Multileveled citizenship and citizenship education: experiences of students in China's Beijing

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Abstract

With reference to three secondary schools in Beijing, this study investigates students' perceptions of multiple identities at four levels - self, local, national, and global - and the ways in which students form multiple identities. The study uses a mixed methodology of questionnaires and interview surveys to collect data, and identifies four patterns of Beijing students' multiple identities: a high value on self-identity, a strong affective orientation towards local and national identity, minimal distinction between local and national identities, and an imagined global identity. This study provides empirical data that both supplements and challenges existing literature on citizenship and citizenship education in the context of globalization.

Keywords: Globalization; Citizenship education; Multileveled citizenship; Multiple identities; China; Beijing

Introduction

In recent years there has been remarkable growth in academic interest about citizenship and citizenship education in the age of globalization. Much attention has been given to the idea of fostering multiple identities, which advocates transforming citizenship education from the traditional nation-state-oriented model into a multileveled/multidimensional framework comprising four major dimensions — self, local, national and global — to help students acquire the knowledge, skills, and values needed to maintain multiple identities within and beyond national borders (Brodie 2004, Kubow, Grossman, & Ninomiya 2000, Law 2007, Law & Ng 2009). Still, the topic remains under-researched in three aspects.

First, although ideas about multiple identities have been developed as abstract concepts in the literature and in policy discussions (Painter 1998), empirical studies on what constitutes multiple identities are extremely rare. Second, while many societies have incorporated the concept of multiple identities into their citizenship education policies and/or curricula, little is known about what students actually learn and develop. Giddens (1994) has noted the importance of knowing students' views on identity, because an individual's attachment to a polity cannot be taken for granted, as their identity no longer relies on what is inherited and prescribed, but needs to be actively discovered, created and sustained. Third, existing studies (e.g., Banks 2004b, Cogan, Morris, & Print 2002, Lee, Grossman, Kennedy, & Fairbrother 2004, Ross 2007b) have explored the impact of globalization on how citizenship is understood in many different societies; still, very little is known about the views of Chinese students. This study attempts to respond to these challenges.

With reference to Beijing, this study investigates students' perceptions of multiple identities at four levels: self, local, national, and global. The study uses multiple research methods, including content analysis of relevant official documents and school documents; questionnaires for students; and semi-structured interviews with students, teachers and school principals. Analysis of questionnaire and interview data finds that, while acknowledging the importance of multiple identities, students consider self-identity to be most important; their local and national identities featured strong affective orientation; there is minimal distinction between their local and national identities; and, despite their negligible direct and personal global experiences, students highly value having a global identity. This study also reveals what constitutes each domain of identity in students' eyes.

The research findings are presented using a theoretical framework for multileveled citizenship education based on an analysis of the Beijing case study. This is followed by a review of citizenship education policy and curriculum in the specific social context of Beijing. The article then describes the design and implementation of the investigation and presents its major findings, including the possible explanations for the patterns of students' views on multiple identities. It concludes with a discussion of theoretical implications for existing literature on citizenship and citizenship education in the age of globalization, and the limitation of citizenship education in China.

Theoretical frameworks for multileveled citizenship and citizenship education

For centuries, citizenship has been seen as membership in a bounded community, with rights and responsibilities defined by a given polity; citizenship education increases one's civic awareness, which generally refers to the knowledge, attitudes, and skills necessary to live and function as members of the polity (Beiner 1995, Heater 1999, Marshall 1970, Marshall & Bottomore 1992). However, these traditional notions have lately been challenged by globalization, which is seen as a threat to the significance of traditional borders, as well as to the role of the nation-state, national governance, and national citizenship (O'Brien 1992, Ohmae 1995, Urry 1998). Some scholars suggest that the impact of globalization requires a shift from national citizenship to global citizenship (Delanty 2000), regional citizenship (*e.g.* citizenship in the European Union) (Nida-Ruemelin 2002), or local and group identities (Oommen 1997). Some scholars have proposed the concept of "nested or multiple citizenships" (Heater 1990, 1996, 2004, Preston 1997). Bottery (2003) posits a "multi-layered citizenship" to argue that one's membership within a multileveled polity would be affiliated with the numerous different levels in which one's loyalty is located. Kubow *et al*. (2000) have advocated a "multidimensional model of citizenship education" that regroups human relationships and activities into four major dimensions — personal, social, spatial and temporal — that intersect with levels in the polity. These theoretical discussions suggest both the continuing importance of nation-specific citizenship, and also the need to diversify the nation-state-oriented, civic-specific perspective to form multileveled frameworks for citizenship education that help students acquire the knowledge, skills, and values needed for new identities relating to individual's membership in, and identification with, a multileveled polity embracing life in personal and social, local, national, and global communities (Law 2007, Law & Ng 2009).

The theoretical framework for multileveled citizenship education has received increased international attention. A number of studies (e.g., Banks 2004b, Cogan, et al. 2002, Lee, et al. 2004) have shown that many societies have, at either the national or city level, in various ways incorporated theoretical frameworks for multileveled citizenship and citizenship education into their citizenship education policies and/or curricula, including global, national, local, and self components. Schools have been strongly encouraged to help students to gain more international

exposure and to develop a more global outlook, on the one hand, and to treasure their own national and local heritages, institutions and values, on the other. Research projects (*e.g.* the Project on Children's Identity and Citizenship in Europe) note that the need to help young people to understand diverse and multiple identities is receiving increasing attention in the European Union (Ross 2007a, 2007b).

The above-mentioned theoretical discourses and practices show the importance placed on the four dimensions (global, national, local and self) by scholars, policymakers and providers of citizenship education. However, very little is known about students' views on multiple identities; empirical studies have focused mainly on selected dimensions, rather than all four identified above. For example, the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) has conducted large-scale, cross-national civic education projects in the 1990s to assess secondary students' civic knowledge and skills relative to local and national citizenship in democratic societies (Torney-Purta, Lehmann, Oswald, & Schulz 2001), while Parmenter's *et al.* (2000) small-scale survey in Hong Kong, Japan and Macao explores primary school students' perceptions of global citizenship and its impact on how one locates oneself in the world; however, neither study explores how students construct and sustain simultaneously their global, national, local, and self identities, and the significance students place on the four dimensions of multileveled citizenship remains under-researched. The IEA recognizes this, and has initiated the International Civic and Citizenship Study (ICCS) project, expected to be finished by 2011; unfortunately, mainland China will not be participating.

The impact of globalization on citizenship in China remains an under-researched area, despite recent works on education and citizenship education in China. Kwong (1985), Lee (1996), and Lee and Ho (2005) have noted that China's citizenship education policy has been reoriented away from politics towards an emphasis on self-identity, *i.e.*, personal moral quality and individual well-being. However, these studies do not offer empirical evidence on students' perception of self-identity. Fairbrother (2003a, 2003b, 2008), from the 1990s to 2005, surveys mainly the changing views of college students in Hong Kong and Mainland China on relationships between critical thinking, patriotism and national identity, and provided insight into college students' reactions to state hegemony and education for national identity. Wan (2004) examines newly-revised citizenship curricula and identifies tension between ethnic diversity and

social cohesion. Lee and Gu's (2004) empirical survey of Shanghai secondary school teachers and principals finds their knowledge of global issues (*e.g.*, world economic and political issues, sustainable development, etc.) to be weak. Cheung and Pan (2006) observe the broadening scope of citizenship education and a shift in emphasis in citizenship education policy from one of loyalty to the ruling party, to one that includes personal development, social responsibility and community involvement within the state's political framework. These Chinese studies provide useful information about social changes and changes to citizenship education in China since the country's market reforms and subsequent opening up to the West in the late 1970s. However, theoretical and empirical studies on the fostering of multiple identities among Chinese students in a global age are extremely rare.

The urgent need to reduce this research gap has been noted in recent studies. With reference to mainland China, Hong Kong and Taiwan, Law (2004a, 2004b) develops a theoretical framework for understanding citizenship education as a sociopolitical selection by different actors including the state, local governments, schools and students in a multileveled polity. Law (2006) shows that, since the late 1970s, mainland China has gradually incorporated frameworks of multileveled/multidimensional citizenship education, covering individuals' engagement in various domains of human activities and their memberships at various levels (ranging from individual to community, local, national, and international or global) of a new identity within and beyond national/local borders. The theoretical framework is further supported by empirical studies of multileveled citizenship education in Shanghai and Hong Kong, which show that students in both places experience global-national-local interactions and exhibit patterns of commonalities and differences with respect to their country and city in relation to the world, their personal acceptance of and reservation about international exposure, concerns about development at various levels, and engagement in the multileveled polity (Law 2007, Law & Ng 2009) .

Extending Law's theoretical framework, this study investigates the perceptions of Beijing students of the four dimensions of multiple identities. This study finds that Beijing students see little difference between national and local identity; moreover, their state of global identity is more likely to be largely conceptual, lacking substantive or real connection to the global

community. Before discussing these issues, it is important to understand the general background of Beijing and the context of citizenship education in its junior secondary schools.

Citizenship education curriculum for junior secondary students in Beijing

Beijing is the capital of the People's Republic of China (PRC). It is China's second largest city, covering 16,800 square kilometers in northern China with population of 16.3 million in 2007 (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics 2008). Putonghua, China's national common oral language for public occasions and education, is based on the Beijing dialect of the Mandarin language. Chinese call Beijing the "royal city" (*huang cheng*), because it had been the imperial capital of four Chinese dynasties – Jin, Yuan, Ming and Qing – since the twelfth century. As *Encyclopedia Britannica* (Retrieved September 25, 2008) comments, "[t]he city has been an integral part of China's history over the past eight centuries, and nearly every major building of any age in Beijing has at least some national historical significance[1]". The royal palaces, temples, and gardens are art treasures that have made Beijing a centre of culture in China. Economically, Beijing is one of the largest industrial bases in China. Since the economic and social reforms of the late 1970s, Beijing's economic structure has shifted significantly: primary, secondary and tertiary industries once accounted for 4%, 38.9% and 57.1% (respectively) of the city's Gross Domestic Product (GDP), but now account for 1.1%, 27.5% and 71.3%. Between 1999 and 2007, Beijing's GDP quickly increased from RMB217 billion to RMB900 billion, while per capita GDP increased from RMB19,800 to RMB56,000 (US$2,605 to US$7,370) (Beijing Municipal Bureau of Statistics 2000, 2008).

In Beijing, as in other places in China, political and ideological education is a major official channel for citizenship education (Lee & Ho 2005) .   Beijing has 83 universities and colleges, 502 senior secondary schools (including vocational and technical schools), 361 junior secondary schools and 1,235 primary schools (Beijing Municipal Education Commission 2008), all of which conduct political and ideological education as prescribed by the Ministry of Education (MoE). In junior secondary schools, in addition to core subjects, students are required to take a special political course, Ideology and Moral Character (*sixiang pinde*). Although a diverse range of textbooks are written and published, analysis of the textbooks used for this compulsory subject in the three subject schools suggests that their content follows closely national

curriculum standards prescribed by the Ministry of Education (2001). In 2006, the Beijing International Forum on Citizenship Education for Children and Youths published the *Consensus on Citizenship Education*, which lists the objectives of multileveled citizenship education, including making students into "qualified citizens", who are expected to acquire knowledge about local and national culture and heritage, appreciate and spread information about world civilizations, and have a broad outlook on international affairs (Beijing Academy of Educational Sciences 2006a, 2006b).

Although these citizenship education objectives are the same for all grades, the curriculum for each has a different emphasis. The grade-seven textbook for Beijing students covers two major areas: personal growth and development (*e.g.,* emotional management, treasuring life, fostering healthy habits, and learning how to face problems and stresses in life); and school community (*e.g.,* adapting to junior secondary school life and creating a class logo and motto) (Curriculum and Teaching Materials Research Institute 2003, 2007b).

The grade eight textbook covers one's relationships with family, school, the nation and the world. Particular emphasis is placed on: loving and showing respect for one's parents; developing friendships with classmates; showing respect for teachers; exercising one's rights and responsibilities as prescribed by the state; the role of the law in protecting life, personal privacy, material and intellectual property, consumer rights and social justice; promoting world peace, respect for and toleration of global cultural diversity; internet ethics; and equality, fair competition and the relationship between competition and collaboration in school, community, society and the world (Curriculum and Teaching Materials Research Institute 2006, 2007a).

The textbook for grade nine students focuses mainly on the national dimension of citizenship education. It introduces the national constitution; highlights national positions and development policies; rehearses China's economic and social developments and its rising status in the world; and identifies China's enduring civilization as the foundation for its modernization (Curriculum and Teaching Materials Research Institute 2005). It also reiterates the Central Government's position on the significance of fostering among its citizens "the spirit of Chinese people" (p. 68), a blend of the ideals and principles of socialism with Chinese cultural traditions, characterized by "solidarity, loving peace, hardworking and courage, and incessant self-strengthening" (p. 69). At the heart of this spirit lies patriotism — defined as loving socialist China, supporting the

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leadership of the CPC, committing one's ideals and work to the modernization of socialist China, and striving for the global renewal of the Chinese people.

Research design and implementation

As part of a larger project on globalization and multileveled citizenship education in Beijing, the main purpose of this study was to investigate students' perceptions of multiple identities at four levels: self, local, national, and global. There is some debate around the concept of multiple identities, particularly on individuals' multiple identifications and attachments to the community of human beings at local, national, and global levels. Modeled on the UNESCO's (1995) and Banks' (2004a, 2008) frameworks, this study identifies some major indicators that help investigate students' views on multiple identities.

This study adopts Banks' (2004a, 2008) framework to define local, national, and global identities. Local identity refers to an individual's identification with his or her ethnic and community culture, beliefs, language, and behavior; their understanding of, and sense of attachment to home and community sites; and their ability to acknowledge, reflect and value their cultural group. National identity is defined as an individual's identification with their nation-state; their understanding of their role within its constitutional and legal framework; their understanding of national goals and policies, and of the legal, political, social and economic institutions of the country; and their consciousness of, and ability to take action to help solve the nation's problems (*e.g.* social, racial, cultural, and economic inequality). Global identity is largely concerned with one's identification with the world community; understanding of the interdependence of nations; attitude toward other nations and peoples; reflective commitment to global values (such as global justice and equality); and understanding of the need to take action, as a global citizen, to address problems such as poverty, global warming, AIDS, racism, and war.

This study also adopts the UNESCO's (1995) suggestion that awareness and values cut across local, national, and international levels. This includes the individual's awareness and acceptance of the importance of meeting civic commitments (such as loyalty, rights, and responsibilities to local, national, and international societies), resolving problems in order to achieve a just, peaceful and democratic community, respecting ethnic and cultural diversity, and cultural heritage, protecting the environment, and promoting solidarity and equity at local, national and international levels.

A mixed methodology of questionnaires and interview surveys was used to collect data. In addition to gathering basic demographic information, the questionnaire investigates students' views on multiple citizenships by exploring their cognitive, affective, and evaluative orientation towards local, national, and global identities. These three orientations, as argued by Gabriel A. Almond & Verba's (1989), can indicate the degree to which citizens see themselves as members of their political system, and the knowledge, feelings, and norms of participation citizens have in a particular sociopolitical context. In this study, cognitive orientation focuses on students' awareness and understanding of citizenship in the local, national, and global contexts; affective orientation investigates students' feelings towards their local, national, and global identities; evaluative orientation is mainly concerned with students' values and judgments about their individual civil rights and responsibilities as members of local, national, and global communities. In addition, the questionnaire investigates how students perceive the relative importance of global, national, and local citizenships.

The categorization of questions is informed by citizenship education content taught in secondary schools and the wider society in Beijing. For instance, even though the statement "terrorism is never justified" signifies an individual commitment to humanitarian and liberal values, it is categorized as an indicator of global, rather than personal and social identity, inasmuch as it was transmitted to Beijing citizens in order to safeguard Beijing's security during the hosting of international events such as the 2008 Olympics [2].

Some questions were adapted from the International Civic and Citizenship Study (2009-2011) and empirical studies of multileveled citizenship education in Shanghai and Hong Kong by Law (2007) and Law & Ng (2009). The questionnaire was modified twice, after consultations with a local expert and a trial run, to ensure its suitability in the specific context of secondary schools in Beijing.

Questions about local, national, and global identities (*shen fen*) examine respondents' perceptions of the image, history, culture, socio-economic development, scientific and technological development, residence status and symbolic icons of the multilevel polity, and their interest in participating in same. A section on self-identity explores students' knowledge, social manners and skills, and attitudes and emotional attachments. Respondents express their

opinions on personal growth and development, self-image, relationships to others, and civilized behavior.

The questionnaire uses an even number (i.e., 20-22) of questions to test the respondents' agreement with each of the identities, to maintain roughly the same number of variables for each domain being analyzed, and to ensure that no one domain is overemphasized in the questionnaire. A four-point scale is used to allow students to indicate the extent to which they agree with the statements (1 = not at all important/ strongly disagree to 4 = very important/strongly agree). The questionnaire can be completed in fewer than 30 minutes.

The study also uses semi-structured interviews with students and with teachers to gather in-depth information. Though this study investigates students' perceptions of multiple identities, teachers (including programme leaders and senior staff) in charge of curriculum and student affairs were also interviewed, as their seniority, their roles in educational programmes, their knowledge about the research subjects enabled them to provide useful insights on students' perceptions of multiple identities. The interview protocol follows the basic guidelines for qualitative inquiry suggested by Maxwell (1996) and the techniques outlined by Spradley (1979), especially his delineation of different types of questions: descriptive, structural, and contrast.

Interview questions for students mainly investigate their sense of identification (*ren tong*) with the local, national, and global communities. Interview questions for teachers and school leaders mainly explore the organization and transmission of citizenship education in individual schools, including the school's general policy on citizenship education, and how the school incorporates different dimensions (global, national, local, and self) of citizenship education into school life (through both in-class lessons and extracurricular activities).

Secondary students were chosen because they had been recipients of the multileveled citizenship education introduced by the Beijing Education Committee following Beijing's being awarded the 2008 Olympics in 2001. Junior secondary school students, rather than senior secondary students, were selected to respond the survey for two reasons. First, this study follows the example of the IEA's international civic and citizenship studies in the late 1990s and 2009-11 choosing junior secondary students as subjects. Second, senior secondary schools in China are

frequently reluctant to participate in research projects, often seeing them as disturbing both regular teaching and preparations for college entrance examinations.

Three (out of 361 in Beijing) public junior-secondary schools willing to participate in the survey were located. Before selecting these three schools, the study attempted, in vain, to contact other schools in Beijing; many were reluctant to receive researchers before the 2008 Olympics. The three selected schools meet the major criteria for selection: they have adopted a multileveled framework for citizenship education and incorporate different dimensions (global, national, local, and self) of citizenship education into school life. In particular, they are recognized as "demonstration schools" by the Beijing municipal Government for their outstanding performance in education, including citizenship education, at the city level. In March and April 2008 field work was conducted in the three Beijing public junior secondary schools.

In each school, all students attending grades seven to nine (aged between 12 and 15) were invited to participate in the questionnaire. A total of 2,411 questionnaires were distributed and collected by homeroom teachers. All returned questionnaires were effective; 49.2% were completed by males and 50.8% by females, with 29.9% of respondents being from grade seven, 34.3% from grade eight, and 35.8% from grade nine. 88.3% of respondents were born in Beijing, while the majority of the remainder had lived in Beijing for more than 10 years.

15 group interviews were conducted with students from each grade, including 57 students who were born in Beijing and 22 students who were born outside Beijing. 22 individual interviews were conducted with teachers, including homeroom teachers, citizenship education teachers and vice school principals who oversee school policy on citizenship education; 18 of these were born in Beijing, 10 of whom have worked in Beijing schools for more than thirty years. All interviewees were selected by the school authority according to the time availability of interviewees. The average time of each interview was about 30 minutes. With permission, all interviews were audio-taped and transcribed.

The study uses a theoretical framework for multileveled citizenship and citizenship education to guide analytical schema and factor analysis. The survey data was analyzed using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS) version 16. Issues linked to students' civic awareness relating to local, national, and global identities were analyzed to identify students' perceptions of

the relative importance of different dimensions of multiple identities and constituent aspects of domains of multiple identities. Internal survey reliability was assessed by Cronbach coefficient alpha. Questions were found to have very high reliability (Cronbach's alpha = 0.981).

Content analysis was used to analyze interview data, delineating and clustering the units of meaning relevant to the research questions, and generating themes from the clusters to compare with those from the questionnaire data (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007). All interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed verbatim and then post-coded utilizing both deductive and inductive analysis. Issues linked to the students' expression and explanation of their notion of citizenship at the local, national and global levels were grouped into two categories for analysis: patterns of Beijing's students' perceptions of multiple identities; and possible explanations for the patterns found. The following sections present the major findings from the questionnaire surveys and interviews.

Major findings

Relative importance of different dimensions of multiple identities

The following are the major findings from the analysis of 88 questions about students' civic awareness relating to four dimensions of multiple identities: personal and social (PSD), local (LD), national (ND), and global (GD). Students deemed all four to be very important, with means ranging from NDM=3.5998, to PSDM and LDM=3.6687 and GDM=3.6855. All differences between domain means and overall mean (3.6375) are minimal (ranging from -0.0377 to 0.048). This suggests a strong central tendency in the respondents' high degrees of agreement on statements of civic awareness relating to all of the four domains.

Of the ten most important aspects of civic awareness addressed in the 88 questions (based on student responses), four came from national dimension, three from personal and social dimension, two from global dimension and only one from local dimension (See Table 1). Of the ten least important aspects, local dimension (six) dominated; three came from national dimension; one came from global dimension and none from personal and social dimension (See Table 2). This shows that student attention to different dimensions of identity is uneven — personal and social dimension receives the most attention, local dimension the least.

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Table 1

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Table 2

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Constituent aspects of domains of multiple identities

The survey questions are measure using a four-point scale that allows students to indicate the extent to which they agree with the statements (1 = not at all important/ strongly disagree to 4 = very important/strongly agree). In each domain, there are more and less important elements of identity. In personal and social dimension, students highly value personal growth, self-image and civilized behavior. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, the two most important aspects of civic awareness are from personal and social dimension and relate to these elements — strengthening self confidence and behaving responsibly (first and second, means = 3.7958 and 3.8013) — as does a third aspect of personal and social dimension, openly accepting someone of a different race or ethnicity as a friend, which ranks eighth (mean = 3.7582). No aspect of personal and social dimension is among the ten least important aspects.

As can be seen in Table 3, students give relatively high ratings to all aspects related to personal growth, including developing healthy character and life habits, studying hard, managing time well, controlling emotions well and enhancing self-esteem (with means ranging from 3.6271 to 3.7217). Aspects of civilized behavior received relatively high ratings as well, including listening to others and observing social norms such as queuing (mean=3.7163, 3.7577). By comparison, aspects relating to hospitality and sympathy were rated relatively lower; students did not show a strong willingness to make someone new feel at home or to help someone who is less well off (mean = 3.4795 and 3.3156).

In local dimension, personal life experience and permanent residence status in Beijing are the most important elements of students' sense of local identity, while the city's image and development are relatively less important. As shown in Tables 1 and 2, local dimension contributes only one item to the top-ten list, but it dominates the list of the ten least important

aspects. Students show relatively less interest in Beijing's national image, they do not think Beijing is better than most other Chinese cities (3.2301), do not believe the latter should adhere to the former's views (3.1029), and do not think China would be a better place if citizens of other cities were more like those of Beijing (3.1975). Moreover, students do not think local development more important than national, or that the state should make Beijing's development a priority (3.0689), and are not more concerned with Beijing's development than with that of China (3.2377). Despite this, students have no marked desire to live permanently in another Chinese city (2.5889), and very much appreciate Beijing's traditional culture (3.7586), which is the only local dimension element on the top-ten list.

In national dimension, evidences suggest that love of country, national pride, observance of national rituals, and permanent residence status are most important to a strong sense of national identity. As seen in Table 1, four of the top ten aspects of multileveled citizenship come from national dimension. Students acknowledge their great love for China and pride in China's traditional culture and scientific and technological achievements (mean = 3.7746, 3.7690, 3.7586); they respect and remain solemn during rituals such as national flag raising ceremonies (mean = 3.7175, 3.7636). Students' identification with their country is also revealed by their strong preference for China as their permanent home. As seen in Table 2, students do not hold that the world would be a better place if citizens of other countries were like Chinese citizens (3.1245), nor do they think China better than most other countries (3.2546). Despite this, they do not wish to live permanently in an other country (2.5823). This means the country's global reputation does not lessen students' attachment to the nation.

All aspects of global dimension received relatively high ratings, with means ranging from 3.2895 to 3.7632. The two most important items in global dimension concern world security and international cultural exchange, i.e., that terrorism is never justified (sixth, mean = 3.7632), and that the cultures of all nations (including China) should be exchanged and learned from (tenth, mean = 3.7560) (See Table 1). Students strongly agree with other values and skills associated with the ideas of global citizenship, as well; they claim to be proud to be citizens of the world (3.7321), and care about world peace (3.7478). They are very interested in improving their proficiency in foreign language(s), communicating better with foreigners (3.7437), and participating in activities promoting world peace (3.7441) and environment protection (3.7433).

This does not mean that global identity trumps national identity, however, students do not strongly agree that where they live in the world does not matter (3.2895), nor is the flag of the United Nations (UN) very important to them (3.4695).

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Table 3

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Patterns of Students' perceptions of multiple identities

Analysis of interview data identifies, and provides possible explanations for, four major patterns in students' perceptions of multiple identities: a high value on self-identity, a strong affective orientation towards local and national identity, minimal distinction between local and national identities, and an imagined global identity.

The first pattern concerns with students' views of self-identity. While acknowledging multiple identities, students consider self-identity to be most important. Students' views of self-identity stress the importance of self-regarding (or self-interested) values and behaviors, *i.e.*, their views of self, ideas of what they might or would like to become, and incentives for future behavior (Markus & Nurius 1986). By comparison, other-regarding (or society-minded) values and behaviors were perceived as less important. Questionnaire evidence shows that, in students' eyes, individual well-being and personal moral qualities such as personal growth, self-image and civilized behavior are more important than offering hospitality or sympathy to others. Although they identify themselves as citizen of Beijing, China and the world, students' questionnaire and interview responses show little interest in the more mundane aspects of citizenship (*e.g.* caring about local or national development).

The second pattern concerns students' strong affective orientation towards local and national identities. The feeling of rootedness or belonging is a powerful theme in students' expression of local and national identities. Students who were born and bred in Beijing express their local identity in terms of their ties to the city; utterances such as "I would call Beijing home because that's where I was born and raised" and "I feel my roots are in Beijing, because my family and

relatives have lived in Beijing since my grandparents' generation", reveal deep-seated affective ties with Beijing.   Students who were not born in Beijing, but who have lived there for years also acknowledge a strong sense of belonging: "I have lived in Beijing for more than 10 years, I have witnessed the change of Beijng over the years"; "I am getting along well with local Beijing students"; and "My school treats students equally; nobody treats me as non-local" are some examples

The sense of rootedness and belonging is also highlighted in students' expression of national identity. Students express their national identity through feelings of national love, national pride, and emotional connection China; as one student explains, "China is my country, my motherland, and the only place I have lived". Students regard China's achievements (e.g., space exploration and economic development) as a source of pride for all Chinese around the world. Some students relate their sense of national identity to their appearance: "Many things remind me that I am a citizen of China: I am a Chinese; I have black hair, black eyes, and yellow skin; I am descendant of the Dragon".

The third pattern is that, while there is minimal distinction between their local and national identities, students do not identify as strongly with their city as with their nation at the cognitive and affective levels.   To investigate their cognitive orientation towards local and national identities, students were asked, "To what extent do you identify yourself as a citizen of Beijing city/China? Why?" Students admit that it is hard for them to separate local citizenship from national citizenship, as they identify simultaneously with both; however, the latter is more significant. This echoes a questionnaire finding that most students feel prouder to be a citizen of China (3.7051) than of Beijing (3.5935). Explaining his sense of dual local-national identities, a student notes that it is easier to be aware of national identity; for example, he is often called a "Chinese student" by foreign visitors, or "the capital's student" (*shou du xue shen*) by visitors from other places in China. These names, to some extent, remind him that he represents not only Beijing, but also China and China's national capital in the eyes of foreigners and people from other places in China. The minimal distinction between students' local and national identities is also indicated by students' understanding of local cultural symbols. Some students see Beijing's culture as represented by traditional cuisine (Beijing Roast Duck), traditional art (Peking opera), and the local dialect; some argued that these are elements of national, rather than local, cultural

heritage, because the mass media usually presents them to foreigners as elements of China's, not Beijing's culture.

National obligations and responsibilities appear to play a more significant role in shaping students' understanding of local and national identities at the evaluative level. In interviews, when asked "In your opinion, what major qualities should a 'good' adult Beijing citizen/ national citizen of China possess?", students see no difference between the criteria for a good Beijing citizen and a good national citizen. National obligation and commitments are highlighted in the major qualities students say a 'good' Beijing citizen should possess: knowing about Chinese cultural traditions; respecting global cultural diversity; being polite and observing social manners on public occasions; presenting a good image of China (including Beijing) to foreign visitors; protecting the environment; and being more concerned with the development of China than with that of Beijing. Students believe that a good citizen of Beijing should do good things for China, because a good China makes Beijing a better place.

The fourth pattern shows that, despite having had few, if any direct and personal global experiences, students highly value the idea of a global identity. The interviewed students have little personal experience with, or participation and function in the global community. First, only one of the interviewed students had lived in a foreign country or held a foreign passport — the rest had been born and raised in China (mostly in Beijing) by Chinese parents, and owe their knowledge of the world and global issues to school activities, TV programs and the Internet. Second, while students show strong interest in improving their English proficiency (*e.g.,* by watching English TV news and joining international Internet chat rooms), they have little opportunity to practice English in real life; Chinese is China's official language, its principle medium of instruction, and the main language used in daily communication. Third, students have few opportunities to participate in global events. While the 2008 Beijing Olympics gave volunteers the opportunity to host participants and/or spectators from other countries, most of the students in this study were too young to participate officially. Thus, students' contact with, and participation in the global community is limited by their family backgrounds, the socio-cultural environment, and their youth.

Despite this, students recognize the importance of global identity. Students show cognitive orientation towards global identity, as shown by their awareness of global problems. When

asked "What is the most serious world problem(s) that people in different parts of the world should unite to fight?", interviewed students named a number of global problems, e.g., environmental sustainability, an increasing gap between rich and poor, world peace, and global warming.

Students show an awareness of the relationship between personal advancement and life in the global sphere. For example, when asked how they want to improve themselves, most of the interviewed student mention improving foreign language proficiency, their understanding of foreign culture, custom, and lifestyle, developing a positive attitude in life, gaining information communication skills, and mastering science and technology. They explain that these kinds of knowledge, skills, and attitudes help to prepare them for future studies and work, both in China and in foreign countries.

However, students do not show strong affective orientation towards global identity, despite being proud to be global citizens. Although students claim to be more proud to be a citizen of the world (mean = 3.7321) than of China (mean = 3.7051), they report a stronger sense of belonging to the nation (mean = 3.6698) than to the world (mean = 3.5276), and see China's national flag as much more important than the flag of the United Nations (mean = 3.7308, 3.4695). For students, living permanently in a country other than China (2.5823) or in a city other than Beijing (2.5889) is less acceptable than a lifestyle of world travel (3.2895). Although they can list a variety of global problems, when asked "how do these problems relate to you", only a few of the students interviewed suggest that they may have to deal with those problems, by, for instance, donating money to help people throughout the world with special difficulties due to war or disease. Indeed, the majority students do not respond to the question, suggesting that students' perception of global identity is a conceptualized relationship between self and world, with few real points of contacts between the two, and that students' stated pride in being global citizens is largely rhetorical or imagined, without strong evidence of an affective attachment to a global identity.

Possible explanations and discussions

This section considers *possible explanations* for Beijing students' perceptions of multiple identities. One possible approach to understanding students' location of the self in the world is to examine their socio-political and educational context; more specifically, to examine the nation-state, and local government and its impact on students' citizenship formation, and interactions among students, schools and teachers (Law 2007, Law & Ng 2009, Parmenter, et al. 2000). This study examines the wider context of Beijing students and suggests major factors accounting for Beijing students' perception of multiple identities: a wide spread social value of self-importance, a blurred local-national relationship, an emphasis on national dimensions of citizenship education, and a close global-local relationship relating to the 2008 Beijing Olympics.

The widespread of social value of self-importance

This study suggests that students' perception of self-identity can mirror the widespread social value of self-importance, both internationally and domestically. Internationally, people are more individualistic; in particular, recent generations express stronger support for self-expression, including a greater emphasis on subjective well-being and quality of life, than on economic or security concerns (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development 2008).

In China, self-importance is related to three major factors: the popularity of '*xiaozi*', China's "Only Child" policy, and the emphasis placed on the "self" dimension in citizenship education. The most notable societal phenomenon in contemporary China is the emergence and popularity of a new social value, called '*xiaozi*'. Originally a Chinese translation of "petty bourgeois", people who possess private properties and who are neither as poor as the proletariat, nor as rich as the bourgeoisie; from the 1950s to the 1970s, the petty bourgeois were criticized for idolizing capitalist values and Western lifestyles. Since the 1980s, with a shift in national focus from Maoist "class struggle" to economic modernization and an increased tolerance for western culture and capitalist values (Pan 2009), China has come to value the importance of economic prosperity and individual wellbeing over political engagement and class struggle. In this context, '*xiaozi*' has become a part of urban fashion; its key ideas include pursuing individual interests, enjoying material wealth, ignoring political affairs, and valuing personal lifestyle (Zhong 2003).

The second factor relates to a side effect of China's 'One Child' policy, which restricts the number of children married couples can have to one (exemptions are allowed for rural couples,

ethnic minorities, and parents who have no siblings). It is estimated that the policy prevented more than 250 million births from 1979 to 2000. The children born in the 1980s and 1990s under this policy are commonly called China's "Me Generation". As they have no siblings at home, and can be spoiled by parents and grandparents who treat them as "little emperors" (Fong 2004), Me Generation members tend to be self-centered, have poor social communication and cooperation skills, and embody the concept of self-importance, taking it for granted that the self should be put before duty, and that the needs of the individual come first (Elegant 2007).

The third factor relates to the increased emphasis placed on personal dimensions of citizenship education in China. Beginning in the 1980s, the scope of China's citizenship education policy broadened from its original exclusive emphasis on the nation state to include personal and social education components on such topics as law, psychological health, and general life knowledge; since the 1990s, there has been an increasing emphasis on individual wellbeing, individual rights and responsibilities (political, economic, cultural, social, and other democratic), personality, and moral character (Cheung & Pan 2006, Fairbrother 2008, Lee 1996, Lee & Ho 2005). According to teachers interviewed, self-identity is one of the most important components of citizenship education in their schools. Teaching contents cover life and social skills (*e.g.*, how to live safely and healthy, how to do things creatively, how to understand oneself), some philosophy (*e.g.*, sense of responsibility, positive attitude, self-determined, self-discipline), and public virtue (*e.g.*, mutual respect, mutual aid, working well with others, and behaving one's self on public occasions).

This study suggests that the high value Beijing students place on self-regarding values is a response to the new socialist era in China and to emerging global values. The subject students are a part of China's Me Generation; they were **all** born in the 1990s, and most have no siblings. They are also recipients of China's revised citizenship education, which stresses individual wellbeing and personal advancement. Their perception of self-identity could mirror the widespread social value of self-importance, because "school is one of the places where each generation comes to acquire the values of society. If values change in the broader society, this will have a strong if diffuse impact on what goes on in schools" (Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development 2008, p. 72).

Blurred local-national relationship

The minimal distinction between students' local and national identities is related to the blurred local-national relationship in the context of Beijing. There is almost no "political distance" between the local and the national in the context of Beijing. Politically, Beijing is the national capital of China, and home to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), the State Council, its various ministries and commissions, and more than 140 foreign embassies, making it the heart of China's domestic politics and international relations. As such, the word 'Beijing' is often used to represent the state, as when phrases such as 'Beijing's decision' or 'the political climate in Beijing' are used to describe state policy or political conditions within the Central Committee of the CPC. As shown above, blurred local-national relationship affects Beijing students' self-image and their local and national identities. Beijing-born teachers, too, some of whom have studied and worked in Beijing schools for more than thirty years, report that they have had strong feelings of dual identity since childhood, especially when attending international events held in Beijing, at which they felt the need to represent both Beijing and China to foreign visitors.

The blurred national-local relationship partially accounts for the lack of specific local (Beijing) elements and examples in Beijing's junior secondary citizenship curriculum. In Beijing, teaching for local identity mainly focus on relationships between self, school, and local community where students reside, and offer little about local culture, history, character, symbols, and things that may help students to develop a collective identification with the city. In interviews, teachers admit that, as the capital, many of Beijing's landmarks and events — People's Hall, the daily flag ceremony in Tiananmen Square, and the influx of important visitors from around the world — are presented to students as national, rather than local phenomena, both by teachers and in citizenship education textbooks. This dichotomy is reflected in a debate between students, in which some regard city landmarks (the Great Wall, Tiananmen Square, Forbidden City, Summer Palace, etc.) as representative of Beijing, while others argue that these truly belong to China as a whole, and just happen to be located in Beijing.

Students' understanding of local and national issues is also affected. In an interview, one citizenship education teacher notes that her school does not label citizenship education issues as national or local, because many national events take place in Beijing, and therefore raise local

issues and involve local citizen's participation. This became obvious when the author conducted field work in Beijing during the 11th National People's Congress and the 2008 National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference Annual Session. Local citizens had been given the task of ensuring Beijing's security during these national events; some Beijing citizens served on teams responsible for identifying security threats, traffic was strictly controlled and there were security checks in the streets. National and local issues were thus intertwined, with both directly influencing how citizens functioned as members of the polity.

Emphasis on national dimension of citizenship education

As discussed above, despite the minimal distinction between their local and national identities, students show stronger identification with their country than with their city, in part due to the emphasis on national identity in Beijing's citizenship education program both on and off campus. On campus, installing a strong sense of national identity is the most powerful theme in school citizenship education activities. Schools offer formal curricula that transmit the values, knowledge and attitudes of an informed, responsible and participating Chinese national citizen. Extracurricular activities reinforce students' attachment to the nation by teaching them to observe national ritual and to respect national symbols representing the authority and sovereignty of the state. Schools may create their own ways to enhance students' sense of national identity. One interviewed principal's school promotes loyalty and patriotism through competitive learning about national heroes, with the class that performs best being honored as the "Hero Class". Moreover, teachers and textbooks help generate strong national identity by perpetuating a common myth in China. For example, when asked "What, if anything, makes you proud to be a citizen of China? Why?" students often mention that they feel proud of the Great Wall, claiming it to be the only man-made object visible from the moon. Although this is not true, students believe the myth, in part because they had learned it in the primary school. This implies that schools can help generate strong affective orientation towards national identity by perpetuating a national mythos.

In a wider society, the Beijing government has used a global event to reinforce national identity among citizens — the Games of the XXIX Olympiad (hereafter 2008 Olympics). Chinese leaders believed hosting the Olympics to be an opportunity to demonstrate to the world that, not only could China stage a world-class athletic competition, but also that the country had

become a modern global economic and social power. In the words of Beijing Mayor Liu Qi, also president of the Beijing 2008 Olympic Bid Committee, hosting the Olympics would "help raise the living standard of the Chinese people and speed up China's reform" (China Rights Forum 2006). Chinese President Jiang Zemin and the Central Committee of the CPC also stressed the importance of making the Games a great success, not only to meet China's international commitments, but also to enhance its global image (www.chinanews.com Reporter 2002). In response, the Beijing Organizing Committee for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad (2002) established the Beijing Olympic education program to meet the goal of spreading Olympic spirit, promoting Chinese cultural traditions, presenting Beijing's cultural heritage and the friendliness and hospitality of its citizens to the world, increasing cultural exchanges between East and West, and developing trust and friendship among people from different parts of the world.

Accordingly, national elements were stressed in Olympic education. For example, to raise the level of civility in the city, the Beijing government promoted "loving the country and abiding by the law, politeness and honesty, solidarity and friendliness, thriftiness and independence, and devotion and contribution" as moral imperatives. Olympic Education Textbooks were distributed in the city's primary and secondary schools and English-language training programs were established for those in the services sector and the mass media to create a bilingual environment in public areas (Beijing Organizing Committee for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad 2002). The Beijing Education Committee enlisted schools, families and other community resources to help create an environment that would increase students' civic awareness and encourage student volunteerism, foster greater civility and hospitality among its citizenry, and improve Beijings' international image, which has an implication for China's reputation in the world (Beijing Academy of Educational Sciences 2006a, 2006b). This may explain both students' and teachers' awareness of linking their self-image with national image, as they feel they must represent both Beijing and China to foreign visitors.

Close global-local relationship relating to the 2008 Beijing Olympics

As discussed above, despite their negligible direct personal global experiences, students highly value a global identity. Interviewed students and teacher share a common view that the preparatory activities for the Olympics have helped them to learn more about, and to understand better, the world. This could be related to the Beijing government's strategies to link the

preparation for the Olympics with its global aspirations. In 2001, Beijing announced its intention to become a 'world class' city by 2020 (Beijing People's Congress 2001); in the same year, Beijing was awarded the 2008 Olympics. The Beijing government adopted three strategies to use the Olympics as a vehicle to speed up its development and to pursue its own global vision. The first strategy incorporates global values into urban renewal, incorporating global values such as environmental protection and sustainability into the "Green Olympics" concept to guide the preparatory activities for the Game. "Green Olympics" refers to the primacy of environmental protection and ecologically-sound development in the planning, design and construction of facilities and infrastructure, such as the National Stadium and National Aquatics Center (better known as the "Bird's Nest" and "Water Cube", respectively).

The second strategy uses the Olympic Games as a driving force to recreate Beijing's international image in terms of economic development, social progress and living standards. This is expressed by the concept of "High-tech Olympics", which denotes the Beijing government's desire to use the development of high-tech Olympic facilities to showcase for its achievements and its capacity to apply high-tech innovations to production and to people's lives. Accordingly, Beijing's municipal government budgeted more than USD$23 billion for Games preparations, including the construction of Olympics facilities and improvements to transportation, telecommunications and environmental infrastructure (Beijing Organizing Committee for the Games of the XXIX Olympiad 2002).

The third strategy improves Beijing's international image by promoting Olympic education. As the host city for the 2008 Olympics, Beijing has an obligation to promote Olympic education, which, from the inception of the Modern Olympic Movement, has sought to fuse education with sport and culture to improve both the body and mind, to spread such ideals as discipline, focus, vision, commitment, and persistence, and to promote global values of peace, friendship and solidarity throughout the world (International Olympic Committee 2007). In Beijing, the scope of Olympic education was broadened to include spreading Olympic knowledge, spirit and awareness, encouraging Games-related volunteerism, and exhorting its citizenry to greater civility and hospitality in the treatment of foreign guests. The Olympic education program involved schools, local communities, business sectors and individual citizens. In particular, Beijing used Olympic education as a channel to increase citizen's knowledge, understanding, and

awareness of the global community, fostering among Beijing people a sense of participation in, and contribution to, the global event in Beijing. This may explain students' awareness of global issues and the importance they attach to global citizenship.

Thus, the Beijing government has used the Olympic Games to create a closer global-local relationship that fosters the city's goal of becoming a world-class city. This has implications for people's global perspectives ▬ even though they have had little direct contact with the global community, students can feel the impact of a global event on their city's development. As commented by a teacher in an interview, "the preparation for the Olympics Games has quickened the development of Beijing, linking Beijing city and Beijing's people closer to the world".

Conclusion

With reference to three secondary schools in Beijing, this study has examined how students perceive multiple identities at four levels - self, local, national, and global - and how their perceptions of multiple identities are affected by the sociopolitical and educational context of China. This study's findings have three implications for existing literature on globalization, citizenship, and citizenship education. First, the findings provide empirical data on emerging individualism among Chinese students identified by previous studies of citizenship education in China. The author has argued elsewhere that the meaning of individualism in the Chinese context is controversial, and that individualism in China may not be understood in the Western sense, as Western individualism is still very much rejected by the CPC (Cheung & Pan 2006). Previous studies (e.g., Fairbrother 2008, Lee 1996, Lee & Ho 2005) have argued for the emergence of individualism in China's citizenship education policy, which states that, since the 1990s, there has been an increasing emphasis on individual wellbeing, individual legal rights and responsibilities, personality and moral character in China's citizenship education. Their arguments, however, are based on policy studies, without the support of empirical data, a shortcoming that can be partially remedied by this study. Similar to their counterparts in Shanghai (Law & Ng 2009), Beijing students identify personal and self dimensions of identity as the most important in their perceptions of the relative importance of the above-mentioned four dimensions of identities. This study suggests that the emergence of individualism among Beijing students is a response to the new socialist era in China and to emerging global values. The

widespread social value of self-importance could serve as a hidden curriculum informing students' self-identity.

The second implication of this study challenges the image of global citizenship forwarded by those globalization theorists who assert that nation-specific citizenship will decline in importance as national boundaries are eroded by global traffic in goods, services and ideas, and who suggest the need to shift from national to global citizenship in a global age (Castles & Davidson 2000, Delanty 2000). This study has demonstrated that, on the contrary, nation-specific citizenship continues to be significant and essential, while the importance of global citizenship can be imagined and rhetorical. Drawing on quantitative and qualitative data, this study has demonstrated that students share a strong central tendency in their affective orientation toward their national identity. This result is consistent with previous studies of citizenship education in China (e.g., Law & Ng 2009, Li 2009, Szelenyi & Rhoads 2007) that found that Chinese students, whether studying in China or abroad, feel loyalty towards China and show high emotional attachment to the country. This phenomenon can be seen as the result of political socialization. As the state' agent for political socialization, China's education system continues to emphasize political loyalty and national goals (*e.g.* upholding the CPC's political ideology, patriotism, advancing government policy, and protecting Chinese culture against foreign influence); local education systems have likewise been used to promote the CPC's views on and interpretations of citizenship (Law 2006). Moreover, this study has shown that the national education system and school curricula can help generate a strong sense of national identity by promulgating national myths and heroes as embodiments of national pride. As a result, both the nation state and schools serve as a powerful generator of national identity among students.

Moreover, the national border is significant to students' perceptions of citizenship. As shown in this study, students' expressions of multiple identities feature "place-related identity", i.e., their strong identity is linked with a sense of rootedness in and belonging to their city and the country in which they have lived. This implies that residence within the politically defined territory is significant to the sense of attachment. Relating to national borders, symbols of state sovereignty such as the flag and national landmarks are visible icons of the nation state, making national identity more readily "seen" and "felt" by students. In this sense, this study agrees that

globalization has not usurped the nation state's political power in defining citizenship within its territory (Held 1999, Marginson 1999).

The third implication of this study supplements the literature of multileveled citizenship education. The findings support existing theoretical frameworks for multileveled citizenship and citizenship education, and strengthen them with empirical evidence. The study agrees with Gamble (2002) and Szelenyi & Rhoads (2007) that the individual identities of people in a multileveled polity are not singular, but multiple, and that citizenship education has come to play an important role in shaping students' views and experiences of multiple identities in a global age. This study also support Law's (2007) argument that the formation and acquisition of multiple identities in a multileveled polity is a complex and dynamic processes and a reflection of the intertwined interplay among the global forces, the nation state, local government, and the individual.

Compared with previous studies, this study has important theoretical implications for the literature of multileveled citizenship education and citizenship education in China. First, this study provides an alternative perspective for understanding the pattern of individuals' nation-local identities. Existing studies suggest that constructing or sustaining individuals' simultaneous national-local identities involves the struggle for managing multiple loyalties and sense of belonging to multi-localities (Ross 2007a, Stern 2001, Xiong 1996). Works by Law (2007) and Law and Ng (2009) show that Shanghai students identify as strongly with their nation as with their city, while Hong Kong students do not — they feel more proud of their city's achievements than their Chinese identity. Despite the difference, students in both cities are more concerned with local than national development, due in part to the role of local government and local political context. In Shanghai, although the school curriculum is nationally-dominated and embedded in a political culture prescribed by the ruling party, local government nonetheless attempt to promote collective identity among its citizens. In Hong Kong, the national sociopolitical component of school curriculum has been less nationally-dominated and is less related to China' ruling party; also Hong Kong's post-colonial government does not compel (though it strongly encourages) all schools to practice national education.

This study finds, by contrast, that students did not struggle to manage national-local identities. They feel little clear distinction between national and local identity, recognizing their dual nature.

As discussed above, this is largely due to four characteristics of Beijing's specific sociopolitical and educational contexts: the lack of "political distance" between the local and the national, the lack of specific local (Beijing) elements and examples in Beijing's junior secondary citizenship curriculum, the intertwining of national and local issues in appeals for citizen participation, and the simultaneous representation of both nation and city by Beijing's visible historical and cultural heritage. As citizens of China's capital city, Beijing students' local and national identities are inextricably linked. In this sense, local and national identities are not necessarily clearly distinct from, and struggle with each other, but can be blurred.

Second, this study suggests that young people's stated global identity can be a conceptualized relationship between self and world, with few real points of contact with the global community. Despite showing global awareness, students' global identities are mainly expressed in terms of values and ideas, and lack concrete examples; they showed cognitive orientation towards global identity and share in global values, but lack affective attachment to the global community. One important reason for this is that students' views on and knowledge about the world are mainly imparted to them by adults through (for example) citizenship education, and owe little to personal experience or participation and function in the global community. The effects of globalization on students' sense of global identity are largely indirect. From the students' view, the most important elements in forming their identities are knowledge and values more easily "felt" or "understood", and having more direct relation with their personal life experience within particular territorial boundaries. Though the preparatory activities for the Olympics Games gave the subject students exposure to a global event, most were too young to participate officially. Although the Internet provides students with opportunities to feel a "direct" connection to the world, it remains only a virtual world; in reality, social factors, such as family backgrounds, socio-cultural environment and age limit students' direct participation in global activities.

Given that identity is an expression of individuals' relationships with others in social contexts and would be meaningless if divorced from social settings (Hall & du Gay 1996), and that non-national identity can be seen as a cultural identity involving a feeling of belonging to a "imagined community" (Anderson 1983, Painter & Philo 1995), Beijing students' perceptions of global identity exemplifies the imagined personal-global relationship and sense of membership in the global community.

Third, based on students' perceptions of multiple identities, this study identifies the limitation of multiple citizenship education. In the context of Beijing, the transmission of multiple citizenship seeks to socialize students to a particular set of values and knowledge at cognitive and affective levels; developing students' evaluative orientation towards civil society is lacking. As shown above, Beijing has incorporated elements of multiple identity at four dimensions (global, national, local, and self) into its citizenship education policy and curriculum. Students' preference for various components of citizenship education shows that their perception of multiple identities mainly concerns cognitive and affective levels. For example, the most important constituent elements in students self, local, national, and global identities include: self-regarding (or self-interested) values and behaviors (*e.g.*, personal growth, self-image, and civilized behavior); a sense of rootedness and belonging (being born and bred in the city and country); the individual's affective attachment to the country (*e.g.*, love of country, national pride, observance of national rituals); and students' perceived involvement in the international community (*e.g.*, communicating better with foreigners, fighting terrorism, promoting world peace, environment protection). In contrast, the least important constituent elements include: other-regarding (or society-minded) values and behaviors (*e.g.*, hospitality and sympathy); the city's image and development; the country's international reputation; ways in which they want Beijing, China and the world to improve; and the symbolic icons of the global community.

Students' choice of constituent elements of multiple identities can reflect what they have received and developed from school citizenship education, because learning involves the internalization of values and beliefs prescribed by educator and curricula, which then inform learners' personal values and goals (Asakawa & Csikszentmihalyi 2000). As seen from students' choices, evaluative orientation (i.e., students' values and judgments about individual civil rights and their responsibilities as members of the local, national, and global communities) is lacking. Moreover, interview data shows that students' evaluative orientation towards multiple identities focuses on citizens' obligations and commitments (e.g., patriotism, respecting global cultural diversity, observing regulations and obeying laws). Values and judgments of civil rights and responsibilities (e.g., voting in elections and giving opinions to local, national or international agencies) are less obvious in students' views of "a good adult citizen". This empirical finding is consistent with policy studies by Law (2009) and Fairbrother (2008), which argue that personal and social dimensions of citizenship education in China are more oriented towards observing

regulations, assuming responsibilities, and maintaining social stability and legitimacy than the entitlement to rights. Given that the ''making of citizens'' depends largely on how the citizens are socialized with their cognitive, affective and evaluative orientations (Hughes 1902, Li 2009, Merriam 1931), this study suggests the need for China's educational policymakers and practitioners to incorporate thinking, value, and judgment at evaluative level into multileveled citizenship education.

This study has shown that students manage their multiple identities in three ways – through real life practice, through the internalization of values and beliefs prescribed by citizenship curricula, and through the imagery of their assumed relationship to the world. Thus, students are not only consumers of citizenship education, but also active participants in the construction of multiple identities. Their attachments to global, national and local communities are not merely determined by educational providers, but also influenced by their impression of, and participation in, these communities. Students' perceptions of multiple identities reflect their experience of developing relations between self, city, country and the world. How to prepare young people to become informed, responsible and participative citizens of communities at all levels (from the local, national, to the global, and increasingly, virtual) is still in the subject of academic debate. How to foster young people to become reflective and responsible citizens is a challenge facing citizenship education in China, especially as China is playing an increasing important role in the global community. This study provides an understanding of young people's perception of multiple identities in the specific context of China's Beijing in a global age.

Table 1
Ten most important aspects of civic awareness as expressed by students

Rank	Civic Awareness	Mean*	Domain
1	Behaving responsibly	3.8013	Personal-social domain
2	Strengthening my confidence	3.7958	Personal-social domain
3	I have great love for China	3.7746	National domain
4	I am proud of China's traditional culture	3.7690	National domain
5	I remain solemn during national flag raising ceremonies	3.7636	National domain
6	Terrorism is never justified	3.7632	Global domain
7=	I am proud of the scientific and technological achievements of contemporary China	3.7586	National domain
7=	I am proud of Beijing's traditional cultures	3.7586	Local domain
9	Accepting someone of a different race or ethnicity as a friend	3.7582	Personal-social domain
10	The cultures of all nations (including China) should be exchanged and learned from	3.7560	Global domain

*1 = not at all important/ strongly disagree to 4 = very important/strongly agree

Table 2
Ten least important aspects of civic awareness as expressed by students

Rank	Civic Awareness	Mean*	Domain
1	I would prefer to live permanently in another country (than China)	2.5823	National domain
2	I would prefer to live permanently in another city (than Beijing) in China	2.5889	Local domain
3	The state should set the local development of Beijing as a top priority	3.0689	Local domain
4	In national meetings, other areas in China should take heed of Beijing's view	3.1029	Local domain
5	The world would be a better place if citizens of other countries were like citizens of China	3.1245	National domain
6	China would be a better place if citizens from other cities were like citizens of Beijing	3.1975	Local domain
7	Generally speaking, Beijing is a better city than most other cities in China	3.2301	Local domain
8	I am more concerned with the development of Beijing than with that of China	3.2377	Local domain
9	Generally speaking, China is a better country than most other countries in the world	3.2546	National domain
10	It does not matter to me where I live in the world	3.2895	Global domain

*1 = not at all important/ strongly disagree to 4 = very important/strongly agree

Table 3

Means of the importance of civic awareness in selected aspects as expressed by students[**]

Civic awareness	Mean[*]	Domain
Developing healthy character and life habits	3.7495	Personal-social domain
Studying hard	3.7007	
Managing time well	3.6271	
Controlling my emotions well	3.7345	
Enhancing my self-esteem	3.7217	
Queuing up to take public buses or buy tickets	3.7577	
Helping someone new to feel at home	3.4795	
Helping someone who is less well off than me	3.3156	
Listening to someone else's point of view	3.7163	
I am proud to live in Beijing	3.5910	Local domain
I care about Beijing's developments	3.5533	
I am proud of my local (i.e. Beijing) identity	3.5935	
The national flag of China is very important to me	3.7308	National domain
I am willing to attend national flag raising ceremonies	3.7175	
I am proud to live in China	3.6951	
I have great care for China	3.7234	
I am proud of my national identity	3.7051	
The flag of the United Nations is very important to me	3.4695	Global domain
I am willing to participate in activities promoting world peace	3.7441	
I am willing to participate in activities promoting environment protection throughout the world	3.7433	
I care about peace in the world	3.7478	
I am proud to be a citizen of the world	3.7321	
I am willing to improve my proficiency in foreign language(s) to communicate better with foreigners	3.7437	

*1 = not at all important/ strongly disagree to 4 = very important/strongly agree

** Only items used in this article are displayed here.

Acknowledgements

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Note:

[1] For example, the Great Wall was built to defend the empire against invasion; the Forbidden City was the Chinese imperial palace; the Summer Palace was the royal gardens; and the Temple of Heaven was the royal family's private temple. All were built in the imperial style, served the emperors and represented imperial power.

[2] The Ministry of Public Security issued the *Citizens Fight against Terrorist Attack Manual* (*gongmin fangfan kongbu xiji shouce*) as China was tightening security in the preparation for the Olympic Games.   The booklet teaches Beijing citizens how to identify suspicious substances, and how to escape from or even stop a terrorist attack. The Ministry also announced awards ranging from RMB10,000 to 500,000 yuan (1,449 to 72,463 US dollars) for people providing useful tips to stop serious crimes during the Games. Source of data: (China Daily Reporter 2008).