textbooks, the chapter focuses on the kinds of activities that are presented, and the types of role models and philanthropic organizations and initiatives that are presented to Chinese children and youth. In the process, it highlights the values and capacities that Chinese children and youth as philanthropic ‘socialist successors’ are expected to develop, and how parents and educators are expected to inculcate and develop those values and capacities in young people. Philanthropy is presented as an extension of the ‘natural’ human emotions of love and compassion, but also as a learned process of self-fashioning and self-government in that it requires planning and business acumen to be done well.

Chapter 4 looks more broadly at a public-private campaign called ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’, of which the *Philanthropy Readers* are a central part. It examines dedicated sections about the campaign in a widely-circulated magazine called *Charity* (*Cishan*, 慈善), which is produced for charity organizations and educators, parents and students, by the China Charity Federation, the Tianjin Charity Association and the Tianjin Civil Affairs Bureau. Shortly after the initial distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* in late 2011, *Charity* introduced two new sections of the magazine titled: ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ (*cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan*, 慈善文化进校园) (January 2012); and ‘Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ (*cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan zhengwen xuandeng*, 慈善文化进校园征文选登) (March 2012) (*Charity* 2012, 1: 6–13; *Charity* 2012, 2: 13–7; ‘Guanyu zhaokai “Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan” huodong zuotanhui de tongzhi’ 2013). The chapter examines how *Charity* magazine frames the perceived entry of a philanthropic culture in

schools, focusing on the responses of government officials, students, parents and teachers to the distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* to schools across China between January 2012 and July 2014. The responses suggest that the campaign that has had a mixed impact to date, being treated as an extension of classroom-based rote-learning exercises and an incitement to enter into a ‘service-learning journey’.

Chapter 5 examines the large-scale popularization of youth and community awareness of philanthropy in China with reference to a 2012 to 2013 public service campaign to learn from Lei Feng, a 1960s socialist role model who has been reinstated as a model for how to be a contemporary philanthropic citizen. In March 2012, the fiftieth anniversary of his death, Lei Feng became the ‘celebrity face’ of a government-led campaign to promote a philanthropic culture in China. The chapter first provides a brief history of Lei Feng’s emergence into public discourse as a socialist role model and his changing status as part of contemporary popular culture. It then details the rationales of the 2012–2013 campaign to learn from Lei Feng and looks at some of the public service announcements associated with that campaign. Finally, the chapter examines some recent exhibits at the Lei Feng Memorial Hall in Hunan Province, which was built in 1968, and outlines the responses of a survey of 415 university students conducted in late 2013 about their opinions of Lei Feng. I conclude that the 2012–2013 campaign to emulate Lei Feng by engaging in volunteering and philanthropy appears to be in touch with popular sentiment. Many educated young people in China apparently view Lei Feng as a relevant role model for contemporary volunteering/philanthropy.

Chapter 6 analyses various television programs to show how philanthropy is being produced, packaged and presented, to children and youth through the medium of television. It also attempts to bring to light the different effects of televised broadcast on the reception of philanthropy compared to formal educative means. The chapter first examines a concert called *Caring for Children: China’s Philanthropy for Children Awards, 30 Years of*

*Inspirational Figures (Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen: Zhongguo ertong cishan 30 nian gandong renwu banjiang wanhui*, 把爱心奉献给孩子们: 中国儿童慈善 30 年感动人物颁奖晚会). This concert was broadcast on Channel 14 of China Central Television Station in November 2011 as part of an 80-minute documentary program about government-sponsored efforts to encourage young people in poor and disaster-affected areas to go to school. It then examines a 2012 episode of a family-orientated show called *Children Meet Celebrities*, which is broadcast at 9:20 p.m. on Thursday evenings and replayed at 9:30 a.m. on Saturdays. Finally, the chapter looks at a hugely popular youth-focused Saturday-night variety show called *Happy Camp*, broadcast by Hunan Satellite Television. It looks at an episode on 25 February 2012, which aimed to promote youth awareness of the need for marine and especially shark protection. I conclude by suggesting how these television concerts, series and episodes aim to raise public and especially child and youth awareness of philanthropy through the use of peer, celebrity, corporate and other role models.

Chapter 7 summarizes the main findings of the study and outlines potential avenues for future research on philanthropy education for children and youth in China. Bibliographic and supplementary materials are provided in the References and Appendices.



## 2 Philanthropy Education

This chapter provides the background information necessary for understanding the emergence of philanthropy education for young people in the People's Republic of China. I first offer a brief history of the rise of philanthropy in the PRC, with a focus on the recent development of philanthropic organizations, the introduction of philanthropy-related legislation to govern the activities of philanthropies, and the emergence of new terminology to describe philanthropic activities and actors. I then focus on the concept of 'quality education' (*suzhi jiaoyu*) to explain how children and youth have become the site of government interventions designed to produce a philanthropic citizenry in China. Finally, I outline some of the diverse discourses, institutions and social agents that are involved in developing philanthropy education for young people in the PRC with reference to the production and distribution of a free set of *Philanthropy Readers* for primary and secondary school students, and public debate about them.

By examining the different tools employed by the PRC Government to incite a culture of philanthropy in school children – from broad reforms in education policy to substantive curriculum guidelines – this chapter suggests that the formal education model is crucial to reconstructing notions of good citizenship in the wider public. The strong emphasis on 'quality education' in government discourse, which now incorporates philanthropic values, not only highlights a shift in thinking about the normative aspects of education, but also reveals the current political sentiment that is centred around building a sustainable and more civic-minded society. Nonetheless, the diverse application of a loosely defined concept of 'quality education' by

children, parents, teachers and other actors suggests some conflict over the promotion and perceived utility of philanthropy education for youth. This broad examination of the emergence of philanthropic education in China sets the stage for the next two chapters, which discuss in more detail both the contents of the *Philanthropy Readers* and their promotion in a publicized public-private campaign to develop a culture of philanthropy in schools.

### **The emergence of private philanthropy in the PRC**

Organized philanthropy is a recent phenomenon in the People's Republic of China; following the nation's founding in 1949, charitable organizations effectively 'disappeared' from mainland China. This is due to the fact that many traditional and Republican-era charities were associated with elite groups that became the target of revolutionary political struggle – landowning gentry, religious organizations and 'foreign imperialists' (Hassid and Jeffreys 2015; Zhou and Zeng 2006: 4). Charity organizations were also seen as superfluous in the face of the Mao-era system of allocation. In theory, all Chinese citizens had access to rudimentary social services through the urban work-unit system and rural agricultural collectives (Wong 1994: 311–12), and through other state-run services for disaster victims, hardship households, serving soldiers, and the families of revolutionary martyrs (Wong 1998: 141). These forms of state-provided welfare were not described as charity (*cishan*), but rather as services (*fuwu*, 服务) relating to care (*guanhuai* / *zhaogu*, 关怀 / 照顾), welfare (*fuli*, 福利), relief (*jiuji*, 救济) and allowances (*buzhu*, 补助).

In *A Brief History of Charity in China*, Zhou Qiuguang and Zeng Guilin (2006: 368) claim that charity was condemned in Mao-era China (1949–1976) as a 'decoration' that deceived the labouring classes about the actual extent of their exploitation by the propertied classes. In other words, charity and charitable organizations were viewed in Marxist-Maoist terms as a means by which elite members of 'old China' (landlords, foreign

missionaries and other representatives of foreign imperialism) prevented the poor masses from realizing the true nature of their class-based oppression, by offering them alms and other forms of assistance. Thus, from the early 1950s to end of the 1970s the concept of ‘philanthropy’ did not feature in Chinese government discourse.

In April 1950, the Chinese Peoples’ Relief Congress was held in Beijing, where Vice Premier Dong Biwu gave a report on ‘Welfare Assistance in New [Socialist] China’ (*Xin Zhongguo de jiuji fuli shiye*, 新中国的救济福利事业). The Report indicated that private charity organizations would be brought under the control of and integrated into government departments. This report set the tone for the phasing out of private charitable organizations along with the PRC’s adoption of a centralized planned economy (Zhou Qiuguang and Zeng Guilin 2006: 364). In what followed, the Maoist regime began to transform three categories of private charity organizations: the first category was county and provincial level relief homes (*jiujiyuan*, 救济院) and charity halls (*cishantang*, 慈善堂) that had been run by the previous Republic Government; the second was charity associations (*cishanhui*, 慈善会) run by local elites (gentry); and the third was charitable institutions such as church hospitals (*jiaohui yiyuan*, 教会医院) and foundling hospitals (*yuyingtang*, 育婴堂) run through foreign missions and allowances from overseas. According to Zhou Qiuguang and Zeng Guilin (2006: 363–8), most charitable organizations in China had either ceased to exist or else had been taken under the umbrella of government organizations by the end of 1953. For example, the China Red Cross, which was established in 1904, was reorganized. Local branches were disbanded and the national branch was placed under the control of the PRC Government, being treated as a people’s health relief services group (*renmin weisheng jiuji tuanti*, 人民卫生救护团体). The China Red Cross subsequently became a government-run rather than a private charity (Zhou Qiuguang and Zeng Guilin 2006: 367–8).

Government-affiliated or state-led charitable foundations (*jijinhui*, 基金会) were first established in the PRC when the country started to shift from a planned to market-based economy in the 1980s. Realizing its inability to deal with the extent of the social welfare problems that had arose from dramatic macro-economic reforms, the Party-state set up charitable organizations to help resolve such issues (Wu Fengshi 2009). The first of these foundations, the China Children and Teenagers' Fund, was established in July 1981 (*Zhongguo ertong shaonian jijinhui*, 中国儿童少年基金会) ('About CCTF' n.d.). It was followed by: the China Soong Ching Ling Foundation in May 1982 (*Song Qingling jijinhui*, 宋庆龄基金会); the China Foundation for Disabled Persons in March 1984 (*Zhongguo canjiren fuli jijinhui*, 中国残疾人福利基金会); the China Aging Development Foundation in May 1986 (*Zhongguo laonian jijinhui*, 中国老年基金会); and the China Social Welfare Foundation in 1987 (*Zhongguo fuli jijinhui*, 中国福利基金会).

In September 1988, the PRC's State Council issued the Foundation Management Measures (*Jijinhui guanli banfa*, 基金会管理办法) to promote the 'healthy' development of more charitable organizations in China (*Jijinhui guanli banfa* 1988: Article I). The Measures defined a foundation as 'a social, civil non-profit organization (*shehui tuanti*, 社会团体) that manages funds donated voluntarily by social organizations at home and abroad, and by other organizations and individuals' (*Jijinhui guanli banfa* 1988: Article II). This definition opened up a space in which non-state actors could work concurrently with the state on matters of social welfare.

The first local government-based charity organization in the PRC – the Jilin Charity Federation (*Jilinsheng cishan zonghui*, 吉林省慈善总会) – was founded on 8 January 1993 ('Jilinsheng cishan zonghui jianjie' n.d.; Sun Ping and Lü Zhijuan 2006: 115). The Federation's professed mission was to promote humanitarianism and traditional Chinese virtues, defined as helping poor, elderly and disabled people, those without family support, and victims



of disaster and hardship. This would be achieved by mobilizing different social groups to carry out a variety of charitable activities, and accepting various forms of charitable contributions from home and abroad ('Jilinsheng cishan zonghui jianjie' n.d.).

In an article about the founding of the Jilin Charity Federation in the *People's Daily* – the official media voice of the Chinese Communist Party – Sun Yuemu (1994: 4) claims that this was most likely the first time readers of the newspaper had come across the Chinese-language term '*cishan*' (philanthropy). As Sun explains, the word had a venerable history in traditional China, although it had fallen into disrepute during the Mao era. However, the 'good name' of 'charity' had since been rehabilitated to meet new social needs, promote social cohesion and build modern forms of socialist philanthropy (Sun Yuemu 1994: 4).

By 2001, a total of 172 private charitable organizations had been established in China (Sun Ping and Lü Zhijuan 2006: 115; '21 shiji zhonguo' 2012). One of the most important of these was the China Charity Federation (*Zhonghua cishan zonghui*, 中华慈善总会), which was established in April 1994. Described as the first national government-registered non-profit charity social organization in China, the CCF is actually a government-organized non-governmental organization or GONGO. The CCF provides medical, educational and other forms of assistance to orphans, the elderly, and the disabled people, and to victims of natural disasters ('Zonghui jieshao' n.d.). Its leadership has been comprised of retired senior officials from the Ministry of Civil Affairs since its establishment. For example, Fan Baojun, the Director of the CCF between 2002 to 2012, was a Deputy Minister in the Ministry of Civil Affairs from 1987 to 2001; and, Li Bengong, CCF Director since 2013, has held numerous positions within the Ministry of Civil Affairs, including acting as the Director of Civil Society Organizations from 2001 to 2004 ('Zonghui jieshao' n.d.).

The growth in China of charitable foundations and non-governmental organizations was accompanied by the promulgation of numerous philanthropy-related regulations designed to regulate them. The next section details some of the important milestones in the development of a legal framework for philanthropy in China.

### **Developing a legal framework for philanthropy**

In December 1989, the State Council promulgated the ‘Regulations on the Registration and Administration of Social Organizations’, which were revised in 1998 (*Shehui tuanti dengji guanli tiaoli*, 社会团体登记管理条例). In the same year, the State Council also promulgated the ‘Temporary Regulations on the Registration and Management of Civil Non-Enterprise Institutions’ (*Minban fei qiye danwei dengji guanli zanxing tiaoli*, 民办非企业单位登记管理暂行条例). Both regulations referred in practice to non-profit service providers. However, there is an important distinction between the Chinese terms ‘social organization’ (*shehui tuanti*, 社会团体) and ‘civil non-enterprise institution’ (*minban fei qiye danwei*, 民办非企业单位). According to the United States International Grantmaking’s Council on Foundations, social organizations are formed to advance ‘the common desires of their members’, and are the primary NGO category in China. They may also be formed for mutual benefit or public benefit. In contrast, civil non-enterprise institutions are usually institutions that are established by companies and other social organizations using non-state assets to conduct non-profit-making social service activities. Private (not-for-profit) hospitals, research institutes and schools fall under the civil non-enterprise institution category (Fleming 2009).

These Regulations were followed by the promulgation of the ‘Law of the People’s Republic of China on Donations for Public Welfare’ in June 1999, by the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress (NPC) (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo gongyi shiye juanzengfa*, 中华人民共和国公

公益事业捐赠法). This law aimed to promote the development of public welfare by encouraging and standardizing the behaviours of donors and recipients (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo gongyi shiye juanzengfa 1999: Chapter I, Article I). It states that the public welfare sector (*gongyi shiye*, 公益事业) refers to non-profit organizations and includes the non-profit activities of social organizations, and individuals with regard to disaster relief, poverty alleviation, and support for disabled people and members of other vulnerable groups. It also includes the non-profit activities of social groups and individuals with regard to education, science, culture, health, sports, environmental protection, the construction of public facilities, and the promotion of social and public welfare (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo gongyi shiye juanzengfa 1999: Chapters I, II, III, IV, Article III).

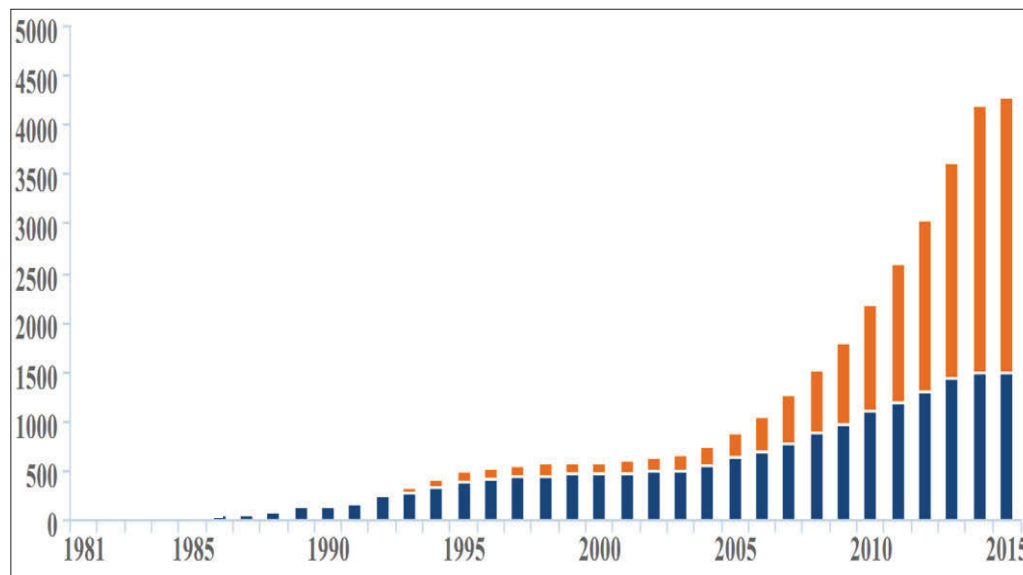
A few years later, on 28 April 2001, the Standing Committee of the NPC passed the Law of the People's Republic of China on Trust Law (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xintuofa*, 中华人民共和国信托法). This Law applies to public welfare trust activities (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xintuofa 2001: Chapter I, Article III). It stipulates that public welfare trusts include poverty and disaster relief, and assistance for disabled people and other vulnerable groups (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo xintuofa 2001: Chapter 60, Article 60).

Privately-run charitable organizations were not legally recognised by the PRC Government until 2004. In 2004, the State Council and the Ministry of Civil Affairs issued the Regulations on the Management of Foundations (*Jijinhui guanli tiaoli*, 基金会管理条例). The regulations divide foundations into two different categories. The first is public fundraising foundations (*gongmu jijinhui*, 公募基金会), which can raise funds from the public and use media publicity to attract donations. The second is non-public fundraising foundations (*fei gongmu jijinhui*, 非公募基金会), which are not allowed to raise funds from the public or to use media publicity to attract donations (Jijinhui guanli tiaoli 2004: Chapter I, Article 3). The

Regulations on the Management of Foundations explain the procedures and requirements of non-public fundraising foundations, which are similar to but not exactly the same as western-style private foundations (Jijinhui guanli tiaoli 2004: Chapter I, Article 6; Chapter II, Article 8, Section 2; Chapter III, Article 20; Chapter IV, Article 29; China Development Brief 2011: 4–5).

Since 2004, the number of non-public fundraising foundations in China has increased dramatically. Figure 2.1 provides a graphic illustration of the growing number of non-public foundations compared to public fundraising foundations in China, with information derived from the China Foundation Center (CFC) (<http://www.foundationcenter.org.cn/>). The figures show that there were more than 4,000 foundations in China in early March 2015; more than 2,700 of these were non-public fundraising foundations (see top-hand lighter-coloured curve), and less than 1,500 were public fundraising foundations (see bottom darker-coloured curve). As Figure 2.1 suggests, the number of non-public fundraising foundations is now greater than the number of public fundraising foundations, which implies more private as opposed to government involvement in the philanthropy sector.

**Figure 2.1: The Number of Public Fundraising Foundations Compared to the Number of Non-Public Fundraising Foundations in China (1981–2015)**



Source: ‘Feigongmu jijinhui he gongmu jijinhui zongshu’ [Total number of public fund-raising foundations compared to non-public fund-raising foundations] (n.d.) China Foundation Center. Online. Available: <http://www.foundationcenter.org.cn/> (accessed 28 April 2015).

The PRC has yet to issue a national Charity Law (*cishanfa*, 慈善法), although media reports in 2015 suggest that a draft Charity Law will be submitted to the NPC for formal review in late 2015 (‘Charity law draft expected to be reviewed in 2015’ 2015). In 2008, a draft Charity Law was listed on the legislative agenda of the NPC. In July 2010, the Legislative Affairs Office of the State Council held a conference in Jiangsu Province to discuss the draft, and it was subsequently listed for discussion by the NPC in 2011. However, the draft has not proceeded to the stage of legislation because of lack of clarity over the definition and scope of charity (‘Leshan haoshi minzu chuantong’ 2007). On 13 March 2013, Dou Yupei, the Deputy Minister of Ministry of Civil Affairs, stated at a press conference in Beijing that the Ministry of Civil Affairs had requested that the State Council issue a normative document to guide the development of charitable organizations until the details of a Charity Law are finalized (Dou Yupei 2013). In November 2014, the State Council of the PRC released a document titled

‘Guidance from the State Council on Promoting the Healthy Development of Philanthropy’ which is presumably intended to assist with this task while relevant legislation is passed (‘Guanche “Guowuyuan guanyu cujin cishan shiye jiankang fazhan de zhidao yijian” zuotanhui zhaokai’ 2014).

In the absence of a national charity law, provinces such as Jiangsu, Henan, Guangdong, Sichuan and Ningxia, have set about developing their own local-level charity legislation (‘Minzhengbu: wo guo’ 2012). For example, on 21 January 2010, the Jiangsu Provincial Government passed the Jiangsu Province Charity Promotion Regulations, which came into effect on 1 May 2010 (*Jiangsu sheng cishan shiye cujin tiaoli*, 江苏省慈善事业促进条例). The regulations define charitable activities as ‘the provision of voluntary and unpaid services and/or donations on the part of citizens, legal persons and other organizations to help orphans, the elderly, and disabled people, and to provide poverty assistance, disaster relief and other assistance (Jiangsusheng cishan shiye cujin tiaoli 2010: Chapter I; Article 3). The Jiangsu regulations are the first provincial-level regulations to promote charitable causes in China. As such, they are viewed as providing an experimental or trial basis for the formation of a national Charity Law (‘Difang cishan fenfen shishui zhongguo cishan lifa chunchao yongdong’ 2015).

Also in 2010, the China Foundation Center website was established as part of the operational strategic program of the Beijing Enjiu Non-Profit Organization Development Research Centre (*Beijing enjiu fei yingli zuzhi fazhan yanjiu zhongxin*, 北京恩玖非营利组织发展研究中心). The CFC is registered under the Ministry of Civil Affairs with the mission of enhancing the social impact of philanthropy and making the philanthropic sector in China more transparent (‘Overview’ n.d.). The establishment of the CFC marks an important milestone in the development of Chinese philanthropy because of its emphasis on transparency and accountability, which is necessary for the successful implementation of a Charity Law.

The CFC website was set up by 35 foundations across China. These foundations include both state-led public fund-raising foundations, such as the Chinese Red Cross, and state-led non-public fund-raising foundations, such as the Kaifeng Foundation, which supports social welfare initiatives ([www.kaifengfoundation.org](http://www.kaifengfoundation.org)). The CFC website provides information to the media, enterprises, research institutes, foundations, government organs, and the decision-makers among philanthropists, about the number of foundations in China, relevant legislation, annual reports, donations, and best practice. It is also aimed at encouraging foundations to adopt transparent operating and accounting practices in order to increase public confidence in charities, and therefore increase numbers of donations.

The PRC's Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development, from 2011 to 2015, also made the development of philanthropy an explicit component of national policy. It proposed introducing a system of tax incentives in order to create a comprehensive system of registered private, community and professional associations that will take over the social welfare service functions of government in terms of developing the economy and acting as public charities (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2011: Section 1, Chapter 39). This proposal not only paved the way for the rapid expansion of philanthropic organizations in China, but also indicates a major shift in the role of the Chinese Party-state as a service and welfare provider. During the Mao era, the socialist state attempted to provide all manner of services and welfare for its citizens. In contrast, the Chinese Party-state now proposes that welfare services should also be provided by individuals and the business sector, including for-profit private and state-owned enterprises, and non-profit organizations (NPOs).

The above-mentioned developments have been accompanied by a proliferation of terms to describe China's developing philanthropy sector. This includes the revival of older Chinese-language terms to describe charity and philanthropy, such as '*cishan*', the reconfiguration of socialist-

era terminology and the development of new terms. Some of these developments are detailed in the next section.

### **Developing philanthropy-related terminology**

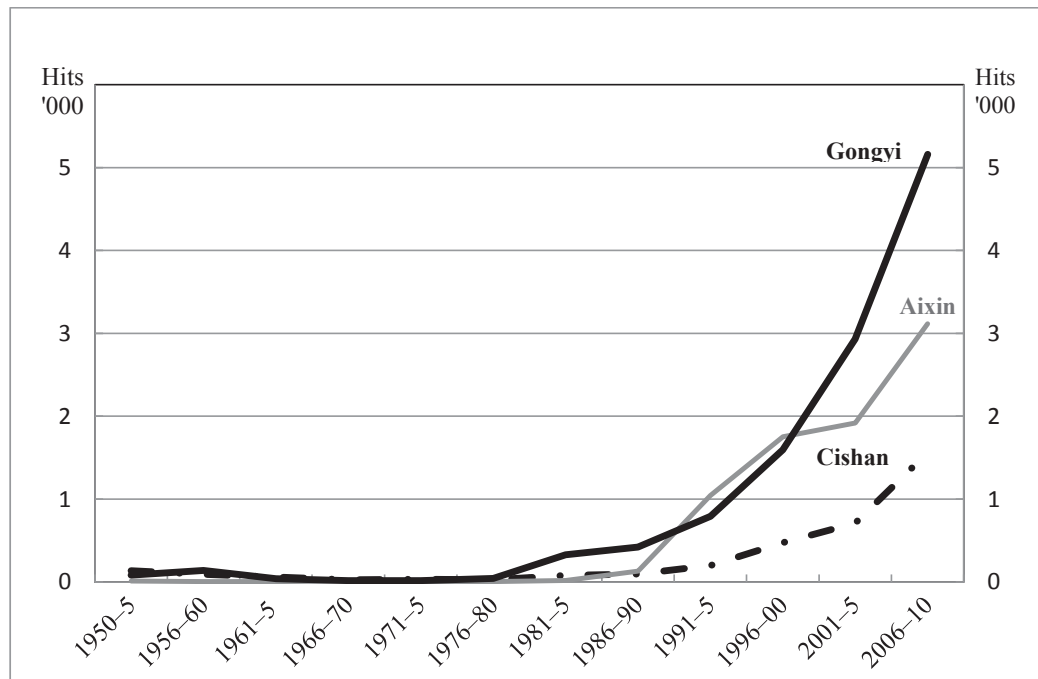
A search for the keyword '*cishan*' and Chinese-language synonyms for charity and philanthropy on the *People's Daily*, a Chinese online official database, between 1 January 1950 and 31 December 2010, shows a dramatic rise in the use of such terms in recent years (Renmin Ribao Dianshan n.d.). Common terms for philanthropy are '*cishan*', '*gongyi*' (公益) and '*aixin*' (爱心). Although these terms are often used interchangeably, they can be differentiated. '*Gongyi*' means 'public welfare' and generally refers to large-scale causes undertaken by the Chinese Party-state both during the socialist era and in the present-day, for example, public hygiene, disaster-relief and other large-scale social welfare causes (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 1994: 385). The Chinese legal system tends to use the term '*gongyi*' when referring to large-scale charitable organizations that work in areas such as poverty alleviation, disaster relief, education and environmental conservation (Lee 2009: 359). The term '*cishan*' refers to both the act of 'caring for others and having empathy or compassion' and to an organized charity industry (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 2014: 213). It is typically used as the formal nomenclature to describe government-affiliated charities and philanthropic organizations, for example, '*cishan zonghui* 慈善总会' (Charity Federation). The term '*aixin*', which can be literally translated as 'a loving heart', means caring for others (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 2014: 5). It is a colloquial term for philanthropy.

As Figure 2.2 shows, the use of all three terms has increased dramatically since the 1980s, with the term '*gongyi*' attracting the most number of hits, followed by '*aixin*' and finally '*cishan*'. The term '*gongyi*', for instance, received less than 40 hits for the five years between 1976 and 1980. That



figure rose to more than 400 hits between 1986 and 1990, reaching more than 1,500 hits between 1996 and 2000, and over 5,000 hits between 2006 and 2010. The term ‘*aixin*’ received only 4 hits between 1976 and 1980. That figure rose to over 100 hits between 1986 and 1990, reaching more than 1,700 hits between 1996 and 2000, and over 3,000 hits between 2006 and 2010. The term ‘*cishan*’ received less than 30 hits between 1986 and 1990. That figure rose to nearly 100 hits between 1986 and 1990, reaching nearly 500 hits between 1996 and 2000 and more than 1,500 hits between 2006 and 2010.

**Figure 2.2: Number of Hits for the Keywords ‘Gongyi’ (公益), ‘Aixin’ (爱心) and ‘Cishan’ (慈善) in the *People’s Daily* (1950–2010)**



Source: Renmin Ribao Dianziban [People’s Daily Online], Beijing: Jinbao Dianzi Chuban Zhongxin; Windsor, Canada: OriProbe Information Services.

The use of these terms has also been accompanied by an increase in the use of terms for volunteering and organized volunteer services. The most popular terms for volunteering include: ‘*zhiyuanzhe*’ (志愿者), a volunteer; ‘*zhiyuan fuwu*’ (志愿服务), volunteering service; and ‘*fengxian*’ (奉献), to contribute or offer something with respect.

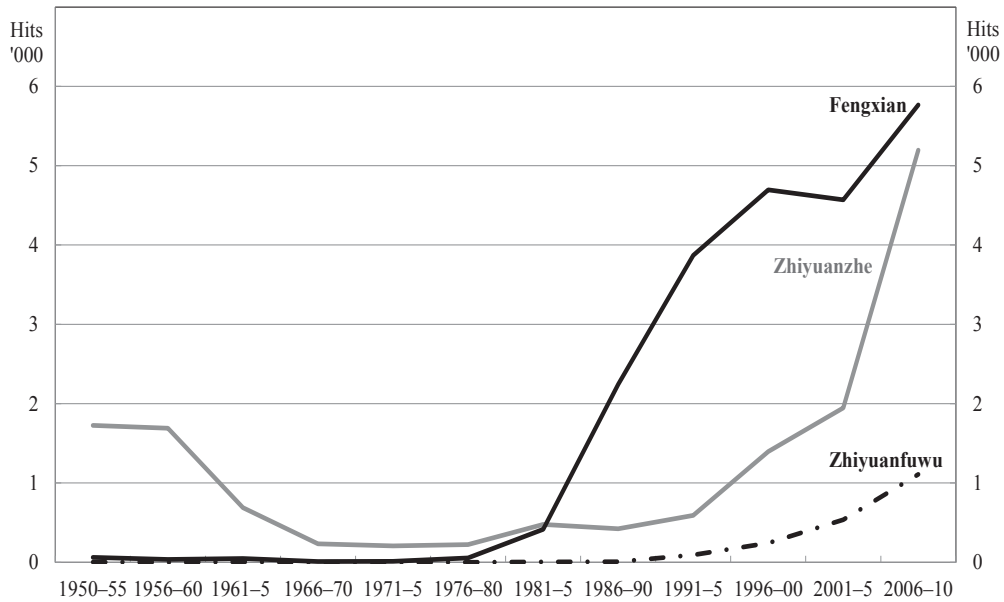
There are no entries for the terms ‘*zhiyuanzhe*’ and ‘*zhiyuan fuwu*’ in the 1994 edition of the *Modern Chinese Dictionary*, which underscores their newfound utility as terms to describe volunteers and volunteering services in reform-era China (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 1994; also see Chong 2011: 33). The term ‘*zhiyuan fuwu*’ first appeared in the *People’s Daily* in a 1946 article about a British surgeon who provided free medical services in the communist base area of Yan’an (Xinhuashe 1946: 1). The term ‘*zhiyuanzhe*’ first appeared in the *People’s Daily* in a March 1949 Notice about soldiers from the defeated Nationalist Party who had volunteered to join the communist forces (‘Zhongguo renmin jiefangjun’ 1949: 4). It was subsequently used to refer to acts of public service, such as volunteering to join the People’s Liberation Army (*zhiyuanbing* 志愿兵, *zhiyuanjun* 志愿军), and becoming involved in major public works associated with socialist construction (‘Jiubai liushi ke’ 1946: 2; Li Pu 1946: 2; Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 1994: 1490).

In contrast, the 2014 edition of the *Modern Chinese Dictionary* defines ‘*zhiyuanzhe*’ as referring to a person who provides services of their own accord for activities that benefit society, and who volunteers for competitions and meetings, etc. (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan yuyan yanjiusuo cidian bianjishi bian 2014: 1678). There is no dictionary entry for the term ‘*zhiyuan fuwu*’. However, the online Chinese encyclopaedia *Baidu Baike* defines it as referring to volunteer organizations, and the act of using one’s time, skills, resources and kindness to provide non-profit, non-compensation and non-professional assistance to neighbours, communities and society (‘Zhiyuan fuwu’ n.d.). The term ‘yigong’ (义工, voluntary workers), which is used to describe volunteers in Hong Kong and Taiwan (‘Shijie gedi yiwu gongzuo lishi’ n.d.), is also becoming increasingly popular in mainland China (‘Pandian: dalu liuxing’ 2009).

The *Modern Chinese Dictionary* defines the term ‘*fengxian*’ as referring to the act of presenting or handing over something in a deferential manner (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan 1994: 332). Historically, this was related to the presentation of a sacrifice, offering or tribute. In current colloquial usage, the term ‘*fengxian*’ means to serve others with feeling, or to make a contribution or provide a service without expectation of recompense. It is sometimes associated with western-style concepts of ‘giving back’ (Hoffman 2013: 853).

Figure 2.3 provides a graphic illustration of the number of occurrences of the keywords ‘*zhiyuanzhe*’, ‘*zhiyuan fuwu*’ and ‘*fengxian*’ in the *People’s Daily* between 1950 and 2010. It demonstrates that the use of all three terms has increased since the early 1980s, with the most commonly used term being ‘*fengxian*’ followed by ‘*zhiyuanzhe*’ and finally ‘*zhiyuan fuwu*’. The term ‘*zhiyuanzhe*’ received over 200 hits between 1976 and 1980. That figure rose to over 400 hits between 1986 and 1990, reaching just under 1,400 hits between 1996 and 2000, and rising to over 5,000 hits between 2006 and 2010. The term ‘*zhiyuan fuwu*’ received no hits between 1976 and 1980. That figure rose to less than 10 hits between 1986 and 1990, reaching nearly 250 hits between 1996 and 2000, and more than 1,000 hits between 2006 and 2010. The term ‘*fengxiang*’ received approximately 50 hits between 1976 and 1980. That figure rose to more than 2,000 hits between 1986 and 1990, rising to over 4,500 hits between 1996 and 2000, and over 5,700 hits between 2006 and 2010.

**Figure 2.3: Number of Hits for the Keywords ‘Fengxian’ (奉献), ‘Zhiyuanzhe’ (志愿者) and ‘Zhiyuan fuwu’ (志愿服务) in the *People’s Daily* (1950–2010)**



Source: Renmin Ribao Dianshan [People’s Daily Online], Beijing: Jinbao Dianzi Chubanshe; Windsor, Canada: OriProbe Information Services.

Finally, the expansion and professionalization of philanthropy in contemporary China has resulted in the creation of new terms to describe the provision of knowledge about philanthropy and charitable acts, such as: philanthropy education ‘*cishan jiaoyu*’ (慈善教育); gratitude education ‘*gan’en jiaoyu*’ (感恩教育); and compassion education ‘*aixin jiaoyu*’ (爱心教育). The number of occurrences of the keywords ‘*cishan jiaoyu*’, ‘*gan’en jiaoyu*’ and ‘*aixin jiaoyu*’ in the *People’s Daily* between 1950 and 2010 is statically insignificant, and hence the figures are not displayed in a graph. However, some of these terms were used in educational texts during the late 1990s, and all three terms have become more common expressions since the mid-2000s.

‘*Cishan jiaoyu*’ is a formal term for philanthropy education, being used most often in governmental and education domains. As such, and unless otherwise specified, I use the term ‘*cishan jiaoyu*’ when referring to philanthropy education in China in this thesis. The term ‘*cishan jiaoyu*’ refers, as per the dictionary definition of ‘*cishan*’, to the act of educating people to care for and feel sympathy for vulnerable members of society. The term first appeared in the *People’s Daily* in 1999 in a short article titled ‘Start from School Education’, written by a teacher named Yin Jianguang from the Hebei Jizhou Professional Education Centre. Yin Jianguang (1999) argues that the development of philanthropy depends on the awareness and participation of all citizens. Moreover, the development of philanthropy education is imperative for generating a new generation of workers who will view philanthropy as a social duty. Yin therefore advocated raising school children’s awareness of the importance of charitable causes through lectures and through practical participation in charitable activities to promote philanthropy, enhance public morals, and heighten an individual’s sense of ‘truth, beauty and goodness’ (*zhen shan mei*, 真善美).

The *Modern Chinese Dictionary* defines ‘*gan’en*’ as ‘expressing feelings of gratitude to others for their help’ (*dui beiren suo gei de bangzhu biaoshi ganxie*, 对别人所给的帮助表示感激) (Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan 1994: 357). In an article published in an education journal in 2011, Yuan Xihui, a postgraduate student from Ludong University in Shandong Province, describes ‘*gan’en jiaoyu*’ as a new form of moral education in primary schools which entails developing the practice of ‘reciprocity’ among school children, and encouraging them to become adults that will repay their parents, teachers, and classmates, and ultimately the state and society, for nurturing them (Yuan Xihui 2011: 15).

There is no entry for the term ‘*aixin jiaoyu*’ in the *Modern Chinese Dictionary*. However, the term implies that one should demonstrate that one has a loving heart by helping others in need.

The recent emergence of terms for philanthropy and philanthropy education in the PRC suggests that educating and training children to be philanthropic citizens is an area of growing importance. Accordingly, the next section of this thesis looks at how young Chinese people have featured as future philanthropic citizens in reform-era discourses on educational development and citizenship education since the mid-1980s. I suggest that children are not only viewed as embodying China's future, but also through governmental discourses on philanthropy and education they have become a site upon which the terms of the nation's future 'are being worked out' (Woronov 2009: 571).

### **Quality education, socialism and philanthropy**

Young people as 'becoming citizens' have been a consistent feature of reform-era discourses on quality education. In 1985, the PRC Government issued 'The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Education Reform' ('Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu jiaoyu tizhi gaige de jue ding' 1985). The Decision gave local governments the responsibility for providing nine years of compulsory school education for children. It also stipulated that the goal of such education was to improve the 'quality' (*suzhi*, 素质) of the nation and produce educated, innovative citizens with moral integrity and self-discipline who love China and socialism, and who will help the country prosper by pursuing new knowledge ('Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu jiaoyu tizhi gaige de jue ding' 1985: Article 1). As this suggests, implementing quality education is about producing generations of high-quality children as future socialist citizens that will contribute to China's efforts to modernize and become an undisputed superpower (see Anagnost 2004; Duara 1995; Culp 2002; Jacka 2009; Kipnis 2012, 2007, 2006; Sigley 2009; Woronov 2009).

On 23 April 1995, the Chinese Society of Education Commission on the Overall Reform of Primary and Secondary Schools held a seminar on 'quality education' at Anshan, Liaoning Province, which was attended by

educators, academics and media representatives from across China ('Zhongguo jiaoyu xuehui zhongxiaoxue zhengti gaige zhuanye weiyuanhui' n.d.). A consensus reportedly was reached at the seminar that quality education refers to both a particular type of education *and* the particular qualities that primary and secondary school children should be taught to have ('1995 nian dashiji' 2014; 'Zhongguo jiaoyu xuehui zhongxiaoxue zhengti gaige zhuanye weiyuanhui' n.d.). Quality education was defined as encompassing a shift away from examination-oriented education towards education that: (1) promotes the all-round moral, intellectual and physical development of students; (2) encourages students to achieve their potential or personal best; and (3) produces people who are reflexive, adaptable, able to manage their time and responsibilities, and capable of engaging in life-long, self-learning (Tang Jingli n.d.). Quality education therefore also signals a shift, in theory, away from rote learning for examinations towards a general education based on skill and personal development.

Quality education was formally defined in a 1997 document titled 'Notice of the State Education Commission on Issuing the "Opinions on Advancing the Implementation of Quality Education in Primary and Secondary Schools"' ('Guojia jiaowei guanyu yinfa "Guanyu dangqian jiji tuijin zhongxiaoxue shishi sushi jiaoyu de ruogan yijian" de tongzhi' 1997). The document states that:

Quality education is an education that aims to improve the quality of the nation. Based on the provisions of the 'Education Act', as part of the state's education policy, and on the requirements of education receivers and long-term social development, it focuses on all students with the aim of improving their basic quality, cultivating their attitude and capacity as education receivers, and actively developing their moral, intellectual and physical capacities. Quality education should enable students to learn how to become a knowledgeable, labouring, physically healthy and aesthetic person, and an educated, ethical and self-disciplined socialist citizen. ('Guojia jiaowei guanyu' 1997: Article 3, trans. Su Xuezhong)

While acknowledging that quality education may take different forms in different regions of China, the document confirms that the goal of quality education is to produce high-quality socialist citizens who will ‘govern themselves for the good of the nation’ (‘Guojia jiaowei guanyu’ 1997: Article 10).

In 1999, the PRC’s State Council issued a ‘Decision on Deepening Education Reform and Promoting Quality Education’ as a guideline for local government action (‘Zhonggong zhongyang guowuyuan guanyu’ 1999). The Decision stated that quality education will help China to become a powerful country internationally based on its human resources (‘Zhonggong zhongyang guowuyuan guanyu’ 1999: Preface). It proposed enhancing students’ potential as future leaders and their sense of commitment to China’s socialist development by producing young people with a sense of individuality, autonomy and innovation, and the ‘four haves’ – ideals, morals, literacy and self-discipline (*youlixiang, youdaode, youwenhua, youjili*, 有理想, 有道德, 有文化, 有纪律) (‘Zhonggong zhongyang guowuyuan guanyu’ 1999: Article 1).

Quality education is an ongoing focus of government policy and public debate. On 7 November 2005, *People.com.cn*, a government website, launched a forum called ‘Discussing China’s Quality Education’, to promote awareness of the importance attached to quality education in official documents (Zang Wenli 2005). Quality education was also incorporated into various school textbooks in conjunction with the notion of ‘revitalizing China through science and education’ (*kejiao xingguo*, 科教兴国). These textbooks included: ‘Morals and Life’ (*Pinde yu shenghuo*, 品德与生活) for Years 1 to 2 in 2007; ‘Morals and Society’ (*Pinde yu shehui*, 品德与社会) for Years 3 to 6 in 2009; and ‘Thought and Morals’ (*Sixiang pinde*, 思想品德) for Years 7 to 9 in 2008 (‘Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo he zonghe wenke kecheng jiaocai yanjiu kaifa zhongxin’ 2007; ‘Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo he sixiang pinde kecheng jiaocai yanjiu kaifa zhongxin’



2008; ‘Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo he zonghe wenke kecheng jiaocai yanjiu kaifa zhongxin’ 2009).

In July 2010, President Hu Jintao made a speech at a national education work conference, in which he criticized the examination-orientated nature of the Chinese education system, saying that the goal of education is not to see whether students can write out the correct answer, but rather to encourage the capacity of young people to innovate, solve problems and accept social responsibility (*shehui zeren*, 社会责任) (Hu Jintao 2010: 12, 15–16). He added that education reform meant putting a socialist core value system (*shehui zhuyi hexin jiazhi tixi*, 社会主义核心价值观体系) at the centre of national education. The importance of such a value system for creating a ‘harmonious society’, or a society free of social contradictions and conflict, was first mentioned at the Sixth Plenum of the Sixteenth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in 2006. A socialist value system was defined as including a love of Marxism, the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese nation and the Chinese people, and being patriotic, law abiding, promoting China’s economic reforms, and having a socialist sense of honour and disgrace (‘Jianshe shehui zhuyi hexin jiazhi tixi’ 2007).

Philanthropic activities first became an official component of quality education in May 2001 with the issuing of the State Council’s ‘Guidelines for Chinese Children’s Development for 2001 to 2010’ (Zhongguo ertong fazhan gangyao (2001–2010) 2009). As part of the quality education emphasis on promoting the all-round moral, intellectual, physical and aesthetic development of school children (*de zhi ti mei fazhan*, 德智体美发展), the Guidelines suggest that school children should develop their ‘social practice’ abilities (*shehui shijian nengli*, 社会实践能力) through participation in public welfare activities (*gongyi huodong*, 公益活动) (Zhongguo ertong fazhan gangyao (2001–2010) 2009: Article II, Item 2, Section 2). This basically refers to student community engagement.

The importance of student philanthropic engagement is also stressed in China's educational goals for 2020. China's National Plan for Medium and Long-Term Education Reform and Development for 2010 to 2020 suggests that student participation in extracurricular public welfare activities, such as volunteering, will help to develop socialist values and citizenship awareness ('Guojia zhongchangqi jiaoyu gaige he fazhan guihua gangyao (2010–2020)' 2010). The 'Guidelines for Chinese Children's Development for 2011 to 2020' similarly note that children should be encouraged to develop practical skills and engage with society by participating in public welfare activities (Zhongguo ertong fazhan gangyao 2011: Section 3, Article 4, Item 12). Hence, quality education as citizen education is viewed not strictly a school-based course and education activity; it involves 'having a public life through political participation in the classroom, school and society' (Feng Jianjun 2012).

As this suggests, philanthropy education as part of quality and (socialist) citizenship education involves a more complex process than straightforward top-down propaganda: it refers to a dynamic, holistic process involving participation from multiple parties (see also Lin 2009). The abstract nature of the concept of quality- philanthropy-citizenship education has ensured that it unifies diverse initiatives that are linked to, but not reducible to, the actions of government institutions, agents and objectives. As Terry Woronov (2009) explains, children, parents, teachers and state agents all know that quality education is important. Educators and parents actively apply different materials and resources in and outside of schools designed to produce young people of 'quality'. Young people also actively engage with those materials and resources knowing that they are designed to somehow improve their quality and future opportunities. However, state agents, teachers, parents and children, often have different ideas about what comprises a quality education, and how that education and its desired outcomes can be achieved in practice (Woronov 2009: 569). Moreover, parents and educators prioritize and value the type of education that results in high examination scores because examination results continue to be a

major determinant of a child's opportunity to enter schools and universities, and hence of their career and life opportunities ('Yikao ding zhongshen' 2014). This situation has ensured that many schools 'game' government directives by establishing activities and awards that pay 'lip service' to quality education policy objectives, but require limited student involvement because they are not part of formal assessment procedures (Peng Huitang and Jiang Jun 1996: 34; Xu Mei 2010; Zhou Ji 2006).

Some of the diverse discourses, institutions and agents that are involved in developing quality education for young people in China can be illustrated with reference to the production, distribution and reception of philanthropy textbooks for school students.

### **Producing and disseminating the *Philanthropy Readers***

In late November 2011, the China Charity Federation announced that it was distributing a free set of *Philanthropy Readers* for students of primary and secondary schools across China – the first such textbooks in the sixty-odd-year history of the PRC (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a, 2011b: Preface). The CCF is one of China's largest charitable organizations and has strong links with the PRC Government, although it is described as a nationwide non-governmental charity organization. The CCF is run under the auspices of the PRC's Ministry of Civil Affairs. Its former president, Fan Baojun, was a member of the Standing Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, Deputy Secretary of the Party Leadership Group and the Deputy Minister of Civil Affairs ('Guanyu women (China Charity Federation)' n.d.). The launching of the *Philanthropy Readers* under the auspices of the CCF consequently ensured that the textbooks had the stamp of government approval. However, the CCF acknowledged that the publication and free dissemination of the *Philanthropy Readers* had been enabled by donations from 'compassionate' individuals and 'compassionate' business enterprises (*shehui aixin danwei*, 社会爱心单位, literally 'socially caring enterprises') (Shu Di 2011).

The idea of compiling a set of philanthropy readers in practice reportedly came from Chen Weizhi, CEO of the New Epoch Industrial Group – a private business enterprise founded in 1996 that operates in education, investment, technology, finance and other fields (Zhang Guosheng 2012a; ‘Zhonghua cishan zonghui jianli “zhuanxiang jijin” kaifa cishan jiaoyu duben’ 2011). Chen Weizhi has received numerous local and national charity awards since 2003, including awards from the Revolutionary Committee of the Chinese Kuomintang (one of eight registered political parties other than the Communist Party in the PRC) in 2012, and an award from the State Council in 2011 for supporting poverty alleviation initiatives (‘Dongshizhang Chen Weizhi jianjie’ 2012). The mission of one subsidiary of the New Epoch Industrial Group – the New Epoch Education Group – is to provide distinctive, high-quality modern education that respects and fosters the different learning capacities of students. The New Epoch Education Group has seven schools based in Chongqing and Shanghai, and the provinces of Zhejiang, Sichuan, and Guizhou, and more than 2,000 staff providing services for more than 26,000 students.

The New Epoch Industrial Group also has a commitment to promoting public welfare (‘Jituan jianjie’ n.d.). On 18 January 2011, the New Epoch Industrial Group donated CNY 1 million to set up a special fund with the CCF to develop a set of philanthropy textbooks (‘Zhonghua cishan zonghui jianli “zhuanxiang jijin” kaifa cishan jiaoyu duben’ 2011). With the CCF’s support, the New Epoch Education Group coordinated the compilation of the *Philanthropy Readers* based on the input of primary and secondary school teachers renowned for their excellence in educational development (Li Yunlin and Li Jinfeng 2012: 7).

The initial printing and distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* was enabled by a further donation of CNY 1.2 million to the CCF from Wanda – a major private corporation (‘Wanda jituan juanzhu’ 2011). Founded in 1988, the Wanda Corporation operates in five major growth industries in the

PRC, including real estate, luxury hotels, tourism, the cultural industry, and a chain of department stores ('Dalian Wanda jituan' n.d.). Wanda aims to become a world-class business by 2015, working under the operating slogan of 'creating wealth, providing public welfare' (*gongchuang caifu gongyi shehui*, 共创财富 公益社会).

Wanda is renowned for its charitable contributions in the PRC, with both the corporation and its CEO, Wang Jianlin, receiving prestigious charity awards (Xu Lin 2014). Wanda has made cash donations amounting to a total of more than CNY 450 million to charitable causes in China over the last 24 years, donating CNY 1 million to the 2010 Yushu Earthquake disaster-relief efforts and CNY 1.5 million to support the disaster-relief efforts following the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake, which had killed nearly 70,000 people and left millions of people homeless (Li Chengyun 2008; Luo Zhanxiang 2010; Minzhengbu 2008). Wang Jianlin was appointed as an honorary Director of the CCF in 2008 and has publicly stated that his dream is to be the greatest philanthropist in the history of China (Chen Zhiping 2008; Wang Jianlin 2013). In 2013, the PRC's Ministry of Civil Affairs recognized Wang Jianlin as the largest individual donor in China at country's eighth annual charity awards (an award Wang has received on at least two other occasions) (Huang Jinguo 2013). The Vice-President of Wanda made a speech at the launch of the *Philanthropy Readers* on behalf of the Wanda Corporation, and the textbooks contain the company's logo and a photograph of its CEO, Wang Jianlin (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 32; 'Wanda jituan juanzhu' 2011).

Public individuals such as Zhou Sen, Director of the government-supported China Three Gorges Art Academy (*Zhongguo sanxia huayuan*, 中国三峡画院), also supported the production of the *Philanthropy Readers* by donating money. Famous for his left-handed calligraphy (*zuoshou shufa*, 左手书法), Zhou is a renowned philanthropist, having donated over CNY 30 million to support people in need and received numerous charity awards ('Guanyu dui 2009 niandu "Zhonghua cishan jiang" 2010; 'Huayuan jianjie' n.d.; Zhou

Sen n.d.). Zhou Sen has also called for the expansion of philanthropy in China as a representative of the National People Congress and as an honorary Deputy Director of the CCF (‘Quanguo renda daibiao Zhongguo sanxia huayuan yuanzhang Zhou Sen de cishan qinghuai’ 2009; ‘Zhonghua cishan zonghui disanjie lishihui diqici huiyi de gongzuo baogao: taolungao’ n.d.). In 2008, Zhou submitted a bill to the NPC titled ‘Suggestions on Developing a Philanthropic Culture and Education’ (Xu Fei 2012; see also Zhou Sen 2009). In February 2011, he donated CNY 1 million to the CCF to establish the Zhou Sen Fund, which assists orphans and the elderly, and provides educational support (*Zhou Sen aixin jijin*, 周森爱心基金) (‘Zhou Sen aixin jijin cishan juanzeng xinwen tonglianhui’ 2012). In November 2011, Zhou Sen attended the official launch of the *Philanthropy Readers* and donated an unspecified sum of money to support the free distribution of 10,000 copies of *Philanthropy Readers* in the city of Shanghai, and in the provinces of Anhui, Henan and Guizhou (‘“Cishan duben” juanzeng ji “cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan” qidong yishi zai jing juxing’ 2011).

The distribution of more than 2 million free copies of the *Readers* to more than 2,000 primary and secondary schools in 70 different locations across China since late 2011 has attracted media publicity (‘Cishan duben: hao jiaocai ru ketang’ n.d.; ‘Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan’ n.d.; ‘Duben shidian xuexiao’ n.d.; ‘Guanyu zhaokai “Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan” huodong zuotanhui de tongzhi’ 2013; Tong Shuquan 2011; ‘Zhonghua cishan zonghui’ 2014).<sup>3</sup> Some of this commentary reiterates the views of Fan Baojun, the former Director of the CCF. In a speech to launch the

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<sup>3</sup> The first print run of 110,000 copies was distributed to schools in seven provinces (Anhui, Fujian, Guizhou, Henan, Qinghai, Shaanxi, Sichuan) and one municipality (Tianjin) between November and December 2011 (‘Editing Department’ 2012a: 13). Free copies of the texts have since been intermittently distributed to schools in other provinces and municipalities, for example, 10,000 copies in Shanghai in May 2012 (‘Minge “Xuwan hezuo” juan “Cishan duben” 2012), and 22,100 copies in Yunnan Province in November 2013 and March 2014 (‘Anning: Cishan duben jin xiaoyuan cishan wenhua run xintian’ 2013; ‘Kunming cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan liangwan shisheng xuexi “Cishan duben”’ 2014).

*Philanthropy Readers*, Fan suggested that a philanthropic culture is an important component of socialist culture (*cishan wenhua shi shehui zhuyi wenhua de yige zhongyao zucheng bufen*, 慈善文化是社会主义文化的一个重要组成部分). Hence, its development should be led by authoritative organizations such as the CCF ('Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan zaofu minzu weilai' n.d.). Fan was subsequently photographed giving official speeches with local government officials at schools across the country. For example, a ceremony to launch the *Philanthropy Readers* at Xi'an Primary School, Shaanxi Province in April 2012 was attended by over 350 people, including Fan Baojun and senior officials from the Shaanxi Provincial Government, such as Xu Shanlin, the life-long Honorary Director of the Shaanxi Province Charity Association and Director of the Provincial Government Policy Consultative Commission. Media coverage of this event was posted on the Education Department of the Shaanxi Provincial Government website ([snedu.gov.cn](http://snedu.gov.cn)) (see also 'Shaanxisheng juxing cishan jiaoyu xiangmu qidong ji "cishan duben" juanzeng fafang yishi' 2012).

In Tianjin Municipality, senior officials from the Department of Education and the Tianjin Charity Association established a coordinating committee to run a campaign called "Suggestions on Promoting the *Philanthropy Readers* and a Philanthropic Culture in Schools" (*Guanyu kaizhan 'cishan duben' jin xiaoyuan ji 'cishan duben' xuanchuan tuiguang huodong shishi yijian*, 关于开展《慈善读本》进校园暨《慈善读本》宣传推广活动实施意见) (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 23). Suggestions included creating leading groups in the 'pilot schools' to ensure that philanthropy-related activities were included in the school curriculum and in extra-curricular activities, thereby fostering a philanthropic culture among teachers and students (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 23–4).

On 29 March 2012, a ceremony was held to launch the campaign at Chengsidi Primary School, Baodi District, in Tianjin ('Tianjin qidong "cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan" huodong shoupi shidianxiao queding' 2012). At that ceremony, Fan Baojun donated 10,000 copies of the *Philanthropy*

*Readers* on behalf of the CCF to five pilot schools in the Tianjin municipal area: Chengsidi Primary School in Erwangzhuang, Baodi District; Lei Feng Primary School in Hongqiao District; Wenmazhuang Primary School in Chutouling Township, Ji County; Haihe Secondary School in Hexi District; and Nankai Secondary School in Nankai District. Around 2,000 of these copies were a personal donation from Fan Baojun, a native of Tianjin (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 25).

The first five pilot schools in Tianjin Municipality implemented various activities to support the campaign. Nankai Secondary School, which is renowned for having taught such famous political figures as the former Premier Zhou Enlai and the current Premier Wen Jiabao, published information about the *Philanthropy Readers* and related activities for students, teachers, and parents on school broadcasting systems, newspapers, and bulletin boards (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 25). Staff organized students to read the *Philanthropy Readers* and write essays about their contents to enter into school competitions. A series of class meetings, debates and lectures were organized across the school under the title of ‘[Social] harmony stems from our unity in philanthropy’ (*hexie yin niwo, cishan gongtongxing*, 和谐因你我 慈善共同兴). Nankai Secondary School also organized students to donate and raise funds for various philanthropic causes. For example, students sold second-hand books to raise funds to help children in underdeveloped regions of Gansu Province in western China who are at risk of dropping out of school to continue their education. Students also participated in volunteering activities at the Dreams-Come-True Special Education Centre in Tianjin, which was founded in 1990 to assist children with autism and brain damage (*Yuanmeng tejiao zhongxin*, 圆梦特教中心) (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 25). The Haihe Secondary School adopted a similar set of activities, while using classes devoted to the discussion of ‘morality and virtue’ (*deyuke*, 德育课) to promote philanthropy education (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 26–7).



Primary schools in Tianjin Municipality also implemented activities to support the campaign to promote the *Philanthropy Readers* and a philanthropic culture in schools. Lei Feng Primary School in Hongqiao District organized reading groups led by staff and parents for students to study the *Philanthropy Readers*, with associated homework activities (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 27). Likewise, Wenmazhuang Primary School organized a series of extracurricular activities – movies and story-telling – drawing on the themes of love for groups, hometowns and China (*ai jiti, ai jiaxiang, ai zuguo*, 爱集体, 爱家乡, 爱祖国).

Chengsidi Primary School organized open days, parents meetings and ‘home visits’ from teachers to encourage parents to participate in philanthropic activities and donate to various causes. The school integrated the *Philanthropy Readers* into classes on ‘Thought and Morals’, with the goal of promoting a philanthropic culture and developing people with philanthropic awareness (*cishan wenhua yuren gongneng*, 慈善文化育人功能). In addition, it set up an incentive mechanism for students and teachers to participate in philanthropic activities by praising and awarding teachers and students for ‘outstanding’ involvement in philanthropic activities both inside and outside of the school (Cao Jianhua and Chang Yong 2012: 25).

Thus, by 2012 a campaign was underway to encourage the development of a philanthropic culture in schools based on the use of the *Philanthropy Readers*. These textbooks, which were formed through public-private educational collaborations and large private donations, have been distributed free of charge at schools across China. However, the adoption of the textbooks has met with some objections, as the next section elaborates.

### **Debating the *Philanthropy Readers***

Preliminary efforts to promote the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools encountered some resistance. On 10 November 2011, She Zongming, a journalist with the *Western China Metropolitan Daily* (*Huaxi Dushibao*, 华

西都市报), published an article titled: ‘Linking Philanthropy to Concepts of Students’ Quality is Inappropriate’ (*cishan kunbang xuesheng suzhi zuofa qiantuo*, 慈善捆绑学生素质做法不妥) (She Zongming 2011). The article was first published by the *Guangzhou Daily* (*Guangzhou ribao*, 广州日报) and then circulated through official Chinese news agencies such as Xinhuanet.com, People.com.cn and Chinanews.com. It argues that philanthropy education is a ‘good thing’, but making philanthropy education an assessable component of the school curriculum is not because parents of students may give their children large amounts of money to donate to school-supported philanthropic causes, in order to ensure that their child is viewed as having ‘a good moral character’. In turn, this characterization may improve the child’s chances of meeting the entry requirements for prestigious schools, thereby undermining the voluntary principle of philanthropy and harming youth understandings of philanthropy by encouraging ‘obligatory’ donations. The article concludes that such practices may have a negative impact on child and youth understandings of charity. It further suggests that the development of philanthropy in China requires relevant policy makers, actors and agencies to first produce legal and other frameworks that assist the development of philanthropy (She Zongming 2011).

On 14 November 2011, the Shandong Network Radio-Television Station ([www.v.iqilu.com](http://www.v.iqilu.com)) broadcast a news item expressing similar concerns (‘Zhonghua cishan zonghui jiang xiang zhongxiaoxue juanzeng “Cishan duben”’ 2011). The broadcast stated that some netizens were concerned about how the philanthropic contributions of students would be assessed, and whether students would be assessed based on the amount of money they donated to philanthropic causes, or whether they would be assessed by teachers based on student responses to teaching materials. Other netizens were worried that schools and related agencies might demand money from students to become members of a given school’s preferred charity, as reportedly had happened at schools in Wuhan City in Hubei Province and Shenyang City in Liaoning Province. The broadcast concluded that such

practices could have a negative impact on students' understandings of charity (Zhonghua cishan zonghui jiang xiang zhongxiaoxue juanzeng 'Cishan duben' 2011).

On 22 November 2011, an anonymous writer posted an article on the Xi'an Civilization Network (*Xi'an Wenming Wang*, 西安文明网) expressing concerns about the potentially negative impact of China's competitive education system on compulsory philanthropy education ('Cishan duben jinru xibu xiaoyuan: mo haoxin ban huaishi' 2011). The article, titled '*Philanthropy Readers* Enter Schools in Western China: Don't Use Good Heartedness to Cause Problems' (*Mo haoxin ban huaishi*, 莫好心办坏事), suggests that promoting the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools may be counterproductive because of the competitive nature of China's education system. As the author explains, students already face a heavy burden of study and hence might feel negatively about engaging in philanthropy if philanthropy education is added to an already full curriculum. The author further states that using textbooks to transmit knowledge about philanthropy is a simplistic method. Instead, the author concludes that philanthropy education should be provided in existing courses at schools such as Chinese language (*yuwen*, 语文) and Thought and Morals, and in extracurricular activities, for example, by watching relevant movies (Cishan duben jinru xibu xiaoyuan: mo haoxin ban huaishi 2011).

An undated article on the West River Pearl website (*Xijiang Mingzhu*, 西江明珠) takes issue with efforts to promote the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools on the grounds that philanthropy is a moral aesthetic (*meide*, 美德) that should be demonstrated (*shifan*, 示范) rather than preached (*shuojiao*, 说教) (Cong 'cishan duben' jin xiaoyuan shuo kai qu n.d.). The article was accompanied by an online survey called: 'Do you agree with the promotion of the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools?' (*Ni zantong xuexiao tuiguang cishan duben ma?* 你赞同学校推广慈善读本吗?). The survey asked viewers to click on one of three choices: 1) agree; 2) disagree; and 3) unsure.

As of 9 March 2015, 141 people agreed that the *Philanthropy Readers* should be promoted in China's schools; 123 people disagreed; and 139 were unsure ('Cong "Cishan duben" jin xiaoyuan shuo kai qu' n.d.). These results suggest some degree of uncertainty about the usefulness of introducing the *Philanthropy Readers* in classrooms, albeit on the part of a small cohort of survey respondents.

An academic who conducts research on China's developing non-profit sector suggests, somewhat differently, that the *Philanthropy Readers* are unlikely to become part of the school curriculum for the simple reason that their contents are not assessable as part of the high school and college entrance exams. Give the highly competitive nature of these exams, both teachers and students would focus on examinable subjects (Personal communication, 20 March 2012). In other words, teachers and students are not necessarily interested stakeholders in the development of philanthropy education.

The main concerns publicly expressed by interested commentators about the introduction of the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools thus turn on the potentially negative impact of philanthropy education in the context of China's highly competitive schooling system. Commentators conclude that children and youth are already 'overtasked' at school and therefore have to focus on passing entrance examinations. In this context, parents and their children will tend to provide donations to demonstrate philanthropic engagement, rather than volunteering or performing other activities, which could disadvantage children with parents who cannot afford to provide donations, and compromise childrens' understandings of philanthropy and humanitarianism. The proposed solution is both to integrate philanthropy education more broadly across the curriculum, and to develop more comprehensive legal frameworks for the operation of philanthropy in China.

## Conclusion

This chapter has explored the emergence and development of philanthropy in China since 1949. After the founding of the PRC, the CCP started to transform charity organizations and placed them under Party-state control. During this period of transformation, private charity organizations were in demise and there were no initiatives to further develop private charity causes. Instead, such organizations gradually dissipated under the Mao-era system of allocation through the establishment of the urban work-unit system and rural agricultural collectives. However, the shift from a planned economy to a market-based economy after December 1978 brought great changes in public social services. The PRC Government set up state-led charity-related organizations and attracted social forces to join their efforts in distributing social welfare and other provisions. At the same time, government policies and regulation facilitated the rapid increase of government-private co-founded foundations and private foundations.

Since the mid-1980s, the PRC Government has also been encouraging schools, teachers, parents, and related agencies, to work together to provide quality education designed to train children to become exemplary socialist citizens. The emphasis on quality education signals a shift in thinking about the purpose and function of formal education models in developing good standards of citizenship in China. It focuses more on personal capacity building and critical thinking, as opposed to rote learning. However, the concept of quality education and what it means in terms of the development of childrens' morals, intelligence, physical well-being, aesthetics, and labour, is interpreted in different ways by students, teachers, parents, schools, and other agencies and stakeholders.

Viewed in the context of debates around quality education, the production and distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* conveys a message to students, parents, teachers and other actors, that children in China also need capabilities such as 'compassion' and 'social responsibility' to be a quality

citizen. The development and distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* also presents a unique landscape in which, not only the government, but also social organizations and individuals, have been able to contribute to developing charity education and philanthropy in mainland China. Hence, the next chapter examines the aims and contents of the *Philanthropy Readers* and looks at the many role models (both people and organizations) that the texts present for emulation.

### 3 Learning and Teaching Philanthropy

This chapter examines two seminal texts: the *Philanthropy Reader: Primary School Edition* (*Cishan duben* [xiaoxueban], 慈善读本 [小学版]) and the *Philanthropy Reader: Lower Secondary School Edition* (*Cishan duben* [chuzhongban], 慈善读本 [初中版]) – the first textbooks on philanthropy education in the history of the PRC (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a, 2011b, hereafter the *Philanthropy Readers*). The forms of philanthropic education provided to primary and secondary school students in these texts reflect the underlying discourse on citizenship education in present-day China. Children are encouraged to approach philanthropy by embracing traditional Chinese family and community values, and are also taught that concepts of compassion, sharing and ‘giving back’ to the community are part of an international value system of social responsibility. Distributed initially to and through schools, the *Philanthropy Readers* touch base with various forms of philanthropic activity – both China-specific and international, ranging from simple acts of donating second-hand goods for school fundraisers to using online platforms. While it is too soon to say whether these materials will enculturate a philanthropic consciousness in the broader community of Chinese youth, it is nonetheless worthwhile examining the aims and contents of these texts in more detail.

More than 2 million free copies of the *Readers* have been distributed to more than 2,000 primary and secondary schools in 70 different locations across China since the books were launched in November 2011, as part of a multi-sponsored campaign to develop a culture of philanthropy in schools (‘Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan’ n.d.; ‘Guanyu zhaokai “Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan” huodong zuotanhui de tongzhi’ 2013; Tong Shuquan 2011;

‘Zhonghua cishan zonghui’ 2014). The textbooks and a pioneering youth philanthropy website called the China Philanthropy Education Network, which features the exercises in the *Philanthropy Readers*,<sup>4</sup> were created through a special fund to promote philanthropy education established by the China Charity Federation and the New Epoch Industrial Group, with additional funding from the Wanda Corporation and wealthy individuals, on 18 January 2011, called the ‘China Charity Federation and China New Epoch Charity Education Fund’ (Fan Baojun 2011; ‘Guanyu women’ (China Charity Federation) 2012). The *Philanthropy Readers* and the associated website are designed to produce future philanthropic citizens, and open a window onto the particular qualities that children in China are expected to ideally cultivate and eventually possess.

Figure 3.1 provides an image of the covers of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* (left-hand side) and the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* (right-hand side), which suggests the textbooks are about love and discovering new worlds.

The two *Philanthropy Readers* share a common set of explanatory notes that outline the aims of the texts, which are defined in terms of benefiting China’s future by fostering a philanthropic consciousness and sense of social responsibility among young people (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a, 2011b: ‘Shuoming’). Introducing students to the concept of ‘*cishan*’, understood as both human compassion and philanthropy, is a major component of the texts.

The chapter first examines the contents and pedagogical goals of the primary school and secondary school *Philanthropy Readers*. It then looks at some of the many philanthropic role models that the two texts present for

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<sup>4</sup> The two *Philanthropy Readers* are electronically available in identical format on the China Philanthropy Education Network website (<http://www.52cs.com.cn/showIndex.action?id=20&typeid=3>). Hence references to the website are only included in this chapter when referring to different content from that in the *Philanthropy Readers*.



emulation. Finally, it reviews some of the many philanthropic organizations and initiatives that are introduced in the texts.

**Figure 3.1: Front Covers of the *Philanthropy Readers***  
(primary – left-hand side, secondary – right-hand side)



Source: Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan (2011a, 2011b) *Cishan Duben xiaoxueban* [Philanthropy Reader: Primary School Edition] and *Cishan Duben chuzhongban* [Philanthropy Reader: Lower Secondary School Edition], Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe.

I conclude that both *Philanthropy Readers* offer a particular type of philanthropic pedagogy. Care for humanity is apparently first learnt at home and then extended to less fortunate members of society. Children and youth who are suitably educated, and who have exposure to philanthropic ideals and business practices, will naturally extend this form of compassion. Human love for humanity is presented as universal, natural and inevitable, but requiring business acumen to be done well – we were born caring for others (that is what humans do and will continue to do), but we apparently do it best when using business models and strategies. As this particular pedagogy suggests, being a modern philanthropic subject is not a ‘natural’ human attribute after all, but rather a learned process of self-fashioning and self-government (see also Hoffman 2013).

### **Introducing compassion (the primary-school *Philanthropy Reader*)**

The expressed aim of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* is to ‘expose’ children to philanthropy, and ‘infect’ them with an interest in it (*ganran he xuntao*, 感染和熏陶) (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: ‘Shuoming’). As per philanthropy education programs in western societies, it encourages children to connect with their communities through philanthropy by exploring their personal values and motivators through writing, drawing, music, play-acting and dance (e.g., ‘InSchools Philanthropy’ n.d.). The book is divided into seven units titled:

- (1) ‘Prelude to Compassion’ (*aixin xuqu*, 爱心序曲);
- (2) ‘Songs of Compassion’ (*aixin zhi ge*, 爱心之歌);
- (3) ‘Pictures of Compassion’ (*aixin tupian*, 爱心图片);
- (4) ‘Stories of Compassion’ (*aixin gushi*, 爱心故事);
- (5) ‘Fairy Tales of Compassion’ (*aixin tonghua*, 爱心童话);
- (6) ‘Theatre of Compassion’ (*aixin juchang*, 爱心剧场); and
- (7) ‘Acts of Compassion’ (*aixin xingdong*, 爱心行动).

The primary school *Philanthropy Reader* introduces the concepts of compassion and philanthropy to children through stories about the origins of love (the child/parent relationship and traditional Chinese conceptions of filial piety and humanity), and subsequently through exercises based on reading stories, singing songs, looking at and creating pictures, and performing in plays, that involve compassionate acts. First, students are taught that love begins at birth: it is reflected in the ‘natural’ love and care demonstrated by parents, relatives and medical personnel for the newborn child – a defenceless creature that requires sustenance and nurturing (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 1). Students are then enjoined to develop an understanding of the meaning of ‘love’ and ‘compassion’ by asking their parents to tell them stories about their birth and early childhood. After listening to those stories, they draw a ‘family (love) tree’ and make gifts for family members, relatives, neighbours and colleagues to acknowledge their mutual love (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 3–8). On the China

Philanthropy Education Network, students are similarly encouraged to enter essay-writing, painting and photography competitions with entries demonstrating care for parents and charitable compassion (‘Di’erjie “Pingfan de shanxin” zhengwen dasai’ n.d.; ‘Diyijie aixin sheying dasai’ n.d.; ‘Diyijie “Wo ai xiaoyuan”’ n.d.; ‘Diyijie “Xinjiyuanbei”’ n.d.; ‘Disanjie “Xinjiyuan bei” aixin zhengwen dasai’ n.d.).

As part of learning about the concept of compassion, students are encouraged with guidance from teachers to examine and understand the origins of the Chinese characters for ‘love’ (*ai*, 爱) and ‘goodness’ (*shan*, 善). This involves a complicated account of the use of these characters in discussions of filial piety and humanity by the Chinese philosopher-sage Mencius (BC 372–289), thereby referencing ‘family love’ and ‘human compassion’ as traditional Chinese virtues. This philosophical account is made somewhat more accessible to young children by noting that the character *shan* (善) contains the character for a goat or sheep (*yang*, 羊), which historically meant ‘beautiful or good’, and enables the text to segue into a discussion of a Chinese children’s cartoon classic called *Pleasant Goat and Big Big Wolf* (*Xiyangyang yu huitailang*, 喜羊羊与灰太狼) (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 9–13).

Second, students are encouraged to organize an in-class compassion-themed karaoke singing competition and to join a school choir to participate in charity performance activities (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 22–3). Examples of songs about ‘care and compassion’ are: the classic Mandopop song ‘Dedication of Love’ (*Ai de fengxian*, 爱的奉献), which was performed with popular acclaim by pop singer Wei Wei during China Central Television Station’s 1989 New Year or Spring Festival Gala, and American pop star Michael Jackson’s fundraising classic, ‘Heal the World’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 16, 24). The lyrics of ‘Dedication of Love’ state: ‘if everyone contributes a bit of love, then the world will become a beautiful world’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 16). It is

similar to the lyrics of ‘Heal the World’, which suggests that caring for others will make the ‘world a better place’, ‘for you and for me and the entire human race’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 24). Both songs are associated with charity-themed events in China. There are also over 60 nursery rhymes and 52 Chinese and 22 international songs on a section of the China Philanthropy Education Network called ‘Philanthropy songs’ (‘Cishan gequ’ n.d.).<sup>5</sup>

Third, students are presented with images of impoverished, disabled and sick children, which are juxtaposed with images of happy, healthy, cared-for, and prosperous school children, and images of famous philanthropists, such as American billionaire Bill Gates and Chinese billionaire Wang Jianlin (see Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 27–36). Students are then encouraged to collect images and photographs of compassionate people and acts, and exhibit them in class or school settings. The China Philanthropy Education Network also contains two sections called ‘Philanthropy Pictures’ and ‘Five Shocking Pictures Daily’ (*mei tian wu zhang zhenhantu*, 每天五张震撼图), where students can post philanthropy-related images (‘2015 nian 1yue 17 ri’ n.d.; ‘Cishan tupian’ n.d.).

Fourth, students are encouraged to read and perform stories that involve acts of compassion towards others (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 37–46). These stories include translations of classic children’s books, such as *Charlotte’s Web* (White 1952), *Snow White* (Zick 1812) and *The Little Mermaid* (Andersen 1837). They also include an episode of the hugely popular Chinese television children’s animation series *Pleasant Goat and*

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<sup>5</sup> ‘Philanthropy’ or ‘public welfare songs’ (*gongyi gequ*, 公益歌曲) are a recent focus of academic attention in China. Zhang Meng (2012: 66), a lecturer from Zhengzhou Normal University, suggests that such songs are inspirational and show the good side of humanity, because they promote peace, unity and environmental protection. Shen Junhan (2011: 98, 103), an undergraduate student from Capital Normal University in Beijing, claims that they help build socialist spiritual civilization. Both Shen (2011: 102–3) and Zhang (2012: 66) cite the Michel Jackson fundraising hit, ‘We Are the World’, as a classic example of a public welfare song.

*Big Big Wolf*. The episode is about young goats with special needs at a ‘Goat Primary School’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 55).

After discussing these stories, students are encouraged to relate the stories to real life and answer a ‘compassion survey’ that contains three questions: (1) are there school children in need of help in our local vicinity?; (2) If so, where have those students come from and what is their life like?; and (3) what is their greatest need and how can we help them? (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 55–6). In short, students are directed to think about the circumstances of others and to develop a sense of empathy. This emphasis is also reflected in stories and videos posted on a section of the China Philanthropy Education Network called ‘Daily Spiritual Care’ (*mei tian hehu xinling*, 每天呵护心灵) (‘2015 nian 1 yue 17 ri’ n.d.).

Fifth, students are encouraged to perform in ‘compassion plays or skits’, and to edit, direct and evaluate such plays. An example provided is a play called ‘Imagine People Who Need People’, which is a story about a family of bears who want to donate their unwanted quality toys, clothes, books, and fishing rods, to ‘charity supermarkets’,<sup>6</sup> and assist hospitalized children and elderly people in aged-care facilities<sup>7</sup> (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 57–9). Another example involves reading the compassion-themed comic

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<sup>6</sup> As Vivien Shue (2011: 745) explains, China’s charity supermarkets were inspired and informed by the operations of corporations like Goodwill Industries in North America. In July 2004, the Ministry of Civil Affairs released a notice based on the experiences of Shanghai calling for the establishment of charity supermarkets across China’s cities to help the disadvantaged (‘Minzhengbu: cishan chaoshi ke jiao shehui zuzhi huo qiye deng yunying’ 2014). On 31 December 2013, the Ministry of Civil Affairs released a document titled ‘Ministry of Civil Affairs’ Suggestions on Strengthening and Innovating Charity Supermarket Construction’ (Minzhengbu guanyu jiaqiang he chuangxin cishan chaoshi jianshe de yijian 2013).

<sup>7</sup> Aged care, including the provision of homes for elderly, has become an issue of concern in reform-era China, along with changing family structures and increased labour mobility, and the incapacity of the Chinese state to provide comprehensive retirement incomes and healthcare support (see Barlett and Phillips 1997: 149; Watson 2012). These issues are likely to impact on Chinese youth who are expected by law to provide for their aged parents’ needs in terms of emotional, financial, housing and healthcare support (Jeffreys and Yu 2015: 34).

books of a fictitious sixth-grade student called ‘Yang Yanhong’ from ‘Compassion Primary School’, which includes a story about the care demonstrated by two sisters towards each other. After reading this story, students are asked to create their own versions of the story (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 65). Students also make and use hand puppets to perform the stories, with other students deciding who should be awarded the title of ‘best female actor’, ‘best male actor’, ‘best director’ and ‘best off-stage support person’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 66–7).

Finally, students are encouraged to learn about different types of compassionate acts and to make their own ‘compassion action plans’. To help with this goal, students are provided with a list of 20 activities that benefit others from an American news report. The list of activities includes behaviours that benefit individual health and the natural environment, for example, saving limited resources by walking up stairs rather than using a lift, and writing on both sides of a piece of paper. It also includes activities that are not necessarily appropriate for primary school children, but which they might do in the future, such as giving directions to strangers, donating money, volunteering, and donating blood. Students are told that their ‘philanthropic spirit will develop and become richer’ the more they know about and engage in such activities (*yue fuyou cishan jingshen*, 越富有慈善精神) (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 70–1).

The students are then asked to develop their own compassion action plans, which involve specific school-related projects. The projects include donating books to a philanthropic initiative run under the auspices of the Xi’an Charity Federation called the Library Project, which donates books to under-financed schools and orphanages in China, Cambodia and Vietnam (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 76–7; ‘Welcome to The Library Project!’ n.d.). Students can also contribute to a school-based and student-organized philanthropic initiative called ‘Reduce Waste, Create Warmth’, which involves donating second-hand books for a school-based fundraiser to assist impoverished children (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 78–9). In

addition, students are encouraged to form groups of 3–5 students to create a ‘Warm-Their-Hearts’ action plan. This involves making cards containing good wishes, and preparing musical and other performances, to present to residents of local orphanages and nursing homes (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 79–80).

In short, the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* introduces children to the concepts of love, compassion and shared humanity, with the aim of stimulating their interest in social issues and philanthropy. This is achieved by first suggesting that compassion is about love of humanity as demonstrated through family love, the love of parents for a helpless baby, in particular. Children are encouraged to ask their parents and family about their pre-reflective consciousness and development, that is, what kinds of support they needed as a person who was unable to articulate their needs and to realise them independently. Children are then encouraged to ‘feel’ for others through the singing of emotive songs about shared humanity and imagining themselves in a position where they can assist people less fortunate than themselves. This form of assistance may be through entertainment, the singing of emotive songs and the staging of emotive performances that are intended to demonstrate the ‘commitment’ of a child to helping others, as displayed through the provision of entertainment for others, for example, people in aged-care facilities. Children are encouraged to want to adopt these roles through competitive award systems that recognise the ‘best singer/actor/director’ etc., and through processes that suggest that ‘helping others’ requires both general planning and event planning. Recognising youth involvement in philanthropy through award systems is an explicit goal of policies designed to create a philanthropic culture in China. The ‘Guidelines for Developing Philanthropy in China (2011–2015)’ place an emphasis on establishing and improving award systems for volunteers and philanthropists (Minzhengbu 2011: Item 2, Part V).

This pedagogy of reflexive self-government – the contemplation of one’s circumstances compared to that of others, resulting in an assumed decision to act in a planned manner to ensure that others eventually have equal opportunities to oneself – is reiterated in more detail in the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader*. The secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* similarly suggests that everyone can and should be a philanthropist, while also emphasizing the importance of incentive and reward mechanisms.

### **Inculcating compassion (the secondary-school *Philanthropy Reader*)**

The secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* is directed at an older audience, and encourages students to view philanthropy as an individual and social responsibility, a display of respect and sharing, and something that requires participation, good publicity and sound business organization (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: ‘Shuoming’). Echoing the general approach provided in western literature on philanthropy education, it aims to help older students to understand, participate in and promote philanthropy and become ‘good citizens’ with strong personal and interpersonal social skills (‘About us (Youth as Resources)’ n.d.; Gibbs 2014; ‘Philanthropy in schools’ n.d.). As with the primary school *Philanthropy Reader*, the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* briefly introduces the term ‘*cishan*’ as being rooted in Chinese classical philosophy, especially Confucian conceptions of filial piety and Taoist conceptions of the importance of extending family love to become a greater universal love, and being equivalent to the English-language terms ‘charity’ and ‘philanthropy’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 6).

The book is divided into six themes titled:

- (1) ‘Pay Attention to Other Worlds: The World Needs Charity’ (*guanzhu lingyige shijie – shijie xuyao cishan*, 关注另一个世界–世界需要慈善);



- (2) ‘No One is an Island: Philanthropy is Everyone’s Responsibility’  
(*meiyou ren shi yizuo gudao – cishan shi meigeren de zeren*, 没有人是一座孤岛–慈善是每个人的责任);
- (3) ‘Precious Corner: Philanthropy is Real Sharing’ (*zui zhengui de jiaoluo – cishan shi yizhong zhenzheng de fenxiang*, 最珍贵的角落–慈善是一种真正的分享);
- (4) ‘Dear Brothers [and Sisters]: Philanthropy Requires Love and Respect’ (*qin'ai de xiongdi – cishan xuyao ai yu zunzhong*, 亲爱的兄弟–慈善需要爱与尊重);
- (5) ‘Making Compassion Stronger: Philanthropic Organizations and Wealth Management’ (*rang aixin gengyou liliang – cishan zuzhi yu caifu guanli*, 让爱心更有力量–慈善组织与财富管理); and
- (6) ‘Summon Love with Love: Let More People Understand and Participate in Philanthropy’ (*yong ai zhaohuan ai – rang gengduo de ren liaojie he canyu cishan*, 用爱召唤爱–让更多的人了解和参与慈善).

First, the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* presents stories about disadvantaged children to encourage students to recognize the assumed difference between the quality of their lives and those who are less fortunate. The story of Zhang Hui, a grade-six primary school student from a poor family who lives in an underdeveloped city, is one example. Zhang recognizes that she is more advantaged than many other people in other parts of the world, despite being disadvantaged in relation to others, after attending a charity exhibition (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 2–4). Students are then encouraged to make local, national, and global, philanthropy maps, locating areas that have high concentrations of philanthropic organizations, and that are characterized by endemic poverty, aged populations, high densities of unschooled children and natural disasters, etc. (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 8–10). The secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* thus enjoins students to recognize their own good fortune as people whose lives have not been complicated in theory by war,

poverty and natural disasters, and hence to show care and concern for ‘other people’ and ‘other worlds’.

Second, students are taught that everybody has a responsibility to engage in philanthropy. The secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* introduces the concept of empathy with reference to the Hong Kong branch of the World Vision’s fundraising activity, the ‘30 Hour Famine’, which operates in Hong Kong and Taiwan, but not in mainland China, and American and European figures such as Helen Keller (1880–1968) and Christy Brown (1932–1981). Participants in the ‘30 Hour Famine’ obtain sponsors on a pledge that they will not eat for 30 hours, thereby learning about hunger and raising money for starving children in Asia and Africa (‘About World Vision’ n.d.). Helen Keller was an American author, activist and lecturer, and reportedly the first deaf and blind person to earn a Bachelor of Arts degree in the USA; she devoted her post-graduation life to helping other deaf and blind people ([www.hki.org](http://www.hki.org)). Christy Brown, an Irish writer and painter, was diagnosed with severe cerebral palsy shortly after his birth, which left him with virtually no control over his arms and limbs other than his left leg. Brown (1989) learnt to write and paint using the toes of his left-foot and is famous for his autobiographical text, ‘My Left Foot’, which was made into a movie of the same name (dir. Jim Sheridan 1989). Using these figures as role models, students are encouraged to empathize with other people by experiencing temporary ‘hunger’ and ‘disability’, for example, by ‘skipping’ lunch and, if right-handed, only using their left-hand to conduct daily activities which they would normally find easy to perform. Students are also informed that accepting their philanthropic duties will not only improve other people’s lives, but also enhance their personal skills, self-confidence and general happiness (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 24). In other words, helping others is presented as a form of personal capacity building and self-help.

Third, the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* encourages students to make donations to philanthropic causes and to encourage their family

members to donate. Students are first advised of the appropriate steps to follow when donating second-hand clothing and books for distribution in poor mountainous regions of China (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 26). They are told to donate clean clothes in good condition that are suited to a cold climate, rather than donating unwashed clothing and fashionable summer clothing. Students are further advised to donate books with ‘healthy’ content (*neirong jiankang*, 内容健康) (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 27). ‘Healthy’ books include: western and Chinese classics; books on science and technology; children’s story books; dictionaries and flash cards for learning Chinese characters (examples of ‘unhealthy’ books are not provided but presumably include those with sexual and violent subject matter (‘Du haoshu yuanli bu jiankang shuji’ n.d.). Other appropriate donations include stationary and clean sporting goods, and games that come complete with instructions about how to play them (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 27–8). Students then ransack their homes for suitable unused objects to donate. These objects are sorted into different groups according to their type, value and condition, with students determining which goods are ‘worth’ donating and which are in effect rubbish (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 28–9).

Students also learn about how white-collar workers engage in online philanthropy, despite their busy work schedules. One example is a philanthropic initiative called ‘Donate Rice’ (*juanmi*, 捐米). The initiative operates on a ‘points’ exchange system, where participants trade virtual points (‘grains’) they accrue from participating in online marketing activities for substantive ‘bags of rice’. The rice they gain is then distributed to relevant welfare organizations and impoverished families (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 35; ‘Chagang gedi huodong juanmi’ n.d.). Students are then asked to draw up a ‘philanthropy timetable’ with their parents, discussing their weekly activities and allocating ‘free’ time periods to engage in philanthropic activities (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 36).

Fourth, students learn to how to express compassion appropriately, that is, in a respectful manner, through learning about selected role models and role playing. These role models include the Spanish Tenebrist painter, Jusepe De Ribera (1591–1652), and the Russian novelist, Ivan Sergeevich Turgenev (1818–1883), who are presented as people who viewed beggars as their social equals. Students are presented with an image of De Ribera’s oil on canvas painting, ‘The Club-Footed Boy’ (1642). They are then asked to discuss their responses to the painting’s depiction of a smiling yet poor, dishevelled, and disabled, child-beggar (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 40). Students also discuss Turgenev’s poem ‘The Beggar Man’, in which Turgenev meets an old dishevelled man who is clearly suffering from poverty-related illnesses. The old man asks for alms but Turgenev has no money or possessions of value upon him. He therefore apologizes to the beggar whom he calls ‘his brother’ for having nothing to give him. The beggar responds that Turgenev has given him something by calling him his brother, the implication being that Turgenev has shown the beggar respect and recognized his fellow humanity (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 42–3).

Using De Ribera and Turgenev as role models, students are encouraged to learn how to demonstrate civility and respect for beggars as brethren by simulating three scenarios: First, they see a violinist busking on a street and give the busker a coin quietly, rather than throwing the coin noisily and drawing attention to themselves and disrupting the musician. Second, they see a hungry beggar and they buy the beggar some food and smile as they hand the beggar the food. Third, they talk with a beggar about the beggar’s daily income, work, life, family and dreams (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 44). This marks a significant departure from typical approaches to beggars and buskers in China, which is to shun them or report them to local police (Jeffreys and Wang 2012: 582). Students are also encouraged to form a ‘hug group’ (*baobaotuan*, 抱抱团) to visit local orphanages and aged homes, to bring orphans and elderly people a ‘smile, a greeting and a hug’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 48–53).

Fifth, students are taught that sustainable and innovative philanthropy needs good organizational and financial management. Students learn about Dr. Govindappa Venkataswamy (1918–2006), an Indian ophthalmologist and founder of the Aravind Eye Hospitals, which perform nearly 5 percent of all eye surgeries in India (Elkington and Hartigan 2008: 40). Venkataswamy aimed to ‘eradicate needless blindness’ associated with cataracts by using revenue generated from one-third of fee-paying patients to provide free assembly-line surgical treatments for two-thirds of his patients. Students also learn about Muhammad Yunus (1940– ), the founder of the Grameen Bank, a Bangladesh-based microfinancing and community development bank, which gives small loans (microcredit) to poor people without collateral in order to engage in profit-making business or agricultural initiatives (‘Agricultural finance’ n.d.). Grameen is based on the principle that loans are more effective than charity in eliminating poverty. After learning about these two men, students are asked what they can do for philanthropy with CNY 1 (around USD 20 cents). Students are required to write down what they think about: (1) giving the money to a street busker; (2) using the money to buy food for a child beggar; (3) giving 10 beggars a few cents each; or (4) buying a birthday card for a lonely aged person (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 56–9).

Students also discuss the nature of modern philanthropies by discussing two exemplary organizations: Oxfam and Alive and Kicking (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 61–2). Oxfam, a UK headquartered international NGO, is a confederation of 17 organizations working in approximately 90 countries to find solutions to poverty and related injustice around the world (‘Who We Are’ n.d.). Alive and Kicking ‘is an African social enterprise that manufactures sports balls to provide balls for children, creates jobs for adults and promotes health education through sport’. Alive and Kicking’s workshops in Kenya, Zambia and Ghana are run as non-profit businesses, based on ‘the principle that trade will help communities in the long term’ (‘What We Do’ n.d.). After discussing these two international models,

students design their own simulated philanthropic organization, giving it a name, slogan, and mission (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 60–3).

Finally, students are encouraged to publicize philanthropic events, and motivate other people to engage in philanthropy, using school and community bulletin boards. For example, students are encouraged to view community bulletin boards and note information related to philanthropy and volunteering, and to talk to other people in their community about that information and associated activities. Students then conduct a search on leading print media for articles on philanthropy and its effects over a 2–3 week period. They subsequently devise a survey questionnaire to ask family members, friends, or people on the street, about whether or not a publicized philanthropic event or figure had caught their attention. Students may also contact relevant journalists about their impressions of the perceived impacts of articles on philanthropy. Students then write a report on the strengths and weaknesses of philanthropy-related publicity, and conclude with suggestions about how such publicity might be improved (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 72–4). Students conduct a similar content analysis and evaluation of philanthropy-specific media (websites and magazines). In the process, they discuss and assess the operating slogans of well-known local and international philanthropic organizations, for example, the Red Cross Society of China, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

Students are also encouraged to discuss the nature and utility of Chinese and international philanthropy award rankings. These include: ‘The World’s Philanthropists’; *Forbes* ‘China Philanthropist List’; ‘China’s Top 400 Wealthy Philanthropists’ (*Zhongguo fuhao cishanjia 400 bang*, 中国富豪慈善家 400 榜); and ‘China’s Top 100 Charitable Enterprises’ (*Zhongguo dingjian cishan qiye 100 bang*, 中国顶尖慈善企业 100 榜) (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 77). The expansion of such lists is advocated by the PRC Government as an incentive mechanism and means to recognize and encourage the contributions made by wealthy individuals and major

corporations to China's economic development ('Guowuyuan guanyu cujin cishan shiye jiankang fazhan de zhidao yijian' 2014: Section 2, Part V).

After obtaining permission from schools and local residential committees, students then organize philanthropy publicity boards and philanthropy calendars at school and/or in their local residential communities. Students collect images and write articles relating to specific themes, such as child education, disaster relief, animal welfare, and famous philanthropic figures. These materials are posted on school and residential bulletin boards, with designated students checking them regularly to ensure that they are undamaged and remain visible. Students monitor the boards to assess the level of public interest they generate and to talk with people about their responses to such media, and to evaluate the success or otherwise of the activity. Students also create a monthly philanthropy calendar corresponding to the themes publicized on school and community bulletin boards, which are sent electronically to local students, residents, businesses, media offices, and government officials (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 78–82).

In short, the secondary *Philanthropy Reader* encourages secondary-school students to learn about, participate in and promote philanthropy by using business-style marketing and planning strategies. They are encouraged to identify domestic and international areas where more services would result in more optimal outcomes; they are also encouraged to accept that care for those less fortunate than 'us' is a universal element of human civilization and civility. Finally, secondary-school students are encouraged to believe that a 'little bit of business acumen will go a long way': comprehension of marketing and business strategies means that one can help others by also helping oneself through the establishment of a successful business or non-profit enterprise. This emphasis on 'business' reflects both the importance attached to entrepreneurialism in present-day China and the increased emphasis on 'business-like' nature of organized philanthropy in western countries, particularly after the 1990s expansion of the non-profit sector.

## Philanthropic role models

A wide range of philanthropic citizens are presented as role models for students to learn from and emulate in the two *Philanthropy Readers*. The emulation of role models has a recognized history in traditional China, for example, through the emulation of Confucius and other scholar-officials, and in the early PRC, through the emulation of socialist role models (Jeffreys 2012a: 17; Sheridan 1968). However, the explicit provision of philanthropic role models in school textbooks as guides to appropriate adult citizen behaviours is a new phenomenon in the PRC, as perhaps in other parts of the world. ‘The Philanthropy Education Project’, for example, is an Australian initiative that aims to ‘provide engaging, multimedia, curriculum-linked philanthropy education materials that can be accessed by every classroom in Australia, although the project is still being developed (‘What is PEP?’ n.d.).

The *Philanthropy Readers* feature 104 philanthropic models in total: 74 in the primary school text and 30 in the secondary school text (see Table 3.1). Terms such as ‘philanthropist’ (*cishanjia*, 慈善家) and ‘philanthropic figure’ (*cishanrenwu*, 慈善人物) are used interchangeably in both texts when referring to famous (adult) philanthropists, both alive and dead, from China and other parts of the world, and also to youth philanthropists as peer role models. Most of these models are individual people, rather than groups of people or organizations.

The primary school *Philanthropy Reader* features 45 role models from China and 29 from other parts of the world, whereas the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* refers to only 8 models from China and to 22 models from other parts of the world. The role models featured in the *Philanthropy Readers* come from 15 countries other than mainland China. The 15 countries are: Bangladesh; Denmark; France; Germany; Hong Kong; India; Ireland; Italy; Russia; South Africa; Spain; Taiwan; Ukraine; the United Kingdom; and the United States of America (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan



2011a: 69). This suggests an effort to locate philanthropy both in country-specific and international frameworks.

**Table 3.1: Distribution of Philanthropic Models in the *Philanthropy Readers***

Number of Models	Primary Reader	Secondary Reader
Total	74	30
Individuals	70	27
Groups	4	3
Mainland China	45	8
Other countries	29	22
	(11 USA)	(9 USA)

These role models are used to explain a range of concepts associated with philanthropy. Specifically, the use of a broad range of models suggests that philanthropy is about demonstrating love of humanity through acts of kindness and by donating money and time to help others, whether as an individual, or under the auspices of philanthropic organizations. It further suggests that philanthropy requires the active engagement of citizens of all ages and walks of life. The models show that there is no one way of doing philanthropy and that there is no standard criteria to follow, everyone can participate in philanthropy.

Unit 2 of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* introduces a range of exemplary youth philanthropists from the PRC and the USA, calling them ‘compassionate youth’ (*aixin shaonian*, 爱心少年) (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 30–1). Examples of ‘compassionate youth’ from China include Wang Dajia and Guo Qin, two young women from Hunan and Jiangsu Province respectively (see Figure 3.2). The first activity in Unit 2 explains Wang started visiting elderly people and orphaned children as a volunteer at the age of seven. Wang subsequently wrote short stories, which she sold in parks, schools and community venues, and then donated her earnings to help children in areas affected by the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake

(‘Hunan tuisong houxuanren’ 2009). A short film for viewing in schools released in March 2012 called ‘Young Dajia’, which features stories about Wang’s philanthropic activities, was made by the Changsha City Committee Publicity Department, the Changsha City Spiritual Civilization Office and the Hunan Jintao Film and Television Media Company (‘Genju Wang Dajia’ 2012). The film portrays Wang as displaying a contemporary ‘Lei Feng spirit’, which is a Chinese version of a ‘good Samaritan’ (see Chapter 5 of this thesis). Guo Qin started donating money to orphans in her second year of primary school. Guo also subsequently published a children’s story and donated her CNY 150,000 publication earnings to help impoverished people (‘Zhongguo meide shaonian’ 2012).

**Figure 3.2: China’s Compassionate Youth: Wang Dajia and Guo Qin**  
(Wang on the left-hand side and Guo on the right-hand side)



Source: Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan (2011a) *Cishan Duben xiaoxueban* [Philanthropy Reader: Primary School Edition], Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, p. 30.

Examples of ‘compassionate youth’ from the USA include Matthew Dalio and Zach Bonner. Son of Ray Dalio, founder and leader of one of the largest hedge funds in the world – Bridgewater Associates, Matthew Dalio, born in 1984, founded the China Care Foundation in 2000 (Feloni 2015; Moses 2014). The non-profit organization provides medical, social and educational programs for orphans with disabilities in China and gives American college and high school students the opportunity to give back by fundraising and volunteering (‘About us (China Care Foundation)’ n.d.). Dalio is described as an exemplary ‘youth philanthropist’ (*shaonian cishanjia*, 少年慈善家)

(Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 31). Born in 1997, Bonner founded the non-profit charity Little Red Wagon Foundation in 2005 to raise money and goods for children in need (<http://lrwf.org>); he is described as an exemplary ‘child philanthropist’ (*ertong cishanjia*, 儿童慈善家).

The term ‘philanthropist’ (*cishanjia*) is also used in the *Philanthropy Readers* to refer to wealthy entrepreneurs who are famous for donating large sums of money, such as billionaires Wang Jianlin and Bill Gates. Images of Wang and Gates are presented in Unit 2, Activity 2, of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 32) (see Figure 3.3). Wang Jianlin, Chair of the Dalian Wanda Group, is the richest man in China according to the 2013 and 2015 Forbes China Rich list (Flannery 2015; Song 2013), and is one of the PRC’s most renowned philanthropists. Wang and/or his company have donated around CNY 2.7 billion to humanitarian causes in China and elsewhere over the course of 22 years (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 32), which included a donation of CNY 1.2 million to the China Charity Federation to produce the *Philanthropy Readers* (‘Wanda jituan juanzhu’ 2011). Microsoft cofounder Bill Gates, and his wife Melinda, have donated USD 58 billion to the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, which aims to improve people’s health and give people the opportunity to lift themselves out of hunger and extreme poverty (‘Foundation fact sheet’ n.d.).

**Figure 3.3: Philanthropic Role Models, Wang Jianlin and Bill Gates**  
(Wang is presented on the left-hand side, Gates on the right-hand side)



Source: Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan (2011a) *Cishan Duben xiaoxueban* [Philanthropy Reader: Primary School Edition], Beijing: Zhongguo shehui chubanshe, p. 32.

Next to the images of Wang and Gates is a photograph of Huang Furong, a Hong Kong volunteer, who died during the 14 April 2010 Yushu Earthquake in Qinghai Province while attempting to rescue three orphans and a school teacher (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 32). Huang is described as a ‘philanthropic figure’. His family donated HKD 810,000 after his death to establish the ‘Huang Furong Lifecare Fund’, which is managed by the Hong Kong Red Cross, and assists orphans, and poor and sick children in mainland China (‘Huang Furong chuan’ ai jijin chengli’ 2010; ‘Xianggang yigong Huang Furong’ 2010). On 20 August 2010, the Liaison Office of the Central People’s Government in the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region awarded Huang the posthumous title of an ‘Outstanding, Self-sacrificing Disaster-relief Volunteer’ (*Kangzhen jiuzai sheji jiuren jiechu yigong*, 抗震救灾舍己救人杰出英雄) at an official ceremony (‘Xianggang yigong Huang Furong’ 2010).

The *Philanthropy Readers* provide examples of model philanthropists from the PRC and other parts of the world who are physically challenged, and who are described as ‘people who inspire us’. For example, Unit 2 of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* introduces Tai Lihua, a hard of hearing dancer from Hubei Province who is famous in the PRC for leading a troupe of 21 other people who are hard of hearing at a performance on China Central Television Station’s 2005 Spring Festival Gala (Tai Lihua 2011). The Gala, which is shown annually on the eve of the Chinese lunar new year, is the most-watched television show in China (‘Chunwan biaohan jibei Aosika’ 2012). Tai is now the Art Director of China Disabled People’s Performing Art Troupe (CDPPAT). The CDPPAT has conducted a number of charity activities and performances, and they donated income from their performances to establish the ‘“My Dream” Harmony Fund’ in 2007, which helps people living with disabilities (‘Zhongguo canjiren yishutuan jianjie’ n.d.). Unit 2 of the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* introduces Helen

Keller (1880–1968), a deaf and blind American female writer, educator, philanthropist and social activist, who was awarded the USA Presidential Medal of Freedom, and is described as one of ‘Top 100 Heroes and Icons of the Twentieth Century’ by *Time* magazine (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 15).

The *Philanthropy Readers* also include examples of ‘grassroots philanthropists’ (*caogen cishanjia*, 草根慈善家) – people who help others even though they have limited means of livelihood. Unit 3 of the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* introduces a female waste collector from Linyi City in Shandong Province called Ren Yan, who reportedly lives in a 10 square-metre shabby room with her husband and teenage son. While living frugally, Ren gave CNY 1,400 to a divorcee experiencing financial hardship, CNY 600 to a neighbour whose mother died tragically, and CNY 1,000 to poor students in a local primary school. Ren was said to have assisted an elderly paraplegic beggar for eight years, helping him bathe and wash his clothes, and also regularly visited children in orphanages. Local people apparently often sell recyclable materials to Ren Yan, or give recyclable materials to her because of her willingness to help people in need, and her son’s classmates call her a ‘compassionate mother’ (*aixin mama*, 爱心妈妈). Ren was awarded the title in 2010 of a ‘Person of the Year Who Inspired Linyi County’ (*Gandong Linyi niandu renwu*, 感动临沂年度人物), by the Linyi City Publicity Department and Linyi Radio and Television Station (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 31–2; ‘2010 “Gandong Linyi” niandu renwu banjiang dianli juxing’ 2011).

Unit 3 of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* and Unit 3 of the secondary *Philanthropy Reader* are about Mother Teresa (1910–1997), a Catholic nun and winner of the 1979 Nobel Peace Prize, who is described as a ‘charity worker’ (*cishan gongzuozhe*, 慈善工作者) (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 39, 2011b: 33). Mother Teresa is famous, among other things, for running open-air schools for impoverished children living in the slums of Calcutta in India. She taught children to read and write, and about

good hygiene, by writing letters with sticks on the dusty ground. She also donated the money from her Nobel Peace Prize award to build homes for the destitute, especially for lepers (Priol 1979).

Unit 4 of the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* uses a series of quotations from Mother Teresa to illustrate the concept of ‘love’ (*ai*, 爱) and to teach students how to be philanthropic. Quotations from Mother Teresa suggest that love comes from the family and that people who love others and who help others are happy people, even though they may not be rich financially (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 54). Mother Teresa’s philanthropy was informed by the principle that expressing love of humanity meant helping and caring for others in a genuine fashion. To use Mother Teresa’s words: ‘when talking to others, talk gently and let kindness appear on your face, in your eyes, in your smile and in your warm greetings. Always show a pleasant smile. Put care in your heart’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 52). While the example is western, it bears noting that Buddhist and Taoist religious organizations have recently been permitted to develop in China and government regulations now urge them to actively engage in philanthropy (see Cooke 2009; Laliberté 2012).

The China Philanthropy Education Network also encourages students to engage with philanthropic role models in a section called ‘People Who Inspire China’ (‘Zhonghua cishan jiang’ n.d.). The section includes images of charity award-winners such as billionaires Wang Jianlin and Chen Guangbiao. It includes other role models who are not listed in the *Philanthropy Readers*, such as celebrities and police officers.

The range of role models provided in the *Philanthropy Readers* and online is thus highly diverse. They comprise youth philanthropists, elite philanthropists, famous personages, religious figures, people living with disabilities, and poor people, and people from China and other parts of the world. The message is clearly that anyone can be a philanthropist; philanthropy is a function of personal beliefs and practices, rather than

culture, wealth and status. The *Philanthropy Readers*' discussion of philanthropic organizations and initiatives demonstrate a similar attention to diversity.

### **Philanthropic organizations and initiatives**

The two *Philanthropy Readers* introduce students to 36 philanthropic organizations and initiatives, the bulk of which are from countries other than China (see Table 3.2). The China Philanthropy Education Network similarly encourages students to engage with over 30 philanthropic/charitable organizations from different parts of the world (see 'Cishan jigou' n.d.). The primary-school reader refers to six philanthropies from mainland China, and five from Hong Kong, South Africa, Taiwan and the USA. The secondary-school reader refers 13 philanthropies from mainland China and 12 from Africa, Bangladesh, Hong Kong, India, the UK and the USA.

**Table 3.2: Distribution of Philanthropic Organizations, *Philanthropy Readers***

Number of Organizations	Primary Reader	Secondary Reader
Total	11	25
Mainland China	6	13
Other countries/continent	5 (3 USA)	12 (4 USA)

Table 3.3 provides a list of the different organizations and initiatives that are included in the primary school *Philanthropy Reader*; it underscores the importance of government organizations in leading and directing philanthropy in mainland China, as five of the six mainland Chinese philanthropies are GONGOs. Unsurprisingly, these philanthropies focus on areas of need as outlined in the Guidelines for Developing Philanthropy in China (2011–2015) and the PRC's Twelfth Five Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development (2011–2015), namely: disaster-relief, humanitarian aid, child and youth welfare and education, orphans and

disabled people (Minzhengbu 2011: Article 1; Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2011: Section II, Chapter 28, Part 7; Sections II & III, Chapter 33, Part 8; Section III, Section V, Chapter 36, Part 8). The only exception is the Little Volunteers League, which is an individual philanthropic initiative founded by a primary school student named Zhu Yingyue in 2009 to donate books to impoverished children ('Xiaozhiyuanzhe lianmeng' n.d.).

The five organizations from overseas comprise three USA-based non-profit organizations (the China Care Foundation, the Library Project and the United Way) and two foundations – the South African-based Amy Biehl Foundation Trust and the Taiwan Tzu Chi Foundation. These NPOs and foundations are concerned with areas of poverty, youth education, crime prevention, health and disability. Hence, their activities also align with PRC Government policy priorities.

**Table 3.3: Philanthropies in the Primary School *Philanthropy Reader***

	<b>Organization/initiative</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Focus</b>
1	China Charity Federation 中华慈善总会	GONGO (China) Est. 1994	Disaster-relief; orphans; disabled
2	Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会	GONGO(China) Est. 1904	Disaster-relief; humanitarian aid
3	China Soong Ching Ling Foundation 中国宋庆龄基金会	GONGO (China) Est. 1982	Child education; welfare
4	China Youth Development Foundation 中国青少年发展基金会	GONGO (China) Est. 1989	Youth
5	School Children's Assistance Fund 救助失学儿童专项基金	GONGO (China) Est. 1981	Youth welfare
6	Little Volunteers League 小志愿者联盟	Individual (China) Est. 2009 (Zhu	Book donations



		Yingyue)	
7	China Care Foundation	NPO (USA) Est. 2000 (Matt Dalio)	Disabled children
8	The Library Project	NPO (USA) Est. 2006 (Tom Stader)	Book, library donations (China, Vietnam)
9	United Way	NPO (USA) Est. 1887	Youth; education; health; family support
10	Amy Biehl Foundation Trust	Foundation (S. Africa) Est. 1997	Education; crime prevention
11	Taiwan Tzu Chi Foundation 台湾慈济基金会	Foundation (Taiwan) Est. 1966	Poverty; welfare

Table 3.4 provides a list of the different organizations and initiatives from mainland China that are discussed in the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader*. It similarly underscores the importance of government organizations in leading and directing philanthropy in mainland China, as eight of the 13 mainland Chinese philanthropies are GONGOs. These organizations also work on areas that accord with PRC Government policy priorities such as: disaster relief; poverty alleviation; youth education, health and welfare; and volunteering (Minzhengbu 2011: Article I; Article VI; Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2011: Sections I, II & III, Chapter 26, Part 6; Sections II & III, Chapter 33, Part 8; Section I, Chapter 38, Part 8). The only exceptions are individual philanthropic initiatives, including China Free Hugs, Donate Clothes and Donate Rice. China Free Hugs was founded by Cai Zihao in 2006 to demonstrate care for others (Tang Honghui 2006); Donate Clothes was founded by Shaniuxiannian in 2007 to clothe poor children ('Juan jiuyifu ba' n.d.); and Donate Rice was founded by Yang Ming in 2009 to feed poor families ('Chagang jianjie' n.d.).

**Table 3.4: Mainland Philanthropies in the Secondary School*****Philanthropy Reader***

	<b>Organization/initiative</b>	<b>Type</b>	<b>Focus</b>
1	Communist Youth League of China 中国共产主义青年团	GONGO (China) Est. 1920	Youth
2	China Youth Development Foundation (CYDF) 中国青少年发展基金会	GONGO (China) Est. 1989	Youth, education
3	Project Hope (CYDF) 希望工程	GONGO (China) Est. 1989	Education
4	The Spring Bud Project (CYDF) 春蕾工程	GONGO (China) Est. 1989	Education
5	Red Cross Society of China 中国红十字会	GONGO (China) Est. 1904	Disaster- relief
6	Chinese Young Volunteers Association 中国青年志愿者协会	GONGO (China) Est. 1994	Volunteeri ng
7	BriteEye 亮睛行动	GONGO (China) (Shenzhen Govt.) Est. 2009	Health (youth eye care)
8	Linyi Children's Welfare Home 临沂市儿童福利院	GONGO (China) (Linyi City Govt.) Est. 2006	Orphans
9	Xiangfan Trade Union 襄樊市总工会	GONGO (China) (Xiangfan City Govt.) Est. n.d.	Youth education
10	One Foundation 壹基金	Foundation (China) Est. 2007	Disaster- relief; child welfare

11	China Free Hugs 中国抱抱团	Individual initiative (China) Est. 2006 (Cai Zihao)	Care for others
12	Donate Clothes 捐旧衣服吧	Microcharity (China) Est. 2007	Poverty alleviation
13	Donate Rice 捐爱心米活动	Microcharity (China) Est. 2009	Poverty alleviation

Table 3.5 provides a list of the 12 overseas organizations and initiatives that are discussed in the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader*. Three of these organizations and initiatives are from Hong Kong (two international NGOs and a Christian humanitarian aid organization). Three are USA-based foundations – the Carnegie Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. The remaining six organizations and initiatives comprise: two NPOs (Roots and Shoots and the Aravind Eye Care Hospital); a social enterprise called Alive and Kicking; the Yunus Grameen Bank, a microfinance organization; an individual initiative called Free Hugs; and an international fund-raising event known as the Philanthropy Carnival. These organizations and initiatives are concerned with areas of humanitarian aid, poverty alleviation, disaster relief, child/youth education, health, human well-being, fund raising, environment and microcredit.

**Table 3.5: Overseas Philanthropies in the Secondary School  
*Philanthropy Reader***

	Organization/initiative	Type	Focus
1	World Vision Hong Kong	Christian humanitarian organization (Hong Kong) Est. 1982	Children; education; environment

2	Oxfam Hong Kong 乐施会香港	NGO (Hong Kong) Est. 1976	Humanitarian aid
3	Oxfam China Development Fund 乐施会中国发展基金会	NGO (Hong Kong) Est. 1992	Poverty alleviation; disaster relief
4	Carnegie Foundation	Foundation (USA) Est. 1911	Child/youth education, health
5	Rockefeller Foundation	Foundation (USA) Est. 1913	Well-being
6	Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation	Foundation USA Est. 1997	Education, health, poverty reduction
7	Free Hugs	Individual (USA) Est. n.d. (Jason Hunter)	Well-being
8	Roots & Shoots	NPO (UK) Est.1991 (Dr J. Goodall)	Youth; environment; humanitarian aid
9	Alive and Kicking	Social Enterprise (Africa) Est. 2004 (Jim Cogan)	Children; health education; adult employment
10	Aravind Eye Care Hospital	NPO (India) Est. 1976	Eye care
11	Yunus Grameen Bank	Microfinance (Bangladesh) Est. 1976	Microcredit
12	Philanthropy Carnival	Global charity activities Est. n.d.	Fund raising entertainment

The next section looks at how these organizations/initiatives are presented to primary and secondary school children in China and with what pedagogical goals.

### **Learning about philanthropic organizations and initiatives (the primary-school *Philanthropy Reader*)**

Most of the mainland Chinese philanthropy organizations and initiatives that are presented in the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* are introduced in Activity 2 of Unit 2, ‘Collect Compassion Pictures’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 32–3). Activity 1, titled ‘They Need Our Help’, first establishes the need for such organizations by showing images of young children studying in make-shift schools with muddy floors, without windows and chairs, and even outdoors in the snow. It also presents images of orphans and young children who want to go to school but who are unable to do so because of a disability or because poverty means they have to work. The activity asks students to reflect upon these images and to discuss their subsequent thoughts and how they might help children in such circumstances. A highlighted textbox titled ‘Do You Know’ states that the School Children’s Assistance Fund (a GONGO), which was established in 1981, has helped more than 1.2 million poor children to go to school (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 29).

Activity 2 introduces six organizations under the heading ‘Philanthropy Organizations I Know’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 32–3). The organizations are presented after students are first asked to choose their favourite philanthropist, with suggested models being Wang Jianlin, Bill Gates and Huang Furong, and then to discuss people whose actions have ‘moved them’, for example, students who donated money to help a classmate with leukaemia, or simply assisted people on the street. The logos of six organizations are subsequently presented as examples that students should be aware of. Four of the organizations are from mainland China: the China Charity Federation; the Red Cross Society of China; the China Soong Ching Ling Foundation; and the China Youth Development Foundation. Two are from Greater China or overseas: the Taiwan Tzu Chi Foundation and the USA-based United Way. Students are instructed to go online in order to find out more about particular philanthropies, with URLs being

provided for: the China Charity Federation, the Red Cross Society of China and the Tzu Chi Foundation. In addition, students are directed through text and images to look at philanthropy websites and magazines, including the website [charity.gov.cn](http://charity.gov.cn) and magazines such as *Charity* (*Cishan*, 慈善), *Global Charity* (*Huanqiu cishan*, 环球慈善), *The Charity* (*Shijie cishanjia*, 世界慈善家)<sup>8</sup> and *China Philanthropist* (*Zhongguo cishanjia*, 中国慈善家).

Unit 2 of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* also introduces students to international organizations, such as the China Care Foundation, and its founder Matthew A. Dalio. As discussed above, the text explains that Matthew Dalio established the China Care Foundation in 2000 when he was only 16 years old to support American families who adopt Chinese children with disabilities and Chinese families that foster children with disabilities. An image shows Dalio as an adult holding a Chinese baby with a disability (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 30–1).

The Amy Biehl Foundation Trust is discussed in Activity 1 of Unit 3, ‘Read Compassion Stories’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 37). The Amy Biehl Foundation Trust was founded with a gift of USD 500,000 from the parents of Amy Biehl and other people to commemorate the life of Amy Biehl, an American anti-apartheid activist who was killed during racial violence in South Africa in 1993. The Trust aims to create ‘future emotionally well rounded individuals, leaders and entrepreneurs for South Africa’ and prevent crime by providing educational and cultural activities for youth ([www.amybiehl.co.za/](http://www.amybiehl.co.za/)). Students are instructed to read the story behind the establishment of the Foundation and to discuss it with classmates, and to consider socially responsible approaches to addressing child and youth violence stemming from poverty (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 42–3).

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<sup>8</sup> The Charity is an English-language magazine produced in the USA; it is now available in Chinese with slightly altered content (‘Central Florida Charity Magazine’ n.d.; ‘Shijie cishanjia’ n.d.; ‘Shijie cishanjia zazhi: Quanqiu’ n.d.)

Students are introduced to the Library Project as a practical activity in Activity 2 of Unit 6, ‘Make Our Compassion Action Plan’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 76–7). The Library Project is a philanthropic organization that works with the Xi’an Charity Federation to create libraries in rural primary schools. Students are given contact details for The Library Project, including a postal address, contact person, telephone number, and email address, and encouraged to bring books that they wish to donate to class (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 77). Donated books are then collected from each class at a given school and sent to The Library Project, with schools and classes being encouraged to offer incentives by giving awards to those classes and students who donate the most books (a consideration which may also have the negative effect of rewarding or giving status to more affluent students). A highlighted textbox titled ‘Compassion Reminder’ encourages students to engage in cost-efficient philanthropy; it advises students to send books through the post office because their services are cheaper than private courier companies (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 78).

The forms of philanthropic education that are provided to students in the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* are thus information-orientated, reflective, cooperative, practical, internationalizing and somewhat business orientated. They encourage children to imagine children in less fortunate conditions than themselves and to contribute to improving the lives of other children by supporting relevant philanthropic organizations. They are also introduced to philanthropists and philanthropic organizations from China and from other parts of the world. In short, primary school *Philanthropy Reader* promotes concepts of compassion and sharing, and giving back to society, as both Chinese and international values for children to develop and carry on throughout their adult life.

## **Learning about philanthropic organizations and initiatives (the secondary-school *Philanthropy Reader*)**

The secondary school *Philanthropy Reader* aims to encourage youth to contribute to positive social change and broaden their knowledge of supporting individuals and communities in need in China and in other parts of world. In Activity 1 of Unit 1, students are informed that they are privileged and should care about those who are less fortunate because there are over 100 million people in the world who do not have enough food to eat, 126 million children with no schools to go to; and over 500 million people suffering the impact of war, famine and natural disasters (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 11–2). After reading about famous ‘humanist’ novels and learning about early UN ambassadors for poverty alleviation in Africa, students are encouraged to ‘light a candle in their hearts to light the way when they feel disheartened by difficult circumstances’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 10–1).

In Activity 2 of Unit 1, ‘Making Philanthropy Maps’, students create a local philanthropy service map, a China philanthropy map and a world philanthropy map respectively (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 6). Students are first instructed to form small groups of 3–4 students to collect information about philanthropy from local, national and international media in turn, and to choose a name for the group that reflects their philanthropic focus. That information is then collated in a grid to create a ‘philanthropy map’. For example, students create a China philanthropy map by categorizing and colour-coding the information that they have collected from national Chinese newspapers on the basis of targeted populations such as poor children and the elderly. Coloured markers of varying sizes to represent the extent of the problem are then placed on provinces on a map of China to indicate areas where help is needed. Students are also asked to list examples of disaster-relief and other philanthropic projects and are provided with specific examples to assist them with this goal. The examples provided include: Project Hope, a GONGO founded in 1989 to help impoverished



children to go to school; and BriteEye, a public-private collaboration that provides youth eye care, founded in 2009 by the Guangdong Department of Education, the Guangdong Association For Science and Technology, and the Shenzhen BriteEye Technology Company, among others (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 9).

Activity 1 of Unit 6, ‘Media Search: Learn About Philanthropy Around Us’, is another reflective exercise that aims to raise student awareness of philanthropy, by introducing them to five philanthropic organizations and their operating slogans. Students are first asked to consider the following question: ‘How can we encourage more people to be aware of the need for philanthropy and to be philanthropic?’ Students form small groups to conduct four activities. First, they select media reports from 1–2 reputable sources on philanthropic activities over a period of 2–3 weeks. Second, they conduct a structured content analysis of these articles, noting their major thematic concerns. Third, they write a philanthropy report about the media reports they surveyed, noting their contents and perceived effectiveness, and providing suggestions for improving public awareness of philanthropy. Finally, their findings are communicated to the rest of the class. A similar activity is then conducted focusing on Chinese philanthropy magazine and websites, and school and community noticeboards (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 74–6).

After sharing their reports and ideas, students are told about the positive roles of charity lists in promoting philanthropy, and are introduced through a highlighted textbox to the operating slogans of different types of philanthropies. These include: the Red Cross Society of China, a GONGO which operates under the slogan of ‘Humanity, Impartiality, Neutrality, Independence’; the One Foundation, a public-fundraising foundation which operates under the slogan of ‘Philanthropy, You Have the Ability’; and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, an international public-private collaboration which operates under the slogan of ‘All Lives Have Equal Value’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 77). The aim of these activities

is clearly to broaden youth knowledge of philanthropy and to encourage them to contribute in new ways to society.

The secondary *Philanthropy Reader* also has practical exercises, which introduce students to microphilanthropies – online charities that operate on the principle of ‘being small in a big way’. In Activity 1 of Unit 3, ‘Ransack Your Cupboards’, students are encouraged to donate high-quality second-hand clothing to people in poor areas of China. Apart from discussing their personal experiences of donating clothes, students are introduced to an online community on Baidu.com, a major Chinese search engine, called ‘Donate Clothes’, which was founded by a netizen with the handle ‘Shaniuxiannian’ on 2 April 2007. The site now has over 200,000 donors who call themselves ‘Lavender’ in reference to the smell of cleaned used clothes (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 26).

Students are encouraged to donate clothes as follows. First, they ask their family and friends if they have any practical experience of donating second-hand items, and, if so, to ascertain what kind of items they donated and whether the items were cleaned and disinfected prior to donation. Second, students are encouraged to tidy their cupboards at home with their parents to see if they have any items to donate. A highlighted textbox titled ‘The Do’s and Don’ts of Donating Used Clothes’ provides them with a list of what to do and what not to do. The ‘do’s’ include providing neat, clean, unstained, and good-quality clothes, especially winter clothing, which may be expensive and hard to access in poor regions of China. Students are advised not to include stained, torn, dirty, or summer clothing (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 27). As in other parts of the world, philanthropic organizations in China often receive soiled or unusable goods that are in effect ‘rubbish’ and cost the organization money and time to deal with (‘Shiwu juanzeng yao jiangjiu shiyong jiazhi’ 2012). Other instructions encourage students to sort through storage cupboards with their parents, donating items that they no longer use or really need, and hence whose value is unrealised because they are not being used. Third, students sort

donated items based on a provided grid, which lists the original owners of the items, frequency of use, original cost and current estimated value (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 29–30).

Students are encouraged to think about concepts of ‘want’, ‘need’ and ‘waste’ with reference to a survey conducted in a UK apparel factory. The survey showed that women who worked at the factory had purchased numerous clothing items. However, each woman on average had 22 items which they no longer wore, but were reluctant to discard because they felt it would be wasteful to discard little-worn clothing. Extrapolated to a national level, this amounts to unused goods worth GBP 1.6 billion (‘Quan Yingguo funü’ 2011). Students are subsequently encouraged to make sensible purchases, that is, to only purchase what they actually need, and to find a use for good quality items that they no longer use (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 30–1). The aim is to encourage conservation of resources and social responsibility. It bears noting that this accords with China’s historical and current emphasis on thriftiness and frugality, but runs counter to the overarching policy of promoting economic growth through increased consumption (Cai Zhizhou 2013; ‘The US-China Business Council’ 2013).

Activity 3 of Unit 3, ‘The Most Precious Corner’, encourages students to think about the advantages of microphilanthropies, especially for busy professionals. Following a discussion of a philanthropic initiative called ‘Donate Rice’ (see above), students are encouraged to consider what other forms of philanthropic activity could be conducted on social media with limited time (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 35–6). They then make a ‘Philanthropy Timetable’, which involves keeping a diary of their weekly activities and highlighting ‘blank’ spots, that is, free time periods. Subject to approval from their parents, students are encouraged to devote some of this time to engaging in philanthropic activities (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 36).

Activity 3 concludes with a quotation from American marine biologist and conservationist Rachel Louise Carson: ‘Good coffee should be shared with friends, so should good opportunities with friends; we must share our earth with other beings’ (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 37). Students are told that through the above-mentioned exercises, and practical experience of donating clothes, they have started learning about their shared humanity and how to help others by engaging in philanthropy. They are also told that the more they share with others, the broader their life will become (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 37).

These are standard inducements for youth involvement in philanthropy, not only in China. The general suggestion here, as in western literature on philanthropy education, is that donating and volunteering ‘anywhere’ offers a space of experimentation for young people to work on their own skills, to ‘fulfil’ themselves in a more moral or spiritual way, and to learn about and play an active role in ‘society’ (see Fleischer 2011; see also ‘About us (Youth as Resources)’ n.d.). The *Philanthropy Readers* locate philanthropic practices in Chinese history, especially Chinese philosophy on the importance of family and broader humanitarian values, and in contemporary philanthropic initiatives that are China-specific and international. While the *Philanthropy Readers* never explicitly mention the terms ‘citizenship’ and ‘socialism’, the texts are nonetheless located in a broader movement to develop philanthropy education as part of citizenship education in China, as the next chapter will explain.

## **Conclusion**

The *Philanthropy Readers* aim to provide engaging, curriculum-linked philanthropy education materials that can be accessed in classrooms across the PRC, in order to foster a philanthropic consciousness and sense of social responsibility among Chinese children and youth. The texts introduce students to the concept of ‘*cishan*’, understood as both human compassion and philanthropy, through a series of exercises that are information-

orientated, reflective, cooperative, and practical. Students are encouraged to approach philanthropy by embracing traditional Chinese (family) values, and are also taught that concepts of compassion, sharing and ‘giving back’ to the community are part of an international value system of social responsibility. Students are further encouraged to empathize with other people and to become life-long practising philanthropists through exposure to a wide range of images and stories about people demonstrating compassion to people in need, and through reference to multiple role models and different types of philanthropic initiatives. The overarching message is that everyone can and should be a philanthropist.

Adding to these developments, on 10 January 2013, the China Charity Federation released a ‘Notice on the Forum to Launch a “Philanthropic Culture in Schools”’ (hereafter ‘the Notice’), which was also posted on a webpage of the PRC’s Ministry of Civil Affairs (Guanyu zhaokai ‘cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan’ huodong zuotanhui de tongzhi 2013; <http://cszh.mca.gov.cn>). The Notice stated that a campaign had been launched to promote a philanthropic culture in schools, attracting the support of primary and secondary students, and their teachers and parents, and philanthropic organizations and education departments across the nation. It concluded that this innovative campaign would help to normalize a culture of philanthropy in China’s schools, and thus contribute to the development of a harmonious society and the creation of citizens who engage in philanthropy as part of their lifestyle (Section 2, ‘Guanyu zhaokai “Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan” huodong zuotanhui de tongzhi’ 2013). On its website, the CCF further explains that building a philanthropic culture in schools is about building socialist spiritual civilization (‘Zhijiao zhuxue: cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan’ n.d.).

Chapter 4 consequently examines the roll-out of the campaign to develop a philanthropic culture in schools, and public debates surrounding those efforts.



## 4 Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools

This chapter looks at a communication campaign launched by the China Charity Federation in late 2011 called ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ (*cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan*, 慈善文化进校园) (‘Zhijiao zhuxue: cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan’ n.d.). Chinese communication campaigns are ‘typically considered as having a set of purposive activities organized by one sponsoring party to solicit desired attitudinal and/or behavioral changes in another party within a certain period of time’ (Wang Jianglong 2002: 132). The CCF’s purposive activity in this instance is to support government directives advocating the development of a philanthropic culture among Chinese youth by 2020 (‘Guowuyuan guanyu’ 2014; Minzhengbu 2011: Section 1, Part II; Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2011: Chapter 44). Although the CCF’s campaign is endorsed by the Central People’s Government, being publicized on the Ministry of Civil Affairs website, it refers to a public-private collaboration, rather than a government initiative (‘Zhonghua Cishan Zonghui “Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan”’ 2012).

The chapter examines the ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ campaign by examining dedicated sections about it in the CCF’s bimonthly magazine, *Charity (Cishan)*. *Charity* was launched by the China Charity Federation and the Tianjin Charity Federation in 1998, with funding from three private companies – the Guangdong Resun Group, Tasly Pharmaceuticals and Dynasty Wine (‘Xieban danwei’ 2012, 1: 3). In keeping with government policy, *Charity*’s stated mission is to promote socialist spiritual civilization, moral education, compassion and humanity, as well as Chinese cultural values that promote these goals (‘Huangyi dingyue 2012 nian “Cishan” zazhi’ 2012, 1: 2). The magazine, which is edited by Hang Ying and Li

Yulin, is also described an important means for the CCF to publicize and promote its activities ('Huangyi dingyue 2012 nian "Cishan" zazhi' 2012, 1: 2). Apart from providing detailed information about the Editors, supervising organizations and sponsors of the magazine (*Charity* 2012, 2: 3), it often contains advertisements for both private and state-owned companies that sponsor it by paying for advertising space (see *Charity* 2012, 1: 75–7; 'Yao xiang shenti hao tiantian chi yanzao' 2013). *Charity* thus comprises an early and established example of a public-private philanthropy-related collaboration in China.

Shortly after the initial distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* in late 2011, the CCF started publishing two regular sections in *Charity* magazine about the roll-out and reception of the 'Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools' campaign. A section called 'Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools' was started in January 2012. A second section called 'Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools' (*cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan zhengwen xuandeng*, 慈善文化进校园征文选登) was started in March 2012 (*Charity* 2012, 1: 6–13; 'Guanyu zhaokai "Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan" huodong zuotanhui de tongzhi' 2013; *Charity* 2012, 2: 13–7). Both sections were a continued feature of the magazine at the time of writing in mid-2015. Some of the content from these two sections is also available on the China Philanthropy Education Network (e.g. 'Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan' n.d.; 'Duben zhengwen xuandeng' n.d.)

The chapter examines how the campaign to promote a culture of philanthropy in schools is framed in these two sections of *Charity* magazine, focusing on the responses of government officials, students, and students' parents and teachers to the distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* to schools across China. It first examines the inaugural publication of *Charity*'s 'Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools' to show how the campaign developed through public-private collaborations and local government support. It then examines students' responses to the campaign as detailed in *Charity*'s 'Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools'. I



conclude that the campaign has had a mixed impact to date, being treated as an extension of classroom-based rote-learning exercises and an incitement to enter into a ‘service-learning journey’.

### ***Charity* magazine’s ‘Philanthropic culture enters schools’**

With over 100 published issues which are now also available online, *Charity* is reportedly attracting a growing readership of people involved in the PRC’s philanthropy sector, including people working in government, educational and charity organizations, and those with an interest in philanthropy more generally (‘Cishan’ n.d.; ‘Guanyu liangnian lai cishan gongzuo de baogao’ 2002; Personal communication, Li Yulin, 28 May 2014). According to Li Yulin, the magazine originally was only expected to have a circulation of around 3,000 copies per issue. However, within the space of two years (1998–1999), this figure had reached between 30,000 and 50,000 copies per issue (cited in Lin Sen 2000). *Charity* is distributed through post offices or subscription, with a print copy costing CNY 6.80 and an electronic copy CNY 2.72, and free copies of each issue are provided to local charity organizations across the nation (Personal communication, Tianjin Charity Federation, 28 April 2012).

The inaugural publication of ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ in the January 2012 issue of *Charity* (total issue number 83) contains five articles which highlight the integral role envisioned for the *Philanthropy Readers* in supporting government policy directives on promoting a culture of philanthropy among Chinese children and youth. The articles (listed in the order in which they appear) are titled:

- (1) ‘Message from the CCF Director’ (*Huizhang jiyu*, 会长寄语) (Fan Baojun 2012, 1: 6);
- (2) ‘The idea, design and thinking behind the *Philanthropy Readers* and suggestions for teachers’ (*Cishan duben de bianxie linian sheji silu he gei jiaoshi de jianyi*, 慈善读本的编写理念, 设计思路和给教师的建议) (Li Yulin and Li Jinfeng 2012, 1: 6–8);

- (3) ‘Beautiful Luoyuanwan: Starting a new chapter in philanthropy education’ (*Meili Luoyuanwan cishan jiaoyu kai xin pian*, 美丽罗源湾 慈善教育开新篇) (‘Boji’ 2012, 1: 9–11);
- (4) ‘Symphony of feelings, morals and reason’ (*Qing de li de jiaoxian*, 情德理的交响) (Zhang Bo 2012c, 1: 11–2); and
- (5) ‘Notes on the *Philanthropy Readers*’ donation project’ (*Cishan duben juanzeng xiangmu jishi*, 慈善读本项目捐赠项目记事) (‘Editing Department’ 2012a, 1: 13).

The publication of these articles suggests that the *Philanthropy Readers* were introduced in Chinese schools in accordance with educational and other government policies, drawing on indigenous and international practice, and with private funding and local government support; moreover, the pilot implementation of the campaign has met with popular acclaim. Figure 4.1 provides an image of the cover of the January 2012 issue of *Charity* magazine, which shows a young woman dressed in Mulao ethnic minority costume holding up the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader*. The covers of both readers are located at the top left-hand side of the image.

The first article by the Director of the CCF, Fan Baojun (2012, 1: 6) states that the aim of the magazine’s new section on ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ is to act as a communication platform for the campaign to develop a culture of philanthropy in schools as represented by *Philanthropy Readers*. Fan (2012, 1: 6) argues that China has an historical culture of philanthropy, as evidenced by traditional sayings by the philosopher-sages Confucius (BC 551–479) and Mencius (BC 372–289). These sayings include: ‘a benevolent person loves others’ (*renzhe airen*, 仁者爱人); ‘one should not treat others in ways that one would not like oneself to be treated’ (*jisuo buyu wushi yuren*, 己所不欲 勿施于人); and ‘people love people who love people’ (*airenzhe renheng aizhi*, 爱人者 人恒爱之). Fan states that the campaign will entrench that culture by raising public awareness of philanthropy and fostering new practices whereby ‘everyone participates in philanthropy and

everyone shows compassion' (*renren canyu cishan, renren fengxian aixin*, 人人参与慈善 人人奉献爱心) (Fan Baojun 2012, 1: 6). He thus suggests that the introduction of the *Philanthropy Readers* in Chinese schools has the stamp of government approval and that philanthropy per se is rooted in Chinese culture and values, which echoes the CCF's general mission statement.

**Figure 4.1: Young Woman Holding a *Philanthropy Reader: Charity Magazine*, January 2012**



Source: *Cishan* [Charity Magazine] (2012) Issue 1.

The second article by Li Yulin and Li Jinfeng (2012, 1: 6–8) elaborates on the idea, design and thinking behind the development of the *Philanthropy Readers*, and provides suggestions for teachers using them. Li Yulin is a chief editor of both *Charity* magazine and the *Philanthropy Readers*. Li Jinfeng, an Associate Professor in Humanities and International Exchange at the Shanghai Second Polytechnic University, coordinated the contents of the primary school *Philanthropy Reader*. As they explain, the *Philanthropy Readers* augment the national curriculum by adding compassion-themed content to foster a sense of social responsibility among school children, and encourage youth interest, awareness and engagement with philanthropy as future philanthropic citizens (Li Yulin and Li Jinfeng 2012, 1: 7).

Li and Li (2012, 1: 6–8) add that the *Philanthropy Readers* are based on educational innovations from China and overseas. The *Philanthropy Readers* draw on three documents issued by the Ministry of Education in 2011, which encourage students to become active and responsible citizens. These are: (1) Curriculum Criteria for Compulsory Education on Ideology and Morality (*yiwu jiaoyu sixiang pinde kecheng biao zhun*, 义务教育思想品德课程标准); (2) Curriculum Criteria for Compulsory Education on Morality and Society (*yiwu jiaoyu pinde yu shehui kecheng biao zhun*, 义务教育品德与社会课程标准); and (3) Curriculum Criteria for Compulsory Education on Morality and Life (*yiwu jiaoyu pinde yu shenghuo kecheng biao zhun*, 义务教育品德与生活课程标准) (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo jiaoyubu zhiding 2011: 2). The *Philanthropy Readers* also use content developed from overseas educational materials, including the US-based philanthropy education website, ‘Learning to Give’ (<http://learningtogive.org/>) (see also Zhang Guosheng 2012b). This content is exemplified through discussion-, art- and performance-orientated exercises that aim to interest children.

Li Yulin and Li Jinfeng (2012, 1: 6–8) conclude that the launch of the *Philanthropy Readers* on 8 November 2011 had attracted more than 63,000 articles or comments online or in broadcast media, with a generally positive response. For example, a survey in Xinhua News Agency’s ‘Today’s Topic’ (*jinri huati*, 今日话题) had asked people whether they supported the introduction of the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools. Of nearly 1,500 respondents, 72 per cent had said ‘yes’; 24 per cent had said ‘no’, and 3 per cent had replied that they were unsure (see also ‘Guonei shoubu “Cishan duben” ruxiaoyuan yinreiyi’ n.d.). Li and Li cite this positive response to suggest that the majority of people welcome the introduction of the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools, which implies public endorsement of the campaign.

The third article offers examples of eight schools or test sites that had started using the *Philanthropy Readers* in Luoyuan County, Fuzhou City, Fujian Province (‘Boji’ 2012, 1: 9–11). A ceremony was held at the Luoyuan No. 3 Secondary School on 28 November 2011, at which 5,000 copies of the *Philanthropy Readers* were distributed to eight primary and secondary schools in Luoyuan County by the CCF and the Fuzhou Charity Association. Dong Zhigan, Deputy Governor of Luoyuan County, You Liang, Director of Luoyuan County’s Education Bureau and Xu Jianfeng, a student representative, gave speeches at the ceremony. The Deputy Governor praised the *Philanthropy Readers* for promoting the innovative concept that compassion education starts with children and hence breaking with traditional education models that focus on didactic ideological education (*guanshu he shuojiao shi sixiang jiaoyu*, 灌输和说教式思想教育). Dong urged local education departments to ensure the successful roll-out of the campaign to develop a philanthropic culture among students, who would then influence their parents and foster philanthropic practices throughout society (‘Boji’ 2012, 1: 9). The Director of the Luoyuan Education Bureau urged teachers and students to read the *Philanthropy Readers*, describing them as ‘spiritual food’ (*jingshen shiliang*, 精神食粮) that would develop reliable builders of socialism with Chinese

characteristics ('Boji' 2012, 1: 10). Student representative, Xu Jianfeng, said that he endorsed the *Philanthropy Readers* because donations from his school and local charity organizations had transformed his life, by providing money to treat him for an infection of the spinal cord that can cause paralysis and sensory loss ('Boji' 2012, 1: 10–11). Apart from echoing established links between quality education, philanthropy and the creation of socialist citizens (see Chapter 3), the article as a whole highlights local government and community support for the introduction of the *Philanthropy Readers* in particular regions of China.

The fourth article by a school teacher named Zhang Bo, who also selected student essays for inclusion in *Charity's* 'Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools', endorses the *Philanthropy Readers* for promoting life-long learning about philanthropy (Zhang Bo 2012c, 1: 11–2; Zhang Bo 2012a, 4: 14). Noting that the books' are not organized around didactic instruction, Zhang urges teachers to help students grasp that life is about love for humanity and not money. Zhang adds that the *Philanthropy Readers* inevitably have shortcomings being the first philanthropy education textbooks in the history of the PRC, although any such shortcomings are not specified. Instead, Zhang concludes that readers and users of the texts and every Chinese citizen should work together to ensure that the books are accessible to students and resonate with their lives and social concerns (Zhang Bo 2012a, 4: 14).

The fifth article provides details about the organizations and individuals involved in the 'China Charity Federation and China New Epoch Charity Education Fund', a public-private collaboration established in January 2011 which led to the production and distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* ('Editing Department' 2012a, 1: 13; see also Chapter 3). The article details the names of additional donors such as the Wanda Group and Zhou Sen. It also details how many copies of the *Philanthropy Readers* were distributed to various schools across China, for example, in the cities of Fuzhou, Ma'anshan and Tianjin, and the provinces of Henan, Gansu, Shaanxi,

Sichuan and Qinghai ('Editing Department' 2012a, 1: 13). Again, the article highlights the dependence of the campaign on public-private collaborations, and the existence of local government support for the introduction of the *Philanthropy Readers* in different regions of China.

Subsequent articles in the 'Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools' section of *Charity* magazine are mainly about the implementation of the campaign in different parts of China, focusing on how local institutes (charity associations, education bureaus and schools) cooperated to distribute copies of the *Philanthropy Readers* and provide teaching guidelines, teacher training and government subsidies (e.g. Liu Chunyu 2013, 5: 19; Liu Weilong 2012, 3:16; Xu Shanlin 2012, 3: 16; Zhang Bo 2012b, 2: 10; Zhang Jiyuan 2012, 2: 8). They also report on the distribution of copies of the *Philanthropy Readers* to selected school and student responses (e.g. 'Nanzhong' 2013, 1: 20; 'Tianjin Baodiqu Chengsiding zhongxin xiaoxue' 2013, 1: 21; 'Yongkangjiefangxiaoxue' 2013, 5: 18). A 2015 article reports on the outcomes of a 'Philanthropy Culture Enters Schools (Investigation and Discussion) Symposium' convened by the CCF in Taizhou city, Zhejiang Province, between 25–26 November 2014, which was attended by representatives from local governments, charity organizations and schools that had been involved in observing the pilot implementation of the *Philanthropy Readers*. Participants at the symposium concluded that the campaign had not only developed a good momentum, but was a matter of great significance because it was educating youth to be socially responsible and would enrich China's emerging culture of philanthropy (Zhang Quan and Su Hong 2015: 36–41).

In contrast to official pronouncements on the campaign's progress and impact, students' responses to the campaign to establish a culture of philanthropy in schools are the main focus of *Charity*'s 'Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture in Schools'. A total of 277 articles were published in this section of the magazine between March 2012 and July 2014. The articles are composed chiefly by primary and secondary school students,

with a smaller number of articles by school teachers and the parents of school children. Of the 277 articles, 125 essays were written by primary school students; 91 by secondary school students; 44 by teachers, 11 by parents; 4 by the editors of *Charity* magazine; and 1 by a government official and a journalist respectively. In next two sections, I first examine the inaugural publication of ‘Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture in Schools’ and then look at a series of essays subsequently featured in that section.

### **Selected Essays on philanthropic culture enters schools**

The inaugural publication of ‘Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ featured in *Charity* magazine in March 2012. It contained seven prize-winning essays – the first winners of an ongoing competition which had involved more than 600,000 essay submissions by November 2014 (Li Yulin 2014). The first of the seven essays is by a government official, followed by essays by two students, two parents, and two teachers, from the Pengshan No. 2 Primary School in Meishan County, Sichuan Province (Cheng Fen 2012, 2: 13; Duan Hongzou 2012, 2: 14; Jiao Guoying 2012, 2: 16; Li Yudie 2012, 2: 15; Luo Bin 2012, 2: 15; Yang Ping 2012a, 2: 17; Zhu Xinyu 2012a, 2: 16). The essays are also available on the China Philanthropy Education Network (see, for example, Yang Ping 2012b; Zhu Xinyu 2012b).

The seven essays featured in the inaugural section are the winning responses to the first call for submissions to an ongoing essay competition called the ‘Wanda Cup: Papers on Philanthropic Culture in Schools Essay Competition’ (the original call for papers is included after the seven essays) (‘Editing Department’ 2012b, 2: 17). The call for papers asked interested people to submit essays about the campaign to promote a philanthropic culture in schools in a competition (‘Editing Department’ 2012b, 2: 17). People with an interest in the campaign, whether students, parents, teachers, government officials, or people with an interest in philanthropy, were encouraged to



write an essay of 1,000 characters or less focusing on their understanding and experiences of ‘philanthropy’, ‘philanthropic culture’ and ‘philanthropy education’, or providing comments and suggestions on the *Philanthropy Readers*. The call for papers concluded by stating that the CCF and related organizations would issue certificates and unspecified prizes for different age groups with the best essays being published in *Charity* magazine. The seven essays below feature as examples of best practice.

The first essay in the inaugural section of ‘Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ is ‘Good books should be shared’ (*Haoshu yao fenxiang*, 好书要分享) by Cheng Fen (2012, 2: 13), the Director of the Municipal Government Division of the China Charity and Donation Information Center in Beijing. In keeping with instructions provided in the call for papers, Cheng praises the *Philanthropy Readers* for being participation-orientated and encouraging practical and independent thinking, rather than being formulaic. She claims to have read the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* online and was inspired by the books’ promotion of philanthropy as a participatory culture, as opposed to being simply about ‘donating money’. She had then purchased and read the two *Philanthropy Readers*. Deciding that the books were meant to be shared, she had spent CNY 2,000 on purchasing copies to distribute in rural schools in her hometown of Hubei Province. Cheng claims that her purchase had inspired Fan Baojun, the Director of the CCF, to purchase copies of the *Philanthropy Readers* to distribute in his hometown of Tianjin in March 2012 (“‘Cishan wenhua jin xiaoyuan” Tianjin huodong jishi’ 2012). Cheng concludes by urging others to read and enjoy the books, and to share that enjoyment with others, presumably by following her example.

Cheng Fen’s essay is followed by a highlighted textbox which states that readers of the *Philanthropy Readers* and participants in the ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ campaign are most able to evaluate the impact and utility of the books (‘Editing Department’ 2012b, 2: 14). The textbox adds that students from the Pengshan No. 2 Primary School in Meishan County,

Sichuan Province, and the students' teachers and parents, were impressed with the *Philanthropy Readers* and this boded well for the development of 'philanthropy as an integral component of education'. It concludes that developing a philanthropic culture will improve the wellbeing of everyone in China, and therefore everyone should develop a philanthropic consciousness (*cishan zijue*, 慈善自觉).

The textbox is followed by essays from two students at the Pengshan No. 2 Primary School – Duan Hongzou and Li Yudie. Duan's essay, titled 'What is philanthropy?', states that everyone can learn about and practice philanthropy (Duan Hongzou 2012, 2: 14). Duan uses four quotations from the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* to demonstrate his understanding of philanthropy. The first is a Confucian-style couplet which was written by Yang Lexin to commemorate the '110<sup>th</sup> anniversary' of the Shantou Charity Association in Guangdong Province, or, more precisely, the early and recent history of that Association.<sup>9</sup> The couplet states: 'Philanthropy benefits the world and benevolence has its own origin, the path of virtue is boundless' (*ciji shijian renxin youzi, shanxing tianxia dadao wuyin*, 慈济世间仁心有自, 善行天下大道无垠). The second couplet is an inscription that was written for *Charity* magazine by Li Ruihuan, the former Chair of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which states: 'Show compassion to others, philanthropy benefits the world' (*cixin weiren, shanju jishi*, 慈心为人, 善举济世). Duan also quotes authors Leo Tolstoy and then Voltaire as saying: 'The pleasure of doing good things is the only reliable

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<sup>9</sup> The Shantou Benevolent Charity Association (*Shantou cunxin cishanhui*, 汕头存心慈善会), also called *Cunxin shantang*, 存心善堂) was established in 1899 by an overseas Chinese businessmen in the Chaoshan area of Shantou to provide poverty relief and build schools, hospitals and roads. It stopped operating in 1951 and was revived as a branch of the Shantou Charity Association in 2003. The Association now has over 80 social workers and more than 1,000 volunteers. In 2008, it was awarded the title of being a Chinese Advanced Patriotic Enterprise (*Zhonghua aiguo xianjin shifan danwei*, 中华爱国先进示范单位). The Director of the Association, Cai Mutong, has won numerous awards as a national charity worker, one of 'Guangdong Top 10 Philanthropists' and as a Shantou philanthropist ('Shantou Cunxin shantang yange' n.d.).

happiness in a person's life'; and, 'All men are equal; it is not birth but virtue alone that makes the difference' (see Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 13–14). Duan concludes that philanthropy is about more than donating money; it involves love for humanity, as illustrated by responses to the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake. People of different ages and walks of life were united in their similar desire to donate and help the victims of the earthquake. Gates, one of the richest men in world history, also provided USD 1.3 million to the PRC's Ministry of Health for earthquake-related emergency relief activities, and has pledged to bequeath all his money to charity upon his death (Borland 2008; Jiang Yan 2008). These examples follow the lead provided in the *Philanthropy Readers* by grounding philanthropic concepts and practices in both Chinese and western history and contemporary life.

Li Yudie's essay, titled 'The value of life', states that living is about contributing (*fengxian*, 奉献). Li tells a story that is not included in the *Philanthropy Readers*. The story starts with a dialogue between a rainbow and an arched stone bridge. The rainbow says to the bridge: 'Your life will last longer than mine'. The stone bridge replies: 'You are so beautiful that you will be remembered forever by the people who see you'. Li argues that the rainbow and the bridge think only about the length of life, whereas the value of life lies in its purpose: the stone bridge silently helps people to cross to the other side and the rainbow provides a beautiful image and memory. Li concludes that the value of life does not lie in life itself but rather in dedicating one's life to others (Li Yudie 2012, 2: 15). It thus offers a humanistic conception of philanthropy as voluntary service to humanity based on love for humanity.

The two student essays are followed by articles written by Luo Bin and Jiao Guoying, parents of students at the Pengshan No. 2 Primary School. Luo Bin's essay, titled 'Compassion education starts with youth', states that philanthropic education is an important but missing component of the Chinese education system, which focuses on students' examination scores

rather than on their personal development. Luo praises the *Philanthropy Readers* as a timely and welcome contribution to the curriculum, adding that parents should be aware of the importance of philanthropy education for children, family and society. Luo concludes that philanthropy education starts by doing small-scale philanthropic activities which can turn into more impactful activities with the support of parents, school teachers and other members of society. As a parent, Luo states that he is willing to act as a positive role model and supports the introduction of guest lectures on compassion at schools, and student visits to orphanages, nursing homes, and institutions providing palliative care (Luo Bin 2012, 2: 15).

The second parent essay by Jiao Guoying (2012, 2: 16) is titled ‘Be a good role-model for children’. Jiao argues that the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* is an accessible and significant text that promotes love and compassion through Chinese cartoon characters such as ‘Pleasant Goat and Big Big Wolf’, as well as through international pop songs such as Michael Jackson’s ‘Heal the world’ (see also Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 24–26). Jiao adds that promoting love towards others is important in present-day China, a society where people are becoming increasingly distant from one another, and urges parents to read the book with their children and be literally baptised (*xili*, 洗礼) in the spirit of compassion and thus to become a positive role model for children (Jiao Guoying 2012, 2: 16). Both of the essays by parents therefore endorse the *Philanthropy Readers* and the campaign to promote a culture of philanthropy in schools.

The next two essays are written by two teachers at the Pengshan No. 2 Primary School –Zhu Xinyu and Yang Ping. Zhu Xinyu’s essay, titled ‘Philanthropy is about compassion’, states that ‘philanthropy is about love of humanity, not money and donations (Zhu Xinyu 2012a, 2: 16). Zhu illustrates this point with reference to a story about a 60 year-old beggar who first donated CNY 5 to the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake disaster-relief efforts and later donated CNY 100 to the disaster-relief efforts. Although this story could not be found in the primary school *Philanthropy Reader*,

Zhu claims to have remembered the story after reading the textbook. Zhu (2012, 2: 16) concludes that genuine philanthropy, as opposed to money donated to enhance one's reputation, is about doing good things without any expectation of return: it is about love for others and one does not have to be rich to help others.

Yang Ping's essay, titled 'That is the love that I need', states that love is about offering timely help to people who need it (Yang Ping 2012a, 2: 17). Yang illustrates his argument with reference to his personal experiences and what he calls the four stages of love: (1) instructive love (*ai de qimeng*, 爱的启蒙); (2) longing for love (*ai de kewang*, 爱的渴望); (3) awakening love (*ai de juexing*, 爱的觉醒); and (4) love's call (*ai de huhuan*, 爱的呼唤). The first stage of instructive love refers to lessons learnt from his father in particular. When Yang was five years old, Yang's father ran to the house where Yang's grandfather lay dying while piggybacking Yang and simultaneously teaching Yang a slogan from the Cultural Revolution era: 'Long live Chairman Mao! Long live Deputy Lin [Biao], Commander in Chief'. Unfortunately, when they arrived Yang's grandfather had passed away. The second stage is about the hardships Yang experienced as the child of a poor family in Mao-era China but whose family was supported by a community that tried to help each other. When he started school, Yang was given a copy of the *Selected Works of Mao Zedong* and a voucher for grain coupon by friends of his father. The third stage is about Yang's new-found capacity as a middle-aged man in the reform period with sufficient disposable income to donate money to help disabled people and poor students. The fourth stage refers to the development of a 'conscience' (*zuoren yao you liangxin*, 做人要有良心) on the part of young, energetic, capable and successful people to offer timely help to people in need (Yang Ping 2012a, 2: 17). Yang concludes by urging young and successful people to recall when they have been helped by other people and to engage in philanthropy. His story suggests that compassion was an integral part of life even in socialist China and that modern philanthropy is a reflection of China's current stage of economic development.

In summary, the seven essays presented in the inaugural publication of ‘Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ provide an example of best practice as identified in the call for papers for the Wanda Cup competition. The essays are composed by people of different age groups with an interest in philanthropy and explicate their understanding of philanthropy, philanthropic culture and philanthropy education with reference to the lessons learnt from the *Philanthropy Readers* and/or their personal experiences. People working in the non-profit and education sectors are encouraged to read and distribute the *Philanthropy Readers*. Parents are enjoined to be positive philanthropic role models for their children. Children and their parents and teachers are encouraged to learn from the activities provided in the *Philanthropy Readers*, which suggest that philanthropy is rooted in traditional and socialist Chinese culture, and in the Chinese curriculum and international practice, and that philanthropy is about love of humanity and hence something that everyone can do, irrespective of whether one is young or old, or poor or fabulously wealthy. They are also encouraged to view philanthropy as an appropriate and integral part of life in contemporary China.

The next section looks at subsequent essays published in the ‘Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ section of *Charity* magazine between 2012 and 2014. The examples provided suggest that the campaign to promote a culture of philanthropy in schools has had mixed effects. On the one hand, it has been adopted in a formulaic fashion with a continued emphasis on rote-learning. On the other hand, it appears to have encouraged some students to focus on real-world issues and to take action to make the world a better place.

### **Students’ responses**

Students’ responses to the ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’ campaign typically follow the model established in the inaugural publication of

‘Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’. In fact, the problem of ‘content repetition’ is discussed in an ‘Afterword’ published by the Editing Department of *Charity* in Issue 3 of the magazine in 2012 (‘Editing Department’ 2012c, 3: 49). The ‘Afterword’, which is placed after the second round of essays on ‘Philanthropic Culture in Schools’, thanks students and their teachers and parents for submitting essays to *Charity*. However, it notes that the submitted essays are often marred by three problems: (1) replication of content; (2) a tendency to encourage students to donate money, which is not a practice that should be promoted in schools; and (3) a perceived tendency for teachers and parents to persuade students to write essays rather than allowing them to submit essays of their own volition.

Numerous essays published both before and after the ‘Afterword’ replicate the contents of the *Philanthropy Readers*. Essays published before the ‘Afterword’ repeat sayings, song lyrics, stories and role models from the books (Huang Yayue 2012, 3: 36; Chen Xingchen 2012, 3: 39; Nie Dawu 2012, 3: 49; Luo Hong 2012, 3: 44). Essays published after the admonition not to repeat content do the same (Bao Tianxing 2013, 2: 22; Qin Yishan 2014, 1: 34; Zhang Ningjia 2014, 1: 38; Zhang Zhengyi 2014, 1: 37).

Likewise, despite the suggestion that the practice of encouraging students to make school-based money donations is inappropriate, some of the essays that are featured in Issue 2 and subsequent issues of *Charity* focus on donations. In Issue 2 of *Charity*, Duan Hongzuo (2012, 2: 14) praises his classmates for their generous donations to children living in poor mountainous regions of China as part of ongoing rebuilding after the 2008 Sichuan Earthquake (anywhere between CNY 1–15 per student). Duan further notes that students stood in a long queue to make a donation, suggesting that they were enthusiastic to give to the cause. Essays in Issue 3 of *Charity*, that is, the same issue as the ‘Afterword’, also refer to donations. For example, students talk in essays about how they and their classmates had saved their pocket money to donate to classmates with medical

conditions and to help other disadvantaged people (Chen Xinchen 2012, 3: 48; Huang Yayi 2012, 3: 36; Liu Yu 2012, 3: 38; Luo Xizi 2012, 3: 39).

Indeed, despite the Editor's admonition for essays to exclude the subject of school-based donations, more than 40 essays in subsequent issues of *Charity* mention the subject.<sup>10</sup> An essay by a school principal called Zhou Xiaohua (2012, 4: 18) suggests that some schools have set days per year where staff and students are expected to donate money to charities that are selected by a given school, which is clearly problematic in light of the comments in the 'Afterword'. Although the essay does not mention how much money was donated, and does not praise specific individuals for donating large sums of money, it discusses students and teachers donating money to charitable causes on 'students' pocket money donation day' (*xuesheng linghuaqian yiri juan*, 学生零花钱一日捐), and 'teachers' salary donation day (*jiaoshi gongzi yiri juan*, 教师工资一日捐) (Zhou Xiaohua 2012, 4: 18). Another essay by a student called Hu Jingya, published in Issue 3 of *Charity* in 2013, encourages students to save the money that they would typically use to buy toys and donate it to disadvantaged families (2013, 3: 51). Again the focus is on donations, although in this instance it involves self-denial rather than forms of giving imposed through designated school activities and associated peer pressure.

Other essays indicate that students donated saved pocket money or raised money to help impoverished people, victims of natural disasters, children requiring medical treatment, orphans and disabled people (Cui Jingyu 2013, 1: 40; Ding Peiyang 2013, 2: 33; Liu Yu 2012, 3: 38; Luo Xizi 2012, 3: 39; Yang Qianying 2014, 4: 30). Teachers donated money to help vagrant

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<sup>10</sup> The data was obtained by conducting a search for the keyword 'money' (*qian*, 钱) in the 10 issues of *Charity* featuring 'Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools' between July 2012 and July 2014 (Issues 4–6 of 2012; Issues 1–6 of 2013 and Issue 1, 3 and 4 of 2014). The search focused on essays that discussed donations in relation to good behaviour and keenness to help others. The results included one essay written by a primary school principal (Issue 4, 2012), five by teachers (Issue 6, 2012 and Issue 3, 2013), and 46 essays written by students (Issues 4–6, 2012; Issues 1–6, 2013; and Issues 1, 3 and 4, 2014).



children, fund education and assist students in need (Chen Yongjie 2014, 4: 32; Jiang Panpan 2014, 4: 33; Yang Dan 2014, 3: 48). Parents donated money to fund education for impoverished children and university students from poor backgrounds (Chen Xinchun 2012, 3: 39; Xu Caikun 2012, 6: 43).

Student essays also focus on a different type of donation practice: namely, donations by entertainment celebrities, sports stars and corporate CEO as exemplary philanthropists. Essays in Issue 1 of *Charity* magazine of 2013 and 2014 refer to donations from Yao Ming, a now retired world-champion basketball player, to assist the Sichuan Earthquake disaster-relief efforts, and by actor Jet Li to establish the One Foundation, which promotes philanthropy and supports disaster-relief efforts and poverty alleviation measures (Chen Yalin 2014, 1: 35; Guang Yutong 2013, 1: 40). Other essays in later issues of *Charity* refer to Li Yapeng and Wang Fei (Faye Wong), the celebrity founders of the Smile Angel Foundation, which provides free medical treatment for children in remote regions born with clefts (Wang Ziyi 2012, 5: 29). Yet other essays praise famous Chinese CEOs, such as Chen Guangbiao, Tian Deying and Yang Qinghe, for donating large sums of money to philanthropic causes (Huang Siji 2012, 6: 38; Li Tuanxi 2013, 5: 35; Tian Yunzhe 2012, 6: 29).

However, other essays refer to people who have acquired minor celebrity status for acts of embodied philanthropy, for example, donating blood. Three essays refer to Guo Mingyi, a worker in an iron and steel company who has become a household name in China (Lei Yuejing 2012, 3: 33; Lin Juan 2012, 4: 37; Shu Kai 2012, 3: 37). Guo received official awards for being a ‘living Lei Feng’ (a person who selflessly helps others) for regularly donating blood and helping others and was awarded the title of ‘Someone Who Inspires China’ (*gandong Zhongguo renwu*, 感动中国人物) in 2010. Established by China Central Television in 2002, this annual award recognizes ten individuals and one group of people from different walks of life for their outstanding contributions to improving Chinese society.

Another essay explicitly states that rich people do not have a patent on philanthropy; it is something that everyone can do, a fact that the student claims to have realised when he saw a friend giving a coat to a street cleaner (Chen Yalin 2014, 1: 35). Students Wu Dan (2013, 4: 31) and Shen Panpan (2014, 1: 36) similarly argue that beneficence is not the responsibility of a minority of rich people, everyone can contribute one's love and help.

In fact, *Charity* features numerous essays by students which suggest that philanthropy involves using one's time to improve human wellbeing, rather than donating money. These include essays about how students organized themselves to pick up rubbish in public spaces to beautify the urban environment and show filial respect to their parents and teachers (Lei Yuejing 2012, 3: 33). They also include essays about how students collected discarded beverage cans to sell for recycling in order to raise money to buy school bags and other items for school children (Ye Tianrun 2013, 5: 33). Other students talk about how they stopped spending money on soft drinks and fast food (the international, American-headquartered Kentucky Fried Chicken is specifically mentioned), and sold their toys and other belongings, to raise money to assist impoverished children, the children of rural-to-urban migrant workers, and children who are hearing or sight impaired (Chen Wenyao 2013, 4: 31; Li Yongsen 2013, 2: 29; Min Shenke 2013, 6: 42; Tan Lifan 2013, 2: 28). Student essays also refer to student volunteering, whether organized by schools or by students themselves, for example, visiting nursing homes and children's homes (Xu Wenrui 2013, 4: 38), and participating in school-organized activities to create 'tidy homes in urban communities' (Li Jinhua 2013, 5: 27).

Yet other essays by students refer to philanthropy as demonstrating care and compassion for all living creatures, not just for humanity. These include essays advocating care for stray dogs and wounded birds (Cui Xuanming 2012, 4: 30; Liu Jingyu 2013, 3: 50). For example, Liu Jingyu (2013, 3: 50) talks about how she took home and cared for a bloody stray dog, which she named 'Cishan'. Liu suggests that all living creatures are united because the

dog later saved her life by bringing her a plastic bottle of water when she was trapped in her home under reinforced concrete during an earthquake. In short, student essays suggest that philanthropy is about civic engagement, and involves the giving of time or money by individuals or groups of individuals to improve human and animal wellbeing.

However, while the previously mentioned ‘Afterword’ suggests that students should write and submit essays of their own volition, it appears that student participation is often guided by teachers (‘Editing Department’ 2012c, 3: 49). There were more than 200 essays by primary and secondary students published in *Charity* magazine between March 2012 and July 2014: 63 essays even provide the names of supervising teachers. Essays that appear in Issues 2, 3 and 5 of 2013 and Issues 1, 3 and 4 of 2014 provide the name of the student who ostensibly composed the essay followed by the name of the teacher who supervised the writing of the essay, with some teachers clearly supervising two or more essays (see Chen Yalin 2014, 1: 35; Guo Xiaoxin 2013, 2: 24; Hong Kebin 2014, 1: 33; Jiang Jiayu 2013, 5: 33; Luo Bingying 2014, 4: 30; Lu Jinchi 2013, 5: 34; Xue Panpan 2014, 1: 34; see also Chen Yao 2014, 4: 34; Chen Xu’an 2013, 3: 44; Guo Xiaoxin 2013, 2: 24; Hu Qin 2013, 3: 43; Liang Ruiyan 2013, 2: 24; Zhang Jiayu 2013, 3: 47).

In summary, the preceding discussion suggests that while students’ engaged with philanthropy mainly through the two *Philanthropy Readers*, they also took part in philanthropic activities organized through schools, parents and by themselves. Unsurprisingly, the published responses of students to the *Philanthropy Readers* and philanthropic activities were positive. In their essays, students referred both to the content of the *Philanthropy Readers* and suggested that philanthropy is both a social responsibility and an everyday practice that anyone can engage in. However, as the previously mentioned ‘Afterword’ suggests (‘Editing Department’, 2012c, 3: 49), students engagement with the *Philanthropy Readers* is frequently marked by replication of content rather than innovation, and rote learning through

following teachers instructions rather than encouraging students to freely generate their own philanthropic activities. It is also characterized by a greater emphasis on money donations than on other acts of compassion.

Yet, it is significant that *Charity* magazine also features essays that engage with broader debates about the need for philanthropy in China. For example, student Peng Cheng (2014, 3: 48) states that he was reading the *Philanthropy Reader* in a school corridor one day when other students said to him that there was no point in reading such book because ‘Lei Feng’ comes in March and leaves in April, and then everyone neglects to practise compassion. As further discussed in Chapter 5, Lei Feng is a symbol of volunteering in contemporary China, with an annual Lei Feng or national volunteering day being held on 5 March. Student Peng also raises the examples of Wang Yueyue and Peng Yu. Two-year-old Wang Yueyu was run over by two vehicles in Guangdong Province in October 2011; numerous passers-by ignored the injured child until a 57 year old rubbish collector picked up the child and took her to a hospital where she died eight days later (‘The “Xiao Yue Yue” incident’ n.d.). Peng Yu took an elderly woman who fell as she was disembarking from a bus in November 2006 to hospital and paid her initial treatment costs. The woman subsequently sued Peng for her entire medical expenses claiming that he was responsible for her injuries. The judge agreed stating that people did not pay for other people’s medical expenses unless they had a guilty conscience (Minter 2012). Both cases attracted intense public debate for illustrating a perceived decline in public morality and discouraging people from helping others.

Other essays demonstrate a concern with international humanitarianism and domestic activism. For example, one essay encourages students to support children in poor countries such as Cambodia (Liu Weipeng 2014, 3: 51). Yet another essay explains how a student learned that his father’s friend, a Professor of Chinese Medicine, had written to the PRC’s Minister of Health advocating state assistance for leukaemia patients after hearing about an online charity to raise money for an eight-year-old girl with leukaemia (Cui

Chengde 2013, 2: 30). The implicit message here is that one can also help others by actively urging the government to take remedial action.

These examples suggest that the campaign to develop a culture of philanthropy in schools has met with some success in terms of encouraging students to focus on real-world issues and to take action to make the world a better place. It appears that some students are learning that they are capable of civic engagement but that the type of civic engagement that is encouraged is quite restricted. For the most part students seem to be following teachers' directions, with donations to poor Chinese citizens portrayed as a core activity, while activist and politically-oriented activities are rarely a topic of discussion in the magazine.

## **Conclusion**

The magazine *Charity* canvasses the implementation of the campaign to develop a culture of philanthropy in schools as instigated through the *Philanthropy Readers*. The two sections of that magazine titled 'Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools', and 'Selected Essays on Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools', are part of a broader strategy to develop a culture of philanthropy in China in general. The essays contained in these two sections document various responses to the roll-out of the campaign at a local level. They include responses come from government officials, charity organizations, school teachers, and students and their parents.

As a platform for discussing the idea of philanthropy and associated activities, *Charity* magazine achieves its purpose as a forum for communicating the responses of students, parents, teachers, and local government officials, to the campaign. Essays by adults as charity workers and educators suggest that the distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* in schools is necessary, timely and important because it encourages activity-oriented education about philanthropy and will help to create compassionate

citizens. Even though the editor's directions appear to have been largely ignored in practice, the magazine at least aims to encourage students to engage in a 'service-learning journey' and to promote autonomous or student-directed philanthropy, by discouraging 'content replication', an emphasis on money donations, and teacher involvement in essay writing. Students' essays suggest that some students have engaged with the concepts raised in the *Philanthropy Readers* and engaged in various forms of volunteering and fund-raising for diverse causes.

In this chapter I focused on a public-private campaign to promote philanthropy in schools, in the next chapter I focus on a government-led national campaign to promote a culture of philanthropy in China.

## 5 Learning from Lei Feng in 2012–2013

This chapter looks at a government-led, national campaign from 2012–2013 about how to be a contemporary philanthropic citizen by learning from Lei Feng, a Mao-era role model.<sup>11</sup> Lei Feng, a soldier with the Chinese People's Liberation Army, died in 1962 at the age of 22. He rose to national fame in 1963 when his diary, which celebrates socialism and the Chinese revolution, was 'discovered' and then promoted in a nationwide campaign to 'Learn from Comrade Lei Feng' as a model socialist citizen (Edwards 2010: 27–8). Since then, commemorative events on the annual anniversary of his death have guaranteed his legacy in households across China. Most Chinese people have some knowledge of the 'Lei Feng Spirit' of selfless public service, which is sometimes celebrated and at other times mocked as 'old-fashioned'. The latter situation is demonstrated by the widespread circulation of jokes about Lei Feng's proclaimed frugality and helpfulness, and the sale of revolutionary kitsch such as Lei Feng souvenirs and clothing ('Beijing jianwen' 2012; 'Jiaru Lei Feng huo zai jintian' 2012; 'Laizi xinshidai de hao qingnian' n.d.; 'Lei Feng chanpinchao' 2012; 'PLA mouthpiece says West Point Lei Feng legend no joke' 2015). Despite such popular cultural appropriation, Lei Feng maintains relevance as a mobilizing political figure in China. On the fiftieth anniversary of his death (5 March 2012), Lei Feng was revived as the 'public face' of government-led efforts to promote a philanthropic culture in China (see also Penny 2013: 168–73).

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<sup>11</sup> Parts of this chapter are published in Elaine Jeffreys and Su Xuezhong (2016) 'Governing through Lei Feng: a Mao-era role model in reform-era China', in David Bray and Elaine Jeffreys (eds) *New Mentalities of Government in China*, Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 30–55.

In March 2012, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a document called ‘Suggestions on Enhancing Efforts to Learn from Lei Feng’ (*Guanyu shenru kaizhan xue Lei Feng huodong de yijian*, 关于深入开展学雷锋活动的建议) (hereafter ‘the Suggestions’) (‘Zhonggong zhongyang bangongting yinfa “Guanyu shenru kaizhan Lei Feng huodong de yijian”’ 2012). The Suggestions encourage local communities and residents to provide volunteer services that follow in the Lei Feng tradition of helping others based on love for socialism, the CCP, the PRC, and the Chinese people. The Suggestions urge Party organizations, provincial- and local-level governments, workplaces, communities, and schools, to organize a broad range of publicized activities using multiple media forms. In addition to volunteering, the Suggestions stipulate that primary, secondary and tertiary-level educational institutions should conduct activities such as essay competitions, poetry recitals, exhibitions, and use social and other media, to encourage young people to adopt the Lei Feng Spirit. As a result, public service announcements (PSAs) with Lei Feng content could be seen in public spaces across China in 2012–2013. For an example of one such PSA see Figure 5.1, which depicts hundreds of young smiling people wearing a now iconic 1960s ‘Lei Feng’ PLA hat.

The chapter begins with a brief history of Lei Feng’s emergence into public discourse as a socialist role model and his changing status as part of contemporary popular culture. It then discusses the roll-out of the 2012–2013 campaign to emulate Lei Feng by engaging in volunteering. In particular, it analyses a series of poster-style PSAs produced by the PRC Government to promote philanthropic involvement for different age groups across different sectors of society. It then examines some recent exhibits at the Lei Feng Memorial Hall in Changsha, which was built in 1968. Finally, it canvasses the results of a survey of 415 university students I helped to conduct in late 2013, which suggest that the 2012–2013 campaign was effective, or at least is not completely out of touch with how people think. I conclude that Lei Feng appears to be a relevant role model for contemporary philanthropy insofar as his public profile hinges on a dynamic



representation that is no longer solely guided by the Central People's Government. This suggests that the force propelling public participation in areas of philanthropy and volunteering lies in the dialogic space between the governed and the governing.

Figure 5.1: Guangzhou Needs Millions of Lei Fengs



Source: 'Guangzhou xuyao qianwan ge Lei Feng' [Guangzhou needs millions of Lei Fengs] (2013) Dayangwang, 21 March. Online. Available: [http://m.dayoo.com/126722/126727/126735/201303/21/126735\\_29632478.htm](http://m.dayoo.com/126722/126727/126735/201303/21/126735_29632478.htm) (accessed 10 August 2015).

## **Publicizing Lei Feng: from Mao to now**

What we know about Lei Feng is the result of extensive publicity by the early Chinese Communist Party. That publicity has provided the ‘primary sources’ or ‘raw materials’ for contemporary adaptations of the figure of Lei Feng (Steen 2014: 155). According to official accounts, Lei Feng was born in the Wangcheng district of Changsha City in Hunan Province on 18 December 1940 and became a ‘revolutionary orphan’ at the age of seven (Zhang Huixin 2009: 1). His father died from poverty-related illness in 1945 and also, reportedly, from being beaten in preceding years by members of both the Nationalist Party of China and the invading Japanese Imperial Army – armies defeated by the CCP under the leadership of Mao Zedong in 1949 (Yuan Xiaobo 2012: 2; Zhang Huixin 2009: 6–8). Lei’s mother committed suicide in 1947 after she was raped by the son of a local landowner, a class group that later became the focus of revolutionary hostility (Zhang Huixin 2009: 12). Hence, Lei Feng is typically presented as a child raised first in the turmoil of foreign invasion, civil war and class conflict, and later under the protection of the CCP and the PRC, or the ‘collective family’ of new socialist China.

In 1957, Lei Feng joined the Communist Youth League (Qian Liqun 2011: 27). In 1960, at the age of twenty, he joined the PLA and was also admitted to the CCP (Cui Zhonglei 2012: 123). This meant that Lei Feng was a ‘peace-time soldier’; he entered the PLA after the Chinese civil war (1927–1950) and Korean War (1950–1953). On 15 August 1962 Lei Feng died in an accident aged 22 years while on duty – he was hit on the head by a wooden beam which was knocked over by a reversing truck (Qian Liqun 2011: 145–146). As neither a revolutionary soldier nor a revolutionary martyr – the most common role models during the founding years of the PRC (Jeffreys 2012a: 5–8) – Lei Feng would not have become a leading figure of socialism were it not for the discovery of his personal diary.

Whether there was actually a diary written by a ‘real-life’ individual called Lei Feng, and if it did exist, whether it was edited and embellished, are matters of debate (Cheng Shigang 2007: 53; Larson 2011: 173; Reed 2006: 101). The suggestion that ‘Lei Feng’ may have been a fabrication of the propaganda machinery of the early CCP is underscored by the surprisingly large number of photographs and documents that appear to have been left behind by such a ‘poor and ordinary’ person during the late 1950s and early 1960s China (Mitchell 2006). However, putting questions of authenticity aside, there was a document published by the PLA Literature and Arts Publishing House in April 1963 called *The Diary of Lei Feng 1959–1962* (‘Lei Feng riji 1959–1962’ 1963). That diary, or one of the estimated 200 versions of the diary that have since been published in China (Zhang Jun 2007), has been understood by generations of Chinese adults and children as an authentic autobiographical text (Feng Xianlong 2003; Reed 2006; Xie Ying 2012).

*The Diary of Lei Feng* documents, in first-person, the thoughts, emotions, work, and, in effect, the spiritual journey of the figure of Lei Feng during the four years prior to his death. In this period, he endeavoured to become an ideal socialist citizen-worker. The diary contains stories about Lei Feng’s love of Chairman Mao Zedong and Mao Zedong Thought, his frugality and his willingness to work hard at menial tasks to help the Chinese people realize socialism in China. One particular journal entry that illustrates his austerity and willingness to help others records how he, despite being a poor soldier, gave money and food to a fellow soldier to return home and care for his ill mother (Yuan Xiaobo 2012: 145). An entry dated 15 October 1961 describes this ‘selfless’ revolutionary spirit as heroic. In the words of Lei Feng:

Sunday today. I didn’t go out; instead I washed 5 mattresses for the comrades in my squad, repaired Kao K’uei-yun’s bedcover, assisted the cooks to wash more than 600 catties of cabbage, swept inside and outside the room, and other things. .... In all, I’ve done what I

should have done. I'm tired but happy. .... It's glorious to be a nameless hero. (Lei Feng cited in Sheridan 1968: 53).

The diary became political study material in a 1963 campaign for the Chinese people to 'Learn from Comrade Lei Feng' about how to be an exemplary socialist citizen (Yuan Xiaobo 2012: 1–2). Mao Zedong and other senior leaders wrote inscriptions to praise Lei Feng for his outstanding record of selfless public service. These inscriptions were published on the front pages of all major official news media at the time, such as the *People's Daily*, the *People's Liberation Army Newspaper* and the *China Youth* magazine. Chairman Mao Zedong wrote: 'Learn from comrade Lei Feng' ('Mao Zhuxi wei Lei Feng' 2008). Former Premier Zhou Enlai wrote: 'Learn the correct class stance and how to practice the revolutionary, proletarian-communist spirit of selflessness from comrade Lei Feng' ('Wei xuexi Lei Feng tici, 6 March 1963' n.d.). Also in 1963, Deng Xiaoping, the proclaimed architect of China's post-1978 economic reforms, wrote: 'To learn how to be a good communist one should study the moral character and manner of comrade Lei Feng' ('Deng Xiaoping wei xuexi Lei Feng tici 1963' n.d.).

Chairman Mao's call for Chinese people to 'Learn from Comrade Lei Feng' resulted in the establishment of a 'Lei Feng Day' (*Lei Feng jinianni*, 雷锋纪念日) on 5 March 1963, which has been commemorated in China in a varied fashion ever since. Additional images and messages about the biographical hero 'Lei Feng' were conveyed through state-controlled media to members of socialist China in the form of slogans, posters, newspaper articles, films, songs, and poetry, that were subsequently embedded in Lei Feng activities run in workplaces and schools. To commemorate Lei Feng Day in March 1965, the state-run August First Film Studio released a feature film called *Lei Feng* (Dong Zhaoqi (dir.) 1964). Lei Feng Memorial Halls were built in Fushun City, Liaoning Province, in 1964; Changsha City, Hunan Province, in 1968; and Shenyang City, Liaoning Province, in 1992 ('Hunan Leifeng jinianguan' n.d.; 'Jinianguan jiexiao' n.d.; 'Shenyang

junqu Lei Feng jinianguan' 2009). The Memorial Halls contain statues, images and text about Lei Feng's life, work and diary, and continue to be visited by school children taking revolutionary history tours and travellers interested in revolutionary tourism. As a result of this publicity, the figure of Lei Feng became a 'dead famous' socialist role model designed to promote an ethos of dedication to the Party and the Chinese people based on (proletarian-working) class solidarity (see also Penny 2013: 168–71). A praiseworthy person in this tradition was sometimes described as a 'living Lei Feng' (*huo Lei Feng*, 活雷锋).

Figure 5.2: Learning from Comrade Lei Feng



Source: Ma Lequn and Pang Ka (1963) Lei Feng, Chinese Posters. Online. Available: <http://chinese-posters.net/gallery/e15-165.php> (accessed 10 August 2015).

As Figure 5.2 suggests, the injunction to become a ‘living Lei Feng’ was originally chiefly directed at children and youth as revolutionary successors. By 1963, there was a new generation of children and teenagers who had been born after the founding of the PRC, and hence had no experience of life in China prior to the revolution. Learning about Lei Feng was intended to encourage them to follow in his footsteps and eventually become adult socialist citizens who would carry the revolution forward towards communism.

In the changed era of economic reform, the figure of Lei Feng has been criticized by scholars and foreign correspondents alike as an outdated symbol of Mao-era notions of self-sacrifice for the Party, country and Chinese people. Orville Schell (1994: 246) describes the revived use of Lei Feng by the CCP after the brutal crackdown on student and worker protestors in Tiananmen Square in June 1989 as propagandistic, and hackneyed to the point of being a ‘joke’. Dingxin Zhao (2001: 50, fn. 27) similarly notes that reform-era youth rejected the Lei Feng spirit of socialist obedience, with a survey of young Chinese soldiers conducted in the late 1980s showing that the majority thought Lei Feng was a ‘stupid man’. Such conclusions are routinely echoed by foreign correspondents, who typically dismiss any government use of Lei Feng in the reform era’s dismissed the government-led revival of Lei Feng as anachronistic, ‘old school propaganda’ (Jacobs 2012) because ‘Chinese people, today, have learned that getting ahead requires relentless self-definition’, unlike the collectivist-minded ‘late, great icon of Socialist dedication’ (Osnos 2013).

At the same time, Lei Feng has been revived for popular consumption through contemporary commercial processes and media forms, many of which are the result of Party-related Lei Feng publicity. Examples include a thirty-episode animation series called ‘The Story of Lei Feng’, which went to air on 1 June 2009 on China’s Network Television (China Central Television) to coincide with International Children’s Day (‘Lei Feng de gushi’ n.d.), an online video game based on Lei Feng, and an official ‘Lei



Feng' website. The online video game called 'Learn from Lei Feng' encourages gamers to score points for doing good deeds ('Lei Feng becomes online game hero' 2006). A copy of Mao Zedong's *Selected Works* functions as part of the fantasy treasure hunt, with the winner getting to meet 'Chairman Mao'.<sup>12</sup> An official Lei Feng website ([www.chinaleifeng.com/](http://www.chinaleifeng.com/)), created by CCP-affiliated organizations, including the Hunan Province Publicity Department, went live in May 2012. The website provides up-to-date information about Lei Feng and Lei Feng activities, and has interactive forums such as blogs and bulletin boards, but does not provide visitor counts or other potential indicators of its popularity.

At the same time, Lei Feng has become a part of popular youth culture. Today, Lei Feng posters, t-shirts, shoulder bags, clothes, badges, watches, and cups can be bought at small markets, tourist sites, and on online shopping websites across China ('Beijing jianwen' 2012; 'Lei Feng chanpinchao' 2012). Singer Xue Cun became famous in the PRC briefly during the early 2000s for a folk-pop song called 'All North-Eastern Chinese are Living Lei Fengs' (Xue Cun 2013). Designer Zhang Liang has created a commercially successful series of cuddly 'red dolls' comprised of a 'little Lei Feng' and his 'make-believe' family members ('80 hou nühai sheji' 2012). Artist Dai Xiang (2012) has created a microblog called the 'New Story of Lei Feng'. The blog contains photoshopped images of a life-size Lei Feng doll placed in contemporary settings: removing graffiti, reading the works of Mao Zedong in McDonald's, and appearing in commercial advertisements. In an interview, Dai stated that his creation of a 'living Lei Feng' was designed to encourage people to reflect on what Lei Feng meant to them personally. In his words: 'Most people know about Lei

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<sup>12</sup> The game 'Learn from Lei Feng' (*xue Lei Feng*, 学雷锋) was designed and produced by the Shenda Company and given to the Shanghai Youth League Committee as a special gift for the 85<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Chinese Communist Youth League and Children's Day. Party-related publicity claims that the game was popular with primary and secondary school students in various parts of China. However, there is no independent evidence to confirm this claim (Bao Limin 2006; 'China resurrects comrade Lei Feng as role model for young' 2006).

from political propaganda. However, independent thinking allows us to decide what Lei means to us now' (Dai Xiang 2012).

In summary, the images and life-stories associated with the figure of Lei Feng have become a part of contemporary popular and consumer culture, whereby texts from multiple media collectively create a public profile of a 'living Lei Feng' that is no longer under the exclusive control of any one individual or institution, including the PRC Government. Although Lei Feng first came to fame through the propaganda-publicity machinery of the Party-state, contemporary commercial and media processes have provided the means to re-create and circulate multiple new stories about him. As Lei Feng gradually became imprinted with new interpretations, the discourse of Lei Feng gradually transformed from its original 1960s incarnation. Thus, it was possible for the Party-state publicity machinery to mould him to serve new social functions. The flexibility of Lei Feng's recent celebrity is underscored by the government-sponsored use of Lei Feng as the 'face' of a nationwide campaign to promote philanthropy (volunteering) in 2012–2013.

### **Modern-day philanthropic role model**

Lei Feng became the 'public face' of a government-sponsored campaign to promote philanthropy in China in 2012. As explained in Chapter 2 of this thesis, organized philanthropy ceased to exist along with the founding of the PRC. However, since the early 2000s, the PRC Government has responded, in part, to the demand for enhanced social service provision by promoting volunteering and professionalized philanthropy more generally.

The PRC Government has promoted volunteering as a means to enhance public service since the late 1980s. In 1987, the Ministry of Civil Affairs advocated organizing community-based volunteer services for residents of urban communities, and especially disadvantaged members of those communities. This resulted in the formation of an umbrella organization known as the Community Volunteers Service Organization (*shequ zhiyuan*

*zuzhi*, 社区志愿组织) (Li Maoping 2012: 28). In 1994, the national China Young Volunteers Association (*Zhongguo qingnian zhiyuanzhe xiehui*, 中国青年志愿者协会) was established under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Youth League to promote volunteering and provide services for people in need (Ding Yuanzhu 2005: 1). Then, in March 1996, the PRC's Ninth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development (1996–2000) and Summary of the 2010 Long-term Objectives advocated the expansion of community-based volunteering under the rubric of 'Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization' (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo* 1996: Section 10, Item 1).

The inclusion of the development of volunteer services as a policy goal in the PRC's Five-Year Plan, from 1996 to 2000, and vision for 2010, resulted in the introduction of various city-level and provincial government regulations, and associated public activities, designed to facilitate that goal. The first volunteering regulation was issued by the Guangdong Provincial Government in August 1999 – the Guangdong Province Youth Volunteer Service Regulations – which was revised in 2010 (*Guangdongsheng zhiyuan fuwu tiaoli* 2010: Chapter 3). Other provincial governments and municipal governments subsequently issued similar regulations. For example, the Heilongjiang Provincial Government introduced volunteering regulations in 2003 (*Heilongjiang sheng zhiyuan fuwu tiaoli* 2003), and the Regulations to Promote Volunteer Services in Beijing Municipality came into effect in December 2007 (*Beijing shi zhiyuan fuwu cujin tiaoli* 2007). These local regulations have been accompanied by the introduction of national guidelines, such as the 2000 'Volunteer Service Time Saving System' (*Zhiyuan fuwu shijian chuxu zhidu*, 志愿服务时间储蓄制度), and the 2006 'Management Measures for Registered Volunteers in China (*Zhongguo zhuce zhiyuanzhe guanli banfa*, 中国注册志愿者管理办法) ('Guanyu yinfa' 2006; 'Wo guo jiang quanmian shishi' 2000).

To further facilitate volunteering, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League and the Chinese Young Volunteers Association named Lei Feng Day on 5 March 2000 ‘China Youth Volunteer Service Day’ (*Zhongguo qingnian zhiyuanzhe fuwuri*, 中国青年志愿者服务日). This linked the United Nations International Volunteer Day with the anniversary of the original 1960s campaign to ‘Learn from Lei Feng’ (Ding Yuanzhu 2005: 1; ‘*Zhongguo qingnian zhiyuan fuwuri “Xiang Lei Feng tongzhi xuexi”*’ 2012). In doing so, it symbolically tied an icon of Chinese socialist history with international developments in volunteering. By 2011, over 430,000 volunteers’ organizations had been registered in the PRC, with an estimated 60 million volunteers engaging in volunteering activities annually (‘*Zhongguo zhiyuanzhe renshu chao 6000 wan*’ 2011). The number of volunteers in China is likely to increase rapidly, as the Guidelines on Building Social Service Volunteer Teams in China for 2013 to 2020, advocate expanding registered volunteering to encompass 10 per cent of China’s population by 2020 (around 130 million people) (‘*Minzhengbu guanyu yinfa*’ 2014).

The PRC Government has also made the development of philanthropic organizations an object of national policy since the early 2000s. The PRC’s Tenth Five-Year Plan for National Economic and Social Development for 2001 to 2005 proposed developing philanthropic enterprises to strengthen the country’s inadequate social security system, given the PRC’s ageing population (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo* 2001: Section 3, Chapter 8). The Eleventh Five-Year Plan for 2006 to 2010 proposed a greater role for philanthropy. Flowing from the overarching policy goal of the CCP under the leadership of the President Hu Jintao and Premier Wen Jiabao, the Plan sought to achieve a ‘harmonious socialist society’ by addressing rising social inequality and creating an environment for sustainable growth (*Zhonghua renmin gongheguo* 2006: Section 4, Chapter 28). It advocated the expansion of philanthropic organizations in general and in particular, organizations that would assist with education and provide relief for vagrant minors. The Twelfth Five-Year Plan for 2011 to 2015 proposed expanding

the philanthropic sector by introducing a system of tax incentives, in order to create a comprehensive system of registered private, community and professional associations that will support and perhaps even supersede the welfare service/public charity functions of government (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 2011: Section 1, Chapter 39).

Lei Feng features in the public promotion of these policies, even as they gesture to neoliberal conceptions of reduced government involvement in welfare provision and increased individual participation in philanthropy. In March 2012, the CCP Central Committee Office released a document called ‘Suggestions on Enhancing Efforts to Learn from Lei Feng’, which states that local communities and residents should be encouraged to provide volunteer services following the example of Lei Feng (‘Zhonggong zhongyang bangongting yinfa’ 2012: Item 1). To realise this goal, Party organizations and, local and provincial-level governments were urged to organize a broad range of publicized activities using multiple media forms. These mediatized forms include: biannual ‘Lei Feng awards’ and lecture tours to recognize outstanding community service; prizes for school-related essays, poetry, theatre, and exhibitions, on volunteering; promoting the Lei Feng Memorial Halls; and establishing columns and microblogs about Lei Feng activities on key media websites and creating an online ‘Lei Feng Spirit’ network ([www.chinaleifeng.com](http://www.chinaleifeng.com)). They also include using art, film, television, and literature, to spread the ‘Lei Feng Spirit’; disseminating videos and messages about Lei Feng on mobile phones; getting workplaces to promote the ‘Lei Feng Spirit’; and encouraging the promotion of Lei Feng activities in shopping malls, hotels, hospitals, banks, post offices, parks, transport hubs, tourist sites, and other public places.

Government publicity about Lei Feng Day in 2012 drew on socialist iconography, but also encouraged China’s citizens to express universal love and empower themselves as ‘global’ self-governing individuals, rather than to demonstrate revolutionary politics and individual sacrifice for the sake of the nation. This point is illustrated by a series of PSAs unified under the

rubric of ‘Be Civic-Minded and Create a New [Philanthropic] Trend’ (*jiang wenming shu xinfeng*, 讲文明 树新风). The PSAs were produced and issued in 2012 by government departments, including the PRC’s Publicity and Information Department, the State Administration for Industry and Commerce, the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television, and the General Administration of Press and Publication.

The first of a series of 12 poster-style PSAs celebrates the fiftieth anniversary of Lei Feng’s death with the slogan ‘Lei Feng Was and Always Will Be With Us (1962–2012), ascribing a ubiquitous or eternal aspect to the ‘Lei Feng Spirit’ (*Lei Feng yizhi zai women shenbian*, 雷锋一直在我们身边 1962–2012). It juxtaposes a classic 1960s image of Lei Feng with images of contemporary volunteers (‘Renmin ribao kandeng de “Jiang wenming shu xinfeng” gongyi guanggao’ 2012). The images at the bottom of the poster show nurses and doctors from local hospitals giving free health checks to elderly people at a ‘Lei Feng Community Service Point’ (*shequ Lei Feng fuwu dian*, 社区雷锋服务点). Such service points offer a diverse range of services to local residents depending on local demand and volunteering expertise. They also provide a concrete manifestation of socialist-era symbolism, and, by extension, ever-lasting socialist values, operating in relation to the provision of contemporary public services.

Figure 5.3: Lei Feng Was and Always Will Be With Us (1962–2012)



Source: ‘Renmin ribao kandeng de gongyi guanggao’ [People’s Daily issues public service announcements] (n.d.) Yangshiwang. Online. Available: [http://igongyi.cntv.cn/album/20120927/100052/pic\\_show\\_js.shtml#g=%2Fnetv%2Fgongyi%2Falbum%2F20120927%2F100052%2Fgroup-100052.xml&p=20927100413](http://igongyi.cntv.cn/album/20120927/100052/pic_show_js.shtml#g=%2Fnetv%2Fgongyi%2Falbum%2F20120927%2F100052%2Fgroup-100052.xml&p=20927100413) (10 August 2015).

The seventh poster in the series (see Figure 5.4) displays a modern, environmental protection-style image of university-student volunteers against a leafy backdrop conducting water quality tests and planting a tree. A slogan emblazoned in large characters at the top of the poster says: ‘Caring for Nature Requires Everyone’s Help’ (*guan’ ai ziran kao ni kao wo kao ta*, 关爱自然 靠你靠我靠他). Beneath this message, in smaller characters, is the slogan ‘Learn from Lei Feng, Contribute to the Lives of Others, Improve Yourself’ (*Xuexi Lei Feng: Fengxian taren tisheng ziji*, 学习雷锋 奉献他人 提升自己). The latter message is repeated in several other posters in the series (see ‘Renmin ribao kandeng de “Jiang wenming shu xinfeng” gongyi guanggao’ 2012, posters 4, 5, 7, 8, and 11).

Figure 5.4: Caring for Nature Requires Everybody's Help



Source: 'Renmin ribao kandeng de gongyi guanggao' [People's Daily issues public service announcements] (n.d.) Yangshiwang. Online. Available: [http://igongyi.cntv.cn/album/20120927/100052/pic\\_show\\_js.shtml#g=%2Fnettv%2Fgongyi%2Falbum%2F20120927%2F100052%2Fgroup-100052.xml&p=20927100413](http://igongyi.cntv.cn/album/20120927/100052/pic_show_js.shtml#g=%2Fnettv%2Fgongyi%2Falbum%2F20120927%2F100052%2Fgroup-100052.xml&p=20927100413) (10 August 2015).

For example, the eighth poster (see Figure 5.5) shows an image of two hands holding a heart-shaped photograph of contemporary volunteers – the heart clasped by two hands is a visual symbol of humanistic compassion and philanthropy in present-day China. The slogan 'Learn from Lei Feng: Contribute to the Lives of Others; Improve Yourself' appears again here beneath the image and at the bottom left-hand side of the poster. Just as the seventh poster links Lei Feng to China-based and global environmental concerns, the eighth poster links Lei Feng to conceptions of compassion understood as a simultaneously 'Chinese' and universal human attribute.



**Figure 5.5: Learn from Lei Feng; Contribute to Others; Improve Yourself**



Source: ‘Renmin ribao kandeng de gongyi guanggao’ [People’s Daily issues public service announcements] (n.d.) Yangshiwang. Online. Available: [http://igongyi.cntv.cn/album/20120927/100052/pic\\_show\\_js.shtml#g=%2Fnettv%2Fgongyi%2Falbum%2F20120927%2F100052%2Fgroup-100052.xml&p=20927100413](http://igongyi.cntv.cn/album/20120927/100052/pic_show_js.shtml#g=%2Fnettv%2Fgongyi%2Falbum%2F20120927%2F100052%2Fgroup-100052.xml&p=20927100413) (10 August 2015).

There are two different but not contradictory messages embodied in the slogan ‘Learn from Lei Feng: Contribute to the Lives of Others; Improve Yourself’. Young people are encouraged to volunteer and become ‘socialist successors’ by following in the footsteps of Lei Feng. At the same time, they are instructed that helping others will enhance the self, both in the affective sense of ‘feeling good’ and in the practical sense of acquiring experiences and skills that may enhance one’s career opportunities in a competitive job market (‘Daxuesheng wei qiuzhi er zuo zhiyuanzhe’ 2013). The latter inducements reiterate the standard rationales for youth volunteering in western societies, which is to meet people, have fun and improve their career prospects (‘Citizens at the center: a new approach to civic engagement’ 2006: 6). The government-led promotion of such rationales may be viewed as part of the introduction of neo-liberal forms of

governance in China via private philanthropy. However, they also turn on the general impetus of Chinese education, which is for young people to become ‘good (socialist) citizens’ by improving their personal capacities or qualities (*suzhi*) (see Chapter 2 of this thesis).

Similar inducements are directed at young teenagers and children, as illustrated in Figure 5.6. The figure provides an image of one poster in a series of PSAs that were posted on community noticeboards in residential areas of Chaoyang District, Beijing, in 2012. The posters were published by the district-level Spiritual Civilization Office, Education Work Committee, Education Committee, Youth League Committee and Women Federation, with the aim of encouraging primary and secondary students to spend a happy, practical and meaningful summer holiday through an education practice themed ‘Be an Ethical Person: Be a Young Ambassador for Civilized Community Living’ (*zuo yi ge you daode de ren zhengdang shequ wenming xiao shizhe*). The posters encouraged students to ‘improve themselves’ by participating in community volunteering, helping neighbours, practising traditional Chinese virtues and fostering new trends (‘Guanyu shujia qijian kaizhan’ 2012).

Figure 5.6: Be an Ethical Person; Learn from Lei Feng How to be a Young Ambassador for Civilized Community Living



Source: Photograph by Elaine Jeffreys, Chaoyang District, Beijing, 2012.

As Figure 5.6 shows, the posters urged young people to become upstanding people and community ambassadors by following the moral example of Lei Feng. The slogan at the top-left corner of the image states that it is PSA on youth thought and morality. Beneath the slogan are two images. The image on the left-hand side portrays an urban girl sweeping the neighbourhood; she is described as a ‘Youth Environmental Protection Guard’. On the right side, the same girl is portrayed standing at the entrance of a block of residential apartments; she is described as a ‘Community Building Doorkeeper’. The slogan ‘Be an Ethical Person; Learn from Lei Feng How to be a Young Ambassador for Civilized Community Living’ is placed beneath these images. Above this slogan at the right-hand side is a badge-like circle which contains an image of Lei Feng shining above two children like a rising sun to guide them to become community volunteers.

In summary, the posters associated with the 2012 Lei Feng publicity campaign reveal an effort to recast the figure of Lei Feng to incentivize volunteers to meet current social imperatives, including broad environmental and public health concerns, and care for vulnerable members of communities. While they encourage volunteers to help improve the lives of others in the tradition of Lei Feng, the notion of self-improvement they promote differs from the socialist ethos of original Lei Feng propaganda. The message of the original Lei Feng campaign was about working selflessly for the good of society and even ‘abolishing’ the self from civil acts. When the diary version of Lei Feng revels in the glory of being a ‘nameless hero’, he does so in the spirit of a collectivist vision of socialism in which the individual is literally irrelevant – only the good of society matters. In contrast, the message in the new publicity materials is that one can help others while also helping themselves – it aims to incentivize people to contribute voluntarily to public welfare in the context of a more complex society.

The ‘carrot’ for volunteering is self-enhancement in the affective sense of ‘feeling good’ about helping others, and in the practical sense of acquiring

experiences and skills that may enhance one's career opportunities in a competitive job market. As a discussion of campus volunteerism explains, university graduates in China are facing an 'uphill battle' to find employment and volunteering can give students new skills and ideas about career direction (Ding Yuanzhu 2005: 8). In other words, rather than helping others to demonstrate and forge class solidarity, as was done in the Mao era, young volunteers in China today are being encouraged to embrace revitalized conceptions of socialist values, which incorporate compassion and new norms of civic and environmental responsibility, and self-empowerment.

The government-promoted link between Lei Feng and contemporary rationales for volunteering is not necessarily received by young people as an incongruous or even jarring use of public messaging. Foreign correspondents typically mocked and dismissed the revived use of Lei Feng to promote volunteering as out-dated propaganda (Jacobs 2012; Osnos 2013). However, as I noted in the introduction to this thesis, government efforts to promote youth philanthropy in contemporary China refer to what Julie Hemment (2012: 523) calls a 'complex fusion' – they combine Chinese cultural forms (traditional, socialist and reform-era concepts of *suzhi*) and elements of neoliberal governing discourses (self-help, self-empowerment and autonomous, participatory citizenship, etc.). Viewed from this perspective, the term 'propaganda' is not a useful descriptor of the constant media and ever-present public service advertising associated with the figure of Lei Feng in 2012–2013. The sheer volume of such publicity released Lei Feng's image and persona from the burdens of coherence and consistency, turning him into a heterogeneous symbol for individual and social action, as the next two sections demonstrate.

### **The Changsha Lei Feng Memorial Hall**

One site where the figure of Lei Feng has had a recent 'make-over' is the Lei Feng Memorial Hall in Changsha City, Hunan Province. This particular

Memorial Hall was built in 1968: five years after Mao Zedong's original call for the Chinese populace to 'Learn from Lei Feng'. The Memorial Hall contains statues, images and paintings of Lei Feng, posters with information about his life, and memorabilia about his life and the period of his life. The Memorial Hall website claims that the Memorial Hall receives somewhere between 3,000 to 5,000 visitors each day on average during the peak season from March to September, and has sometimes received over 10,000 visitors in one day. There are occasional musical performances at the Memorial Hall to entertain tourists, and volunteers at the Memorial Hall give talks to visiting groups of teachers and school children about bringing the Lei Feng Spirit into the classroom ('Tanfang Hunan Wangcheng' 2013; for an account of the Fushun Lei Feng Memorial Hall, see Denton 2014: 161–7).

On 27 September 2013, I went to visit the Changsha Lei Feng Memorial Hall. While the Memorial Hall was not exactly overflowing with visitors that day, there was a slow but steady stream of visitors who seemed interested in the exhibition and its contents. They stayed for around an hour, talked about the exhibits and took photographs of themselves with 'Lei Feng'. As these were small groups of individuals, approximately 10 people per hour, the larger numbers cited above probably relate to school visits and visits by tourists on package holidays.

Two of the most interesting aspects of the Memorial Hall from my perspective were recent additions. The first was an outdoor exhibit of cartoon-like images of Lei Feng as a superhero performing modern deeds, which was created in 2012. The second was an indoor exhibit of photographs of contemporary people who have reportedly adopted the Lei Feng Spirit, one of whom is billionaire-philanthropist Chen Guangbiao. This exhibit was created in 2011 at the earliest, since it contains images of volunteers at the 2010 Shanghai World Expo and Asian Games in Guangzhou.

The cartoon series of Lei Feng was created in August 2012 by He Wenlong, a lecturer at Changsha Normal University in Hunan Province, which is a university focused on teacher training, and a team of 11 other members, including government employees, journalists, teachers and school students ('Jiedu katong dongman' 2013). He Wenlong set up the Changsha Normal University Lei Feng Knight Work Office with funding and support from Changsha Normal University, the Hunan Civilization Office and the Changsha Spiritual Civilization Office ('Zhongguo wenhuabao: dongman chuanbo zheng nengliang' 2015).

The cartoon series abandons traditional didactic representations of Lei Feng in favour of presenting him in as a modern superhero, with the aim of appealing to young people to become like Lei Feng and engage in volunteering. A preface to the exhibit states that Lei Feng Knight (*Lei Feng Xia*, 雷风侠) is not the original Lei Feng, but rather an expression and extension of Lei Feng's spirit, that is, a modern incarnation of successive generations of Lei Fengs. The Chinese character '侠 *xia*' is not an exact translation for the English-language term 'Knight'; however, Lei Feng Knight is the English-language translation used by the cartoon's creators, and hence is used hereafter. In Chinese, the term 'xia' refers to a chivalrous and benevolent person adept in martial arts, who is willing help others even if it means putting themselves in difficult and dangerous situations (see Cao Zhengwen 2014: 5; Xiandai Hanyu Cidian 2014: 1402). The Chinese characters used for 'Feng' in Lei Feng Knight are also different from the original 'Feng' used in Lei Feng – 雷风侠 (*Lei Feng xia*) rather than 雷锋. He Wenlong, the creator of the Lei Feng cartoon, replaced the original character '锋' ('sharp' or 'vanguard') with '风' ('thunder' and 'wind') to suggest that 'Lei Feng' has superpowers – he moves like the wind and appears where help is most needed. This usage plays on the Chinese phrase 雷厉风行 (*leili fengxing*), which means vigorously and speedily (like thunder and wind) ('Lei Feng jingshen de di N dai chuanren' 2014).

The cartoon series contains images of Lei Feng Knight doing conventional good deeds and modern forms of volunteering. Examples of Lei Feng Knight performing the standard good deeds that are associated with young people and civility include: helping an elderly person across the road, giving a seat to a woman with a baby on a bus, and giving a girl an umbrella on a rainy day (and patriotically saluting to the Chinese flag). The series also presents Lei Feng Knight performing deeds that are associated with more contemporary forms of volunteering, such as donating blood, planting trees, protecting grasslands and putting a fish back into a river. In addition, it shows Lei Feng Knight engaging in philanthropic activities associated with major GONGOs in China, such as bringing water to women and children living in rural, arid regions of western China by building wells (a project launched by the China Women's Development Fund in 2001), and carrying quilts and blankets to give to people affected by natural disasters.

Apart from depicting Lei Feng Knight as a contemporary volunteer, the series attempts to portray Lei Feng Knight as a cosmopolitan youth. One image shows Lei Feng Knight playing rock guitar. Another image presents him as Father Christmas riding a sleigh and bringing love to the world (see Figure 5.7). Both images are clearly designed to appeal to young children and perhaps to entertain adults, by placing Lei Feng Knight in the context of international popular music and Western celebrations. The use of the English-language expression 'Merry Christmas' in Figure 5.7 also highlights the increasing popularity of Christmas as a youth festival in China, albeit chiefly as a commercialized 'shopping' festival with 'visible' signs, such as decorated Christmas tree, Santa Claus, reindeer and tinsel, rather than as a religious festival (Sigley 2007: 91–6).

Images of Lei Feng Knight were circulated online and have attracted a large number of followers. The Lei Feng Knight QQ emoticons, for example, have been downloaded and used by over 100 million people (Pan Xiaodong and Qu Xiaoqu 2014). QQ is China's most popular instant messaging service with a registered number reaching over 1 billion and over 800



million active users in 2013 (Tracey Xiang 2014; ‘Zhongguo muqian’ 2013). Over 10 QQ groups of secondary and primary school students use the QQ Lei Feng Knight emoticons and the series has reportedly become popular among primary and secondary school students in Guangzhou (‘Jiedu katong dongman’ 2013).

**Figure 5.7: Lei Feng Knight as Father Christmas**



Source: Photograph by Su Xuezhong, Lei Feng Memorial Hall, Changsha, 2013.

Lei Feng Knight also enjoys some limited popularity on *weibo*, a Facebook-like Chinese microblog. The Lei Feng Knight *weibo* on the Internet service portal Tencent.com had attracted nearly 98,000 visitors, around 1,000 followers and more than 800 postings by March 2015, compared to around 2,000 visitors, and approximately 1,400 followers and 1,600 posts on Sina.com (‘Lei Feng xia Tengxun weibo’ n.d.; ‘Lei Feng xia Xinlang weibo’ n.d.). Postings presumably by adults and parents typically praise Lei Feng Knight as an innovative animation and modern educational take on a 1960s socialist role model (‘Lei Feng xia Xinlang weibo’ n.d.). Others praise Lei Feng Knight for promoting child and youth involvement in volunteering, including environmental protection (He Wenlong 2013). A posting by child

celebrity Xu Jialin tells how much he enjoyed singing a song that promotes volunteering titled ‘I am Lei Feng Knight’ (*Wo shi Lei Feng xia*, 我是雷锋侠) (Xu Jialin 2014). The song’s lyrics proclaim: ‘I am Lei Feng Knight! Wearing a Lei Feng hat and happy to help others everywhere!’ (see Appendix 5.2 for the song lyrics). Other postings with photographs indicate that Lei Feng Knight has been exhibited in primary schools and other public places, in Guizhou and Hunan Province (‘3 yue 5 ri xue Lei Feng’ 2014; ‘Qingchun Suiyang’ 2014). Figure 5.8 shows an image of school children looking at a street-side exhibition of Lei Feng Knight in the developing central China city of Changsha.

**Figure 5.8: Changsha Lei Feng Knight Street Exhibition**



Source: ‘Lei Feng xia’ [Lei Feng Knight] (2014) Xinlang Weibo, 5 March. Online. Available: [http://www.weibo.com/207808040?is\\_search=0&visible=0&is\\_tag=0&profile\\_ftype=1&page=4#\\_rnd1418618065841](http://www.weibo.com/207808040?is_search=0&visible=0&is_tag=0&profile_ftype=1&page=4#_rnd1418618065841) (accessed 28 April 2015).

The ‘Lei Feng Knight’ cartoon series has won national and local awards, highlighting the importance attached by government authorities to public information targeting children that reimagines socialist icons and values using modern media. In 2012, ‘Lei Feng Knight’ won a best mobile animation award from the China Animation and Comic Competition (CACC), organized by the National Administration of Press and Publication and the Guangdong Provincial Government (‘Zhengnengliang dongman’ 2012). ‘Lei Feng Knight’ also won an animation award in 2013 at Hunan Province’s first youth culture art festival themed ‘The China Dream is My Dream’ (*Zhongguomeng wo de meng*, 中国梦 我的梦), organized by the

Hunan Youth League, the Hunan Education Department and the Hunan Culture Department (‘Gongqingtuan Hunanshengwei’ 2013; ‘Hunansheng shoujie qingnian’ n.d.).

A different exhibit at the Lei Feng Memorial Hall, located inside the building and towards the end of the general Lei Feng exhibition, showed images of people who are famous in present-day China for donating and volunteering, implying they are part of a continuous tradition. The exhibit shows images of people who won awards in 2008, the year of the Sichuan-Wenchuan Earthquake, for being among ‘China’s Top 10 Outstanding Volunteers’ (*Zhongguo shida jiechu zhiyuanzhe*, 中国十大杰出志愿者) and ‘China’s Top 10 Outstanding Volunteer Groups’ (*Zhongguo shida jiechu zhiyuan fuwu jiti*, 中国十大杰出志愿服务集体). The awards were given by the Central Communist Youth League and the China Young Volunteers Association to acknowledge the disaster-relief services provided by particular individuals and groups (see Appendix 5.1 for a list of the award winners).

Figure 5.9 provides an image of ‘China’s Top 10 Outstanding Volunteers’ as displayed in the Changsha Lei Feng Memorial Hall. The top-right hand side of the figure shows two men: Wu Tianxiang, a Party member who has won numerous ‘Lei Feng’ awards for his voluntary acts of public service (‘Lingdao ganbu’ n.d.); and Cong Fei, a singer, who won an award as an ‘Inspirational Figure’ (*gandong renwu*, 感动人物) in 2005 for sponsoring hundreds of poor children to go to school and donating up to CNY 3 million. It then depicts the top ten volunteers, from left to right these are:

- (1) Chen Yan, a private entrepreneur;
- (2) Chen Guangbiao, a private entrepreneur;
- (3) Han Wei, a volunteer;
- (4) Yuan Rishe, a secondary school student;
- (5) Zhao Guangjun, a community worker;
- (6) Yin Chunlong, a rural agricultural worker;
- (7) Xu Benyu, a university student;

- (8) Sun Yayan, a university counsellor;
- (9) Guo Hao; a private entrepreneur; and
- (10) Xiamili Xiake'er, a famous military singer.

Beneath the image of ‘China’s Top 10 Outstanding Volunteers’ are images of people volunteering at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and the 2010 Shanghai World Expo, and a picture of miner Guo Mingyi, a steel worker renowned in China for his ‘Lei Feng Spirit’, epitomized by his practice of donating blood and doing other good deeds.

**Figure 5.9: Contemporary Volunteers – Lei Feng Memorial Hall**



Source: Photograph by Elaine Jeffreys, Lei Feng Memorial Hall, Changsha, 2013.

Although the exhibit displays philanthropists from all walks of life in China, Chen Guangbiao has attracted media attention both in China and internationally for his philanthropy. Chen garnered international media attention in 2011 for handing out money to passers-by on the streets of Taiwan (‘Chen Guangbiao jiangshuai dalu’ 2011). He also attracted international media attention in 2014 for reportedly holding a gourmet lunch for homeless people in New York’s Central Park (‘Chinese millionaire’s flashy stunt’ 2014). While often ridiculed for his brash personal behaviour

and perceived ‘nouveau-riche’, vulgar style of philanthropy, Chen Guangbiao typically attributes his philanthropic generosity to the fact that he is Chinese and cares for other people in the tradition of Lei Feng (‘Zhe xie nian Chen Guangbiao’ 2012).

In 2012, Chen Guangbiao posted photographs of himself dressed as Lei Feng on his personal microblog which attracted widespread debate (see Figure 5.10) (‘Chen Guangbiao toudai’ 2012). The images were photographs by the artist and sculptor, Shu Yong. Chen Guangbiao subsequently told reporters that when he agreed to do a photo-shoot with Shu Yong, he had no idea that Shu wished him to pose as Lei Feng. He had agreed to the request because he admired Lei’s spirit of selfless dedication to the Chinese people (‘Chen Guangbiao toudai’ 2012). Shu Yong claimed that the photographs aimed to parody neither Chen Guangbiao nor Lei Feng, but rather to promote public discussions of contemporary understandings of the ‘spirit of Lei Feng’.

The photographs were widely circulated on the Chinese Internet precisely because they were viewed as ‘funny’, attracting mixed responses. Some netizens described ‘Lei Feng Chen’ as a ‘living Lei Feng’. Others condemned him as ‘a rich show-off’. Yet others argued that Chen Guangbiao is a narcissist who likes publicity, but one whose activities may help to counter the perceived ‘uncaring’ individualism of contemporary China and promote a philanthropic culture of helping others instead (‘Chen Guangbiao “Lei Feng zhao”’ 2012). Irrespective of which characterization may be the most accurate, public discussions of Chen Guangbiao’s actions suggest that the Lei Feng image and persona does not refer to a coherent or consistent signifier: it provides a range of possible goals and methods for individuals to debate the conduct of others, and to modify or govern their own conduct, should they wish to do so.

The results of a survey on youth attitudes to Lei Feng that I helped to conduct in late 2013 further suggest that the revived use of Lei Feng to

promote philanthropy should not be dismissed as comical, ineffective, Party propaganda that is falling on deaf ears.

**Figure 5.10: Chen Guangbiao Dressed as Lei Feng**



Source: 'Chen Guangbiao "Lei Feng zhao" wangshang re zhengyi chen zao liaodao hui bei zhiyi' [Chen Guangbiao's 'Lei Feng photo' triggers controversy online, Chen says he expected his motivations to be questioned] (2012) *Renmingwang*, 6 March. Online. Available: <http://culture.people.com.cn/GB/22219/17302599.html> (accessed 28 April 2015).

## **What do young people think about Lei Feng’s fiftieth anniversary revival?**

In late 2013, along with Associate Professor Elaine Jeffreys from the University of Technology Sydney, I conducted an online multiple-choice survey of university students from different parts of China on Sojump.com to gauge what young educated people might think about Lei Feng and his reappearance as a philanthropic role model (see Jeffreys and Su 2016: 47–9).<sup>13</sup> Sojump (*wenjuanxing*) is a Chinese online survey website similar to SurveyMonkey (‘Gongsi jianjie’ n.d. a). The survey was designed to ascertain the perceived value of Lei Feng as a role model in modern day China and the importance or otherwise of voluntary service in China in general. The link for the survey was sent to academic colleagues in universities across China in September 2013, some of whom agreed to pass the link on to their students. The survey went live on 1 September 2013 and closed on 31 December 2013. For details of relevant survey questions and responses, see Appendix 5.3.

The survey obtained a total of 415 responses from university students in three Chinese universities – a high-ranking university in Beijing; and two technology and teacher-training universities located in Hebei and Yunnan Province. More than 200 respondents (around 50 per cent) were studying at the university in Hebei. Students majored in a wide range of subjects, the majority having no obvious connection to social work or philanthropy (see Appendix 5.3A). Around 60 per cent studied Science or Engineering; 25 per cent studied humanities (chiefly languages); 12 per cent studied administration or commerce; and 1 per cent studied medicine (the fields of three students were not identified). A total of 159 students said that they had completed subjects, or would complete subjects, which could possibly be related to philanthropy or social work. However, as most of these 159 students majored in Chemistry (64), followed by Languages (18) and Public

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<sup>13</sup> Associate Professor Jeffreys designed the survey, I assisted with the distribution and management of the survey on Sojump.com.

Administration (17), the link appears to be tangential, and therefore the sample was not particularly tilted towards social work or philanthropy, which could be expected to bias the results.

Students were asked some ‘general history’ questions to determine their degree of familiarity with the ‘Lei Feng story’ (see Question 1, Appendix 5.3B). Students were asked to identify the year of Lei Feng’s death, with choices varying between 1920 and 1990. Most respondents (68 per cent) correctly knew that Lei Feng died in 1962, with the second most popular choice being 1956 (12 per cent). In other words, most of the respondents were relatively clear about the historical timing of Lei Feng’s death, which might be expected given the 2012–2013 Lei Feng anniversary activities. The majority of students were also aware of the cause of Lei Feng’s death (see Question 2, Appendix 5.3B); 96 per cent of the respondents choose the option that he died in an accident. Most of the survey respondents (83 per cent) realised that Lei Feng was a member of the PLA (see Question 3, Appendix 5.3B); only 10 per cent thought he was a factory worker, and nobody selected the option that he was a poet or a free thinker. The students also appeared to be familiar with Lei Feng’s historical attributes, with 90 per cent selecting that his main characteristic was a willingness to help others (see Question 4, Appendix 5.3B). The second largest response was that Lei Feng’s defining characteristic was a love of socialism (just over 7 per cent), all of the other options obtained negligible responses. The results suggest that young educated people in China have a basic general knowledge of who Lei Feng is and what he stands for.

The survey also aimed to ascertain how people came in touch with information about Lei Feng and how recently they had seen information about Lei Feng. Unsurprisingly, given the government-led campaign to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of Lei Feng’s death and promote volunteering in 2012–2013, the survey respondents indicated that they had seen Lei Feng’s image recently in a large number of sources (see Question 5, Appendix 5.3B). Almost a third of the survey respondents (32 per cent) had



‘seen’ Lei Feng on television; 23 per cent had seen him at university; 17 per cent had seen him online; 13 per cent on public billboards; and 6 per cent at train stations.

Most of the survey respondents (78 per cent) had read books by or about Lei Feng and nearly 86 per cent had watched a film about Lei Feng, although most of them had last done so in primary or secondary school (see Questions 6 and 7, Appendix 5.3B). However, between 12–15 per cent of the respondents had either read a book or watched a film about Lei Feng in the last year. While more than 50 per cent of the respondents had purchased Lei Feng memorabilia at some time in their life, only 7 per cent had purchased Lei Feng toys or humorous/satirical products about him (see Question 8, Appendix 5.3B). This suggests either that Lei Feng is not viewed as a ‘joke’, or if he is, that he is not viewed as a big enough joke to be worth spending money on.

The main purpose of the survey was to consider whether Lei Feng has contemporary relevance as a role model who encourages people to help others, or whether he is seen and dismissed as a propaganda tool. The majority of survey respondents (73 per cent) chose to answer the question ‘Lei Feng is ...’ by picking the option that Lei Feng is a role model for people today (see Question 9, Appendix 5.3B). Only 13 per cent chose to answer that Lei Feng was a role model for people in the past; and less than 5 per cent thought that he was either a fictional character or an invention of Party propaganda. None of the survey respondents selected the option that Lei Feng was ‘nothing special’ or ‘not relevant to today’s China’. On the contrary, 77 per cent of the survey respondents indicated that Lei Feng was a ‘good exemplar of philanthropy’, and only 3 per cent thought he was ‘just propaganda’. When asked how they would describe a ‘living Lei Feng’, the majority of students answered that a living Lei Feng is someone who helps others (72 per cent) or who works voluntarily for the Chinese people (24 per cent) (see Question 10, Appendix 5.3B). There were insignificant levels of response to all of the other options, including suggestions that a ‘living Lei

Feng' is someone working for the Party, someone who is trying to impress others, or someone with no money.

Most of the survey respondents (77 per cent) also claimed to have felt inspired by Lei Feng, with 81 per cent of this particular group of respondents indicating that they were inspired by Lei Feng to help other people, while 5 per cent were inspired to join the Communist Party(see Question 11, Appendix 5.3B). Only 9 per cent of the survey respondents chose the option that they were not inspired by Lei Feng. Likewise, more than half of the respondents chose the option that they admired Lei Feng, although a third indicated that they did not admire him.

The survey responses further indicate that volunteering is a common experience for young people in China, largely in the context of Lei Feng activities organized by schools and universities. Most respondents (86 per cent) had participated in volunteering activities, with most of these activities being linked to Lei Feng. Moreover, nearly 80 per cent of respondents said that their volunteering experiences had been organized by a school or university (see Question 12, Appendix 5.3B). Only 58 respondents had no experience of volunteering and only 49 people reported volunteering for non-Lei Feng related activities.

However, the survey responses suggest that volunteering around Lei Feng Day is not compulsory, even for school children. Around a quarter of the total sample (107 people) had not engaged in Lei Feng activities. Only 4 per cent of the survey respondents stated that they engaged in Lei Feng Day activities because they had no choice other than to participate. While 21 per cent of the survey respondents indicated that they regularly participated in Lei Feng Day activities, 67 per cent said they rarely participated in Lei Feng activities; 6 per cent claimed to have never heard of such celebrations; and another 2 per cent indicated that they never participated in Lei Feng Day activities.

The majority of the survey respondents (89 per cent) indicated that there should be more private philanthropy in China, only 2 per cent thought that philanthropy is unnecessary because the government should be responsible for providing social welfare (see Question 13, Appendix 5.3B). Most of the survey respondents (69 per cent) also thought that helping others could also involve helping oneself, with another 10 per cent thinking that helping oneself is a corollary of helping others (see Question 14, Appendix 5.3B). While 31 per cent of people thought that helping others and strangers should be voluntary (as opposed to 2 per cent who thought it should be compulsory), 57 per cent again thought that helping others helped themselves.

In summary, the survey responses suggest that the government-led campaign to promote volunteering around the anniversary of Lei Feng in 2012–2013 was effective in some important respects (Jeffreys and Su 2016: 47–9). Obviously the survey cannot be held up as a definitive account of how young people in China feel about Lei Feng because responses came from just over 400 people in specific universities. However, the fact remains that most of the university students who responded to the survey had engaged in volunteering, and were familiar with the life-story of Lei Feng, who they largely seem to think is a good role for modern Chinese people and philanthropy-related civic engagement. Specifically, it appears that Lei Feng is tied to ideas which suggest that people should help each other and look after each other, and that helping others helps oneself, rather than being tied to the socialist past. As a result, his image and persona can be associated with contemporary philanthropic concepts without any inherent incongruence in the eyes of the survey respondents, at least (see also (Jeffreys and Su 2016).

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has focused on government-led efforts to promote philanthropy by reviving the Mao-era figure of Lei Feng. The use of Lei Feng in

contemporary contexts is often mocked by foreign correspondents, in particular, as anachronistic propaganda. However, this approach presents Lei Feng as frozen in time, rather than exploring the multiple ways that his image and persona has been adapted to suit contemporary purposes, and to promote philanthropy, in particular.

An examination of the use of Lei Feng in government-led publicity to promote volunteering suggests that Lei Feng is no longer a socialist-era symbol of selfless public service. He is now a symbol of modern volunteering understood as a form of civic engagement that helps the broader community and the individual volunteer (through the provision of skills, emotional satisfaction and enhanced self-esteem). A survey of university students' attitudes to the contemporary use of Lei Feng further suggests that the government-led promotion of volunteering and philanthropy is being listened to. Young people not only view Lei Feng as an appropriate role model for contemporary civic engagement, but also view volunteering as a voluntary and self-fulfilling act rather than something they are obliged to become involved with by government or educational organizations. The recent use of Lei Feng underscores how the moral resources of the socialist past can be adapted to meet new objectives, retaining some sense of continuity with the not-so-distant past while using those resources for different purposes from which they were originally intended.

The next chapter looks at the popularization of youth volunteering and philanthropy through the different medium of state-run television.

## 6 Philanthropy and Child- and Youth-focused Television

This chapter examines how philanthropy focused on children and youth is being produced, packaged and presented to people in China through the medium of television. Television continues to be the main media by which people in China gain access to news and entertainment, and also comprises a vital source of general education. According to the State Administration of Radio, Film and Television of China (SARFT),<sup>14</sup> the potential market audience of television in China is 1.2 billion people (Zhang Haichao 2005). Surveys suggest that more than 95 per cent of people in China watch television nearly every day and only 1 per cent of children in major urban centres ‘do not watch television’ (‘2007 nian quanguo dianshi guanzhou’ 2010; ‘Dianshi chuanmei’ 2003). The digitalization of media also means that television programs can now be viewed in different contexts, including on mobile phones, laptops, tablets, and smart phones.

In China, as in western liberal democracies, television is viewed as an important educational technology and means of activating citizenship

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<sup>14</sup> SARFT falls under the direct supervision of the State Council. It is in charge of the PRC’s radio, television and film industry and directly supervises China National Radio, China Radio International and China Central Television (‘State Administration of Radio, Film and Television’ n.d.). In March 2013 the State Council announced the merger of SARFT and the General Administration of Press and Publication to create a mega-ministry, the General Administration of Press and Publication, Radio, Film, and Television (*Guojia xinwen chuban guangbo dianying dianshi zongju*, 国家新闻出版广播电影电视总局), which is intended to boost the development of Chinese culture industries and increase their global influence (Su, Chan and Herrmann 2013). I use SARFT hereafter in this chapter because the documents I refer to were issued by SARFT prior to March 2013.

(Druick and Kotsopoulos 2008; Williams 1990). Chinese scholars describe television as a ‘second classroom’ and an important vehicle for communicating ‘healthy’ values and ideas (‘Dianshi chuanmei’ 2003; Ma Xiangfu 2010; Wang Liya 2007; Zhang Junde and Wang Zheping 2006; Zhou Yue 2007). Ederyn Williams (1990: 67) describes television as ‘education by seeing’, and Sun Wanning argues that television has the pedagogic function of teaching the population who ‘we’ are (Sun 2002: 187). Sun (2007: 191) further contends that television allows the Chinese Party-state to enter the homes of China’s citizens and to deliver ideological thought-work packaged as entertainment, or ‘indoctrainment’ to use Sun’s expression (Sun 2007: 191). The term ‘indoctrainment’ is perhaps too strong, after all, people can turn off the television, but it usefully conveys the general concern of China’s state-run television to promote national pride and ‘core Chinese values’ even in the context of commercialized and celebritized forms of entertainment.

China’s television stations are state-owned and Party-controlled, although provincial and local stations have begun to diversify content and feature more commercial advertising to generate income (Zhu and Berry 2009: 3–4). For example, a document issued by SARFT in 2004, titled ‘Implementation Measures for Broadcast Media to Strengthen and Improve the Intellectual and Ethical Development of Children and Youth’, stated that television stations should use television and film formats that are popular with young people to create a ‘green cultural space’ (*lüse wenhua kongjian*, 绿色文化空间), that is, a cultural space with ‘healthy’ content (‘Yinfa “Guangbo yingshi jiaqiang”’ 2007: Article 8). In October 2011, SARFT released the ‘Suggestions on Further Strengthening the Management of Star Channel Television Shows’ (‘Guangdian zongju’ 2011). The ‘Suggestions’ require provincial satellite channels to increase the number of news broadcasts and reduce the number of programs with excessive or ‘vulgar’ content that target children and youth. Since then, provincial satellite channels have run more programmes promoting what are presented as traditional Chinese virtues and core socialist values (Huang Xiuhua 2012: 220). The ‘Suggestions’

have also reduced the number of talk shows and reality-style dating, talent and variety shows that are broadcast on provincial satellite channels, by requiring that entertainment shows broadcast between 7:00–10:00 p.m. should not last longer than 90 minutes (‘Guangdian zongju’ 2011), in part to reduce the amount of consumption-orientated advertising content associated with the delivery of such shows. Television programming that focuses on philanthropy offers an example of ‘healthy content’ by promoting government policy objectives and encouraging children to ‘learn from role models’ (*xue you bangyang*, 学有榜样) (‘Yinfa “Guangbo yingshi jiaqiang”’ 2007: Article 3; ‘Guowuyuan guanyu cujin’ 2014: Section 4, Part V).

The chapter therefore analyses three different types of television programs with philanthropy-related content that focus on or feature young people. The first example is a concert broadcast on Central China Television Station in 2011 called *Caring for Children: China’s Philanthropy for Children Awards, 30 Years of Inspirational Figures* (*Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen: Zhongguo ertong cishan 30 nian gandong renwu banjiang wanhui*, 把爱心奉献给孩子们: 中国儿童慈善 30 年感动人物颁奖晚会). The concert was broadcast as part of an 80 minute documentary program about government-sponsored efforts to encourage children and youth in poor and disaster-affected areas to go to school (‘Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen’ 2011a). The second example is a 2012 episode of *Children Meet Celebrities* (*Baobei lai shang damingxing*, 宝贝赖上大明星), a show which first aired at prime-time on Friday evenings on Shenzhen Satellite Television. The third example is an episode of *Happy Camp* (*Kuaile dabenyong*, 快乐大本营), a continuing prime-time Saturday-night children’s show broadcast on Hunan Satellite Television. While the chapter focuses on programs broadcast on national and provincial television stations that feature children and teenagers, many of these shows are clearly directed at and also appeal to adult audiences. Ultimately, the discussion brings to light a new way of delivering

government endorsed messages about philanthropy through family shows that are propelled by entertainment and celebrity.<sup>15</sup>

### **Caring for children**

The first example is a concert broadcast live on a nationally accessible channel, CCTV-14, on 23 November 2011, titled *Caring for Children: China's Philanthropy for Children Awards, 30 Years of Inspirational Figures* ('Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen' 2011a). The concert, held at the National Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Auditorium in Beijing – a prestigious state-run venue, was sponsored by two GONGOs – the All-China Women's Federation (ACWF) and the China Children and Teenagers' Fund (CCTF). It celebrates the 30-year history of the CCTF (1981–2011), focusing on the related philanthropic efforts of various individuals and groups. Founded in 1981, under the governance of the ACWF and registered with the Ministry of Civil Affairs, the CCTF is 'dedicated to resolving youth welfare issues', especially in ethnic minority and impoverished regions ('About CCTF' n.d.).

CCTV-14, which first went to air in late 2003, targets children and youth audiences aged 0–18 with the goal of providing healthy, interesting and educational programs ('Pindao jiejian' n.d.; Chong Chong 2010). The channel had the second highest numbers of viewers among China's satellite stations in 2012 and a rating of 0.35 per cent in 2014, which compares favourably with the 0.36 per cent rating accorded to the top-ranking

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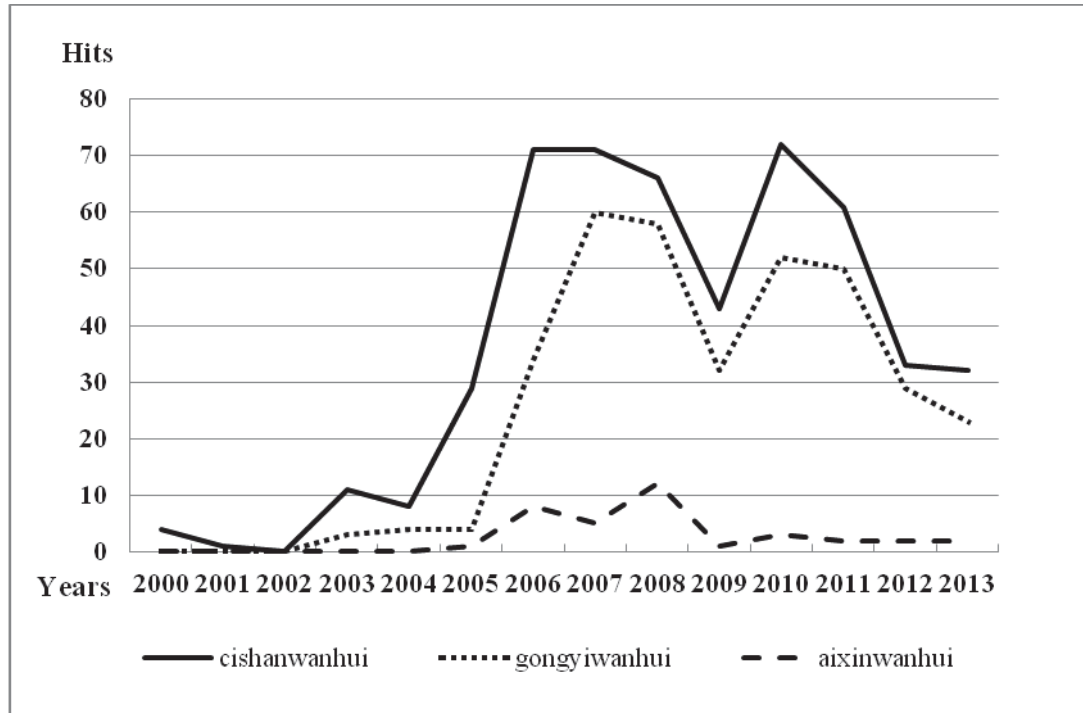
<sup>15</sup> A television series that has recently come to my attention is *Philanthropy China* (*Gongyi Zhongguo*, 公益中国), a 135-episode documentary series produced by the Hong Kong-operated Phoenix Television Station, which broadcasts in Mandarin Chinese ('Gongyi zhongguo' n.d.). The program aired in 2013 between 7:00–8:00 p.m. on Saturdays nights and was repeated between 4:20–5:15 p.m. on Sunday afternoons. It features at least 15 episodes that focus on philanthropy and children in the context of mainland China. While the station targets global and mainland Chinese audiences, it is owned by a Hong Kong-based company, Phoenix Satellite Television Holdings Limited (ifeng) ('Gongsi jianjie' n.d. b). Despite its intrinsic interest, I have therefore not included the series in the chapter discussion because it is neither a mainland nor state-run television station.



provincial satellite station, Hunan Television, in 2012 (Jiang Hua 2014: 82; Luffy 2013; ‘Zhongyang dianshitai shao’er pindao CCTV-14’ 2014). As a national channel, CCTV-14 typically broadcasts shows that are interspersed with a limited number of lengthy advertising slots.

The *Caring for Children* concert merits attention as an example of a concert that aims to celebrate and provide a history for Chinese philanthropy focused on young people, rather than to directly raise funds for a specific cause. Although charity galas and ‘do-good’ reality-TV are an established component of American television programming (Oullette and Hay 2008), they are a recent addition to television programming in China. A search on the China Core Newspapers Full-text Database of the China National Knowledge Infrastructure Database (CNKI) from January 2000 to December 2013 using Chinese-language keywords for ‘charity concert’ – ‘*cishanwanhui*’ (慈善晚会), ‘*gongyiwanhui*’ (公益晚会) and ‘*aixinwanhui*’ (爱心晚会) obtained more than 500 hits for the term ‘charity concert’ (*cishanwanhui*), over 350 hits for the term ‘public welfare concert’ (*gongyiwanhui*), and around 30 hits for the term ‘compassion concert’ (*aixinwanhui*). Figure 6.1 provides a graphic illustration of the annual spread of those results. It reveals that televised charity concerts first become a feature of life in China between 2004 and 2006 (the years of the Indian Ocean Tsunami and Typhoon Saomai, which hit the east coast of China, respectively), peaking in 2008 and 2010 (the years of the Sichuan-Wenchuan and Qinghai-Yushu earthquakes respectively).

**Figure 6.1: Number of Hits for Charity Concerts in CNKI (2000–2013)**



Source: CNKI China Core Newspaper Databases [Zhongguo zhongyao baozhi quanwen shujuku], Beijing: Tsinghua Tongfang Optical Disc Co. (accessed 10–11 October 2014).

CCTV-14 broadcast at least seven charity concerts between 2008 and 2014, with the majority focusing on children and youth as per the channel’s brief, and being either fundraisers or commemorative events associated with Chinese Communist Party history.<sup>16</sup> However, the *Caring for Children*

<sup>16</sup> Examples of other concerts include:

- (1) Heroic Teenagers Earthquake Disaster-Relief Awards, broadcast on 28 June 2008 to commemorate youth involvement in the Sichuan Earthquake disaster-relief efforts, organized by the China Civilization Office, the Ministry of Education, the Central Youth League and the All-China Women’s Federation (“Kangzhen jiuzai yingxiong shaonian” 2008);
- (2) ‘919’ Compassion Hope Children Charity Concert, broadcast on 19 February 2011 to raise money for disadvantaged children, organized by the China Association of Social Workers and the China Youth Cultural Exchange Centre (‘Zaige zaiwu xiying tunian’ 2011);
- (3) Sun Season Concert, broadcast on 23 July 2011 to assist rural children, and organized by CCTV-14 (‘Yangshi shao’er pindao shoutui’ 2011);
- (4) Love is Everywhere: Walk into Jिंगgangshan Concert, broadcast on 5 March 2012 to commemorate Lei Feng, and raise funds for schools in Jिंगgangshan (‘Aixin mantian: Yangshi shao’er pindao’ 2012);

concert appears to be one of the few such concerts organized by the CCTF that have been televised. A search on the media section of the CCTF website suggests that the organization held around 17 charity concerts or award events between 2007 and 2014, but most of these events were not televised ('Jiaodian xinwen' n.d.).

The *Caring for Children* concert begins with a retrospective look over the 30-year history of the CCTF, highlighting its commitment to improving child welfare, promoting traditional Chinese virtues and developing a harmonious socialist society ('Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen' 2011b). Hosted by CCTV television hosts Kang Hui and Zhang Weiqiu, the concert opens with a dance segment performed by children from the Guangdong Zhongshan Experimental Primary School. A video is then shown about the CCTF's work as epitomized through its main branded projects: (1) the Spring Bud Project launched in 1989, which has helped over 2 million young women return to school and acquire relevant work skills; (2) the Safe and Healthy Growth Project launched in 2000, which involves the creation of local community centres focused on keeping children in school and away from crime; and (3) the Action to Eliminate Infant Anemia Project launched in 2011, which aims to improve child health through improved nutrition ('About CCTF' n.d.). The video notes that the CCTF is supported by the PRC Government and has raised funds of nearly CNY 2 billion to assist around 12 million impoverished Chinese children ('Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen' 2011a). Short written comments by senior leaders, such as Premier Wen Jiabao and President Xi Jinping, praise the work of the CCTF and encourage the organization to help develop a harmonious socialist society through the ongoing promotion of what are described as the traditional Chinese virtues of helping the disadvantaged and improving child

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- (5) Walking in Spring Concert, broadcast on 5 March 2013 to commemorate Lei Feng and assist school children in Heilongjiang Province and earthquake-affected areas of Yunnan Province, organized by CCTV-14 and the China National Theatre for Children ('Shao'er pindao tebie jiemu' 2013); and
  - (6) Happy Holidays Concert broadcast on 2 June 2013 to assist the children of rural-to-urban migrant workers, organized by the ACWF and CCTV ('Yangshi "liuyi" wanhui' 2013).

and youth welfare. The video concludes that the CCTF will continue to innovate in keeping with social change and new social demands in China ('Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen' 2011a).

In the second part of the concert, awards are presented to 'inspirational figures' from diverse walks of life, epitomizing the government-sanctioned message that 'everybody in China can be a philanthropist' ('Ba aixin fengxian gei haizimen' 2011a). A total of 30 awards were presented to 29 individuals and one group, based on recommendations from local branches of the ACWF. Another 20 commendations went to 20 people for reaching award-winning standards, although they were not presented with awards during the concert. The 30 award winners included: actor Jackie Chan, tennis player Li Na, three government officials, and six CEOs of private enterprises. Awards were also presented to a range of professionals (teachers, doctors, journalists, and military personnel), 'ordinary' workers, including agricultural workers, rural-to-urban migrants and a group of mothers, and to two people from overseas (see Appendix 6.1 for a complete list of the award winners). The 20 commendations similarly included a range of government officials, private entrepreneurs, professionals, and ordinary workers, and people from overseas (see Appendix 6.2 for a complete list of the 20 commendations).

The third part of the concert presents a series of short videos and photographs about six of the award winners who represent different sectors of Chinese society, as well as overseas donors. The first is Chen Muhua, Director of the CCTF (1993–2006) and an ACWF official, who is portrayed as worked hard through the CCTF to improve the lives of children, and who died in May 2011 shortly before the televised concert. The second is Wu Houzhi, a retired construction worker who donated considerable amounts of money to the CCTF, despite his low income, and who also left his money and valuables to the CCTF upon his death. The third is Zhou Jiebing, CEO of the Hong Kong Huanxing Group, a sports clothing manufacturer, whose donation of CNY 1 million to the CCTF to support initiatives encouraging

poor girls in Guangdong, Hunan, Guangxi and Sichuan provinces, eventually contributed to the founding of the Spring Bud Project. The fourth is Toshu Fukami, Director of the Japan Global Art Culture Promotion Association, who donated CNY 36 million to the CCTF.<sup>17</sup> The fifth is the Safe and Healthy Growth Project Mothers, a group of voluntary life-teachers from the Safe and Healthy Growth Project homes initiative in Shandong and Sichuan, who cared for children orphaned by the 2008 Sichuan-Wenchuan Earthquake. The sixth is Mihelunsha, an air force official who was sponsored by the Spring Bud Project and who now also sponsors the schooling of poor children. Their brief life-stories suggest that people who care for children are creating future generations of people who care for people.

The concert concludes with a performance of the now classic ‘feel-good’ song by Wei Wei, ‘Dedication of Love’, which has become a theme-song for philanthropy in China. The song’s lyrics proclaim that ‘so long as everybody gives a bit of love, the world will be a beautiful humane world’.

### **Lyrics of Dedication of Love**

This is the call of the heart	这是心的呼唤
This is the dedication [gift] of love	这是爱的奉献
This is the spring breeze of humanity	这是人间的春风
This is the source of life	这是生命的源泉
In the desert that is the absence of heart	在没有心的沙漠
In the wilderness that is the absence of love	在没有爱的荒原
[Even] Death will flinch	死神也望而却步
Joy will bloom everywhere	幸福之花处处开遍
	啊

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<sup>17</sup> The inclusion of Toshu Fukami is perhaps significant given widespread anti-Japan sentiment expressed through protests in city streets in China in mid 2012, which were triggered by disputes over territorial control of small islands in the South China Sea claimed by different East Asian countries (Wasserstrom 2012: 315–23).

Ah

只要人人都献出一点爱

世界将变成美好的人间

As long as everyone gives a bit of love

啊啊啊

The world will be a beautiful, humane  
world

这是爱的奉献

Ah, Ah, Ah

This is the dedication [gift] of love

The song is followed by the words of the concert hosts: ‘Tomorrow belongs to the children and the children are the future of the nation. Let’s work together to care for children’.

Apart from appealing to adults to demonstrate care for children and create a cycle of philanthropy, the concert appeals to children and youth to engage with philanthropy by presenting young people as performers, celebrities and philanthropists. Primary school children perform a dance in the first part of the concert called ‘mobile children’ (*liudongwa*, 流动娃), which depicts the children of rural-to-urban migrant workers being welcomed at schools, and being given presents of school bags by school children in Guangzhou. Two child celebrities, Wang Xinyi and Wang Chuhao, perform the concert’s theme song, ‘Love at Spring Buds’, accompanied by the primary school children in the chorus. Wang Xinyi and Wang Chuhao are famous in China for singing duets at large-scale televised events, including at the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games and CCTV’s Chinese New Year Gala, and especially for singing revolutionary classics such as ‘Learn from Lei Feng: A Good Model’ (*Xuexi Lei Feng hao bangyang*, 学习雷锋好榜样) and ‘Grandpa’ (*Yeye*, 爷爷), a song written to commemorate the ninetieth anniversary of the Chinese Communist Party in 2011, which is also used as the theme music for CCTV-15 (‘Tongshen erchongchang’ 2012; ‘Minsheng manhua kaimu’ 2011; ‘2014 yangshi liuyi wanhui’ 2014; ‘Zhongguo yinyue dianshi’ 2012). Wang Xinyi has attended award ceremonies with international celebrities such as Jackie Chan to promote environmental protection (‘Huading yazhou’ 2012). She has also been featured encouraged

the planting of fruit trees in disaster-affected areas of Taiwan ('Dalu futai cishan' 2010) and presenting gifts to orphans affected by the Yushu Earthquake ('Lantian Yushu ertong' 2010). The child celebrities thus represent socialist values, love for the Chinese Communist Party, mainland Chinese concern for Taiwan, and global environmentalism.

In summary, the concert celebrates the history and future of the CCTF, and therefore Chinese philanthropy focused on children and youth, by acknowledging the philanthropic efforts of people who have supported the CCTF and encouraging support for the organization as a protector of children and promoter of traditional and socialist values. It features award winners from diverse walks of life, including overseas donors, suggesting that philanthropy is an activity anyone can become involved with. It also features children as performers and philanthropists, suggesting that philanthropy is an activity that young people can become involved in too. Rather than being an explicit fundraising event, the concert celebrates the achievements of a range of government officials and other Chinese citizens and educates its audience, whether adult or children, about both the need for philanthropy to support government-identified areas of concern in reform-era China, and the potential collective and individual benefits of becoming involved in philanthropy.

While the example of *Caring for Children* concert refers to a televised celebration of a GONGO on a national television station (CCTV), provincial television stations are featuring programming with a different type of philanthropic content. The next section looks at an example of a family entertainment show with celebrity guests and a reality-style component that involves children assisting children in need.

### **Children help peers by meeting celebrities**

The second example is a television show produced by a provincial television station – Shenzhen Satellite Television, called *Children Meet Celebrities*.

Shenzhen Satellite TV is popular, being ranked number six among China's satellite channels in 2013 ('Zhongguo quan meiti weishi ba yue shoushi lü jiebang Hunan sanci chanlian kuishou' 2013). Apart from being China's first special economic zone, Shenzhen has also been at the forefront of philanthropy-related developments in China. In December 2008, Liu Runhua, Director of the Shenzhen Bureau of Civil Affairs, gave a speech at the China Charity Forum during which he stated that 'philanthropy education starts from children' ('Shenzhenshi minzhengju juzhang' 2008). China's first national China Charity Fair was held in Shenzhen in 2012, as were subsequent fairs in 2013 and 2014 (Jeffreys and Su 2013: 23). Shenzhen is also ranked number three (after Beijing and Shanghai) in the 2014 list of China's top 100 charitable cities ('Zhongguo chengshi gongyi cishan zhishu' 2014).

*Children Meet Celebrities* first aired in March 2010 and was still being aired as of mid-2015. Between March 2010 and December 2011 each episode ran for 60 minutes and was broadcast on Friday evenings at 8:45 p.m. and replayed at 10:00 a.m. on Saturdays. Starting in January 2012, the length of the show was extended to 90 minutes and it is broadcast at 9:20 p.m. on Thursday evenings and replayed at 9:30 a.m. on Saturdays. The show is hosted by Qiang Zi, who hosts a top-rating entertainment-orientated and child- and youth-focused reality show in southern China called *Family Show* (*Fanmeile xiu*, 饭没了秀); *Children Meet Celebrities* is a part of the *Family Show* franchise (Li Qinyan 2008: 121; Xu Tianying 2011: 78; Yuan Hongzhou 2013: 49). *Children Meet Celebrities* is interspersed with multiple commercial advertisements for family and child-orientated products, such as dairy, fashion, skin care, sports, and electronic goods.

Here, I examine the first 2012 episode of *Children Meet Celebrities*, a show which promotes child involvement in philanthropy through entertainment – each week different children help different children in need assisted by different celebrity guests and audience members. Each episode includes a live studio talk show with celebrity hosts and guest celebrities, quizzes and



audience participation. It also features a video clip that introduces a child in need who is helped by ‘magic children’ (*moli baobao*, 魔力宝宝) – the magic children obtain an object from a celebrity that is auctioned to raise money for a featured person in need (‘Lanmu jieshao’ n.d.). The magic children who become temporary celebrities are selected from kindergartens, and primary and secondary schools across China by a host of professionals, including teachers, and the producers and hosts of *Children Meet Celebrities* through on-site and online enrolment. Through their parents’ help with enrolment, children aged 3–12 enrol either at the site or online. They are picked to participate on the show based on criteria such as their childlike innocence, sense of curiosity and fun, artistic talents, capacity to recite classical poems, parade fashion clothing, and the number of online votes they receive for uploaded photographs and essay writings (‘Fanmeile xiu huodong zhixing fan’an’ n.d.).

The proclaimed mission of *Children Meet Celebrities* is to provide positive inspiration by presenting a ‘journey of compassion’ (‘“Fanmeile xiu” 2012 nian diyi qi’ 2012). That journey is presented in three segments, mediated in the episode discussed here by five celebrities, four ‘magic’ children and an entrepreneur. The celebrities are: female singers Jiang Yingrong and Tai Weiwei, actress Jiang Mengjie, and actors Li Chen and Ming Dao. The four ‘magic children’, two girls and two boys around 5 years old, are called by their nicknames Pei Pei, Yue Yue, Tong Tong and Xiao Xiang. The entrepreneur is Chen Xingyou, CEO of the Shengshi Integrated Broadcast Institute, a viewer who is selected to buy an auctioned item that belonged to a celebrity. The celebrities, children and entrepreneur use the proceeds of the auction to help Han Daiqing, a poor boy living in a rural area of Gansu Province (‘“Fanmeile xiu” 2012 nian diyi qi’ 2012).

The first segment opens with the host and four celebrities sitting on stage, with the host inviting the studio and watching audience to engage with the philanthropic theme of the show and universal love, by asking whether they need help, or know of people who need help. In the words of the host:

‘Do you need help? Do friends around you need special help? You can tell us. In 2012, our *Family Show* magic children will start anew to look for people who most need help. Let all friends act and participate in our trip of love and garner the power of love’.

This statement is followed by a short video about a child in need— Han Daiqing – a four-year-old boy from a poor family in Huajian village, Gaolan County, Gansu Province.

Han Daiqing is presented in the classic manner of ‘do-good’ reality television as a ‘deserving recipient’. A narrator informs the audience that a sense of compassion and willingness to help others is a tradition that has been passed down in Han Daiqing’s family for generations. This follows the conventions of ‘do-good’ reality-TV shows in western contexts, which typically reward ‘those who struggle without expecting or asking for help’ and ‘people who demonstrate personal responsibility to others’ (Ouellette and Hay 2008: 48).

For example, the audience is informed that Han’s 85-year-old grandmother offered half of her humble living accommodation to a young married couple in the village, and later looked after another two young disabled people by letting them stay in her home for four years. While the grandmother has consistently helped others, implicitly throughout both the socialist and reform period, the family is experiencing serious financial difficulties. Han’s father is unable to work because of a work-related accident in 2010 and Han’s mother supports the entire family by working away from home, which means the grandmother is caring for Han and the household at home. The video concludes with the grandmother’s wish that Han Daiqing will not suffer from the winter cold during the 2012 New Year. The host then informs the audience that Han Daiqing needs 2 tons of coal for winter fuel costing CNY 2,000, kindergarten fees totalling CNY 1,750 and living expenses of CNY 1,250, which will be raised by auctioning an object obtained by two children from a celebrity.

The next video clip provides comic relief in the form of two magic children (Pei Pei and Yue Yue) going to Beijing to meet actor Ming Dao. A narrator explains that the children need to find some animals to scare the fearless actor, who hosts a Taiwanese travel and adventure program called ‘King of Adventure’ (*Maoxianwang*, 冒險王), thereby advertising both the celebrity and his show. Pei Pei says he wants to buy lions, sharks and tigers. The narrator responds by telling him that these are protected animals that are not for sale. They then go to a pet market in Beijing to look for ‘ferocious’ animals. Pei Pei and Yue Yue subsequently meet a lizard handler who helps them take a lizard to scare Ming Dao, although he is not frightened by it. Pei Pei and Yue Yue also ask people on Beijing streets what they are most scared of, with a young man saying that he is scared of his girlfriend. Pei Pei and Yue Yue then invite a woman to scare Ming Dao by making serious facial expressions; this also fails because she is a fan of the actor. Finally, Ming Dao tells the children that he is scared of cockroaches. Ming then tests the children by asking them to climb a rock to get the object that he has donated for auction – a bracelet. The video concludes with Ming Dao presenting the bracelet and a signed copy of his latest book as a special gift to the successful bidder, thus also presenting his latest product in the form of embedded advertising. The video ends with the host calling for audience members in the studio and television viewers at home to express their interest in bidding for the bracelet by sending their telephone number with messages to a provided telephone number.

The second segment involves audience interaction: the four celebrities grouped into two teams compete in a quiz for the right to draw the name of a ‘lucky entrant’ to bid for the donated object, with the winning mobile number being displayed on the studio screen. It also features the other two magic children (Tong Tong and Xiao Xiang), who pose as models in a ‘fashion show’ for the audience and talk with the celebrity guests. Entrepreneur Chen Xingyou is the ‘lucky entrant’ and obtains the bracelet by paying CNY 5,000 to help Han Daiqing. When asked to say a few words to the audience, Chen replies: ‘I am lucky to be chosen, I only use my small

power to help people in need. People in the studio and at home in front of television sets can act together'. Chen thus implies that he is lucky to be temporarily celebrityized by being shown on television helping other people, but he is simply a compassionate person like everyone else in China who is watching the show.

This message of collective national compassion is affirmed in the third segment of the show, which is a video clip of Tong Tong and Xiao Xiang travelling from Shenzhen to Gansu to deliver two tons of coal to Han Daiqing's home, and being helped by numerous people along the route when they hear what the children are doing. The children purchase the coal using a printed authorization with the *Family Show* seal, offering yet another example of embedded advertising. The video concludes with Tong Tong and Xiao Xiang giving the coal to Han and his grandmother.

The example of *Children Meet Celebrities* demonstrates that entertainment television programming does not function 'as mere amusement for viewers', it is also a site 'through which contemporary social issues may be considered and negotiated' (Klein 2011: 905). The show is entertaining because it involves celebrities with televisual appeal and hosting experience. The show is funny because the children are treated as distinguished guests, and the guest celebrities, studio audience and the people they meet on their compassion journey use the language and behaviour of children to communicate with them as they perform both childlike and 'adult' (philanthropic) acts.

At the same time, the show provides 'entertainment-education' in the sense that it disseminates ideas about 'Chinese values' that encourage behavioural and social change (Klein 2011: 906). Specifically, the show models children engaging in philanthropic acts to help other children, with the act of 'helping others' being presented as a Chinese cultural value. The children perform as positive role models by engaging in philanthropic causes, and literally showing how philanthropy can be conducted by young and older

adults who would find such activities easier to perform. The show also provides some information about environmental and wildlife conservation, which are increasing areas of public attention in China (Ho and Edmonds 2012; Shapiro 2012).

The show admittedly presents ‘compassion’ or ‘love for humanity’ in a celebritized and commercialized form. There are clear commercial incentives for celebrities to appear on the show, both by appearing in person and in the form of embedded advertising. Television viewing audiences are incentivized to support the show, to want to be in the show and perhaps to act in philanthropic ways, by the potential opportunity provided for them to meet with or communicate with celebrities as guest children on the show or as bidders for auctioned celebrity goods. But the show also brings ‘pro-social messages’ to TV viewers by asking them to think about and potentially participate in an accepted social welfare cause – helping impoverished children.

### ***Happy Camp and shark protection***

The third example refers to *Happy Camp*, a hugely popular youth-orientated variety show first broadcast by Hunan Satellite Television in 1997. *Happy Camp* is hosted by five celebrities – He Jiong, Li Weijia, Xie Na, Du Haitao and Wu Xin, and goes to air live on Saturday evenings between 8:10 and 9:45 p.m. The show is broadcast again on Sunday between 11:30 a.m and 1:00 p.m. Millions of people watch the show, which, like *Children Meet Celebrities*, is interspersed with advertisements for family and child-orientated products. *Happy Camp* also regularly features the logos of sponsoring companies (“‘Kuaile dabenyng” zaojin’ 2014). Wang Bingwen, the show’s general producer, states that *Happy Camp* targets primary and secondary students with the aim of helping them to relax and make productive use of their spare time (Liu Jian’an 1998).

*Happy Camp* provides commercial entertainment through games, talent shows, singing and dancing, comedy skits, interviews, and sometimes audience interaction with celebrities, while occasionally promoting philanthropic causes (Liu Yang and Lin Hai 2007: 155–56). The latter point is illustrated by an episode called ‘Happiness on the Road’ (*Kuaile zai lushang*, 快乐在路上), which was broadcast on 25 February 2012, and encourages viewers to say ‘no’ to eating shark-fin soup. Shark-fin soup is a ‘luxury food item largely consumed by ethnically Chinese people at banquets marking momentous occasions, such as wedding parties or government and corporate dinners’ (Jeffreys 2015: 2). Serving expensive dishes at celebratory banquets such as shark-fin soup (around CNY 150–200 a bowl) honours the host and their guests by confirming that the high status of the host and suggesting that the guests are respected by the persons or organizations paying for the event (Bai Jumei 2012; Jeffreys 2015: 2; ‘Tianjia yuchi zhenxiang jiemi’ 2013). However, international conservation NGOs claim that shark finning is decimating shark populations and ocean life (‘Sharks’ n.d.).<sup>18</sup>

The *Happy Camp* episode devotes around 11 minutes to the international cause of shark protection through the medium of Sun Shaowu, an underwater photographer, who talks about his travel and underwater photography. The show begins with the five hosts of *Happy Camp* and three popular music singers (Zhang Jie, Tan Weiwei and Xie Na) and actor Shen Ling talking about their travel experiences. After a musical performance by Tan Weiwei, Chen Wei, reportedly the first PRC citizen to fly around the world, talks about his experiences. Sun Shaowu then talks about his photography. The show concludes with a discussion between the hosts and guests and a song by Zhang Jie, before announcing the guests for the following week (‘Kuaile dabenyng 2012’ 2012).

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<sup>18</sup> In other episodes of *Happy Camp*, film star Fan Bingbing talks about children born with congenital heart disease and singer Han Hong talks about children with healthcare issues in ethnic minority areas (‘Guangdian zongju biaoyang’ 2011; ‘Fan Bingbing tuichu’ 2012).

Host He Jiong segues into a discussion with Sun Shaowu by mentioning a film called *Oceans*, a 2009 French nature documentary directed by Jacques Perrin, which explores the marine species of the world's five oceans and reflects on the negative aspects of human activity on the environment (Oceans 2009). The reference to Perrin and Sun, a famous Western film and a famous Chinese photographer, emphasizes the international nature of the issue and China's engagement with international concerns. An anonymous narrator informs the audience that Sun Shaowu has travelled extensively and his photographs have won several world-class awards. One of Sun's award-winning photographs is about a coral reef and the other depicts a diver and a fish to represent nature and humans in harmony. The seven other photographs featured on the show portray diverse marine animals.

The ensuing discussion between the *Happy Camp* hosts and their guests debunks some common misconceptions about sharks. He Jiong introduces the first of Sun Shaowu's photographs – a close-up shot of a huge shark with a diver swimming close by, stating that sharks are different from how people imagine them to be. Responding to singer Xie Nan's comment that the shark looks as big as an airplane, Sun explains that the photograph was shot with a fish-eye lens and the shark was less than 50 centimetres away from the camera. Shen Ling then asks whether sharks are ferocious and dangerous. Sun replies that the media tend to misrepresent shark as 'people eaters' when they sometimes bite but do not eat humans. He Jiong adds that people are brutal to sharks and introduces a short video which depicts a man hanging sharks' fins on a line on a ship, followed by a scene where two people on a ship throw a bleeding but still alive shark overboard whose fins and tail have been cut off. When the video concludes, Sun Shaowu asks if people feel sad and whether they know why sharks are treated like this. He Jiong responds that sharks are being finned alive because of the demand for shark fin products, especially shark-fin soup.

Sun Shaowu then presents a photograph that he had taken of a dead hammerhead shark lying on the bottom of the sea, partly covered with a

discarded net that Sun had found littering the seabed (see Figure 6.2). Sun explains that he saw people cutting the fins off the shark in an unspecified location. He was especially saddened by this brutal act because hammerheads are an endangered species. He therefore photographed the hammerhead shark with the intention of using the photograph to educate Chinese people not to eat shark-fin soup ('Kuaile dabenyng 2012' 2012).

**Figure 6.2: Sun Shaowu's Hammerhead Shark Photograph**



Source: "'Kuaile zai lushang" 120225 kuaile dabenyng' ['Happiness on the road' 120225 *Happy Camp*] (2013) PPS. Online. Available: [http://v.pps.tv/play\\_320T3J.html](http://v.pps.tv/play_320T3J.html) (accessed 27 April 2015).

The hosts of *Happy Camp* and their guests conclude that eating shark fin is cruel to sharks, harmful to human health and unnecessary from the perspective of 'taste' and 'texture'. Zhang Jie and Xie Na state that people should not eat shark fin because they think it has medicinal properties that will help them to live longer; on the contrary, eating shark fin may be harmful because the fins are bleached using hydrogen peroxide, which is toxic when consumed by humans. Zhang Jie adds that eating shark-fin soup is simply a 'herd mentality' of copying what rich people do. He Jiong notes that shark fin soup has no distinctive taste, but rather tastes like chicken stock. Zhang Jie adds that noodles made from certain starches have the same



texture as shark fin. Finally, He Jiong thanks Sun Shaowu for bringing in his photographs, stating that travel and tourism should also make us understand the need for environmental protection and wildlife conservation. Of the 51 responses to *Happy Camp* posted immediately after the show on the *Happy Camp* Tieba, a social network site, almost half were about the shark segment, with respondents reiterating that ‘humans are brutal’, ‘shark fins contain toxins’, ‘eating shark fin is unhealthy’, and ‘only rich people kill and eat such things’ (‘Kuile dabenyng ba’ n.d.).

*Happy Camp*’s shark segment signalled the start of the five hosts’ support for WildAid, an international NGO focused on wildlife and marine conservation, and for a WildAid campaign called ‘I’m FINished With Fins’, in particular. The campaign was launched in Singapore in 2012, and moved to Hong Kong, Taiwan and mainland China in 2013 (‘I’m FINished with fins’ n.d.). WildAid launched the campaign in mainland China on 17 September 2013 by posting a Chinese-language PSA titled ‘I’m FINished With Fins’ on Youku, a YouTube-like Chinese video-sharing website (‘Shipin: kuailejiazhu wo yu yuchi’ n.d.). The PSA is shot in black and white. It opens with the five hosts of *Happy Camp*, who are wearing t-shirts with a WildAid logo, placing their hands over their mouths to signal that they refuse to eat shark-fin soup. He Jiong states: ‘every year around 73 million sharks are killed tragically for the fin trade’. Du Haitao says: ‘many shark species are threatened with extinction’. Xie Na states: ‘sharks are apex predators and play an important role in the balance of marine life’. Li Weijia and Wu Xin each say a part of the following phrase: ‘stop eating shark fin for the health of humans and the oceans’. The *Happy Camp* hosts say in turn: ‘Together, everyone together: I’m FINished With Fins’. The video concludes with Xie Na and He Jiong adding the WildAid tagline: ‘When the Buying Stops, the Killing Can Too’ (‘Shipin: kuailejiazhu wo yu yuchi’ n.d.). Figure 6.3 shows an image of the *Happy Camp* hosts promoting WildAid’s ‘I’m FINished With Fins’ campaign.

Figure 6.3: *Happy Camp* Supports I'm FINished With Fins

Source: 'Wo yu yuchi shuo zaijian' [I'm FINished with fins] (2013) *Xinlang Weibo*, 19 September.

On 19 September, a representative from WildAid and two *Happy Camp* celebrities (He Jiong and Wu Xin) held an 'I'm FINished with Fins' event at Shanghai's Touch Mall, where hundreds of spectators pledged to stop eating shark-fin soup ('Kuilejiazu xieshou' 2013; 'News' 2013). Similar events were held at other shopping malls in Beijing and Shanghai throughout September and October. The events encouraged people to say 'no' to shark-fin soup by imitating the hosts of *Happy Camp* and putting their hands over

their mouths ('Xianxia huodong dizhi' n.d.; 'Shipin: 20130919 He Jiong Wu Xin Shanghai' 2013). Following personal appearances from the celebrities, the message was displayed on digital screens. Figure 6.4 shows a digital screen image of celebrities signifying their refusal to eat shark-fin soup displayed at a shopping mall entrance.

**Figure 6.4: 'I'm FINished With Fins' at China's Shopping Malls**



Source: Wu Xin (2013) Xinlang Weibo, 19 September. Online. Available: [http://www.weibo.com/wuxin#!/wuxin?is\\_search=1&key\\_word=鱼翅#\\_0](http://www.weibo.com/wuxin#!/wuxin?is_search=1&key_word=鱼翅#_0) (accessed 23 April 2015).

The 'I'm FINished with Fins' campaign was posted on *Sina Weibo*, a Chinese twitter-like microblogging site, attracting over 8 million viewers and over 7,000 comments (Cheng Xuechao 2013; 'Wo yu yuchi shuo zaijian' 2014; 'Xie Na Du Haitao huyu' 2013). Another short video promoting the campaign was subsequently posted on Youku featuring 100 celebrities,

including the *Happy Camp* team ('Shipin: canyu wo yu yuchi shuo zaijian de yiren' n.d.).

Table 6.1 details the large number of 'likes' and comments the *Happy Camp* hosts' postings on the topic 'I'm FINished with Fins' attracted on their individual Sina Weibo accounts between 19 September and 19 October 2013. He Jiong's three posts over three days attracted over 47,000 'likes', nearly 31,000 reposts and nearly 13,000 comments. Xie Na's two postings on one day attracted nearly 28,000 'likes', more than 16,000 reposts and over 4,000 comments. Postings by Wu Xin, Du Haitao and Li Weijia similarly obtained a sizable number of followers. Comments by followers indicated their support for WildAid's shark protection campaign as promoted by *Happy Camp*. Responses included comments such as: 'support', 'ordinary people can't afford it, only rich people can'; 'society is polluted by rich people'; 'although I have never eaten it before, I never will'; 'it is everyone's responsibility to protect the environment'; '*Happy Camp* always brings positive energy', 'refuse fins, protect marine life', 'it is too brutal' (Source: He Jiong 2013; Xie Na 2013; Wu Xin 2013; Du Haitao 2013; Li Weijia 2013).

**Table 6.1: Support for *Happy Camp* 'I'm FINished with Fins' on Sina Weibo**

<b>Name of Host (no. of posts)</b>	<b>Date of Post (2013)</b>	<b>'Likes'</b>	<b>Reposts</b>	<b>Comments</b>
He Jiong (3)	19 Sept.	22,869	23,578	6,336
	21 Sept.	10,826	3,399	2,513
	22 Sept.	13,860	3,911	3,983
Xie Na (2)	19 Sept.	10,527	4,256	1,286
	19 Sept.	17,197	10,356	2,976
Wu Xin (1)	19 Sept.	6,886	1,778	707
Du Haitao (1)	19 Sept.	5,384	1,263	528
Li Weijia (1)	19 Sept.	4,037	1,463	489

Source: He Jiong 2013; Xie Na 2013; Wu Xin 2013; Du Haitao 2013; Li Weijia 2013.

People also engaged with the theme by taking photographs of themselves saying ‘no’ to eating shark-fin soup and uploading them on a Sina Weibo photograph wall called ‘I’m Finished With Fins’. Figure 6.5 shows children and teenagers imitating the *Happy Camp* hosts on large public interactive screens located inside and outside of shopping malls.

**Figure 6.5: ‘I’m FINished with Fins’ on Sina Weibo’s Photograph Wall**



Source: ‘Wo yu yuchi shuo zaijian’ [I’m FINished With Fins] (2014) *Xinlan Weibo*. Online. Available: [http://www.weibo.com/p/1008082029d52c7210d8d4e59a6bb075577a31/pw\\_all?from=page\\_100808&mod=TAB%23place](http://www.weibo.com/p/1008082029d52c7210d8d4e59a6bb075577a31/pw_all?from=page_100808&mod=TAB%23place) (accessed 23 April 2015).

In fact, the ‘I’m FINished with fins’ campaign was voted one of Sina Weibo’s top ‘public service topics’ in 2013, being ranked number 5 out of 26 with over 200,000 votes. The top three activities with over 300,000 votes were: (1) a CCTV initiative to help disadvantaged children; (2) a microphilanthropy called ‘Free Lunch’ providing free meals for rural school children, and (3) a ‘Weibo’ initiative called ‘Weibo Do’, which encourages

netizens, celebrities, media and businesses to participate in public service activities. The fourth top activity was Hunan TV's 'Go Home' with nearly 250,000 votes, which promotes aged care ('Gongyi Huati bang' n.d.). 'I'm FINished with Fins' campaign thus provides an example of relatively successful Chinese collaboration with an international NGO, only two other international causes were ranked among Weibo's top 'public service topics' in 2013 – the Asian Animal Protection Foundation at number 12 and World AIDS Day at number 15.

The 'I'm FINished With Fins' campaign also featured in events run by schools and businesses. On 23 November 2013, the Qingdao Education Bureau and Qingdao No. 2 Secondary School in Shandong Province ran the 2013 Qingdao Secondary School Students News Alliance Competition. The competition, which aimed to develop student skills in photography, hosting and journalism, was organized around the theme of 'Youth growing up, speaking about a wonderful life'. Thirteen schools participated in the competition. One of the competition entries was 'When the Buying Stops, the Killing Can Too; We Should All Say Goodbye to Fins' (Li Xiaoli and Wang Chengcheng 2013). The opening of China's first private-run marine education experience aquarium in Qingdao on 16 February 2014 also featured shark protection PSAs ('Quanguo shoujia minying haiyang' 2014). Both examples suggest that the campaign extended beyond social media discussion to include some degree of social activism.

In summary, *Happy Camp* encourages young people to engage with the issue of environmental protection and marine conservation, both of which are increasing objects of concern in China. The *Happy Camp* hosts act as positive role models to reduce the demand for shark-fin soup, and thus protect sharks from being driven to extinction, by raising public awareness of the problems associated with shark-fin soup, reinforcing the reasons not to eat shark-fin soup and making it socially acceptable to not eat shark-fin soup. The *Happy Camp* segment and the involvement of the *Happy Camp* hosts with WildAid's 'I'm FINished with fins campaign' provides

individuals with practical information about why they should protect shark populations, the oceans and themselves by not eating shark-fin soup. The interaction through entertainment between international NGOs, national celebrities and local audiences allows diverse groups of young people to unite around a common theme – the need to save shark populations by abstaining from consumption practices that are presented as ‘bad’ elite habits, rather than as an integral part of traditional or contemporary Chinese culture. Many Chinese children and youth responding on Sina Weibo appear to have accepted the message that sharks need protecting and have proved willing to share their understanding of why shark-fin soup should not be consumed with their friends, family and other members of their community. Others have taken up those messages in school forums.

*Happy Camp* thus provides an example of the use of national celebrities by an international conservation group to motivate mainland Chinese youth to abstain from certain behaviours (eating shark-fin soup), and thus to participate in what Michael Goodman (2013: 72–92) criticizes as the ‘terrains of care’ of ‘celebrity governance regimes’ and ‘neoliberal sustainabilities’. Goodman argues that celebrity-endorsed environmentalism is self-serving because it augments the fame of cause-related celebrities, simplifies environmental issues by providing enviro-tainment, and individualizes environmental concerns by turning them into individual consumer choices rather than seeing them as ‘big’ political issues. However, in the context of China, where the Party-state primarily decides ‘what is important (or not to fix and save and how to specifically govern these social and environment problems (or not)’ (Goodman 2013: 88), celebrity-endorsed communication on environmentalism may not be such a bad thing. The celebrity-endorsed promotion of environmentalism and questions relating to the politics of consumption may not only allow new voices to be heard and new concerns to be raised, but also empower young citizens by enabling them to make choices as ethical consumers. This example is also difficult to badge as ‘indoctrin-tainment’ (Sun 2007: 191) because shark conservation is not a PRC Government priority, even though ethical

consumption and marine conservation are presented as important to the lifestyle choices of Chinese travellers, and thus middle-income audiences.

## **Conclusion**

Mediated charity events are media events that focus through a particular lens on ‘compassion’ and philanthropy, reaching out to a large-scale audience through different media products, for example, one-off television concerts to celebrate child-focused philanthropy (*Caring for Children*), family entertainment shows (*Children Meet Celebrities*) and segments of youth-orientated variety shows (*Happy Camp*). The three television shows that are discussed in this chapter are united in their common focus on both commercialized popular entertainment mediated through celebrities, *and* also children and youth as objects and subjects of philanthropy. They deliver government-endorsed messages about the need to develop a philanthropic culture in China by packaging that message as entertainment, and the entertainment format clearly attracts audiences at national, provincial and local levels.

As in other parts of the world, these shows work in China because they use the appeal and reputation of celebrities to attract audiences, support and money through a ‘feel good’ framework. In the case of the *Caring for Children* concert, celebrities perform stories about the history of the CCTF’s achievements with regards to child poverty alleviation. *Children Meet Celebrities* uses celebrities to provide both entertainment and sell celebrity possessions for good causes, celebritizing children to make issues such as poverty palatable to Friday-night audiences, with studio audiences becoming minor celebrities as they display their compassion by putting in the highest bid for celebrity memorabilia. In the case of *Happy Camp*, celebrity hosts and celebrity guests talk with studio audiences about their experiences and promote marine conservation while retaining and attracting future audiences through the use of social media and shopping mall promotional activities.



While critics of celebrity philanthropy in western societies maintain that celebritizing philanthropy somehow defiles the purity of a longstanding tradition of human compassion (Nickel and Eikenberry 2009: 975), this argument has limited explanatory capacity in the PRC – a nation-state with a newly emerging culture of philanthropy, particularly for and from the perspective of children. Like it or not, children and young adults watch and learn from television. CCTV-14 offers a celebration of government-led philanthropy on a state-run TV channel. *Happy Camp* and *Children Meet Celebrities* engage youth and children via celebrities in philanthropy as part of commercialized reality-style and talk-show formats on provincial channels. With no recent history of philanthropy to defile, this may be a positive strategy.



## 7 Conclusion

This thesis has looked at efforts to create a philanthropic culture and citizenry in present-day China with a focus on the development of philanthropy education targeted at children and youth. The western literature on citizenship education typically focuses on the need to inculcate in children and youth an interest in civic engagement, given the perceived declining interest in political participation in western democracies ('Citizens at the center' 2006). Philanthropy education is held up in this context as a vehicle that empowers young people as citizens by equipping them with the competencies to participate in an effective and constructive way in their local communities and society, and eventually in working and political life. Philanthropy education and engagement is said to develop young peoples' commitment to 'their society and to its political life' by encouraging them to explore their personal values and motivators, learn 'about worlds beyond their own experience', and acquire the expertise and confidence required to improve the world they live in by serving the community and developing a sense of 'belonging' to that community ('InSchools Philanthropy' n.d.; King 2013; Kutay 2014: 83). Philanthropy education as citizenship education thus claims to be responsive in terms of being rooted in contemporary values and social realities, but is also aspirational or future-orientated in terms of its claims to make 'better citizens' who will transform 'nation-states' and 'the world' into a 'better place'.

An examination of philanthropy education for children and youth in China suggests that such education is marked by hybridity: it bears the 'socialist stamp' of Chinese citizenship education and also points to generalized

notions of international citizenship. Education in China is underpinned by efforts to foster patriotic citizens with Chinese (traditional and socialist) virtues and ideals according to government policies (Wo guo banfa 2001; Zhongguo ertong fazhan gangyao 2011; see also Kennedy, Fairbrother and Zhao 2014: 4; Zhong and Lee 2008). However, while China's citizens are expected to be patriotic and believe in development models as ordained by the Communist Party, they are also expected to be 'quality' citizens who possess a world standard education, and who are law-abiding and possess a strong sense of civic responsibility, as demonstrated through care for others and the environment.

As in western societies, philanthropy education in the PRC is similarly said to enhance the commitment of young people as citizens to Chinese society and its political life by encouraging them to learn 'about worlds beyond their own experience', and acquiring life and employment skills through serving the community (Zhongguo ertong fazhan gangyao 2011).

Philanthropy education as citizenship education in China also claims to be rooted in both Chinese customs and present-day social realities, but is future-orientated in that it aims to encourage new generations of adults to want to support the PRC Government (the Communist Party) in building a better China. Given that China is a developing country, philanthropy education further aims to produce high-quality citizens who will promote national cohesion by addressing social problems and helping China to modernize and prosper.

This chapter summarizes the key points raised in the thesis and highlights some potential areas of future research.

### **Philanthropy and quality education**

The presence of child and youth philanthropy education in China is a significant development because philanthropy in general is a recent phenomenon in China. Prior to the 1980s, socialist forms of centralized

economic planning and resource allocation, combined with political hostility towards elite and religious groups, prevented organized philanthropies from operating in mainland China. In the late 1980s, the PRC Government began promoting volunteering to enhance public service provision, resulting in the establishment of the China Young Volunteers Association under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Youth League in 1994 (Ding Yuanzhu 2005: 1). Throughout the 1990s and 2000s, a series of five-year plans for national economic and social development proposed expanding community volunteering under the rubric of ‘building socialist spiritual civilization’ (Zhonghua renmin gongheguo 1996).

In 2014, the State Council released guidelines on ‘promoting the healthy development of philanthropy’, which advocate developing a registered and comprehensive philanthropic sector by 2020 to support the government’s key welfare goals of providing disaster relief, poverty alleviation, healthcare, and education, and assisting elderly and disabled people (‘Guowuyuan guanyu’ 2014). The guidelines also urge local governments to develop a system of tax breaks and actively use the media to encourage and publicize both donating and volunteering in communities, businesses, schools and villages, and thereby promote national cohesion, customary practices of helping others and a positive social environment (‘Guowuyuan guanyu’ 2014). These developments point to a restructuring of state-society relations in China, with the responsibility for wealth redistribution and social justice being redefined in part as the responsibility of individual citizens and the private sector (Jeffreys 2012c).

Although the promotion of philanthropy is usually regarded as a ‘quintessentially neoliberal dynamic’ (Hemment 2012: 523), children and youth have become the focus of public-private collaborations aimed at creating a philanthropic culture and citizenry in the PRC through the concept of ‘quality education’. In 1985, ‘The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on Education Reform’ made local governments responsible for providing nine years of compulsory

‘quality’ school education to produce patriotic, educated, ethical, self-disciplined and innovative citizens to help China prosper (‘Zhonggong zhongyang guanyu jiaoyu tizhi gaige de jue ding’ 1985: Article 1).

Subsequent documents similarly defined quality education as ‘an education that aims to improve the quality of the nation’ by creating educated, self-disciplined, innovative socialist citizens with the capacity for critical thinking (‘Guojia jiaowei guanyu’ 1997: Article 3; ‘Jiaoyubu’ 2010: Item I, Article 1). By the late 2000s, quality education had been incorporated into school textbooks on morality, life, society and political thinking, with the goal of encouraging young people to believe in the leadership of CCP and socialism, and to be innovative and law abiding citizens who will solve problems and accept social responsibility for serving the Chinese nation and the Chinese people (‘Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo he zonghe wenke kecheng jiaocai yanjiu kaifa zhongxin’ 2007; ‘Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo he sixiang pinde kecheng jiaocai yanjiu kaifa zhongxin’ 2008; ‘Kecheng jiaocai yanjiusuo he zonghe wenke kecheng jiaocai yanjiu kaifa zhongxin’ 2009).

Promoting youth involvement in philanthropy is now a part of the PRC’s long-term developmental plans, as outlined in national policy. The Guidelines for Developing Philanthropy in China for 2011–2015 urged relevant government departments to help build a culture of philanthropy and socialist spiritual civilization in the PRC by embedding philanthropic education in the school curriculum and extra-curricular activities, and posting philanthropy-related public service announcements on bulletin boards in residential communities (Minzhengbu 2011: Article III). The National Plan for Medium and Long-term Education Reform and Development for 2010–2020 advocates student participation in public welfare activities on the grounds that it will raise their citizenship awareness by encouraging them to think about and engage with social issues, and promote a socialist value system (Guojia zhongchangqi jiaoyu gaige (2010–2020) 2010: Part III, Chapter 11, Item 32). The Guidelines for Chinese Children’s Development for 2011–2020 reiterate the notion that a quality

education includes student involvement in volunteering and philanthropy (Zhongguo ertong fazhan gangyao 2011: Section 3, Article 4, Item 12).

Philanthropy-related citizen education in China typically involves participation in public life through volunteering for government-endorsed projects. In late 2013, the Ministry of Civil Affairs of the PRC issued a document titled ‘Guidelines on Building Social Service Volunteer Teams in China for 2013 to 2020’. It advocates expanding registered volunteering to encompass 10 per cent of the population by 2020, which means there will be around 130 million registered volunteers in China by 2020 (Minzhengbu guanyu yinfa 2014).

As part of government planning for China’s future, philanthropy education confirms the Party-state’s historical role as the guarantor of economic and social well-being. At the same time, philanthropy education draws on both Chinese and Western understandings of compassion to promote a new set of societal/state relations that involve a greater role for the private sector and individual citizens in public service provision than was previously the case. This latter point is illustrated by a public-private collaboration formed to create the PRC’s first philanthropy textbooks and philanthropy education website.

### **Popularizing philanthropy in schools**

In January 2011, a charitable fund was established through a public-private collaboration to create the PRC’s first philanthropy textbooks – the *Philanthropy Readers* – and the China Philanthropy Education Network ([www.52cs.com.cn/](http://www.52cs.com.cn/)) (‘Zhonghua cishan zonghui jianli “zhuanxiang jijin” kaifa cishan jiaoyu duben’ 2011). The fund was launched by a government-affiliated organization – the China Charity Federation, in collaboration with a private education business, the New Epoch Education Group, with additional funding from private corporations and wealthy individuals such as the Wanda Corporation and Zhou Sen. The expressed aim of the

textbooks and website is to foster a philanthropic consciousness and sense of social responsibility among young people in China in accordance with government policy, Chinese educational developments and international practice ('Guanyu women (China Philanthropy Education Network)' n.d.; Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a, 2011b: 'Shuoming').

The overarching message of the *Philanthropy Readers* and the China Philanthropy Education Network is that everyone can and should be a philanthropist; philanthropy is a personal practice that benefits the individual and society, it is not a function of wealth or status. Students are introduced to the concept of '*cishan*', understood as both human compassion and philanthropy, through a series of exercises that encourage them to empathize with other people and become life-long practising philanthropists through exposure to a wide range of images and stories about people caring for people in need. Students are exposed to multiple role models and philanthropic initiatives that are both China-specific and from other parts of the world. These include government organized non-governmental organizations, private foundations and microphilanthropies, and philanthropic role models comprising youth philanthropists, elite philanthropists, famous people, religious figures, people living with disabilities, and poor people ('Zhonghua cishan jiang' n.d.).

The primary school *Philanthropy Reader* is based on a pedagogy of critical self-reflection – individual reflection on one's circumstances is followed by reflexive contemplative on one's circumstances compared to that of others, and ultimately an assumed decision to act in a planned manner to help others. Children are introduced to concepts of love, compassion and shared humanity, defined as traditional Chinese, socialist and universal values, with the aim of stimulating their interest in philanthropy. This is achieved by first suggesting that compassion is about love of humanity as demonstrated through family love – the love of parents for a helpless child, in particular. Children are encouraged to ask their parents and family about the support they needed as a person (a baby) who was unable to articulate their needs



and realise them independently. Children are then encouraged to ‘feel’ for others through the singing of emotive songs about shared humanity and imagining themselves in a position where they can assist people less fortunate than themselves. One suggested form of assistance is the provision of entertainment to people in aged-care facilities. Children are incentivized to plan for, practice and deliver such entertainment through competitive reward systems that recognise the ‘best singer, actor and director’, and through processes which suggest that ‘helping others’ requires general planning and event planning.

This pedagogy is reiterated in more depth in the secondary school *Philanthropy Reader*, which encourages older students to view philanthropy as an individual and social responsibility, a display of respect and sharing, and something that requires participation, good publicity and sound business organization. Secondary-school students are encouraged to accept that care for those less fortunate than ‘us’ is a universal element of human civilization and civility. They are also encouraged to learn about, participate in and promote philanthropy by identifying domestic and international areas where more services would result in more optimal outcomes, and using business-style marketing and planning strategies to provide such services. Students are further encouraged to consider the utility of Chinese and international philanthropy award rankings as incentive mechanisms that encourage and recognize contributions to public interests from the private sector.

Philanthropy education in China thus offers a simultaneously ‘Chinese’ and ‘generalist’ form of citizenship education. Students are informed that their lives and capacities will be enhanced through helping others (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011b: 37). While ‘helping others’ is sometimes described as epitomizing traditional Chinese virtues and socialist values, these are standard inducements for youth involvement in philanthropy in western societies too. The general suggestion is that philanthropic activity/volunteering ‘anywhere’ offers a space of experimentation for young people to work on their own skills, to ‘fulfil’ themselves in a moral or

spiritual way, and to expose themselves to ‘society’ (see ‘Citizens at the center’ 2006; Fleischer 2011). School students are further encouraged to believe that a ‘little bit of business acumen will go a long way’ and result in public recognition: comprehension of marketing and business strategies means that one can help others by also helping oneself through the establishment of a successful business or non-profit enterprise, and one may receive an award for doing so.

In short, the *Philanthropy Readers* offer a particular type of philanthropic pedagogy. Love for humanity is presented as a natural and universal human attribute, but one that has to be discovered by through self-reflection and training. Helping others also requires business-style planning and strategizing to be done successfully, and deserves public recognition. As this pedagogy suggests, being a modern philanthropic subject is neither a ‘natural’ human attribute, nor something that is engrained in particular cultures. Philanthropic awareness and practice is a learned process of self-fashioning and self-government (see also Hoffman 2013).

More than 2 million copies of the *Philanthropy Readers* have since been distributed to more than 2,000 schools across China as part of a campaign headed by the China Charity Federation to develop a culture of philanthropy in schools. As explained in the inaugural section of *Charity* magazine on ‘Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools’, the *Philanthropy Readers* contain content developed from citizen education materials issued by the PRC’s Ministry of Education in 2011 on morality, life, society and political thinking and the US-based philanthropy education website, ‘Learning to Give’ (<http://learningtogive.org/>; Li Yulin and Li Jinfeng 2012, 1: 7; *Zhonghua renmin gongheguo jiaoyubu zhiding* 2011: 2). This mixed genealogy perhaps explains why readers have variously described the *Philanthropy Readers* as an important and previously neglected component of the Chinese education system, ‘spiritual food’ that will develop reliable ‘socialist successors’, and books that reflect and promote traditional Chinese and international practices, while engaging with Chinese and international

youth popular culture ('Boji' 2012, 1: 10; Chen Wenyao 2013, 4: 31; Jiao Guoying 2012, 2: 16; Li Jinhua 2013, 5: 27).

Students' responses to the 'Philanthropic Culture Enters Schools' campaign as presented in entries to an essay competition, and subsequent discussions of those responses, highlight both positive and negative aspects of their reception. According to the editors of *Charity*, many of the student essays simply replicated content from the *Philanthropy Readers* and emphasized money donations rather than other forms of philanthropy ('Editing Department' 2012c, 3: 49). Moreover, many of the essayists were clearly coached by teachers. At the same time, the magazine features essays ostensibly written by students that talk of their admiration for people who have acquired minor celebrity status for donating blood (Lei Yuejing 2012, 3: 33; Xiao Yingqiang 2012: 13). Other student essays state that people with money do not have a patent on philanthropy; it is something that everyone can do, a fact that one student claims to have realised when he saw a friend giving a coat to a street cleaner (Chen Yalin 2014, 1: 35). In fact, *Charity* features numerous essays ostensibly written by students which suggest that philanthropy involves donating one's time rather than donating money to good causes, for example, by picking up litter in public spaces, raising money through recycling and caring for injured animals (Chen Guicong 2014, 1: 41; Chen Wenyao 2013, 4: 31; Cui Xuanming 2012, 4: 30; Cui Xue 2013, 5: 21; Li Yongsen 2013, 2: 29; Min Shenke 2013, 6: 42; Tan Lifan 2013, 2: 28; Ye Tianrun 2013, 5: 33).

The discussions in *Charity* magazine suggest, as some contributors say, that the distribution of the *Philanthropy Readers* is timely and important because it encourages activity-oriented education about philanthropy, unlike didactic traditional education, and comprises another kind of quality education and citizenship education. However, the emphasis in schools on money donations, and apparent teacher involvement in student essay writing, also suggests that student involvement in philanthropy is not necessarily autonomous or student-organized. Whichever the case may be, it appears

that some students have been motivated to think about philanthropic causes and engage in philanthropic activities after exposure to the *Philanthropy Readers*, or through the influence of peers, parents, teachers and role models.

### **Popularizing philanthropy through public service campaigns and television**

Public awareness of philanthropy in China was also promoted at the national-level in 2012–2013 through a government-led public service campaign to learn how to be a contemporary philanthropist from a revitalized version of a 1960s socialist role model called Lei Feng. In March 2012, the fiftieth anniversary of Lei Feng’s death, the CCP Central Committee Office released a document called ‘Suggestions on Enhancing Efforts to Learn from Lei Feng’, stating that local communities and residents should be encouraged to provide volunteer services following Lei Feng’s example of helping others based on love of socialism, the Communist Party, the Chinese nation, and the Chinese people (‘Zhonggong zhongyang bangongting yinfa’ 2012: Item 1). To realise this goal, Party organizations and local and provincial-level governments were urged to organize a broad range of publicized activities using multiple media forms. As a result, PSAs with Lei Feng content could be seen in public spaces across China.

While drawing on socialist-era iconography and symbolism, the PSAs associated with the 2012–2013 Lei Feng publicity campaign reveal an effort to recast the figure of Lei Feng to incentivize volunteers to meet current social imperatives, including broad environmental and public health concerns, and care for vulnerable members of communities. This point is illustrated by a series of PSAs titled ‘Be Civic-Minded and Create a New [Philanthropic] Trend’, which contained the slogan ‘Learn from Lei Feng: Contribute to the Lives of Others; Improve Yourself’. The slogan encouraged volunteers to help improve the lives of others, while introducing a new focus on self-improvement that stands in marked contrast to the

socialist ethos of the original Lei Feng propaganda. The message of the original Lei Feng campaign was about working selflessly for the good of society. In contrast, the message of the new publicity materials is that one can help others and help oneself at the same time, in the practical sense of acquiring experiences and skills that may enhance one's career opportunities in a competitive job market. In other words, rather than helping others to demonstrate and forge class solidarity as in the Mao era, young people are encouraged to volunteer with reference to abstract conceptions of compassion as a Chinese (traditional and socialist) value, and new norms of self-improvement, and civic and environmental responsibility.

Other Lei Feng imagery in 2012–2013 targeted children through a reconfigured rendition of Lei Feng as Lei Feng Knight – a cartoon superhero. The Lei Feng Knight series presents Lei Feng doing the standard 'good deeds' that are associated with young people – helping old people across the road and giving seats to women with babies on buses. However, Lei Feng Knight is also presented as a contemporary volunteer, performing activities such as donating blood and promoting environmental protection. Moreover, other images present him as Father Christmas and as a cosmopolitan youth playing rock guitar. Lei Feng Knight thus combines what might be called traditional, socialist and contemporary values – respect for elders, love of China and modern civic-mindedness.

Although foreign correspondents have mocked the revived use of Lei Feng as anachronistic propaganda (Osno 2013; Sheehan 2013), a survey that I helped to conduct in late 2013 of more than 400 university students' attitudes to the revived use of Lei Feng suggests that the government-led promotion of volunteering and philanthropy has been effective in some respects. Student responses to the survey indicate that young people not only view Lei Feng as an appropriate role model for contemporary civic engagement, but also view volunteering as a voluntary and self-fulfilling act rather than something they are obliged to become involved with by government or educational organizations (Jeffreys and Su 2016: 47–9). In

other words, the survey responses suggest that young people in China do not view Lei Feng as a socialist-era symbol of selfless public service. Rather, they view Lei Feng as a symbol of modern volunteering understood as a form of civic engagement that helps the broader community and the individual volunteer (through the provision of skills, emotional satisfaction and enhanced self-esteem).

Government calls to create a philanthropic culture in China have also encouraged the introduction of philanthropy-related content on television. Such programming includes concerts on CCTV celebrating the achievements of government-organized charities, and hugely popular family variety shows on provincial stations where celebrities help children raise money for good causes and promote causes associated with international NGOs. One such example is the *Caring for Children* concert, which celebrates the history and future of the China Children and Teenagers' Fund (1981–2011). Rather than being an explicit fundraising event, the concert celebrates the achievements of a range of government officials and other Chinese citizens and educates its audience, whether adult or children, about the need for philanthropy in reform-era China and the potential benefits of becoming involved in philanthropy. It features award winners from diverse walks of life, including overseas donors, suggesting that philanthropy is an activity anyone can become involved with. It also features children as performers and philanthropists, suggesting that philanthropy is an activity that young people can become involved in too.

*Children Meet Celebrities* is a commercial family variety show that promotes philanthropy by presenting an 'inspiring journey of compassion', performed by 'cute children' who are too young to engage in such a journey unassisted ("Fanmeile xiu" 2012 nian diyiqi' 2012). The show involves celebrity hosts, guest celebrities, quizzes and audience participation. The 'journey of compassion' involves child guests ('magic children' aged 3–12 who are selected through on-site and online enrolment) obtaining an object from a celebrity for auction on the television program to raise money and

purchase goods for a child in need, with the magic children typically delivering the money and goods in person, albeit via the help of others ('Lanmu jieshao' n.d.). The children, who are selected based on their televisual appeal, perform as positive role models by engaging in philanthropic causes, and literally showing how philanthropy can be conducted. The show also presents an innovative business-model for philanthropy – the auctioning of celebrity belongings, which anybody aged 15 years or older can participate in.

*Happy Camp*, a Saturday-night youth-orientated variety show, provides entertainment through games, talent shows, singing and dancing, comedy skits, interviews, and sometimes audience interaction with celebrities, while occasionally promoting philanthropic causes (Liu Yang and Lin Hai 2007: 155–56). For example, in an episode called 'Happiness on the Road', Sun Shaowu, an underwater photographer, urges viewers not to eat shark-fin soup, an expensive dish served at celebratory Chinese banquets. The segment signalled the start of the *Happy Camp* hosts' support, both via physical appearances in public spaces and on social media, for an international NGO called WildAid, which focuses on wildlife and marine conservation. The *Happy Camp* hosts have acted as national role models working with an international NGO to help dissuade young Chinese people from eating shark-fin soup by raising public awareness of the problems associated with eating shark-fin soup (potential shark extinction), and making it socially acceptable to not eat shark-fin soup.

Like similar shows in other parts of the world, the shows work in China because they use 'star power' to attract audiences, support and money through a 'feel good' framework. In the case of the *Caring for Children* concert, celebrities perform between stories about the history of the CCTF's achievements with regard to alleviating child poverty. *Children Meet Celebrities* celebritizes children to make issues such as poverty palatable to prime-time audiences, with some viewers becoming minor celebrities as they display their compassion by putting in the highest bid for auctioned

celebrity memorabilia. In the case of *Happy Camp*, celebrity hosts and celebrity guests talk with studio audiences about their experiences and promote marine conservation while retaining and attracting future audiences through the use of social media and shopping mall promotional activities.

Such celebrity-mediated, philanthropy-related programming operates as a platform through which audiences and participants can ‘visualize’ people who need help, and see the beauty of the natural environment and the harm caused by human intervention. Celebrities acting as role models also encourage young people to transform their behaviours and lives by making efforts to improve the world they live in, whether as members of local, national or international communities. Celebrity-endorsed philanthropy is often condemned for being self-serving and reducing serious issues to the level of entertainment. However, in the context of China, where the Party-state primarily decides ‘what is important’, and what should be fixed or saved (or not) (Goodman 2013: 88), celebrity-endorsed communication on philanthropy may not be such a bad thing. Given that children and young adults watch and learn from television, and with no recent (and religion-informed) history of philanthropy to sully, the promotion of philanthropy on commercial and reality-style television formats in China may be a positive strategy.

Presenting philanthropy as entertainment may encourage young people in China to become involved in volunteering and other philanthropic activities in ways that sometimes extend those endorsed by government. It may introduce them to (soft) social activist ideas or simply encourage them to volunteer for fun. After all, the main reasons provided by young people in western countries for volunteering is to meet people, make friends and have fun, and then to improve their career prospects, rather than to change the world or political system (‘Citizens at the center’ 2006: 6). Similar reasons are provided by young volunteers in China, although another frequently cited reason is to help ‘China’ (Chong 2011; Hoffman 2013). Viewed from this perspective, the work of creating a philanthropic culture and citizenry in



China may also require a focus on promoting volunteering and philanthropy as part of an aspirational, leisure-orientated, middle-income lifestyle.

### **Future directions for research**

As this study has shown, young people in China are now being encouraged to engage with philanthropic concepts and practices through textbooks, magazines, television, the web, social media, and government campaigns. Such education is new. It is neither passed down from adults to children through customary practice or religious training (philanthropy per se being a relatively new phenomenon in China), nor formalized in the traditional sense of Chinese education which was based on memorization and rote learning. Philanthropy education incorporates a new focus on children and youth as entrepreneurial individuals who can help themselves by helping others, and as civic-minded individuals willing to engage in a life-long service-learning journey associated with government-led, social-led or self-initiated philanthropy.

Chinese philanthropy education reflects hybrid traditions; it is marked by efforts to value and promote what are variously described as Chinese traditional, socialist and contemporary virtues, and by concerns to adapt and promote international best practice. The expressed goal of philanthropy education in China is to guide and train Chinese youth to be ‘socialist’ successors.

At the same time, philanthropy education is based on Chinese notions of self-improvement and the arguably neoliberal basis of ‘rational choice’ or the self-entrepreneurial notion that by helping others one is actually helping oneself. Philanthropy education is designed to encourage Chinese children and youth to govern themselves and empower themselves by making a rational decision to help themselves by building self-confidence and practical life-skills through active civic engagement with philanthropic

activities and organizations, and through philanthropic engagement with local, national and international communities.

Such hybridity is perhaps inevitable in an era where social welfare in China is being developed through public-private partnerships, rather than being viewed as strictly the responsibility of the Party-state. On the one hand, the proclaimed goal of philanthropic education and practice in China – to address social problems and promote national cohesion – may be viewed as legitimizing the continued existence of the Chinese Party-state, and even preventing the development of an autonomous civil society, however that may be defined. On the other hand, philanthropic education and practice is an important development in China, and especially in the context of continued one-Party rule, because it shifts, to some degree, the terrain of governing to the social from the centre to more local levels and redefines notions of collective responsibility and the possibility for social action. Philanthropy education thus refers to a complex space of governing that is shaping new types of individual subjects, notions of citizenship and social responsibility, and ideas and actions designed to solve social problems in China and other parts of the world.

As China's philanthropy sector is still in its infancy, the effects of popularizing particular kinds of philanthropic concepts and practices among Chinese youth remain to be seen. Potential avenues for research might include assessing the extent, scale and reception of philanthropy education in schools across China, and examining the development or otherwise of new forms of philanthropy education across different media, including media focused on leisure and lifestyle. It could also involve exploring new government documents on philanthropic culture and citizenship education, and providing a genealogy of the links forged between concepts of quality education and Chinese citizenship. A more ambitious project would be to conduct longitudinal surveys to ascertain whether efforts to create a culture of philanthropy among Chinese children and youth have been sustained, and whether they have had any impact in practice or not.

While it is unclear exactly how youth philanthropy will develop in China, the fact that the PRC Government has issued a raft of philanthropy-related policies means that philanthropy, which includes volunteering, is set to become an important component of everyday life in China in the near future, and especially for young people. Tracking how an authoritarian government promotes what is viewed in western contexts as private welfare services will require a further rethinking of concepts such as the public-private and civil society/state divide, in order to understand the new spaces and possibilities that are being created through the development of a philanthropic culture in China for different types of aspirations, personal capacities interpersonal relationships, styles of public association, vocations, and government-citizen relations in China.



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## **Appendix 5.1 List of Award Winners – China’s [Seventh] Top 10 Outstanding Volunteer Groups**

<b>No.</b>	<b>Name</b>	<b>Type</b>
1	Hebei Tangshan ‘13 Farmers’ Volunteer Group 河北唐山 ‘十三义士’	Private
2	Sichuan Mianzhu Young Volunteer Association 四川省绵竹市青年志愿者协会	Government
3	China (Shanghai) Young Volunteer Group to Laos 中国（上海）青年志愿者赴老挝服务队	Government
4	Hunan Sanyi Group Earthquake-relief Volunteer Group 湖南省三一重工集团抗震救灾志愿服务队	Private
5	Zhejiang Huzhou Help Luo Ai’er Volunteer Group 浙江省湖州市罗爱儿爱心帮扶志愿服务集体	Government
6	China (Shandong) Young Volunteer Group to Zimbabwe 中国（山东）青年志愿者赴津巴布韦服务队	Government
7	Beijing Public Transportation Youth Volunteer Group 北京市公交青年志愿者服务队	Government
8	Henan Zhengzhou 12355 Youth Rights and Counselling Centre Youth Volunteer Group 河南省郑州市 12355 青少年维权和心理咨询	Government



- 中心青年志愿者服务队
- |    |   |         |
|----|---|---------|
| 9  | Guizhou Young Volunteer Earthquake-relief<br>Medical Rescue Group | Private |
|    | 贵州省青年志愿者抗震救灾医疗救援服务队   |         |
| 10 | Fujian Tongren Help Disabled Volunteer Centre                     | Private |
|    | 福建省同人助残志愿者服务中心  |         |

Note: The groups are presented in order of the number of votes obtained (highest to lowest).

## Appendix 5.2      Lyrics of I Am Lei Feng Knight

Lyrics	Lu Zhongguang and Wu Songjin
Composer	Wu Songjin
Singer	Xu Jialin
Orchestration	Xiao Guo
Recording	Ping Zi
Post-production	Songjin Music Work Studio

1 Hey hey hey hey hey hey hey!

2 Ho ho ho ho ho ho ho!

3 Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha!

4 Ho—ha! Ho—ha!

5 Ho ha! Ho ha! Ho ha! Ho ha!

6 Ho ho ho ho ha ha ha, what a good Lei Feng Knight!

7 Very happy to help others, with a smile all over his face

8 He is second to none and everyone praises him!

9 Hey hey hey hey ha ha ha, what a good Lei Feng Knight!

10 Ho—ha!

11 I am Lei Feng Knight, I am Lei Feng Knight

12 Wearing a Lei Feng hat and happy to help others everywhere!

13 I am not the Monkey King, nor Calabash boy

14 Full of positive energy and overwhelming supernatural powers

15 *Lei* (thunder) of Lei Feng, *Feng* (wind) of being cool

16 Helping whoever has a difficulty

17 Up in the air and down into earth, unbeatable

18 I am Lei Feng Knight! I am Lei Feng Knight

(Repeat lines 6–11)

19 Wearing a red cloak, cool and handsome, that's no exaggeration!

20 I am neither a legend, nor a myth

21 Passing down positive energy, depends on you, me and s/he, you, me and  
s/he

22 I love to dream, I love to play it cool

23 Not afraid when someone laughs at me and says I am silly

24 Times change but I do not change

25 I am Lei Feng Knight! I am Lei Feng Knight

26 Ho ho ho ho ho ho ho!

27 Ho ho ho ho ho ho ho!

28 Hey hey hey hey hey hey hey!

29 Ha ha ha ha ha ha ha!

30 What a good Lei Feng Knight!

31 Ho—ha!

(Repeat lines 11–18)

(Repeat lines 26–31)

## 我是雷风侠

作词：卢忠光 吴颂今

作曲：吴颂今

演唱：徐嘉麟

编曲：晓国

录音：萍子

后期：颂今音乐工作室

(口白)

嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿！

嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨！

哈哈哈哈哈！

嗨——哈！嗨——哈！

嗨哈！嗨哈！嗨哈！嗨哈！

嗨嗨嗨嗨哈哈，好一个雷风侠！

助人为乐最开心，满脸笑开花。

顶呱呱，顶呱呱，人人把他夸？

嘿嘿嘿嘿哈哈，好一个雷风侠！

嗨——哈！

我是雷风侠，我是雷风侠，

头戴一顶雷锋帽，助人为乐走天涯！

我不是孙悟空，也不是葫芦娃，

浑身正能量，神通最广大，神通最广大。

雷锋的雷，拉风的风，

谁有困难帮一把，  
上天入地难不倒，  
我就是雷风侠！雷风侠！

(口白)

嗨嗨嗨嗨哈哈，好一个雷风侠！  
助人为乐最开心，满脸笑开花。  
顶呱呱，顶呱呱，人人把他夸！  
嘿嘿嘿嘿哈哈，好一个雷风侠！  
嗨——哈！

我是雷风侠，我是雷风侠，  
身披一件红披风，又酷又帅谁不夸！  
我不是传说，也不是神话，  
传递正能量，全靠你我他，全靠你我他。  
我爱做梦，我爱耍酷，  
不怕有人笑我傻，  
时代变幻我不变，  
我就是雷风侠！雷风侠！

(口白)

嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨！  
嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨！  
嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿！  
哈哈哈哈哈！  
好一个雷风侠！  
嗨——哈！

我是雷风侠，我是雷风侠，  
头戴一顶雷锋帽，助人为乐走天涯！  
我不是孙悟空，也不是葫芦娃，

浑身正能量，神通最广大。

雷锋的雷，拉风的风，

谁有困难帮一把，

上天入地难不倒，

我就是雷风侠！

嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨嗨！

嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿嘿！

嘻嘻嘻嘻嘻嘻嘻！

哈哈哈哈哈哈哈！

好一个雷风侠！

嗨——哈！

Source: 'Wo shi Lei Feng xia' [I am Lei Feng Knight] (2014) Xinlang boke,

5 May. Online. Available:

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2015). Translated by Su Xuezhong.

## Appendix 5.3A Lei Feng Survey

(1 September–31 December 2013)

### Distribution of Students' Majors

Major	Total
Advertising	1
Agricultural science	2
Business management (pharmacy)	1
Auto engineering	1
Biology	8
Biotechnology	1
Chemical Engineering	1
Chemistry	182
Classical Chinese	4
English	4
Measurement and Control Technology	3
Economics and trade	1
Electrical Engineering	3
Electronics	5
Engineering	32
Fertilizer science	2
Finance	2
Financial management	4
Foundation management	1
Geography	12
International relations	1
International trade	2
IT	1
Japanese	1
Labour and Social Security	1
Land and Forestry	2
Land Resource Management	1
Law	3
Literature	1
Medicine	4
Music performance	1
Nuclear Science	5
Physics	3
Plant conservation	1
Public administration	24
Russian	10

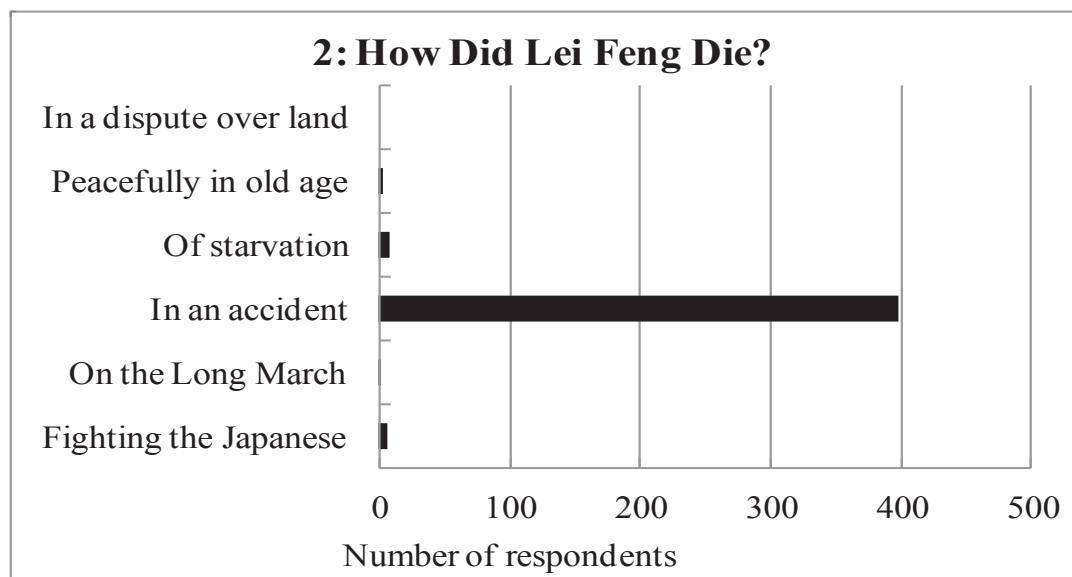
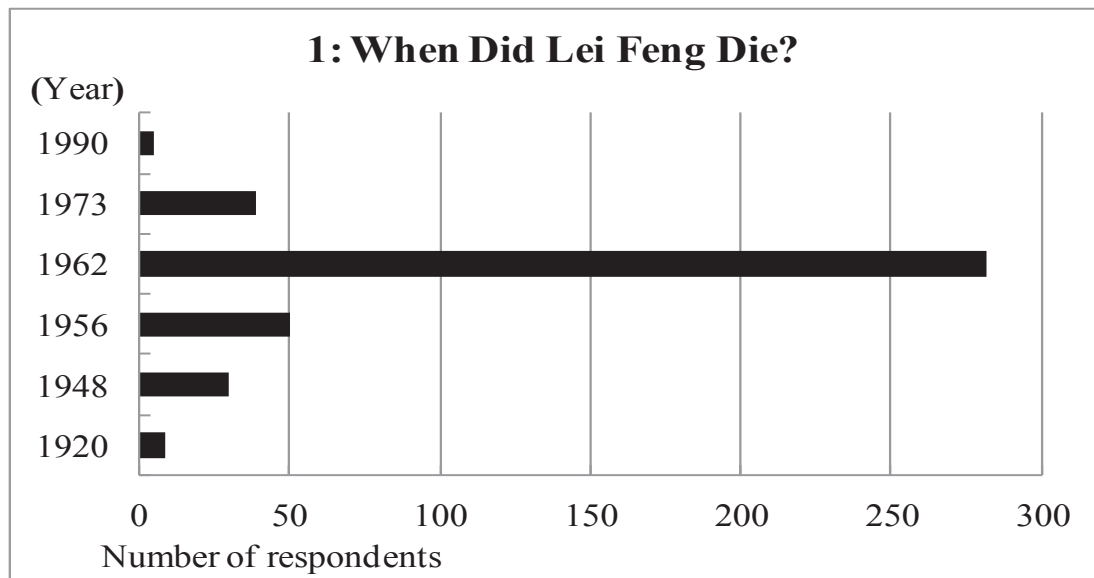
Science Education	9
Security	1
Shipping	1
Sociology	1
Thai	34
Traditional Chinese Medicine	1
Transport	9
Vietnamese	25
Unidentified	3

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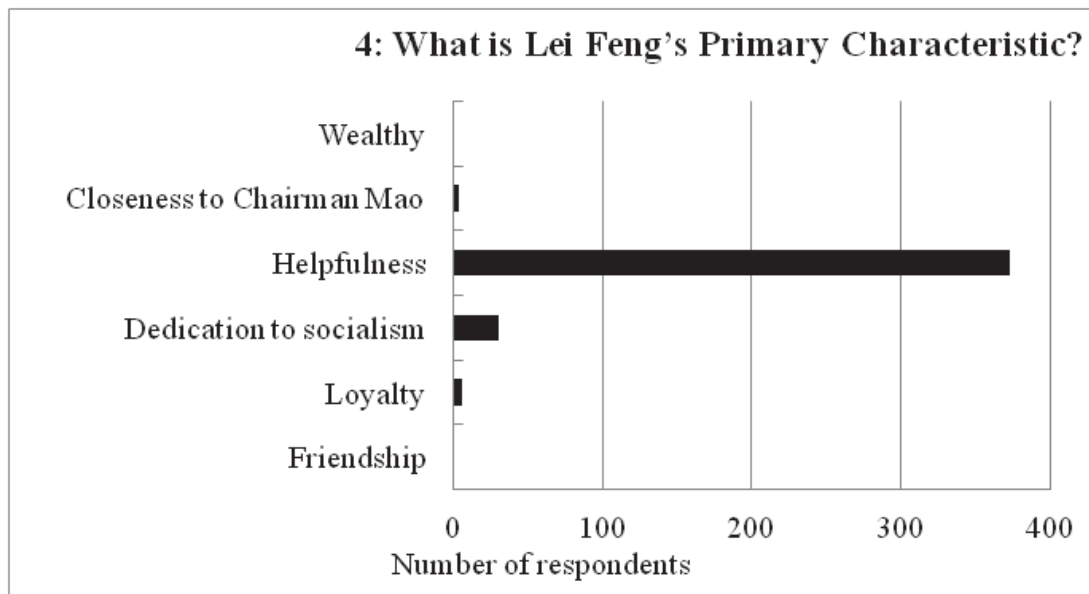
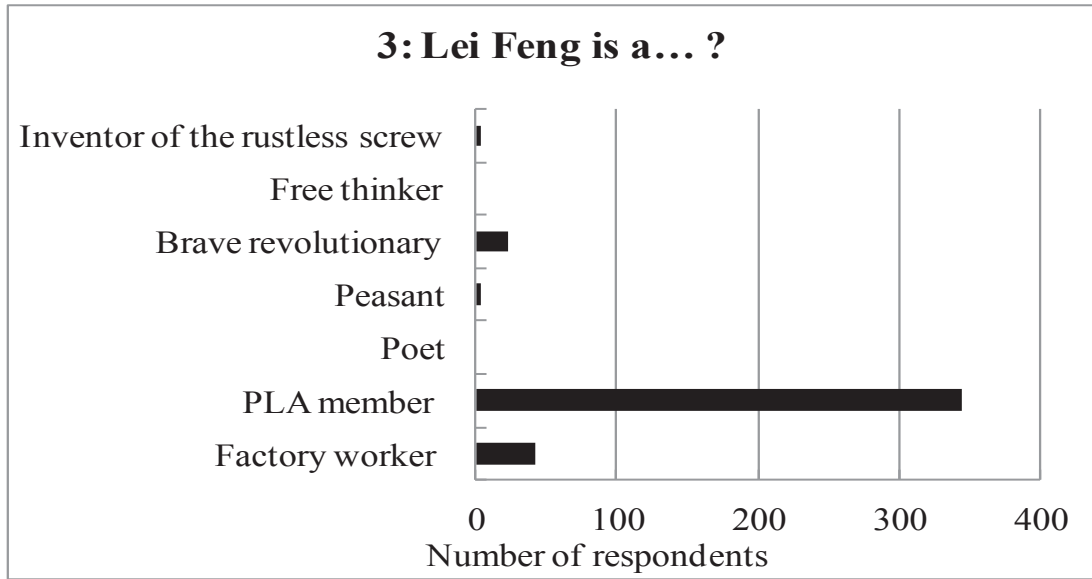


**Appendix 5.3B    Lei Feng Survey**  
**(1 September–31 December 2013)**

**Survey Questions and Responses 1–2**

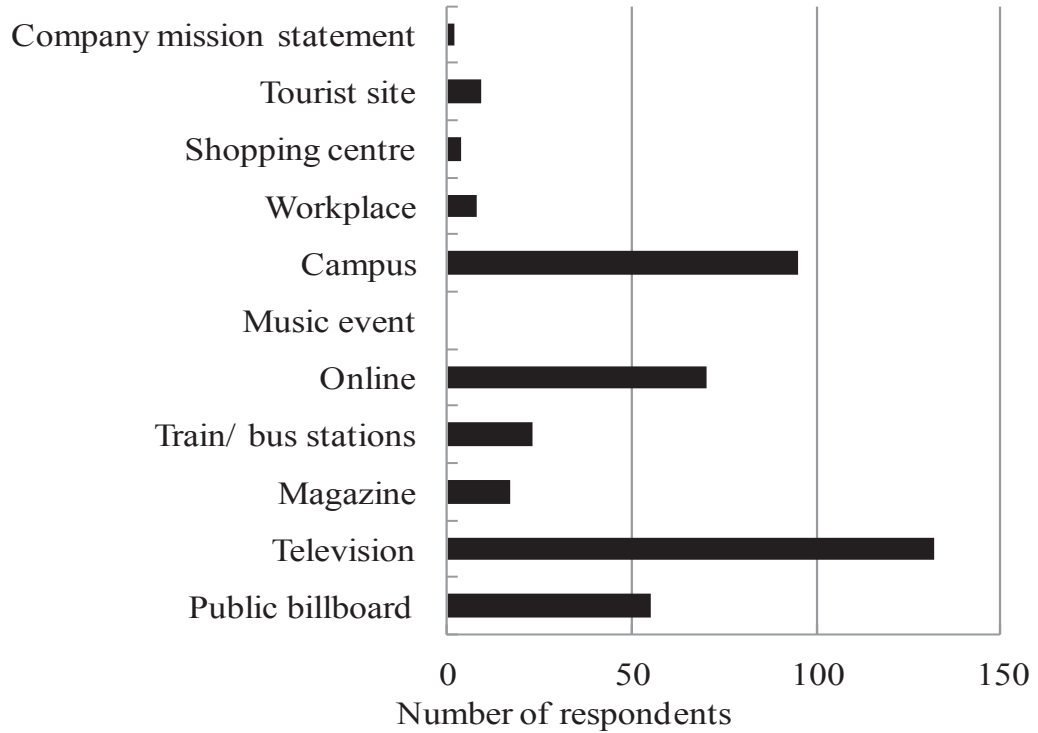


**Survey Questions and Responses 3–4**

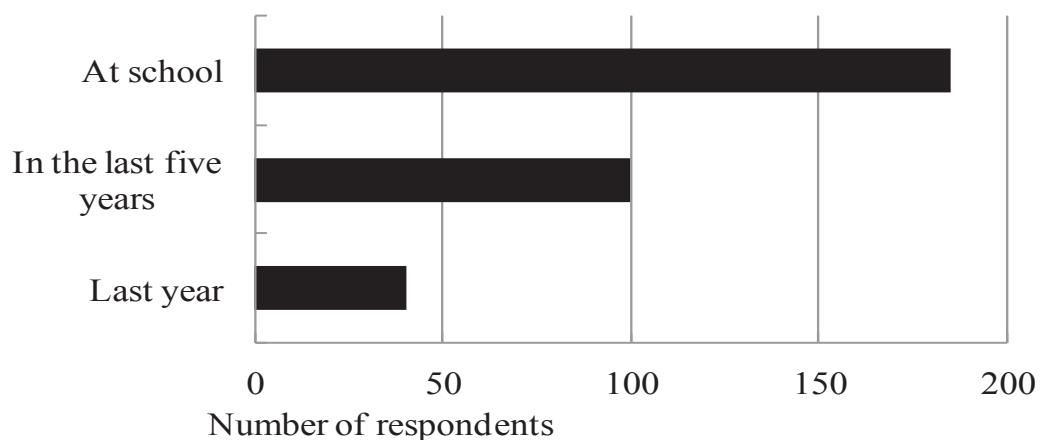


**Survey Questions and Responses 5–6**

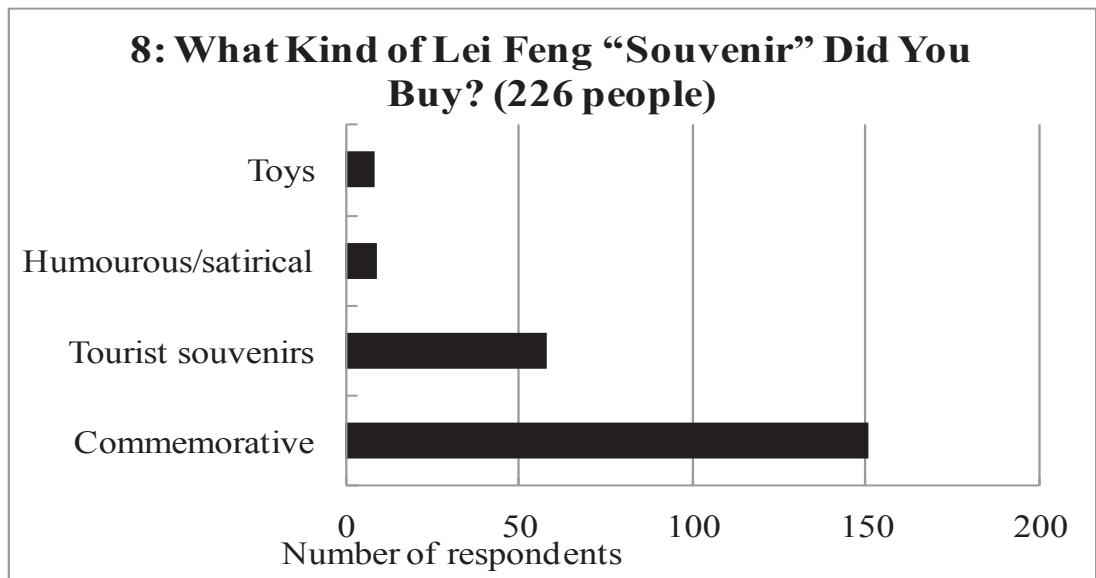
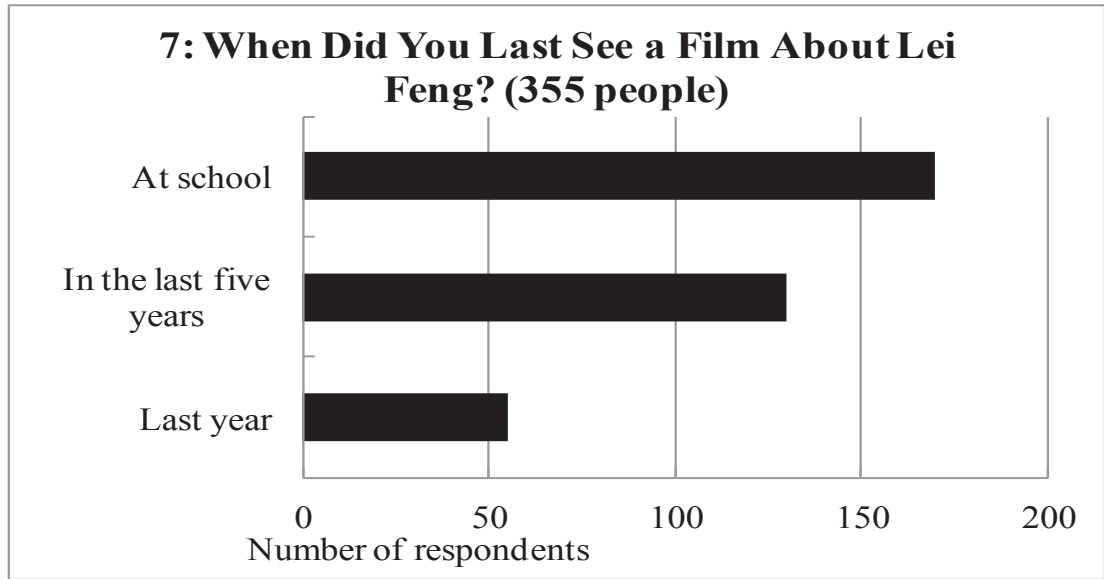
### 5: If You Have Seen Lei Feng Recently, Where Did You See Him?



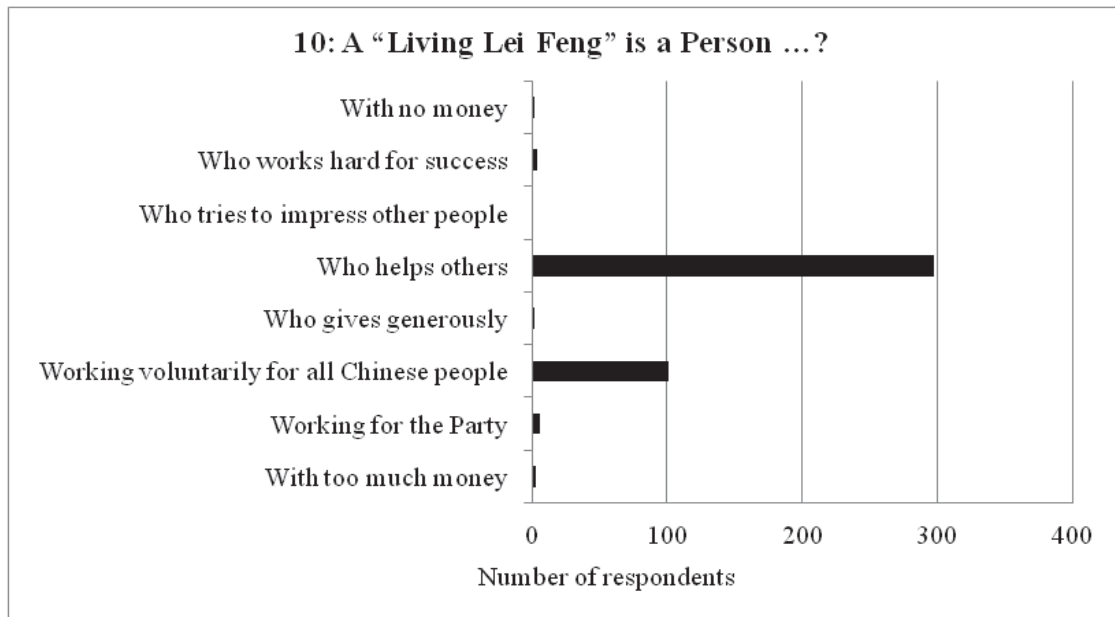
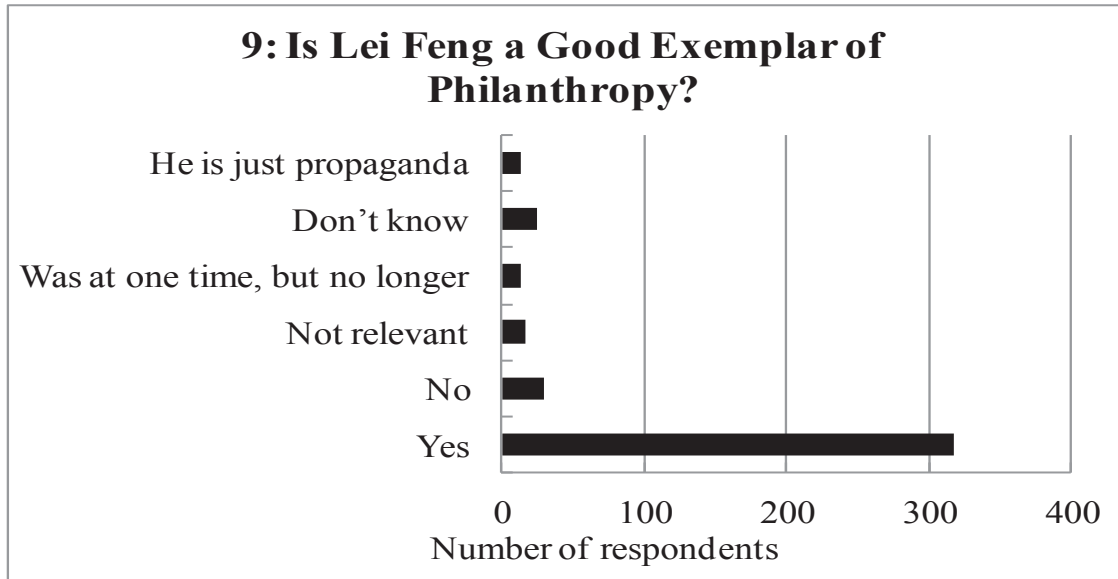
### 6: When Did You Last Read a Book About Lei Feng? (325 people)



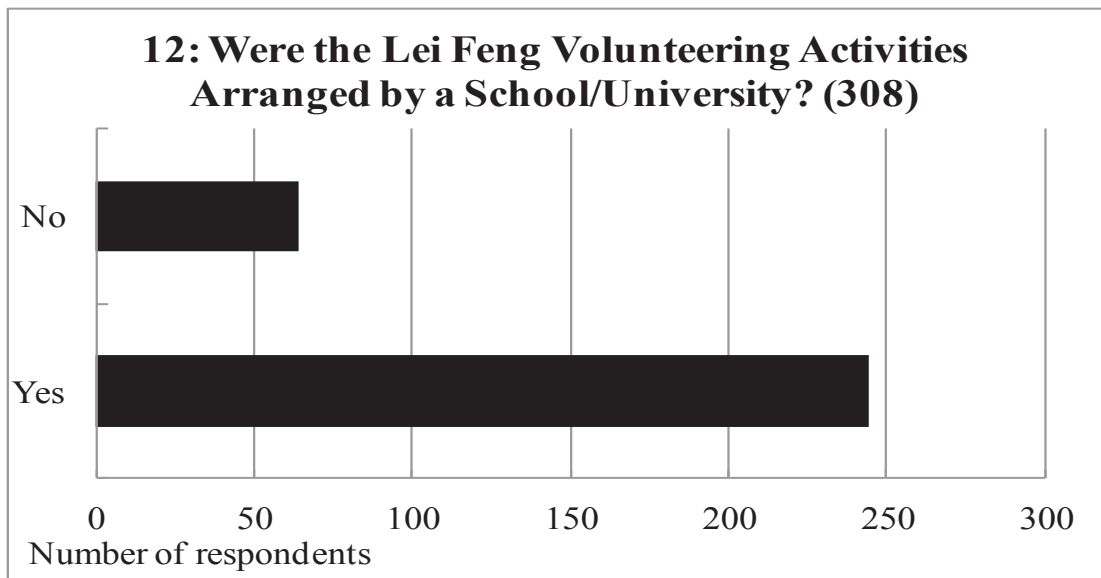
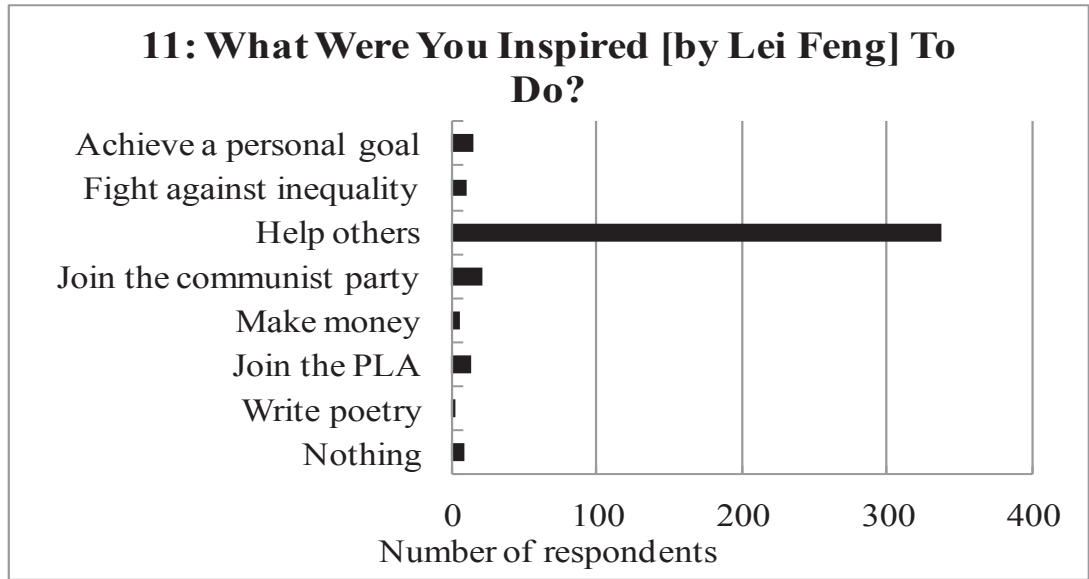
Survey Questions and Responses 7-8



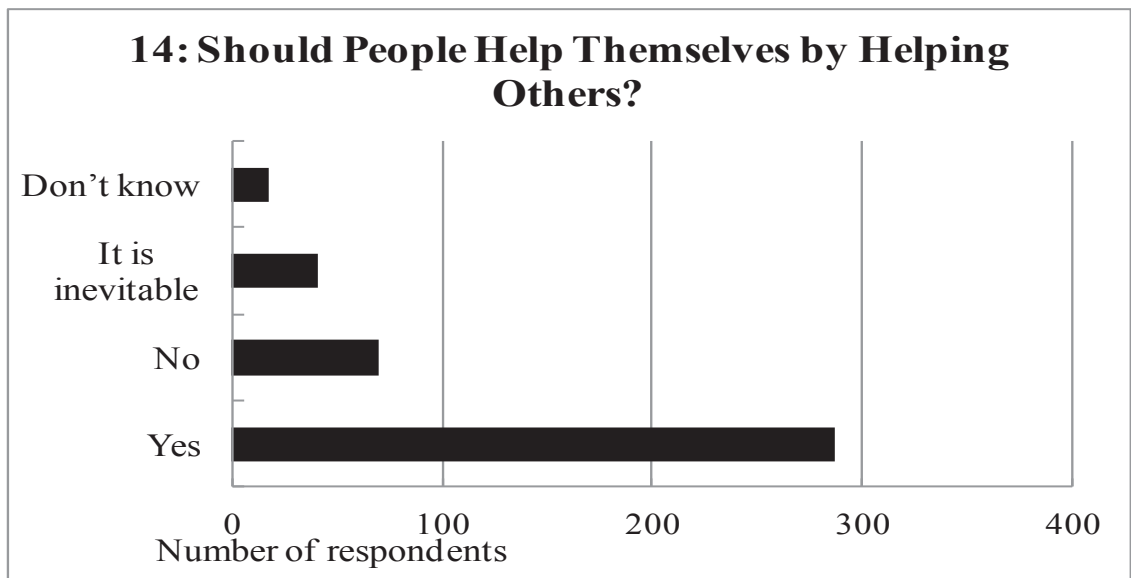
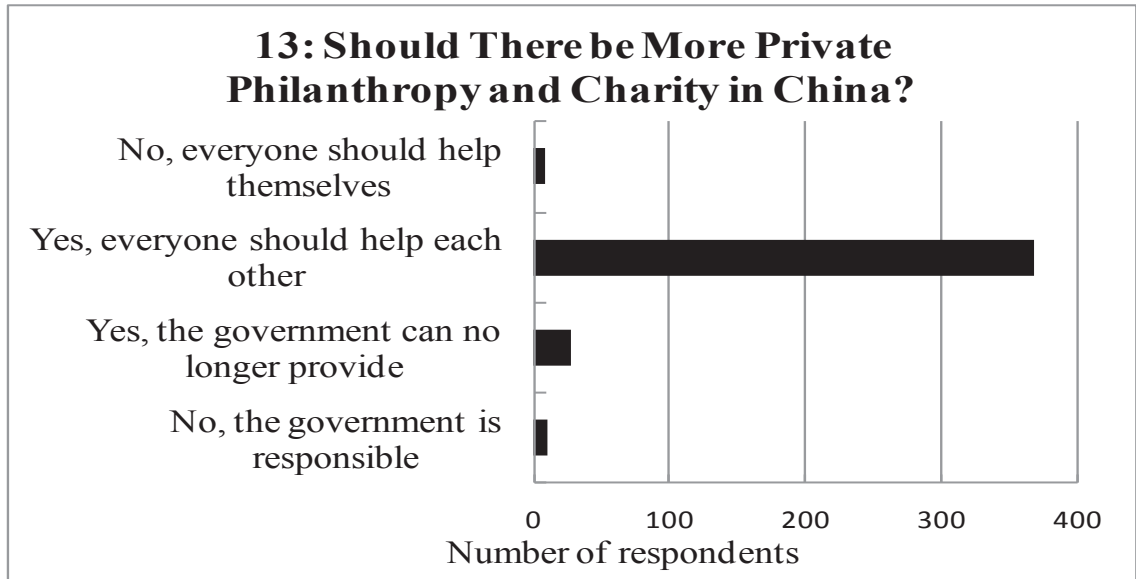
Survey Questions and Responses 9–10



Survey Questions and Responses 11–12



Survey Questions and Responses 13–14



## Appendix 6.1 Caring for Children: China's Philanthropy for Children Awards (1981–2011) – 30 Years of Inspirational Figures

Name	Organization	Occupation
Chen Muhua 陈慕华	Former Director China Children and Teenager's Fund, President All-China Women's Federation	Government
Wang Li Fei 王立飞	Deputy General Manager Rizhao Steel Group	Private entrepreneur
Yun Shubi 云曙碧	Deputy Director Committee for the Wellbeing of the Youth of Inner Mongolia	Government
Jackie Chan	International film star	Celebrity
Liu Yu 刘雨	Rural-to-urban migrant worker, Xiamen, Fujian Province	Worker (migrant)
Liu Baoqing 刘宝庆	Retired worker, Hebei Qinhuangdao Port Water Supply Company	Worker
Mihelunsha 米合伦沙	Airforce Deputy Commander stationed in Xinjiang	Military
Safe & Healthy Growth Mothers 安康妈妈**	Rizhao Shuanglian Safe and Health Growth life teachers	Life Teachers (women, mothers)
Xu Hai'ou 许海鸥	Journalist, <i>Nanguo Zaochenbao</i>	Journalist



Li Na	Tennis player	Sports star
Yang Lan		Celebrity
杨澜	President of Sun Culture Foundation	
He Fangli	Director Political Office, Beihai Branch of	Military
何方礼	Guangxi Armed Forces	
He Jiaqin	Professor, School of Life and Science, Anhui	Professor
何家庆	University	
Shen Cuiying	Retired teacher, Shanghai No. 4 School for	Teacher
沈翠英	the Deaf and Mute	
	Former Adviser Management Bureau of	Military
Zhang Wen	General Logistics Department, People's	
张文	Liberation Army	
Chen Changli	Founder and first Principal, Renkefeng	Teacher
陈昌立	Secondary School	
Chen		Private
Zhongwei		entrepreneur
陈忠伟	General Manager, Hengyuanxiang Group	
Wu Peiqin	Former CEO, Taiwan Yuanmingyuan Limited	Private
武佩琴	Company	entrepreneur
		Worker
		(state-
Wu Houzhi	Retired worker of Beijing No.1 Construction	owned
武厚之	Company	enterprise)
Zhou Jiebing	CEO Hong Kong Huanxing Group, a founder	Private
周洁冰	of the Spring Bud Project	entrepreneur
Zhao		Military
Lanxiang	Retired cadre of General Office of Central	
赵兰香	Military Commission	
Zhong		Founder
Huiming	General Manager, Chinmusco Pan Nation	(private
钟慧明	Holdings (HK), Director Huiming Charity	foundation)
	Foundation	

Jiang Lijuan 姜丽娟	Retired worker Ningxia Rubber Factory	Worker (state- owned enterprise)
Reyihan- Hasimu		Professor
热依汗-哈斯 木	Associate Professor Xinjiang Petroleum Institute	
Gucheng		Overseas
Jinming 顾陈晋明	American Chinese, Founder and Director America 90 Institute/Associate	Chinese (America)
Xu Fengru 徐凤茹	Market retailer, Haihu Road Wholesale Market, Xining, Qinghai Province	Private entrepreneur
Ling Feng 凌锋	Director of Neurosurgery, Beijing Xuanwu Hospital	Medical director
Guo Gairan 郭改然	Farmer, Xizhuang Village, Yuanping City, Shanxi Province	Farmer
Mei Yunqing 梅运清	Director of Heart Surgery Shanghai Tongji Hospital	Medical director
Toshu Fukami	Director of Japan Global Art Culture Promotion Association	Overseas (Japan)
深见东州		

Note: The names of the award winners are presented according to the order of the announcement of the awards. The Safe and Healthy Growth Project is the only group award.

## Appendix 6.2    **Caring for Children: China’s Philanthropy for Children Awards (1981–2011) – 20 Commendations\***

	<b>Name</b>	<b>Organization</b>	<b>Occupation</b>
1	Ma Xin 马鑫	Director, Henan Zhoukoufuyin Hospital	Medical director
2	Wang Jianchao 王建超	Principal, Beijing Shuren-Ribet Private	Teacher (private)
3	Long Tiangui 龙天桂	CEO China-Hong Kong Air Conditioning Electrical Limited	Private entrepreneur
4	Liu Yufen 刘玉芬	CEO Hebei Chunlei Industrial Group	Private entrepreneur
5	Li Yuling 李玉玲	General Manager Weishan County Spring Bud Goods Trading Company, Shandong Province	Private entrepreneur
6	Yang Zhuoshu 杨卓舒	CEO Hebei Zhuoda Group	Private entrepreneur

7	Zhang Xiangqing 张祥青	CEO Tianjin Rockcheck Steel Group	Private entrepreneur
8	Chen Lijun 陈立君	CEO Lijun Limited, Sichuan Province	Private entrepreneur
9	Chen Qiubei 陈迺北 (Taiwan)	Senior Engineer, Luoyang Petrochemical Engineering Corporation	State-owned enterprise
10	Jin Huiru 金惠茹	Former worker, Logistic Office of Department of Agronomy of Jilin University	University
11	Zhao Jisu 赵积素	Retired cadre Tongliang Women's Federation, Chongqing Municipality	Government
12	Qin Suping 秦素萍	Deputy-Chair Jiangsu Children Welfare Foundation	Government foundation
13	Xu Huixiang 徐卉香	CEO Xinchao Group, Daqing City	Private entrepreneur
14	Guo Qin 郭秦*	Student, Jiayang Secondary School, Zhangjiagang City, Jiangsu Province	Student (secondary)
15	Guo Lishuang 郭丽双	CEO, Beijing Dongfangmeiya Investment	Private entrepreneur
16	Chang	Well-known performer of Yu	Celebrity

	Xiangyu 常香玉	Opera	
17	Han Xiaoyu 韩晓宇	Political Commissar, Pu-Er Detachment of Armed Police Yunnan Provincial Forest Corps	Military
18	Chen Pizhen 程丕祯	Retired Chief Economist, Shangqiu City Branch of Bank of China	Government
19	Li Ziliu 黎子流	Former Mayor of Guangzhou; Honorary Director Guangdong Children Welfare Association	Government; Foundation
20	Pan Xingyuan 潘杏元 (Indonesia)	General Manager, Hong Kong HengYi Investment Company	Private entrepreneur

Note: \*The names are presented in the order they were announced. \*\*Guo Qin is portrayed as a role model in the primary school *Philanthropy Reader* (Li Yulin and Zhong Qiquan 2011a: 30; see also Chapter 2 of this thesis).

## Glossary 1      Philanthropy Terminology

Be civic-minded and create a new trend	讲文明 树新风
<i>Charity</i> (magazine)	慈善
charity worker	慈善工作者
charity association	慈善会
charity concert	爱心晚会
charity gala	慈善（爱心/公益）晚会
charity hall	慈善堂
charity and philanthropy	慈善/公益/爱心
child philanthropist	儿童慈善家
	中国公益慈善项目交流展示
China Charity Fair	会
<i>China Philanthropist</i> (magazine)	中国慈善家
China Philanthropy Education Network	中华慈善教育网
China's Top 10 Outstanding Volunteer Groups	中国十大杰出志愿服务集体
China Youth Volunteer Service Day	中国青年志愿者服务日
Chinese Advanced Patriotic Enterprise	中华爱国先进示范单位
civil non-enterprise institution	民办非企业单位
compassionate business enterprise	社会爱心单位
compassionate youth	爱心少年
compassion education	爱心教育
contribute; offer something with respect	奉献
Foundation	基金会

<i>Global Charity</i> (magazine)	环球慈善
grassroot philanthropist	草根慈善家
Learn from Lei Feng: Contribute to the Lives of Others; Improve Yourself	学习雷锋 奉献他人 提升自己
Lei Feng community service point	社区雷锋服务点
Lei Feng Day	雷锋纪念日
Lei Feng Knight	雷风侠
living Lei Feng	活雷锋
non-public fundraising foundation	非公募基金会
<i>People's Education Magazine</i>	人民教育杂志
Philanthropist	慈善家
philanthropic culture enters schools	慈善文化进校园
philanthropy culture	慈善文化
philanthropy education	慈善教育
philanthropic figure	慈善人物
philanthropy organization	慈善机构
philanthropy pictures	慈善图片
philanthropy songs	慈善歌曲
philanthropy stories	慈善故事
public fundraising foundation	公募基金会
public welfare	公益事业
public welfare activities	公益活动
public welfare announcements	公益广告
quality education	素质教育
public welfare concert	公益晚会
public welfare activities	社会公益活动
socially responsible work units	社会爱心单位
social organization	社会团体
social responsibility	社会责任

socialist core value system	社会主义核心价值体系
strengthen the construction of a philanthropic culture	加强慈善文化建设
<i>The Charity</i> (magazine)	世界慈善家
Volunteer	志愿者/义工
volunteering service	志愿服务
Welfare	福利
youth philanthropist	少年慈善家



## Glossary 2 Philanthropy-Related Laws and Regulations

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|------|---|--------------------------------|
| 2014 | Guidance from the State Council on Promoting the Healthy Development of Philanthropy. Issued by the State Council, effective 24 December, <a href="http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2014-12/18/content_9306.htm">http://www.gov.cn/zhengce/content/2014-12/18/content_9306.htm</a>   | 国务院关于促进慈善事业健康发展的指导意见           |
| 2013 | Guidelines on Building Social Service Volunteer Teams in China (2013–2020). Issued by the Ministry of Civil Affairs, effective 27 December, <a href="http://www.mca.gov.cn/article/zwgk/fvfg/shgz/201401/20140100573025.shtml">http://www.mca.gov.cn/article/zwgk/fvfg/shgz/201401/20140100573025.shtml</a>   | 中国社会服务志愿者队伍建设指导纲要(2013–2020年)  |
| 2012 | Suggestions on Promoting the <i>Philanthropy Readers</i> and a Philanthropic Culture in Schools. Issued by the Tianjin Spiritual Civilization Office, the Tianjin Municipal Education Committee and the Tianjin Charity Association, effective 20 November, <a href="http://www.xzbu.com/7/view-6044271.htm">http://www.xzbu.com/7/view-6044271.htm</a> | 关于开展《慈善读本》进校园暨《慈善读本》宣传推广活动实施意见 |
| 2012 | Suggestions on Enhancing Efforts to Learn from Lei Feng. Issued by the General Office of the CCP Central Committee, effective 2 March, <a href="http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2012-03/03/nw.D110000renmrb_20120303_4-01.htm">http://paper.people.com.cn/rmrb/html/2012-03/03/nw.D110000renmrb_20120303_4-01.htm</a>                              | 关于深入开展学雷锋活动的建议                 |
| 2011 | Guidelines for Developing Philanthropy in China 2011–2015. Issued by the Ministry of Civil  | 中国慈善事业                         |

- Affairs, effective 15 July,  
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 2011–2015
- 2011 Guidelines for Chinese Children’s Development 中国儿童发展  
 2011–2020. Issued by the State Council, effective 纲要 2011–  
 30 July, 2020  
[http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2011/content\\_1927200.htm](http://www.gov.cn/gongbao/content/2011/content_1927200.htm)
- 2010 Jiangsu Province Charity Promotion Regulations. 江苏省慈善事  
 Issued by the Jiangsu Provincial Government, 业促进条例  
 effective 1 May,  
[http://jnqcszh.com/Laws/Laws\\_2012824jiangsushengcishanshiyecujintiaoli.html](http://jnqcszh.com/Laws/Laws_2012824jiangsushengcishanshiyecujintiaoli.html)
- 2006 Management Measures for Registered Volunteers 中国注册志愿  
 in China. Issued by the Central Committee of the 者管理办法  
 Chinese Communist Youth League, effective 7  
 November,  
[http://hk.lexiscn.com/law/content.php?provider\\_id=1&isEnglish=N&origin\\_id=244281](http://hk.lexiscn.com/law/content.php?provider_id=1&isEnglish=N&origin_id=244281)
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<http://big5.china.com.cn/chinese/PI-c/519384.htm>
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- 1988 Foundation Management Measures. Issued by the State Council, effective 27 September, [http://159.226.2.2:82/gate/big5/www.tsaf.ac.cn/gk/gzzd/qt\\_gzzd/1492.html](http://159.226.2.2:82/gate/big5/www.tsaf.ac.cn/gk/gzzd/qt_gzzd/1492.html) 基金会管理办法

## Glossary 3 Chinese Philanthropies

Beijing Enjiu Non-Profit Organization	北京恩玖非营利组织发
Development Research Centre	展研究中心
BriteEye	亮睛行动
China Aging Development Foundation	中国老年基金会
China Charity Federation	中华慈善总会
China Charity Federation and China New	中华慈善总会•中华新
Epoch Charity Education Fund	纪元慈善教育专项基金
China Children and Teenagers' Fund	中国儿童少年基金会
China Foundation for Disabled Persons	中国残疾人福利基金会
China Free Hugs	中国抱抱团
China Social Welfare Foundation	中国福利基金会
China Soong Ching Ling Foundation	宋庆龄基金会
China Three Gorges Art Academy	中国三峡画院
China Youth Development Foundation	中国青少年发展基金会
Chinese Young Volunteers Association	中国青年志愿者协会
Communist Youth League of China	中国共产主义青年团
Community Volunteers Service Organization	社区志愿组织
Dreams-Come-True Special Education Centre	圆梦特教中心
Donate Rice	捐爱心米活动
Jilin Charity Federation	吉林省慈善总会
Library Project	援建图书馆行动计划
Linyi Children's Welfare Home	临沂市儿童福利院
Little Volunteers League	小志愿者联盟

'My Dream' Harmony Fund	“我的梦” 和谐基金
One Foundation	壹基金
Project Hope	希望工程
Red Cross Society of China	中国红十字会
School Children's Assistance Fund	救助失学儿童专项基金
	汕头存心慈善会(存心
Shantou Benevolent Charity Association	善堂)
Smile Angel Foundation	嫣然天使基金
Spring Bud Project	春蕾工程
Tianjin Charity Association	天津市慈善协会
Zhou Sen Fund	周森爱心基金