

**College Students' Experiences of Political Socialization as Members of the
Communist Youth League: A Case Study**

By

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A Thesis Submitted to
The Education University of Hong Kong
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for
the Degree of Doctor of Education

August 2021

STATEMENT OF ORIGINALITY

I, HU, Die, hereby declare that I am the sole author of the thesis and the material presented in this thesis is my original work except those indicated in the acknowledgement. I further declare that I have followed the University's policies and regulations on Academic Honesty, Copyright and Plagiarism in writing the thesis and no material in this thesis has been submitted for a degree in this or other universities.



ABSTRACT

Political socialization facilitates the process of communication, maintenance and development of political culture. Much has been written about the processes that influence political socialization and its effects in terms of developing political trust and supporting political participation. Yet, little is known about the ways college students in China actually experience these processes or acquire the outcomes. The political socialization of college students is an aspect of tertiary education and has implications for the integration of students into the dominant political culture as well as civil society. Of particular interest is the way political participation is encouraged and how political trust is developed.

Because Chinese college students have the opportunity to participate in the Chinese Communist Youth League (CYL), a sample of student members and teachers were selected for participation in the study. The sample was stratified by gender and different disciplines to which the participating students belonged to. An interview protocol was developed so that the same or similar questions could be asked of all participants. A broadly interpretivist framework was used to guide the methodology since the aim of this study was to understand political socialization experiences from the students' perspectives.

This qualitative study will provide insights into political socialization in the Chinese context about which little is currently known. It will produce new understandings that can complement and extend the current literature and will have implications for policy, theory and practice. The research questions were: How do students as members of the CYL understand the processes of

political socialization? Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political trust? Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political participation? What are the other influences on college students' political socialization in addition to CYL membership? I argue that the political socialization of CYL members does facilitate and help their participation, which in turn strengthens their political trust of the government and the Party. A cycle of the positive relations between political socialization and political participation on the one hand, and between political participation and political trust on the other hand is the major finding of my study.

Keywords: political socialization, political participation, political trust, Communist Youth League.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

In this study, I extremely appreciate my supervisors, Prof. Kerry John Kennedy and Dr. Zhao Zhenzhou for their guidance, advice and encouragement throughout its course. Especially, I was deeply impressed by their feedback and suggestions. I have learned a lot from them and made great progress in these three years of studying.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPC	Chinese Communist Party
CAST	China Association for Science and Technology
CCTV	China Central Television
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CYL	Communist Youth League
NPC	National People's Congress
PRC	People's Republic of China
PRCMOE	People's Republic of China Ministry of Education
RCSC	Red Cross Society of China



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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter introduces the main research questions of the study, the research design, the main arguments, the research significance of this research, and finally describes the organizational structure of the thesis. The chapter is made of six parts: Section 1.2 introduces the aims of this study. Section 1.3 presents the key research questions. Section 1.4 shows the research design. Section 1.5 lists the main arguments and significance. Section 1.6 outlines the structure of this thesis.

1.2 Study Purpose

This study aimed to explore tertiary students' political socialization experiences using a qualitative approach. It also explored the relations between political socialization, political trust and political participation. Improved access to education, the changing nature of families and enhanced communication among peers all pose great challenges to the political socialization of college students. Studies have shown that Chinese students have both positive attitudes to democracy as well as being aware of the constraints of their social environment attitude. They hold very strong views about their country and their citizenship (Cheung et al., 2018). Research has also shown that that students' level of political knowledge affects the acceptance of democratic principles, attitudes toward specific issues, and political participation (Finkel, 1985). Researchers found that political efficacy is a positive predictor on conventional participation and unconventional participation (Balch, 1974; Diemer & Rapa, 2016).

The political socialization of college students is a process for them to learn and absorb social and political culture, improve their political quality, and grow into politically qualified social citizens. According to Mischler and Rose (1997), trust is crucial for the government because it is not based on coercion like other regimes, and it is very important for the representation relationship. Political participation is the commonest and the most effective process for political socialization. Ma (2017) stated that it inspires and motivates people to participate in social and political life, to experience the meaning of political life personally, and finally, to understand the rights, obligations and responsibilities of a member of the political system. Political socialization, trust and participation are correlated. According to studies, there is a consensus reached that trust is of great importance to the political system; for instance, it promotes legitimacy; it is conducive to stabilizing a regime; and it provides discretionary power to political elites (Abravanel & Busch, 1975). By analyzing data on the political trust status of college students political trust under the COVID-19 epidemic, Li and Bian (2021) found that “the degree of trust in the three main subjects of political trust is arranged as follows: the degree of trust in the political system > the degree of trust in government institutions > the degree of trust in government staff” (p. 42).

It might be that the university education environment has an independent and positive impact on political participation rather than being limited to the establishment of a learning environment and the transfer of basic knowledge. The research provides abundant empirical evidence that civic education plays different roles in society (Kennedy et al., 2012). Fairbrother (2003a) also noted that people’s understanding and reaction are affected by citizenship and civic education to some extent, and they also play a hidden role in spreading civic awareness and shaping the citizenship of students. In addition, an open classroom environment fosters the willingness of young people to become informed voters (Campbell, 2008).

Understanding university students' political socialization from different perspectives and identifying different theoretical perspectives has enriched and deepened the understanding of political socialization. Yet, there is a need to understand in greater depth how university students both engage in and respond to political socialization initiatives. Most studies on university students' political socialization focus on such aspects as family, school and media, with little attention to the influence of peers. Yu (2009) noted that the influence of peer groups on college students' ideological and political education is an important research topic that has not been fully explored.

In the Chinese context, university students' joining the Communist Youth League (CYL) and participating in its activities serves as an important process of political participation. The CYL aims at the political socialization of the youth, including both ideological and political theory learning, varied practical activities and the organization of life training. Doyon (2017) discussed the role of the CYL in the recruitment and promotion of cadres since the 1980s. Research found that at that time, the leaders' need to recruit loyal young cadres developed the sponsorship flow system to update the elite of the party. Xu (2012) also discussed CYL issues. The results show that the political capital given by the CYL has given enough power to legalize voluntary service under the current regime, which may restrict its political capital. Graziani (2014) also discussed CYL issues and observed the impact of the Cultural Revolution on the Chinese Communist Youth League. He introduced the history of the CYL from its establishment in 1920 to the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese war in 1937. In addition, insufficient attention has been paid to studies to the role of the CYL of political socialization in the Chinese context. This study will provide insight into the context of political socialization in China, which has not been much explored .

The purpose of this study was to understand students' political socialization experiences, therefore, to provide insights into political socialization in China. It has produced new understandings that can complement and extend the current literature and implications for policy, theory and practice. The CYL is an essential organizational feature of China's current political socialization system that fulfills a unique function, having its own advantages in guiding young people to learn political knowledge. The CYL organizational system guarantees the continuity of youth political socialization in a chronological manner, from secondary schools to university education and even after students graduate. Through focusing on the roles of the CYL in the university setting, the study has revealed the complicated relationship between political socialization, political trust and political participation among the Chinese youth and enlightened the political participation activities of university students in contemporary Chinese society.

1.3 Research Questions in the Study

This study has:

1. Proposed a political socialization model reflecting the CYL background; and
2. Assessed the relationship between political trust and political participation.

There were four key research questions (RQ):

RQ1: How do students as members of CYL understand the processes of political socialization?

RQ2: Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political trust?

RQ3: Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political participation?

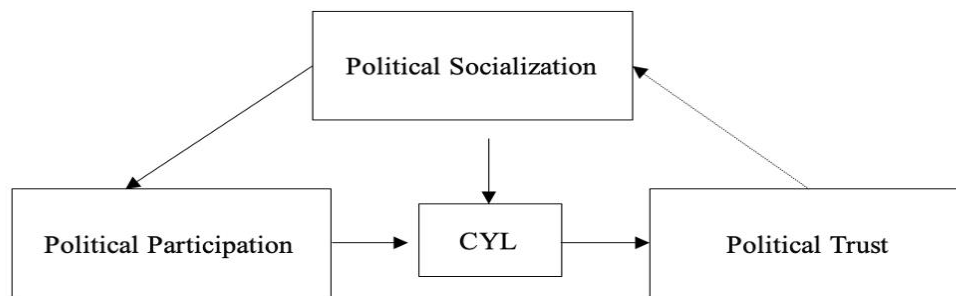
RQ4: What are the other influences on college students' political socialization in addition to CYL membership?

1.4 Research Design of the Study

This study constructed a framework that deemed political socialization, political trust and political participation as a cyclic process related to the political system (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

A Cyclic Process of the Political System



Description of the Research Framework

This study has emphasized the process of university students' politicization in the context of the CYL's political system. That is, students gain political knowledge that will function in turn in their own political practice. Socialization, political trust and political participation are understood as mutually influential processes.

The relationship that this study focused on was the relationship between the political socialization and the political trust of university students in the context of the CYL: political socialization conveys political awareness to university students through a variety of carriers, being the inevitable way for university students to study political culture. As a result of effective

political socialization, university students will accept political orientation and display political trust.

The relationship between political trust and the political participation of university students: the degree of political trust may influence university students' political participation and, meanwhile, the students may develop their agency in the process of participating in the various activities on campus.

The relationship between political participation and political socialization: the result of political participation can affect political socialization and lead to the improvement within the whole system; the adjustment and improvement of the CYL system are also the impetus for university students' political participation.

This study stressed that the relationship between political socialization, political trust and political participation is a complete process. It can be seen that political socialization, political trust and political participation interact with each other to make the whole system work better. Specifically, this is the case: the political system of university students (the CYL) forms a special political environment, and the political socialization of university students is to transmit such dominant political consciousness to university students through the CYL. Then, university students express their own political demands by participating in political life and becoming part of the political system. Once their voices are heard, the political system (the CYL) will inevitably make corresponding adjustments in the formulation of its specific system, and then continue to influence the direction of the next round of university students' political socialization. This is a complete interactive process of political socialization, political trust and political participation.

1.5 Significance of the Study

This study examined the Chinese university students' political socialization process through investigating the CYL's roles on university campuses, which can help to reveal Chinese experience in theoretical studies on political socialization. In light of this, the CYL guides the political socialization of the youth, including both ideological and political theory learning and varied practical activities as well as the organization of life training. These practical activities combine in numerous ways and methods of civic education in Western countries. In addition, Chinese academic circles pay insufficient attention to studies on the means of political socialization from the CYL perspective, so the theoretical value of this study has Chinese characteristics.

The study on the relationship between political socialization, political trust and political participation not only enlightens the political participation activities of university students to some extent, but also offers certain inspirations for the future political participation of students after entering the society. The CYL is an essential organizational system in China's current political socialization campaign that fulfills a unique function, having its own advantages in guiding young people to learn political knowledge. For example, the CYL organizational system shapes the Chinese students' political socialization continuously throughout the schooling process, and the corresponding CYL organizations in universities and even after students graduate. Moreover, suggestions from the study are for both the ideological and political education work in colleges and universities and the CYL construction work in colleges and universities, such as curriculum planning and design, and the improvement and arrangement of the CYL activities.

From a practical point of view, the CYL of colleges and universities assumes the role of promoting the development of young people and training them to become good citizens. Among all these functions undertaken by the CYL, improving the process of the political socialization of college students constitutes an important component. In view of the fact that there are few studies on the political socialization of college students from the perspective of the CYL, this study can more effectively inspire people's understanding of the political socialization of college students and provide a new knowledge-based political education model for political education in colleges and universities. This study can also make great contributions to the practice of political socialization of college students from various aspects via the investigation on the process and structure of political socialization. Accessing to the professional knowledge of political socialization and figuring out how to use it in the political practice of the CYL are conducive to cultivating college students who are 'good citizens' with sound political concepts and rationality.

It is obvious that college students have been regarded as the builders of China and the backbone of the political and economic development of the country for a long time. They hold the political attitude and value orientation advocated by the political system and have adapted to the social system in order to participate in political activities and guide political behaviors. Given the landscape of globalization, the goal of political socialization, political identity and political cultural identity have brought new challenges. This study will help understand the new characteristics of the political socialization of college students in the era of globalization and take it as the basis for the construction of the CYL system.

1.6 Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into eight chapters. The introduction showed the main research questions of the study, the research design, the main arguments and the research significance of this research, and finally described the organizational structure of the thesis. The first chapter has introduced the main questions of this research and explained the significance of the research and the organizational structure of the thesis. Chapter 2 reviews the literature on political socialization, political trust and participation. It also reviews the main model of political participation and the meaning of college students' political participation. It also reviews the relations between political socialization, trust and participation. And then, it discusses the empirical research on political socialization, trust and participation studies and the research gap. Chapter 3 will discuss China's CYL and its political education in China's higher education. It will explain what the CYL is and discuss its roles as a political education in Chinese colleges in order to find out how the CYL schools trains its members. It will explain the theory of political participation of socialism with Chinese characteristics. This section will also show the research conceptual framework. Chapter 4 will explore students' political socialization experiences using qualitative methods. It will firstly outline the research settings and then explain the research methods of the data collection and analysis. It will explain the fieldtrip observations and document analysis. It will also explain the ethical issues and limitations of the research methods. Chapter 5 addresses the types of college students' political participation in the CYL. It will find out activities that the informants personally experienced. This chapter will also discuss the students' perceptions of the CYL activities. Students' critical reflections on the CYL's activities will also be shown in this chapter as well as the teachers' perceptions. Chapter 6 will show the results of the interviews with some CYL members in order to understand their views on the

world, life and values and their ideas on the country, the government and the world. It was found according to the interview contents that college students had different reasons to participate in the social practice activities organized by the CYL. It will present the attitudes towards CYL identity. It will also show the findings of the values of college CYL members. Chapter 6 also presents the results related to the college students' political participation. Chapter 7 will discuss the results in relation to the research questions with a focus on the implication of the results for theory, policy and practice. Chapter 8 will draw the research to a close. It will provide a summary of the thesis. It will also narrate theoretical and empirical contributions of the research to the political socialization of the college students. This chapter will also outline the research limitations and then highlights the implications for future research. Finally, it will draw the thesis to a close.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW AND CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The first chapter introduced the main questions of this research and explained its significance, and the organizational structure of the thesis. This chapter contains eight sections: Section 2.2 reviews the literature on political socialization. Section 2.3 reviews the literature on political trust. Section 2.4 reviews the literature on political participation. Section 2.5 reviews the literature on political indoctrination and also relations between political socialization, trust and participation. Section 2.6 discusses the empirical research on about Chinese university students' political socialization, trust and participation studies. Section 2.7 discusses the research gap. Section 2.8 is a summary.

2.2 Political Socialization

Greenstein (1968) noted that political socialization includes formal and informal, intentional and unplanned learning of political attitudes at every stage of life history. Such political learning covers not only explicit political learning but also non-political learning that influences political behavior. He and Ma (2008) mentioned that Easton defined political socialization as the development process of people's access to political orientation and behavior patterns in 1969. In Almond et al.'s (1963) view, a process of socialization happens throughout people's lives. From the perspective of individuals, political socialization is a process in which social members internalize political culture in order to meet the requirements of political society by learning and

mastering political knowledge and skills. Political socialization does not intend to simply express the existing political culture to the new generations, and it facilitates to cultivate the ideal talents of the future society in order to promote the development of political culture. Almond et al. (2007) defined political culture as a set of political attitudes, beliefs and feelings popular in a specific time. Political socialization plays a pivotal role in the developmental political system, as it can help students learn political knowledge, master political skills, and internalize political culture. The coverage of political socialization is diverse, and it is also a long-term process. In addition to schools, it includes the political system (government) itself, families, peer groups and future workplace.

Östman (2014) pointed out that the current research on political socialization challenges many early norms and attitude communication studies. It reflected on people's increasing attention to the participation of young people themselves, rather than the memory of political facts and the attitude support for the political system. The political socialization process led by young people cannot only expand, but can also challenge the recognized wisdom of the traditional adult political socialization model (Gordon & Taft, 2011). As Wang (2016) mentioned: the political socialization of lifelong learning emphasizes that an individual's political attitude can change during his life. However, the possibility of change does not necessarily mean that change will occur. This change depends on whether a person has mastered unexpected information or experienced unexpected events. This approach involves personal experience emphasized by cultural and institutional theory. Young people's understanding of events and background, their degree of identity and the way they represent society are important factors affecting their participation in the form of political socialization. Political socialization seems to

be related to the status of young people in society, which may be the focus of their understanding of the world (Barkas & Chryssochoou, 2017).

Quintelier (2015) found that over time, all political socialization factors will affect the initial level and development of political participation. Peer and voluntary associations have the greatest impact on the initial level and development of political participation. More specifically, schools are the promoters of political socialization. They formally instill political beliefs through conscious and planned teaching and through unintentional and accidental experiences in the school environment. Specific political courses affect young people's understanding of political issues (Reidy et al., 2015). Researchers also pointed out that youth organizations can be used as a tool for socialization, strengthen members' political participation and provide them with valuable civic knowledge and skills. As a matter of fact, youth organizations can empower their members to become agents of political socialization in peer groups (Terriquez et al., 2020).

Zhang (2013) also mentioned that the particularity of college students is that they have more opportunities and ways to participate in political socialization. For example, the ideological and political education courses offered by colleges and universities are the main channel of college students' political socialization. A series of social practice activities which they carry out in colleges and universities are an important link of their political participation, and campus culture plays an unconscious role in the process of college students' political socialization. Moreover, participatory classroom activities and democratic peer norms contribute to young citizen action in the process of youth democratic civil socialization. Researchers highlight the powerful online participation channels, mainly focusing on news consumption and political expression through digital media technology, and show the key role of the Internet in this dynamic (Lee et al., 2013).

The political socialization shapes young people's political values through building their understanding of political phenomena. Research shows that the majority of contemporary college students have a positive attitude towards politics. For example, according to a survey conducted by Qiu et al. (2011), 87.6% of university students identified being concerned about China's influence in the world; 53.1% of them paid attention to the annual two sessions (two sessions refers to the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference); and 92.8% of them full of confidence that China will become a developed and powerful country. The result shows that Chinese university students have a strong sense of political identity and national pride. Meanwhile, the survey data indicated that the value orientation of most university students is collectivism-oriented. Similarly, in another research study, Zhao and Li (2010) found out that when answering the question of "how to choose between personal interest and collective interest when they are in conflict"; 76% of the students chose to maintain collective interest. As for the question of "whether taking social responsibility and promoting dedication is important", 79.9% of them gave the answer of "very important". With regards to the question of "whether advocating teamwork spirit is important", 82.5% chose "very important". Concerning the question of "how to choose the means of achieving personal ideal", 81.8% chose to "strive hard" (p. 17). Moreover, Zou et al. (2010) conducted a survey on the status quo of online political participation by students in eight colleges and universities of Guangdong Province. The researchers carried out this survey from October to November 2009 and distributed 400 questionnaires. The results showed that university students were highly concerned about public affairs and national and political events, with active online political participation. Their study also found out that university students tended to identify with

the dominant ideology and expressed a high level of support and recognition for the political system.

The education of civic obligations and rights serves as a significant part of students' political socialization. Rights and obligations lie in the core of civic awareness cultivation in the process of Chinese university students' political socialization (Qin et al., 2008). However, Li (2013) found that when being asked what specific rights are enjoyed, 55.9% of them chose "have a general idea, but not very clear" (p. 78). This implies that university students have a high awareness of their rights, but lack systematic study and practice especially in the ways and means of exercising and defending these rights. Moreover, in terms of the relationship between rights and obligations, their understanding is imbalanced with a primary focus on their rights. Li's (2013) survey also registered "that 59.9% of university students believe that contemporary university students' civic awareness takes on the trend of strong sense of rights and weak sense of responsibilities" (p. 79).

All in all, the present study considered the political socialization of Chinese university students in both a broad sense and a narrow sense. Broadly speaking, it referred to the process of young students receiving political culture, including all kinds of political learning: formal and informal, intentional and unintentional, direct and indirect learning and internalization of political culture. Youth political socialization includes multiple agencies, including family, school, peer groups, media, and online communities. In a narrow sense, it is the process of repeated education and the training of political knowledge, political values and political practice by institutions responsible for higher political education. Its education is not only the education of cultural skills but also political education through social practice and organizational life

training and practice, so that the youth receive political education and life outlook education in the group. Moreover, the CYL integrates a variety of channels for socializing the Chinese youth, including schools, peer groups, other social institutions and mass media.

2.3 Political Trust

Adorno et al.(1950) and others believed that political trust is the confidence of citizens in the government and institutions. Similarly, Schoon and Cheng (2011) believed that political trust is the belief of citizens that institutions are competent and provide services fairly. According to Levi and Stoker (2000), there has been a decline in political and social trust of some advanced industrial democracies. Catterberg and Moreno (2006) also mentioned that the expansion of world democracy is accompanied by the decline of political trust. Mischler and Rose (2012) raised a question about the source of political trust. In the Chinese context, Cheng (2004) defined political trust as “a broad-based belief of social members in such aspects as political system, political structure, public policy and government officials” (p. 35). As Shi (2001) pointed out, political trust is a belief independent from political output and performance in the short term and is also one of the decisive factors for political stability. Shangguan et al. (2011) concluded that political trust is “a political phenomenon which refers to the belief, entrustment and expectation generated from public direct or indirect interaction with the political system” (p. 99). Although scholars differ greatly in their understanding of the concept of political trust concept, in essence, Song and Ma (2008) stated that “political trust has always been the public psychological ascription and emotional evaluation of a series of political activities related to political life” (p. 25). Similarly, Li (2014) also argued that public trust in the political system is “the psychological basis for the public to comply with government policies, an important factor affecting political

support which is of great significance to political stability and smooth operation of the political system” (p. 16).

Chinese researchers have endeavored to collect empirical evidence on political trust. According to Hu and Yin (2021), their research investigated the relevance of authoritarian culture and perceived institutional performance. They found that the largest proportion is the complaints with high specific support and diffusion support. What is worth mentioning is that there are still significant differences between the trustors of political institutions and the trustors of political actors. The average level of perceived institutional performance and the degree of adherence to traditional authoritarian culture is positively correlated with the possibility of becoming compliant, while both are negatively correlated with the possibility of becoming cynical. Li (2014) developed an analytical framework based on the psychological mechanism of political trust and regarded the data on China in the East Asian Social Survey (2008) to examine the political trust status of the contemporary Chinese public in terms of type, stability and source of political trust. The results show that the trust of contemporary Chinese public in different institutions to be ranked from high to low as follows: the central government, political parties, legislative bodies, the military, judicial organs and local governments. Among them, the level of trust in the central government and local governments is extremely different. Zhao and Gao (2013) found through a survey on six areas of Nanjing, Tianjin, Chongqing, Shenzhen, Lanzhou and Yinchuan, both urban residents and rural residents have a high degree of government trust. This research showed that the score for trust in the central government by rural residents and urban residents was respectively 4.47 and 4.09 (out of 5). The result also verified to a certain extent the judgment of many scholars on contemporary Chinese public’s differential political trust pattern for the central and local governments. Some other findings, however, show a more

complicated picture on political trust in China. For instance, Wang (2016) investigated the political trust of China students in Taiwan and found out that 50% of them showed a decline in the level of political trust, while 33% showed an increase in the level of trust.

Taken together, political trust could be defined in broad and narrow senses. In a broad sense, political trust emphasizes trust in the political system (such as institutions); political trust in a narrow sense underlines individuals' trust in the representatives of the political system and its various elements (such as officials and courts). Moreover, political trust is a kind of political attitude and an interaction between citizens and the political system, accumulated through long-term practice. It is a psychological tendency to decide whether to trust or not after an individual evaluates a political figure, government or policy. It differs from the perceptions or feelings expressed for specific social, political issues or public figures only. It is worth mentioning that political trust suggests the belief and recognition by citizens in their political system reflected in citizens' attitudes, evaluations or beliefs about the political system; political trust is the political relationship between citizens and the political system.

2.4 Political Participation

According to Huntington and Nelson (1989), political participation is the activity of civilians trying to influence government decision-making. Kabashima (1989) articulated that “political participation is the activity of ordinary citizens who aim to influence political decision-making” (p. 4). He states political participation is a practical activity, which does not include the psychological index of political knowledge. As an important political behavior of citizens, political participation has drawn more attention from researchers in the modern political science system, with the research on political participation further expanded and deepened. It involves

not only the participation behavior of various countries' citizens, but also the motivation, psychology and consciousness, etc. to engage in political participation.

Frateschi (2016) pointed out that participation deepens democracy and encourages the participation of minorities and citizens with weak political power in decision-making and public policy-making for the benefit of all people in the country. He also explained that democracy itself is an organizational model, which realizes collective interests and exercises political power in social public institutions on the premise of politically equal civil liberties and some principles of participation in decision-making. Benhabib (1996) argued that the guiding principle of political participation is equality and fairness among individuals. They have the same opportunity to exercise freedom of expression and the right to participate in political dialogue in a way that seeks to promote collective interests and general welfare. Gutmann (1987) mentioned that citizen participation in politics is very important for the continuation of democracy. It is important to provide students with full opportunities in order to participate in some decisions that affect school life, so as to cultivate their sense of self-efficacy and encourage them to participate in the political life of the country. Students educated in different environments are also better able to participate in pluralistic democracy (Gurin, 1997). Johnson and Lollar (2002) indicated that in terms of university education, peer group and pre-university education, the higher the degree of diversity of exposure, the higher the level of cultural awareness and political participation.

Greenstein and Polsby (1996) contended that citizens of a country directly or indirectly express their collective or individual political will to formulate and implement government policies through certain ways and procedures. In short, this view holds that political participation

refers to the activities that do influence the government by legal means. However, with the development of a network, Zhang et al. (2010) mentioned that dependence on social networking sites is significantly correlated with the increase of citizen participation, but not with political participation. All in all, it can be seen that political participation means that citizens participate in national public political life through various legal means according to legal norms and political procedures, so as to affect the political decision-making of the national power system and supervise the political management of the government.

Political participation has captured the Chinese scholars' attention. For example, Zhou (1999) noted that "political participation refers to citizens' behavior of participating in social and political process in order to strive for, realize and maintain their own interests, and influence political decision-making directly and indirectly" (p. 5). Wu (2003) stated that political participation refers to the activities that ordinary people intervene in political life through various channels, trying to influence the operation mode and rules of the political system, especially the process of political decision-making. He further stated that university students' political participation is the activity in which contemporary university students participate in political life and influence political decision-making through institutionalized or non-institutionalized channels based on their cognition of the country's political status quo.

Information technology is rising as an important force in influencing Chinese citizens' political participation. Wang (1995) mentioned that network political participation refers to the political operation process on the Internet to express personal political will in order to maintain and realize personal interests, influence the formulation of a policy, change political decision-making, and supervise decision-making. With the development of Internet information and

modern communication technology, network has become a new way for social communication. Chen and Zang (2015) examined the relationship between information media and Chinese political participation behavior. The study is of practical significance to understanding Chinese citizen political trust level and institutional legitimacy. The data were extracted from the rural sample of the 2008 East Asian Social Survey . A total of 5,098 respondents from 29 provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions around China were surveyed, with an effective completion rate of 72.6%. Among them, there were 4,188 rural residents. Through Logit model analysis, the researchers analyzed the relationship between Chinese rural residents' political participation and media influence. The results showed that media use structure of Chinese rural residents focuses on television, especially supplemented by newspapers and interpersonal communication", which indicates that the use of the Internet needs to be improved. Different forms of information media have positive differentiating effects on rural residents' moderate political participation but they have no significant impact on rural residents' resistant political participation. Therefore, the current mass media plays a positive role in mobilizing the orderly political participation of Chinese residents in rural area.

Wider and more contemporary conception of political participation, together with more detailed measures of media use, can help to gain better insight into the roles that the media can play in affecting participatory behavior among the Internet generation (Bakker & de Vreese, 2011). Recently, digitization and globalization have continued to affect the nature and process of contemporary political participation. More importantly, the way that citizens participate in politics has been shaped by digital media (Bimber et al., 2012). It is obvious that globalization and digitization have affected the way in which voters participate in politics, because the Internet provides them with access to more information on political issues around the world. For example,

unwilling and non-voting voters can mobilize and motivate themselves to vote through social media activities. The digital age of social media and digital technology has widely expanded the choices of citizens to participate in politics. Moreover, social media is an important platform for Internet users to participate in real political activities (Ahmad & Ittefaq, 2019).

Online political activities are closely related to political awareness and offline political participation. Students actively use new media to obtain political information, such as sharing views and discussing political issues with community members (Arshad & Hassan, 2014). Badaru and Adu (2020) mentioned that the survival of democracy depends on citizens' active participation in the political process. There is a strong and positive relationship between students' use of mass media and their participation in politics. They suggested to carry out political education through mass media to improve students' interest and participation in politics. All in all, it can be seen that the understanding of political participation should not be limited to institutions and traditional ways. Contemporary research cannot ignore the way of online participation. It is obvious that netizens are accustomed to using the Internet to obtain information, express their opinions and put forward their demands, which has become the important symbol of modern society. Public opinion on the Internet often reacts on real society and has an impact on the formulation of real policies. At present, governments at all levels are very active in developing e-government and Internet service channels. With the above, citizens who are politically indifferent in reality become very active on the Internet because they can publish their opinions and views by hiding their identity and using a virtual one. For example, "electronic voting", political forum and other channels are used to draw political attention and participation to attract people to study political culture, deepen political cognition, improve political participation ability, and promote political socialization in various forms.

2.5 Political Indoctrination

The concept of indoctrination has always been the subject of debate in academic circles (Amsing & Dekker, 2020). Indoctrination is regarded as an educational method. It is determined not by the content taught, but by the way the content is taught. The purpose is to create a non-evidential belief style (Green, 1972). Snook (1972) claimed that in order to make teaching become indoctrination, it must be intentional or allow students to have the desire to hold these beliefs. Analysis showed the possible ways in which curricula and curriculum resources can be manipulated and used for political indoctrination (Mutch et al., 2018). Kridel (2013) stated that the learning of any course involves some form of value imposition, which may include guidance, indoctrination or hegemony. Dekker (2001) explained that when teachers impose their values on students, they may be regarded as knowledge indoctrination, but may also be regarded as cultural communication, which is one of the most important aspects of education. Peterson (2007) pointed out that indoctrination should be defined as the use of irrational teaching methods. He shifted the responsibility of indoctrination to teachers, pointing out that indoctrination is the result of specific content, and that teaching is carried out in a specific way to produce specific results. In other words, allowing students to hold beliefs in an irrational and non-critical way. Results showed that state indoctrination is working (Diwan & Vartanova, 2000). Huang (2015) revealed that propaganda is a signal that the state holds power, but it cannot effectively brainwash the educated. In particular, he found that students who know more about publicity are not more satisfied with the government, but they are more likely to believe that the government has a strong ability to maintain public order. Researchers investigated the relationship between science education, political inculcation and religious belief of university students in two parts of higher education in China. The results showed that the higher the students' evaluation of political

education curriculum, the higher the students' acceptance of political indoctrination (Li et al., 2018). Kazepides (1991) explained that only the first criterion - commitment to doctrinal beliefs - is a necessary and sufficient condition for indoctrination. He also stated that education should be based on rationality. Therefore, our educational institutions should not give space for doctrine.

Political indoctrination can also be part of political socialization. Indoctrination is commonly used in a negative way, but socialization tends to be regarded as being more positive and natural. The indoctrination element means that young people are urged to adopt the values and identity imparted to them without consciously knowing that it is indoctrination. Lin (2011) stated that the difference between ideological and political education and general education is that its educational purpose and educational process run through political indoctrination, in which ideology plays an important role. Indoctrination means the inculcation of ideological values and political attitudes into the psyche of the targeted citizens. Hoffman (1999) mentioned that moral education has historically been used to shape people's ideals in order to give full play to the priority of the political system by instilling consistency, obedience and social cohesion in Japanese youth. As Sun (2016) pointed out, political indoctrination continuously publicizes the political opinions and thoughts of political groups to the people in an organized, planned and purposeful way, resulting in social public opinion and a certain political and cultural atmosphere, so as to affect people's political cognition and political emotion. Political indoctrination could make the people be inclined to adopting specific politics from thought, emotion and behavior in order to lay the social foundation of specific political culture.

2.6 Relations between Political Trust, Participation and Socialization

Relations between Political Trust and Participation

In accordance with recent empirical studies, political trust has a significant predictive effect on political participation. Cheng (2009) stated that political trust, in essence, refers to the social public reasonable expectation for the political system and an interactive and cooperative relationship based on the system's response. Hetherington (2005) stated that this indirectly shows the consistency between government governance performance and citizens' expectations. Liu (2009) stated that the structure of political trust usually consists of three parts: trust in the political system, trust in government and policies, and trust in civil servants. In other words, a government with a high level of political trust has satisfied citizens who will voluntarily obey the law. Citizens cooperate with policy and identify with and support the government; at the same time, the satisfaction of the government will stimulate satisfaction with higher-level political systems, thus, increasing the stability and continuity of the political system. In addition, political trust makes citizens respond to the call from the government more actively and participate in varied public activities. Furthermore, the government's goals will be easier to accomplish.

The outcome of political trust behavior is reflected in the degree of support for public policy; that is, the higher the level of public trust, the higher the degree of support for public welfare policy. Sun et al. (2007) found that an important determinant for citizens to participate in village committee elections is their degree of trust in the Party committee and governments of towns. They also found that the higher the trust in governments at the basic level, the more likely they are to participate in elections. After a series of related factors (such as personal and family characteristics, regional characteristics and government behavior) which are controlled, the positive correlation between the level of trust and the probability of residents' participation in voting" still exists. In terms of Tang (2011), political trust has an enhanced effect on the motivation of public political participation. In short, higher political trust will lead to higher

evaluation of the activities once participated in, which further enhances the willingness and effectiveness of participation and promotes the occurrence of various participation behaviors.

However, some studies have found that there is a certain negative correlation between political trust and political participation. As Hu (2010) pointed out, some studies showed that there is only a weak correlation between residents' trust in their village committee and the township government and their participation in the election of the committee. The trust in their township government was negatively correlated with their participation. Shi (1999) found that residents' interest in and their understanding of politics, their ability to participate in political activities, their democratic awareness, and their increasing dissatisfaction with the leadership of the incumbent village committee leaders will strengthen their tendency to participate in elections. In other words, the residents' distrust of the committee will enhance their enthusiasm about elections.

In short, there is huge disagreement over the relations between political trust and political participation. It is undeniable that political trust and political participation are closely related. A favorable trust relationship will encourage citizens to participate in political activities collectively, and the extensive collective participation of citizens facilitates the improvement of government performance. Trust, by influencing political participation, effectively supervises and motivates the government while enhancing the quality of citizens' political and cultural life. In this way, a benign cycle is formed.

Relations between Political Socialization and Political Participation

Xu and Wang (2002) pointed out that political participation is a kind of political behavior of citizens; it is an important medium and a means to realize the political socialization of citizens and plays a decisive role in the actual effect of political socialization. They stressed that great progress has been made in the political participation of Chinese citizens, optimized by the political socialization function of political participation. To that end, on the one hand, we must strengthen the institutionalization of political participation, and on the other hand, improve political socialization in China in order to promote the smooth involvement of citizens in political participation activities. Wang's point of view is close to the aforementioned view. According to Wang (2004), "Political participation is an essential to consolidate the effects of political socialization" (pp. 79-80). As the realization of political socialization inevitably depends on the media, the most effective medium is political practice, and political participation is precisely the most common and efficient way of political practice for the ordinary public. Then, political participation is the realization of political socialization in the most general sense.

All in all, according to political participation or political practice, it is, itself, an external manifestation of people's political psychology and political aspiration. The interaction conditions for political socialization and political participation are based on a set of preconditions such as the conditions. In terms of social operation, conditions could be divided into three major categories: economic, political and ideological. In other words, only when a country truly establishes a sound modern democratic system can its political socialization smoothly influence the thinking and behavior of its citizens' political participation be implemented. A firm awareness of freedom and democracy is both the goal of citizens' political socialization and the premise for the true operation of political participation. As citizens' awareness of freedom and democracy is strengthened continuously, they can naturally increase their level of political

socialization and political participation, and meanwhile, effectively boost the close relationship between the two.

Relations between Political Socialization and Trust

According to Putnam (2000), for a long time, it has been a tradition to study trust and citizen participation in order to understand the civic nature of society. He also stated that trust is an integral part of social capital and the important factor in enabling democracy to function. Kuang (2012) discussed the political trust in the process of Chinese residents' political socialization. He proposed the effective operation of political socialization depends on the presence of political trust. He claimed that political trust is one of the objectives and contents of political socialization. He also asserted that political trust is the logical starting point of political socialization effectiveness and the embedded factor of effectiveness generation. Political trust is the goal of the citizens' political socialization. In this regard, he believed that political socialization, in terms of content, includes socialization of political cognition, socialization of political emotion and socialization of political evaluation in which the socialization of political emotion is the inner experience of people in political figures, political events and political activities, etc. Only when people build certain trust in certain political systems, political norms and political values, will they develop corresponding emotional identities and then establish deep trust; that is, the stage of political conviction. Political trust represents the openness, cooperation and tolerance individuals experience in social life, especially when they are with others, being an important dimension, which reflects the content of political culture. Therefore, it inevitably becomes the goal of political socialization. However, the opposite is true in American society.

Wang (2016) stated that 50% of the students showed a decline in the level of political trust, while 33% of the students showed an increase in the level of trust of Chinese students studying in Taiwan. However, according to Kuang (2012), political trust is the logical starting point for political socialization. In his point of view, political socialization is a continuous process that lasts during human life and whose contents are constantly enriched, so political trust becomes a dependent variable that exists both as a goal of political socialization and as a logical starting point for re-political socialization. The mutual trust relationship between individuals and the political system serves as the prerequisite for further communication and negotiation, and the premise for the effectiveness of political socialization; regular communication and negotiation, in turn, strengthen political trust. Clarifying the political trust state of residents is the logical starting point is a prerequisite for ensuring satisfying results in political socialization. According to his analysis, Chinese society has a high degree of special trust and a low degree of general trust.

As discussed above, the position and role of political trust in the process of political socialization are quite significant, and mutually premised in every aspect of political socialization. We can see that the improvement of democratic political construction requires the binding force of political trust. Meanwhile, it is necessary to strengthen the cultural shaping of trust in order to promote the achievement of political trust. Only in this way can we create a social atmosphere with political consensus and compromise. Moreover, political socialization and political trust are linked to the relevant social, economic and cultural environments. In other words, a favorable social, economic and cultural environment can make political trust function so that political socialization can be implemented effectively.

2.7 Empirical Research on Chinese University Students

According to Tao et al. (1998), “In the political participation of young students, scholars generally pay attention to the current situation, existing problems and how to improve the level of political participation of young students” (p. 104). Research on the political socialization of college students in China is divided into theoretical and empirical research. In today’s society, various cultures and thoughts collide violently and college students are inevitably impacted by faith and confused by identity, which is manifested as “belief confusion” and “value identity crisis”. As Tu (2011) pointed out that the influence of traditional Chinese values such as Confucianism on the typical citizenship of Chinese students and put forward some suggestions that the curriculum of citizenship education should be integrated into experiential learning.

Research has also focused on different research perspectives of the political socialization of college students. For example, research by Tian (2014) on the value and function of ideological and political education in the socialization of college students discussed the internal relationship between the ideological, political education and the political socialization; research by Meng and Ma (2017) on the political identity education of college students from the perspective of political socialization theory analyzed the current situation and problems and showed relevant countermeasures such as building ideological and political system for college students; research by Yu (2010) showed the current situation of political socialization of contemporary college students — based on the investigation and analysis of Shandong University of Science and Technology. These studies mainly carried out research on the political socialization of college students through quantitative interviews, case studies and other empirical research methods, such as research by Wang (2016) who used Henan Normal University as a case to explore the influence of new media of college students’ political socialization. The empirical research on the

political socialization of college students in China is mainly to locate the research perspective of the political socialization of college students in colleges and universities that are most closely related to students. For example, research by Tian (2014) on the value and function of ideological and political education in the socialization of college students, discussed the internal relationship between the ideological, political education and the political socialization.

Concerning types of university students' political participation, Wang (2013) stated that it could be divided into active and passive participation. Active participation is a voluntary political participation behavior of university students based on their own needs, such as joining the Communist Party of China (CPC) and participating in youth volunteer activities. By mobilized participation, it means that university students take part in political behaviors due to the influence of others or responding to the call of an organization. They can participate in school-organized activities of the CPC and the CYL and studying and practicing ideological and political theory courses. In passive participation, university students show indifference to politics, and refuse to participate in or take passive attitudes towards political activities. In reality, these three types of participation are not as clear and identifiable as, in theory, and often, they are a combination of several types. However, under different time and space conditions, for the function scope and combination of active participation, mobilized participation and passive participation are different.

Moreover, Liu (2007) stated that college students can have a basic understanding of their country or other social life. The political participation of university students reflects the political state of the society and affects the direction of politics. The political participation of students in China can be analyzed at several levels. Firstly, it is the development of democratic practice in

Chinese politics. Secondly, the political participation awareness and rights of Chinese citizens have been gradually expanded and relevant laws and policies about political participation have been constantly adjusted and improved. University students show a distinct sense of social responsibility and democracy during online political participation. Yu (2012) pointed out that there are many ways by which university students can participate in politics, such as expression of opinions, political votes, political association, political social practices, volunteer actions, and political non-participation. Xu (2012) stated that the political capital given by the CYL gives enough power to legalize voluntary service, which may reshape the political capital of the CYL. With the popularization and development of the Internet, especially the advent of the media era, the Internet has become a new front for the political participation of contemporary university students. It not only provides convenient technical conditions and participation platforms for university students' political participation, but also greatly stimulates the interest of university students in political participation.

The scope of political socialization is more extensive as it has been achieved through official institutions and channels such as the government, the Party and CYL organizations and schools, and varied influences that individuals receive in the process of growing up such as family, mass media and peer groups. By far, little attention has been given to the CYL as the implementation subject in order to examine the political socialization of the youth in the Chinese context. It can be seen that CYL is an important political phenomenon in socialist countries, playing a special role in social life. In light of political socialization institutions, the CYL, as an institution and channel which guide youth political socialization, is different from schools, families, and other political socialization channels. It exhibits the characteristics of practice,

participation, equality and interaction in cultivating the political identity and political values of young people.

When it comes to the study on political trust, it is also necessary to investigate the relationship between political trust and political participation. Mei and Tao (2018) pointed out that “the political trust and political participation of the public complement each other, and which kind of political participation behavior people conduct is largely determined by the level of their political trust” (p. 169). Moreover, the researchers put forward a hypothesis, according to Xiong (2014), “political trust has a certain influence over political participation, but the degree of influence and direction of political trust should vary for different forms of political participation” (p. 11). Duan (2016) stated that “government trust has a considerably significant impact on political participation within the system” (p. 61).

Taken together, much attention has been devoted to political education in Chinese universities but the political socialization of university students is still understudied (Tang, 2007). There is a need for using multiple research methods, especially the application of the interview method and observation method, especially in empirical research and analysis. In this sense, this study intended to enrich the research on political socialization of university students and explored the relationship between political socialization, political trust and political participation.

2.8 Summary

This chapter discussed the concept and theoretical perspectives in this study. The definitions of key terms have been provided. There are few empirical studies on how the political organizations such as the CYL may influence the political socialization of college students in the Chinese context. This is the research problem that this study intends to investigate. The next

chapter will explain the development of the CYL in China and its roles in China's schooling system.

CHAPTER 3: CHINA’S COMMUNIST YOUTH LEAGUE AND ITS ROLE IN POLITICAL EDUCATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

3.1 Introduction

This chapter will discuss the Chinese Communist Youth League and its roles in China’s higher education sector. In this chapter, Section 3.1 is the introduction. Section 3.2 explains what is CYL and includes basic information of its CYL members. Section 3.3 discusses the historical evolution of CYL. Section 3.4 discusses the CYL’s roles in guiding the political socialization of college students. This section also explains the students’ main political activities in the CYL and how to train CYL members in its League School. It points out challenges for CYL. Section 3.5 discusses how CYL guides the political socialization of college students to be a qualified CYL member. Section 3.5 shows the conceptual framework and Section 3.6 is the summary.

3.2 What is the Communist Youth League?

Doyon (2017) notes the evolution of the CYL as a road of power in the post-Mao era. As a matter of fact, because of the politics after the Cultural Revolution and the need for leaders to recruit loyal young cadres at that time, the “sponsorship mobility” system was developed to renew the elite of the party and state. Nurturing the new generation of political elites play an important role in China’s political regimes. The important role of youth has been continuously articulated in the political discourse. As a matter of fact, the CYL is a youth organization under the Community Party’s leadership. The relationship between the Party and the CYL is specified in the Constitution of the Communist Party of China, which regulates the CYL and is the Party’s

assistant under the leadership of the Party. It is also an active propagandist and executor of the Party's policies and resolutions. As a political organization, the CYL has three obvious political characteristics: first, the CYL has a clear political program, that is, to strive for the realization of the communist social system. Second, the CYL has strict organizational principles and structure. Third, the CYL members share the same belief. Although the CYL's development is affected by the macro social environment, it connects with the Party directly. According to the *Constitution of the Communist Youth League of China* (2008):

CYL has always shared the guiding ideology with the Party's Central Committee and kept the same pace as the Party in terms of political and economic construction in the new stage of reform and opening up, highlighting its young characteristics and keeping pace with the times. (pp. 1-2)

As Graziani (2014) mentioned that the history of the CYL from its establishment in 1920 to the outbreak of the Sino- Japanese War in 1937. To be specific, the CYL was founded in May 1922. The Party is the leading core of the proletarian revolutionary cause. Since its establishment, the CYL has made clear about the leadership of the Party in its constitution. According to the *Constitution of the Communist Youth League of China* (2008), the CYL has its own independent organizational system that should support the Party's program, implement the Party's line, principles and policies, and educate youth to accomplish the tasks assigned by the Party. The CYL should reflect youth opinions and requirements to the Party on time, put forward reasonable suggestions to the Party organization, and recommend excellent CYL members to join the Party. Most important of all, they are the "core" (hexin 核心) and "assistant" (zhushou 助手). The Party is the leading core of the proletarian revolutionary cause. In the proletarian revolutionary

movement, the youth movement plays a crucial role and even “serves the pioneer”. As the core organization of the youth movement, the CYL has a vital function of connecting the youth and leading them to implement the Party’s lines, principles and policies, and contacting them to accomplish the Party’s tasks, which embodies its role as the “assistant” fully. According to the statistics of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth League (2018), as of December 31, 2017, there had been 81.246 million league members in China, including 57.951 million student league members.

The relationship between the CPC and the CYL is that of the leader to the led. The Party formulates guidelines, policies and ideas from the strategic height of national and national interests. Under the leadership of the Party, the League carries out work around the tasks assigned by the Party (Yuan et al., 2013). Zheng (2012) analyzed the changes in the relationship between the CPC and the CYL, which affect the development of the organizational form of latter. He concluded that since the founding of the People’s Republic of China, the relationship between the Party and the League has been basically stable, and that after the reform and opening up, especially the establishment of the market economy and the formation of the network society, the living state of young people has changed dramatically. It can be seen that the relationship between the Party and the League is a pair of decisive forces with the development of the organizational form of the CYL. As Cheng (2016) mentioned, the Party Leading League is a historical necessity for the development of CYL and CPC relations. The CYL is an important force in the Party’s youth work. In the new period, the relationship between the CPC and the CYL needs to adhere to the Party’s leadership, grasp the correct political methods of the youth work and improve the scientific level of the construction of the CYL. All in all, with the continuous development of the relationship between the Party and the League, the

CYL accepted the relationship between them in thought and action. Specifically, the Party organization strengthens its leadership over the League organization and gives full play to the League organization's role as the Party's assistant and reserve force. It could gradually achieve the improvement of the relationship between the Party and the League, that is, Party construction leads to League construction (Yang, 2016). Reversely speaking, the CYL is like a transmission belt of the CPC.

According to the CYL's Constitution, the League members should be aged 14-28, who recognize the CYL's relevant regulations, join the CYL voluntarily, support the CYL's decision, work hard, and pay the League's membership fees on time. According to the Constitution of the Communist Youth League of China (2018):

The members of the Communist Youth League of China, the league members in short, are the assistants and reserves of the Party and the youths who believe in communism and have joined the CYL after approval in accordance with the conditions and procedures stipulated in the Constitution of Communist Youth League. (p. 3)

The Constitution of the Communist Youth League of China also (2018) articulated:

Only those who can meet these requirements can join the CYL. Any league member who is over 28 and has no position in the organization shall go through the procedures of leaving the CYL will no longer retain the league membership. (p. 9)

The following section will introduce the historical evolution of the CYL in modern China and its changing functions in recent decades.

3.3 Historical Evolution of the CYL

The CYL Prior to 1949

The new-democratic revolution began from the May Fourth Movement in 1919 (Pringsheim, 1962). According to the resolution of the 2nd National Congress of the Party and the 1st Congress of the CYL in 1922, the Party and the CYL joined the Communist International and the Youth Communist International respectively. According to the relationship between the Party and the League stipulated by the Communist International, the CYL must fully obey the Party's proposition politically. In order to maintain the consistency of the Party and the CYL, the Chinese Socialist Youth League officially renamed as the CYL and accepted the Resolutions on the Relationship between the CPC and the CYL as proposed by Young Communist International in 1925 when the 3rd Congress of the CYL was held.

According to Hu (2012), "In order to establish the most extensive Anti-Japanese youth united front, the class and political nature of the CYL was weakened" (p. 9). In 1935, when the world's anti-fascist situation was quite tense, the Communist International called on the people from all over the world to establish the international anti-fascist united front, and required the Party organizations and CYL organizations of all countries to make fundamental changes in fighting for youth. It was during this decade that the Party pondered the youth organizations of the political party more profoundly, which was also the early stage of the CYL's political nature. Actually, the CYL is a political organization. The CYL's political activities shall be subject to the Party's supervision and commanding, and the Central Committee of the CYL shall follow the Party's command.

Graziani (2014) revealed the development of the CYL and its interaction with the development of the Party in the early stage of the Communist movement. The CCP attention to the youth was related to the needs of propaganda and mobilization. The early CYL was a party type group focusing on political struggle. Under the influence of the Communist International, the CYL was established with the Party's support and help. With the continuous expansion of the liberated areas, the Party was in need of an organization that could systematically lead the youth movement and train young cadres for it and new China, so that these cadres could participate in the national united front of the Anti-Japanese War to the maximum. The Party put forward new requirements and new tasks for the youth organizations, which were required to shoulder the new task of mobilizing the majority of the youth to participate actively in the Anti-Japanese War and call for the youth across the country to fight actively against Japan.

The CYL between 1949 and 1978

The relationship with the Communist Party has not always been symbiotic, but sometimes has shown contradiction and competition, which has finally hindered the development of the youth movement led by the Communist Party of China (Graziani, 2014). The CYL was restored and rebuilt because of the situation above. The 1st National Congress of the Chinese New Democratic Youth League in 1949 pointed out that the Youth League is the core for the Party to unite and lead the majority of the youth, the school where the Party uses Marxism Leninism to educate the youth, and the reserves and assistant of the Party. Since then, the development of the CYL has entered a new historical stage. The CYL mainly focused on cultivating and uniting the youth from 1949 to 1978. With the slow recovery of the national economy, the construction of socialism put on the agenda for the development of new China, which requires the youth to play

their own role and take the initiative in reforms. The important responsibility of the CYL is to educate the youth. A large number of young talent started to join in the production and construction all across the country and youth construction organizations at all levels also obtained great achievements in the production, construction, water conservancy, etc., making a great contribution to China's economic development.

The CYL has autonomy in the management under the Party's leadership. Reported by CCTV(2020) , Mao Zedong's speech on the Work of Youth League in 1953, He pointed that a good physical condition, excellent learning attitude and outstanding work style should be the direction that the CYL goes for. He asked the leading organs of the Party and the CYL to learn how to lead the CYL's work well, excel in focusing on the Party's central tasks, take into consideration the youth' characteristics, and organize and educate them. As a matter of fact, Party committees at all levels should lead the CYL and work in accordance with the three directions based on the youth' characteristics. In terms of work, the youth should guide to combine the noble ideal of pursuing new things and the practical style in order to cultivate them as advanced workers and revolutionists. The Party and the CYL must always pay attention to the growing youth and fully meet their needs in rest, culture, entertainment and sports activities. The most important thing is that the CYL should carry out activities independently by highlighting the Party's central work.

The CYL after 1978

The CYL claims to represent and safeguard the interests of the youth (Li, 2012). As proposed in the 12th National Congress of the CYL in 1988, it proposed that standing for and safeguarding the youth' interests is the CYL's function. Subsequently, an office for safeguarding

the youth' rights and interests was set up in the leading bodies, which has meant a change of the CYL's guidance on the youth' political socialization during the new period. The CYL actively strives for the leadership and support of the Party and government and cooperate in promoting the legislative work and policy formulation of the youth based on the actual situation and social development. For example, Law of the People's Republic of China on the Protection of the Minors (1991) promulgated. Second, the youth' spiritual needs met through rich cultural activities. The CYL has made great efforts in making publicity through youth newspapers and books. CYL organizations at all levels set up Youth Palace (青少年宫), Youth Home and other places for youth' cultural activities to carry out rich and colorful cultural entertainment and sports activities that conform to their characteristics and are conducive to their physical and mental health, in the hope of meeting their spiritual and cultural needs in all aspects. Third, the youth' actual needs met by solving problems for them. For example, the CYL established China Youth Development Foundation (中国青年发展基金会) in 1989 based on China's national conditions and launched "the Hope Project" to improve the implementation of basic education in poverty-stricken areas and help dropout youth in China's poverty-stricken areas.

According to the *Notice on Strengthening and Improving the Party's Leadership over Trade Unions, the China Youth League and the Women's Federation* issued by the Central Party Committee in December 1989, it is required to further clarify the CYL's tasks and functions, and in particular, lay emphasis on the ideological and political education of the youth in order to promote the reform and development of the CYL's work effectively. It is necessary to train the youth for acquiring practical technology is another task of the CYL. First, the activities of establishing advanced "League branches" (zhibu/tuanzhibu 支部/团支部) and the education of CYL members should be carried out. Second, the construction of grass-roots league

organizations should be strengthened. Grass-roots organizations are the basic support for the CYL to realize youth political socialization and play a key role in enhancing the CYL's vitality, cohesion and fighting capacity. The working task of the League branches work and making implementation within the whole league" was proposed in the CYL's Fourth Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee. The CYL improved the grass-roots level so that they can play an effective role. Third, the reform of the league system should be promoted (Ma, 1992). As a political group, the CYL has the characteristics of a strong traditional administrative organ in the long run so reform is badly needed.

The Central Commission of the China Communist Youth League promulgated *the Several Opinions on Strengthening and Improving Youth Ideological and Political Work in the New Situation* in October 1996:

In order to facilitate the guidance on the youth' political socialization while developing socialist market economy, which specifies that the goal of political socialization is to train young people to become socialist citizens with ideals, morality, culture and discipline. (p. 3)

It is of great significance to give full play to the role of practice in educating the youth, combine youth education and service organically, maintain the vigor and vitality of the youth ideological and political work while combining inheritance and innovation, and enhance pertinence. During this period, the youth' political socialization guided by the CYL are specifically embodied as follows: promoting youth groups to widely participate in society and youth volunteer activities, which could enrich and develop the times connotation of the spirit of Lei Feng, to be specific, Lei Feng is a well-known model of serving the people wholeheartedly in

China. Lei Feng's greatest influence on future generations is the spirit of Lei Feng named after him, serving the people and helping the people all the time. Lei Feng's spirit is the spirit of selfless dedication to struggle for communism. Lei Feng's spirit influenced later generations of Chinese people. The core of volunteer spirit lies in the integration of collective spirit, patriotic enthusiasm and devotion spirit, which is the sublimation of the spirit of Lei Feng under the new historical conditions.

According to the *Implementation Outline of the Cross Century Youth Talent Project* (1995), it focuses on the full implementation of the trans century youth talent project and is a practical way for the CYL to cultivate a generation of trans century qualified socialist citizens and serve economic construction and social development. Trans-century young talent programs have been implemented. And then, various forms of adult preparatory education activities have been organized, including adult consciousness and talent awareness educations, an effective form of civic awareness education, patriotic education and self-education for teenagers. For example, the CYL actively cooperates with the national education department to implement the “Trans-Century Quality Development Program for Young Students”, establishing a system for selecting, commending and recommending outstanding young talents, which gives chances to more excellent youth, and gives full play to the typical and guiding role of the youth. Meanwhile, we should also fully exert the CYL's advantages of extensive contact with the society, fully explore social resources and expand the channels for training talents through diversified ways.

Tsimonis (2018) mentioned that the CYL strives to attract and respond to students' interests and demands by broadening consultation channels and deepening participation in providing welfare services. Moreover, the CYL also strengthen the ideological education for its members

by all actual ways possible. First of all, to strengthen belief education. The Arrangement on Studying Deng Xiaoping's Theory of Building Socialism with Chinese Characteristics promulgated. The Publicity Department of the CPC Central Committee specially compiled and published the Selected Readings of Deng Xiaoping's Works (for Young Readers), so that League members (tuanyuan 团员) and the youth can understand the basic contents of the theory of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and grasp the basic viewpoints. The CYL also strengthens the training and education of outstanding CYL members and recommends them to join the Party. As the highest honor of Chinese youth, "National May Fourth Youth Medals" play an exemplary role in guiding the way. A series of works has effectively improved the political, ideological and moral qualities of the League cadre, CYL members and the youth.

Graziani (2014) also observed "the emergence of youth' as a distinct analytical category" (p. 117). The CYL represents the strategic need for the Party to cultivate outstanding young successors. The CYL is positioned functionally and based on the specific requirements for the Party's development with a view to consolidating the Party's mastery and leadership of political power. In fact, great changes have taken place in the CYL, reflected in many changes of work emphasis and continuous optimization of organizational functions. The CYL can transform functions under the social management innovation from three aspects: functional relationship, focus of functions, and functional modes.

Reasonable positioning of the role of the CYL. Shen (2017) analyzed the CYL located at colleges and universities as an important youth organization in China. It is under the leadership of the college CPC. It also plays a special political function in the modernization of the governance system and governance ability of colleges and Universities. The functional

relationship of the CYL refers to its relationship with other organizations in carrying out work. It is suggested to sort out the functional relationship of the CYL and rationally position the role and status of it, which are basic prerequisites to carry out various tasks. After the founding of the People's Republic of China (PRC), the irrelevant relationship between the Party and the League has been transformed into a new model in which the CYL conducts its work independently under the leadership of the Party, with a long development process. Currently, this relationship has advanced towards a sound momentum, but has not been completely clarified. Due to the limited resources of the CYL, it coordinates work with other departments mainly through the power of the Party committee, failing to demonstrate independence.

1. Strengthen the Party's leadership and independence in activities. To intensify the Party's leadership over the CYL is a vital prerequisite for the CYL to maintain its role as an assistant and reserve army. The relationship between the Youth League and the Party has experienced processes from highly consistency with the Party's political functions to independence in launching work under the leadership of the Party. While boosting the leadership of the CYL, the Party has allowed the CYL to independently adopt work formats and contents that meet the demands and wishes of young people.
2. Deal with the relationship between the CYL and other youth organizations, such as the All-China Youth Federation, All-China Students' Federation and so on. The economic progress accelerates non-governmental organizations. In the construction of organizations such as the CYL, it will exert great influence on other organizations. If the CYL's tasks are carried out in these organizations, it will attract and motivate youth organizations.

Shift focus: change the content and objects of functions. As Xin (2013) mentioned, organizing, guiding, serving and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of young people are the basic functions of the CYL. The key for the CYL in colleges and universities is to keep

up with the pace of the Party and aspiring excellence. The CYL also integrate the activities of striving for excellence with performance and making continuous progress. What the CYL does is to allow young people to enjoy social fairness and justice. In terms of affairs management of youth, the CYL is used to organize activities to prove effective work. Even internal assessment mechanism of the CYL organization assesses work efficiency based on a number of activities and scales. Among functional transfer focus, the important thing is to classify management and service in youth affairs. In management, it stays close to the youth and understands their needs, in order to better realize the standardization of the CYL's internal affairs. Service functions can be enhanced to prevent the CYL's activities from "going in for pomp" and no actual work results are produced. Work is integrated into the CYL's function of serving youth. With the renewal and change of times, the functions undergo changes. The CYL still has a mobilization function in some areas such as social trend guidance, model ideological dissemination, and public welfare actions. Under social management innovation, the CYL needs to pay more attention to youth services in work, especially representing and safeguarding youth interests. The youth can be united through measures such as expressing interest appeals on behalf of the youth and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests. This form also actively answered and supported by the youth, who also became the new force of socialist construction. Deng Xiaoping once profoundly elaborated the role of the CYL in 1961:

What should the CYL do? Does the CYL need to do more or less? Of course, it needs to do more. Should the CYL play a broader or narrower role? Of course, it needs to play a broader role. Does the CYL work for the majority or the minority? Of course, the former. Adult and youth work together in every job. When a large number of people work together, the CYL plays an exemplary role in it, which

means it does more work, play a broader role and for the majority. As a result, the impact will be different, because the work affects the youth and then the adults.

(Deng, 1994, pp. 287-288)

Establish a flexible and effective working mode and change ways of working. Wang (2020) also pointed out that organizational function is not only an important basis for the value of an organization, but also the internal basis for its role. As a youth political organization led by the Communist Party of China, the functions of the CYL depend not only on the relationship between the Party and the League, but also on the Party's historical mission in different periods. Under the new situation, the CYL apply new technologies to carry out youth work. It is an important carrier for functional transformation of the CYL through building a grassroots cooperation and participation network, and dynamic coordination mechanism for the CYL's work. Functions can be transformed by following ways: 1. Take into account immediate needs of young people and innovate in work styles. 2. Give play to roles of new media technologies in the CYL's work. 3. Build a grassroots cooperation and participation model that focuses on guiding participation. The first two ways are to transform their functional methods into more effective modern work carriers suitable to development and changes of youth. According to Deng Xiaoping's speech at the plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the CYL in October 1961, the CYL's work consists of just two parts: first, the CYL takes part in all kinds of work of the whole Party and the whole country, and works hard under the leadership of the Party committee at the same level; second, in view of the special work nature, the CYL has its own systematic leadership.

Liu (2018) stated that the functions of the CYL are mainly reflected in strengthening the ideological guidance of youth, serving the central work of the Party and the government, serving the all-round development of youth and promoting the strict management of the League in the new era. He also suggested that the CYL could learn from some practices of professional youth social workers, explore various forms and ways such as business models, take the initiative to create youth service projects, and actively strive for the support of relevant social organizations. The CYL's change means that it shall follow to make changes and improvement to the youth' characteristics and pursuit. As an advanced organization for the Party to make contact with the youth, the CYL stands for the youth' interests and safeguards their legitimate rights and interests. The youth, who are the most positive, active and lively group in society, play a key role in promoting historical progress at all stages of social development. The Party has always maintained a close and special relationship with the youth and educated them. At the same time, the environment of the youth' life and growth under different historical backgrounds determines their characteristics and needs, which are the important factors that profoundly affect and determine the change of the CYL organizations' functions. All in all, the CYL must vigorously promote its own organizational form innovation and other measures in order to give full play to its due functions and effectively realize its historical mission (Zheng & Yuan, 2008).

3.4 The CYL's Roles in Guiding the Political Socialization of College Students

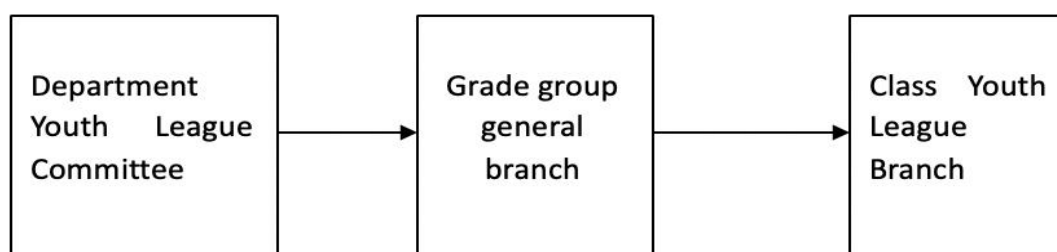
Wang and Wu (2014) stated that practical education is for the construction of the CYL in Colleges and universities plays an irreplaceable role. College students' political socialization is a process in which they learn and absorb social and political culture, improve political quality and grow into politically qualified social citizens. In other words, the political socialization of college students is also a basic category that is bound up with ideological and political education,

political work, and civic education. The CYL, as an important channel for the political socialization of Chinese college students, has its basic goal set to adhere to the view of all-round development and promote the free and comprehensive development of human beings. The activities organized by the CYL contribute an important part in the political practice of college students, with obvious political and pedagogical characteristics, aiming to promote the formation of ideological concepts that meet the needs of society. In the face of emerging global problems, it is essential to update the content of the political socialization of college students, and keep them updated with new ideas through moral education, ideological education, political education, among others. At the same time, new challenges of political socialization accompanying globalization require college students to rise up to the collision and integration of diverse cultures and develop global concepts and cultural ideas required for active participation in globalization. The cultivation of global awareness is also part of the politicization of college students as members of the CYL in the new era.

According to the Regulations of the Communist Youth League of China (2017) *on the work of grassroots organizations in colleges and universities (for Trial Implementation)*, “The League organization should be established in Colleges and Universities” (p. 4). The organization system of the College Youth League refers to the CYL’s vertical and horizontal organization mode and architecture in colleges and universities, such as the organizational structure (zuzhijiegou 组织结构) of the CYL Committee of the college, department youth league committee at the departmental level, and the branch in the class. This plays a fundamental role in strengthening the organization construction of the CYL at the level of colleges and universities (see Figure 2).

Figure 2

Organizational Structure of the Communist Youth League in Universities in China



Following the guidelines of the CYL Committee of the colleges, the committees at the departmental level and in the class arrange their works respectively through considering relevant aspects. The general League branch of each grade and the League branch of each class have the right to give full play to their own characteristics, organize and make arrangements, and educate and manage their CYL members within the theme work that has been determined under the leadership of the university CYL.

The College Youth League Committee (高校团委) determines its overall work direction of the College Youth League. The College Youth League's work is linked with the work of the college's Party and political center. The existence and development of the CYL organizations closely follow the work rhythm of the Party organization. The department youth league committees carry out the decision made by the CYL. By the work direction determined from the College Youth League Committee, they have to determine work objectives of the department youth league committee respectively through considering relevant aspects. The continuous improvement of the working place of the CYL in colleges and universities is the task of the work of the CYL. It means that the construction of the worksite and activity carrier (huodongzaiti 活动载体) is another work direction for the CYL. For example, the worksite of the college youth league refers to various systematic work programs, such as college students' employment service

program, voluntary service program, social practice program, recreation and sports competition program, etc., all of which are all the worksites of the College Youth League. The activities of the College Youth League are the effective carrier and expression of its work, reflecting the importance of building the worksites and activity carrier of the CYL.

The College Youth League lays emphasis on the education and training of League cadres (tuanganbu 团干部). According to Mao Zedong's words in 1938, cadres are the decisive role once the political line is determined. The construction of CYL cadres refers to the cultivation of high-quality College Youth League cadres by organizing learning and practical training, and the continuous improvement of their ideological and political quality (sixiangzhenghzhisuzhzi 思想政治素质), cultural level and professional ability, so as to cultivate young cadres for the development of the College Youth League. Training eligible excellent CYL members is also the basic goal of colleges and universities to cultivate eligible builders and reliable successors of the socialist cause. By focusing on the goal above, the College Youth League needs to constantly improve the college students' comprehensive quality, such as political quality, moral level, professional quality, social practice ability, etc. through work and diversified activities, cultivate excellent CYL member college students, and foster an excellent elite team for the development of social cause.

The Meaning of College Students' Political Participation

As for the meaning of the college students' political participation, Kong (2001) mentioned that college students' political participation refers to the basic understanding of college students, as the main body of participation, on the state's political and social life, as well as the input of behavior through all ways on the basis of the above. It includes political participation

consciousness and participation behavior, both of which are associated mutually. Contents, methods and significance of college students' political participation could put into the connotation of their political participation. For example, political participation is a realistic way for college students to express, safeguard and realize their individual and collective interests, which is legal. Jiang (2005) mentioned that orderly political participation serves as a critical means for college students to promote the standardization of government power operation and the scientific decision-making of colleges and universities. In this thesis, college students' political participation means the behavior of their participating in political life and influencing government decision-making through various legal ways and channels. The political participation consciousness and the political participation behavior are connected, influenced and promoted mutually. High political participation consciousness can promote the implementation of rational political behavior while rational political participation can enhance participants' awareness of political participation. The purpose of college students' political socialization is to improve their political quality and personality and realize their all-round development.

New Guidance, Active Participation and New Pattern of League Members

Ideology develops along with the change of history. Liu and Shen (2020) stated that the combination of Neo liberal individualism and Confucianism seems to be a perfect combination to reconcile the lack of civic tradition and verify the civic consciousness of college students. The Party's attention switched to economic development after the reform and opening up. The youths' political socialization work of the CYL should be carried out by not only guiding the youths to recognize the policy of reform and opening up but also by helping them to strengthen their beliefs, distinguish right from wrong, establish a healthy and progressive views on world, life

and values, and mobilizing them to actively participate in the socialist modernization. The tendency of college students' political socialization can be explored by analyzing their political socialization characteristics in reform and opening up.

With the deepening of reform and opening up, China has gradually entered a period of globalization with rapid political, economic and cultural development. In face of the complex social problems and youths' ideological problems, the CYL has encountered many new situations in guiding youths' political socialization needing to be improved. According to the national youth ideological and political work conference: the starting point of the youths' ideological and political work in the new era is to train young students in the practice of the four modernizations (industrial modernization, agricultural modernization, national defense modernization, and science and technology modernization). Also, to develop activities of “dedication for our motherland and making contributions”, “offering ideas for reform”, and “learning from Lei Feng”, etc. All of the above are the favorable forms and methods that are effective in carrying out ideological and political work in practice. During this period, the CYL's guidance on the youths' political socialization manifested as carrying out extensive and vivid ideological and political education activities. Organizing students to pay a visit to revolutionary historical sites and collecting and editing historical materials could play a positive role in patriotism and revolutionary tradition education among the youths. Activities such as organizing lectures for excellent college students on how to become talented and learning on the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism to guide young students to adhere to the right way for growth; organizing reading activities to help them establish correct views on world, life and values; all these activities can improve their ideological awareness.

The CYL safeguard the youths' specific interests and strive for their emotional identity. As proposed in the 12th National Congress of the CYL proposed, standing for and safeguarding the youths' interests is the CYL's function. Subsequently, an office for safeguarding the youths' rights and interests was set up in the leading bodies, which has meant a change of the CYL's guidance on the youths' political socialization in the new period. The CYL actively strives for the leadership and support of the Party and government, and cooperate in promoting the legislative work and policy formulation of the youths based on the actual situation and social development.

Furthermore, training the youths for acquiring practical technology and strengthening the building of the CYL grass-roots organizations and institutional reform. The Communist Youth League needs to carry out characteristic "political activities" and CYL member education and training. Strengthening the construction of grass-roots organizations of the CYL is an important step for them to realize the political socialization of youth, and plays an important role in improving the influence of the "activities" (huodong 活动) of the CYL. The CYL should focus on activities organized by colleges and universities especially play its role. As a political organization, the CYL has the characteristics of a strong traditional administrative organ in the long run, so it is in urgent need of reform. According to *the Notice on Strengthening and Improving the Party's Leadership over Trade Unions, the China Youth League and the Women's Federation* issued by the Central Party Committee in December 1989, it is required to further clarify the CYL's tasks and functions, and in particular, lay emphasis on the ideological and political education of the youths in order to promote the reform and development of the CYL's work effectively.

Students' Main Political Activities in the CYL

Wu (2006) mentioned that the CYL is a farsighted group. The scope, content and forms of the political activities carried out by the CYL are diverse. The purpose of the CYL's activities is to exercise students' ability, improve students' quality and enrich students' university experience. The main political activities of the CYL include Youth League school(团校), patriotic education, social practice or volunteer activities, and employment knowledge training.

With the acceleration of economic globalization and the rapid development of high technologies since the new century, the Internet has changed people's way of learning, life and work substantially. Hu Jintao (2000) pointed out that the major task of the Party and the whole society is to consider how to resolve puzzles of youths based on their ideological realities; to carry out correct ideological education and guidance, and help enhance their ability in distinguishing right from wrong and resisting the invasion of decadent ideas put forward new and higher requirements for the CYL.

It was proposed in the 15th National Congress of the CYL held in 2003 to gradually establish and improve the organizational system and operating mechanism complying with the socialist market economy. The youths' political socialization guided by the CYL in the period are specifically embodied as follows: organize the learning of the latest achievements of Marxism in China on the basis of strengthening ideals and beliefs, such as carrying out theme education and practice activities such as struggling together with the motherland to guide the youths to learn and publicize the latest achievements of localization of Marxism in China in practice; carrying out publicity and education activities widely to further strengthen the youths' belief to follow the Party towards the orientation of socialism with Chinese characteristics and launching the young training program. All the activities are mainly aimed at college students,

CYL cadres and young intellectuals and have been widely implemented all cross the country, especially in the theoretical communities of universities and colleges. Guiding the youths' life growth with scientific theory could lead their political socialization effectively.

Education in practice is a practical way of embodying the promotion of the youths' political socialization. As a way of political socialization in life, educating people through practice-based activities on the realities serve as the teaching contents. In terms of educational methods, the diversity of life meets youths' individual needs. For example, the participation and social coverage of young volunteers are on the rise constantly. Volunteers get involved in large conferences and sports events as well as community public welfare services to combine the purposes of serving the society, educating the youth and promoting their growth organically. The political socialization of college students is promoted through the activities of serving the county in three aspects of college students' culture and science and technology. As emphasized in *the Opinions on Further Strengthening and Improving the Social Practice of College Students* promulgated by the Central Committee of the CYL and the Ministry of Education in 2005: college students should be highly mobilized to use their vacation time to carry out 'activities of serving the county in three aspects' and 'penetration of science and education, reaction and sports, law, and sanitation into communities'. Activities of serving the county in three aspects enables college students to devote themselves to a broad rural life off campus so as to understand the society and train themselves in service and dedication, and realize the unity of personal value and social value. To address the strong desire of the youths to learn and become talented, the youth cultural construction and science and technology education are carried out through the Youth Cultural Festival and Youth China series activities. The youths could improve their quality in an all-round manner through the New Century Reading Plan for the Youths and the

College Students Quality Development Plan. In view of the youths' urgent needs for employment and entrepreneurship, efforts are made to vigorously implement the youth entrepreneurship plan to help them improve their employment and entrepreneurship ability.

The CYL has been active in exploring the effective ways of online guidance, in order to comply with the coming network era. With the more profound influence of informatization on youths' lifestyle, behavior mode and thinking mode, the CYL also tries to work online through online education. As a result, the special commemorative websites such as Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and the "Exhibition Hall of the Communist Youth League's History" as well as a number of youth patriotic education websites have been constructed, and a number of cultural works with educational themes such as the animation film themed with the Party History *Bugle* have been produced. All the deeds above further enrich the forms and carriers of youths' political socialization under the new historical conditions in virtue of network technology, art and fashion effectively.

The CYL is dedicated to rendering services regarding youth employment, entrepreneurship and rights, and interest's protection. In face of the severe employment situation, the CYL organizations make efforts to propel youth entrepreneurship action, youth employment promotion plan, college students' employment internship action and quality development plan, as well as a youth entrepreneurship service program and youth entrepreneurship internship base with comprehensive efforts. Supports provided for the youths' employment and entrepreneurship are in terms of training, financing and operation. In addition, timely and effective services are provided for minority students, young migrant workers and other teenager groups.

In conclusion, all social practices mean a process of implementing and realizing political socialization. The CYL has advocated the youths to participate in various undertakings of the

Party at different periods based on the Party's call since the founding of new China, which effectively promotes the youths' political socialization. The activities organized by the CYL have changed students to a great extent in the process of Chinese college students' politicization. In the process of political socialization, the CYL's activities mean applying the CYL's theories into practice, political participation and political trust in the process of practice.

How to Train League Members in League School?

According to the *Notice of the Communist Youth League Central Committee on Issuing the opinions on maintaining and enhancing the advanced nature of League members* (2017): It needs to strengthen the regular education of CYL members. Focusing on learning the spirit of the important speech of General Secretary Xi Jinping and the new strategy of governing the country, CYL members should be armed with scientific theories and advanced ideas, promote the steadfast ideals and beliefs of the CYL members, maintain the advanced spirit and spirit, and consciously enhance the sense of CYL members. For example, according to the CYL of Wu Han University of Science and Technology (2018): League member consciousness is formed by League members in concept, which is different from that of ordinary youth. It is the ideological basis and code of conduct for CYL members to play a vanguard and exemplary role in CYL life and social activities. The education of CYL members' consciousness includes five aspects: (1) Adhere to the Party's basic line of political consciousness education; (2) Correctly participate in the education of democratic consciousness in the CYL and social management and supervision; (3) Education of the equal rights and obligations of CYL members; (4) Legal consciousness education of abiding by the norms of economic, political and social life; and (5) It is higher than the general youth's model consciousness education.

Li (2015) mentioned that different civic educations put forward different political opinions. The ideological and political education of the College Youth League is mainly carried out by highlighting the dual education goals of both the CYL and colleges and universities. Therefore, the political socialization of the College Youth League also reflects the duality of ideological and political education of colleges and universities as well as the CYL. In this way, the difference between CYL members and non-CYL members in the CYL system can be clearly determined. The contents of ideological and political education of the College Youth League contains the ideological and political education of both colleges and universities as well as the CYL, which means the course combines both of the above. To sum up, the ideological and political education of the College Youth League mainly includes the following parts:

Patriotic Education

According to the outline of the implementation of patriotic education in the new era (2019) points out that “Ideological and political theory course in Colleges and universities is the main channel to implement patriotic education. Patriotic education contains such contents as the education on modern history, national conditions and culture, revolutionary tradition and situation policy. Through patriotic education, the college youth league should enable the youths to understand the national conditions history comprehensively and deeply, recognize the greatness of the Chinese nation and the sublimity of the national spirit, and enhance national self-esteem, self-confidence, and sense of pride. The College CYL keep close contact with each other, remain an advanced status all the time guide the youths to closely associate their personal development with the cause of the Party and the whole country, and the rejuvenation of the nation, and transform their patriotic emotions into practical actions to serve the motherland.

Moral Education

According to the Program for Implementation of Civil Morality Construction (2001), it is an important base for systematic moral education. Schools must implement the Party's educational policy conscientiously, adhere to the norms of students' daily behavior, strengthen the construction of school discipline and spirit, and give full play to the role of teachers. Moral education needs to be applied into all aspects of school education such as organizing students to participate in appropriate productive labor and social practice activities. Also, to help them understand the society and the national conditions, enhance their social responsibility sense, and guide the youth to be good citizens as the foundation of their life and morality.

Moreover, as explicitly specified in the 16th CPC National Congress of the Communist Party of China in 2002: It needs to strengthen the ideological and moral construction of the youth, guide them to develop good habits, start from little things, discern between right and wrong and between good and evil, and always care for others. It widely carries out moral education, set a respectable and amicable moral example that we can learn from, guide the youth to carry forward social morality, professional ethics and family virtually, fulfill their legal obligations consciously and have polite and honest attitude and clear sense of social responsibility. In face of the substantial change of the youth' ideas and behaviors along with the rapid economic development and substantial social progress, efforts made to guide the youth to deal with the relationship between individuals and society, competition and cooperation correctly and serve the society.

Comprehensive Quality Education

As proposed in the report of the 16th CPC National Congress of the CYL in 2008, it should be made to grasp the youth' different needs comprehensively such as physical and mental health, personal growth, career development, social participation, and rights expression. It makes an in-depth study on the overall supply mechanism for the government, market, and social organizations to serve the youth, find the entry point for the CYL's work, implement work projects, and consolidate the work of serving the youth further and more deeply. As a youth organization, the CYL needs to be supported by the youth mainly because it helps the youth make progress constantly, guides their development, and provides effective services for their all-round development. People's all-round development is separated from the overall improvement of basic quality, including scientific and cultural quality, psychological and physical quality, aesthetic quality, etc. Only by constantly improving quality education, can we realize people's all-round development. Base on grasping the youth' demand comprehensively, the College Youth League should provide them with multi-level, multi-sided and multi-angle ideological and cultural edification and satisfy their development which helps to cultivate innovative talents with ideals, knowledge and ability.

Impacts of College Students' Political Participation

College students always show their special concerns about society development formed certain political cognition, political emotion, political attitude and political value judgment. It could reflected through political participation behavior. College students play a pivotal role in China's political stability and development. They are also an important group which could investigate citizens' political participation. However, college students mainly study in school and have not yet become socialized totally with their social roles not yet been determined. Therefore,

college students' political participation has its own particularity. The university period is an important period for the formation of college students' political participation consciousness and ability. College students' political participation awareness determines how they respond to political stimulation, and exerts direct influence on their political behavior. Engels (1995) once pointed out that the influence of the external world on people is reflected in people's thoughts, becomes people's emotion, thought, motivation and will, and finally becomes the power of ideal.

Most of people's political behaviors are always attached with clear political motives, inspired by certain political enthusiasm restricted by certain political will. Therefore, the study of college students' political participation should focus on examining not only their political participation behavior, but also their political participation consciousness and associated with their political participation consciousness and political participation behavior. Compared with general political participation groups, college students, who have not entered the society, have not formed a specific social role. Therefore, their participation behavior is influenced by political belief, political value trend and other aspects of participation consciousness. Political participation consciousness serves as an important index to investigate college students' political behavior. In this study, college students' political participation was studied from two aspects: political participation consciousness and political participation behavior.

Compared with other groups, college students have strong political sensitivity influenced by tradition. In Chinese modern history, young students have always taken the lead and served as the pioneers in the struggle for national liberation and national rejuvenation. They participated in the patriotic and democratic student movements actively such as the May 4th Movement and the December 9th Movement. On the other hand, the above are also related to the special environment and atmosphere of campus. University campus is not only the very place for

knowledge transmission, but also the space where human thoughts are exchanged most freely. It is easy for college students to take part in political life under the circumstance of national concern. College students are a group of growing political persons and a special group with a high level of knowledge, whose political participation is of great significance to their own growth.

Political Participation is an Important Way for College Students' Political Socialization

To become a talent and a pillar of the society, college students should have the correct political concept and firm political stand, besides professional theoretical knowledge and skills. Political participation not only embodies political ideas and positions, but also serves as an important way to form correct political concept and position. College students can obtain political participation knowledge and rational analysis ability through political participation. College students' political process is, indeed, a process in which they could gradually grow and develop in order to comply with social development, solve contradictions in real life, and realize the integration and unification of individuals and the whole society. Therefore, college students must know and understand various social phenomena under the guidance of school education, form correct concepts and attitudes subtly, acquire the knowledge and ability to participate in society, and participate in politics in a correct way, and lay a foundation for participating in society and making personal contributions.

College students can practice politics and become capable of distinguishing right from wrong through political participation and other ways in the university period, which will lay a solid foundation for their participation in political life after entering the society in the future. As an important way for college students' political socialization, political participation practice can

provide them with political life experience and self-political cognition that cannot be obtained through school education alone, with a view to intensifying the specific political cognition, political concept and political attitude. At the same time, with political participation activities, college students can understand the political system operation, become familiar with the actual political operation, and practice their political activity ability. In my opinion, it is of great significance for college students to understand politics and enrich their political experience through all political participation activities possible.

Moreover, college students can improve their sense of identity with the political system and their sense of responsibility for the country and society through political participation. In another words, students learn to be responsible citizens in the process of growing up. Political participation makes college students grow into citizens with more democratic ideas and democratic ability, know how to play their political role, improve their political personality, and realize their values in the process of participation. Moreover, college students, who are in a critical period of political socialization as growing politicians, could improve their awareness of rights and obligations and their sense of political responsibility through political participation. In short, political participation is critical to improving college students' self-education and political socialization.

Significance of College Students' Political Participation

The degree and level of political participation is the main standard to measure a country's political democratization and modernization. It is also of great significance to the political civilization construction, enhancement of full political participation, and the development of political democratization and modernization development.

It is conducive to promoting college students' political socialization. College students' political socialization is a process in which they gradually form the correct political cognition, political attitude and political behavior in the political interaction with the society and become eligible socialism citizens. To promote college students' political socialization, ideological and political education should be intensified for them, who are also helped to form correct political cognition and political attitude, and urged to internalize their political knowledge in the process of political practice, fulfill certain political responsibilities and participate in some political activities. Political participation is such a practical process. It is an important way for college students' political socialization. In the process of political participation, college students can better understand the Party's line, policies and guidelines, know about and grasp the political system and political operation procedures of the country, and better recognize the Party's leadership and socialist system. It also helps enhance college students' sense of political responsibility and belonging, improve their political participation consciousness, and take correct political behavior to promote their political socialization.

Students' political participation helps to improve college students' political quality. Political quality is the most critical one among college students' various qualities and the basis for the development of other qualities. As stressed by the Chinese Communist Party, school education should always give top priority to firm and correct political direction, guide and help young students to establish a correct outlook on the world, life and values, lay a foundation of scientific theory, and establish the political direction for building the socialism with Chinese characteristics. The right political direction and political participation are an effective way to improve college students' political quality. Political participation helps college students establish a sense of patriotism and the concept of the rule of law. Higher sense of citizenship, sense of

social responsibility, and skills of political participation help college students improve their ability of self-education and acquire political knowledge, attitude, belief, emotion and governance to improve their political personality and quality.

Moreover, students' political socialization makes for a stable political environment. The expansion of social political participation will strengthen social politics stability. The autonomy, sense of political belonging and sense of political responsibility of contemporary college students' political participation will be enhanced. An increasing number of college students actively practice political life, which is of great significance not only to their own growth, but also to the society's stability and development. At the same time, political participation is an important way of communication between the government and the public. College students' active participation in political life, especially in recent years when they have participated in politics and expressed various opinion through the network, is indeed conducive to the government's decision-making and timely resolution of various social contradictions and problems, which finally reduces social instability factors, facilitating the formation of a stable political environment.

All in all, students' socialization is beneficial to the inheritance, development and innovation of social political culture. Political participation is an effective way not only for political culture development, but also for the enhancement of citizens' political and cultural literacy and citizens' sense of responsibility. Every kind of culture, including political culture, should adapt to the changes in the process of innovation. One of the most effective ways for finishing the holy mission is the political participation of contemporary college students, who shoulder the responsibility of developing and innovating political culture. The process of college students' political participation is also the process for them to learn, spread, develop and

innovate political culture. Therefore, college students' active and rational political participation helps with the development of society-dominated political culture in China.

Democratic politics are embodied by extensive political participation. Democracy cannot be separated from citizens' broad political participation. Politics is a group activity. According to Lerner (1958), traditional society does not participate, but modern society does. Only when more people in the society have the political participation enthusiasm, can we promote the progress and development of democratic politics. Without democracy, neither real socialism becomes possible, nor can socialism embody its superiority. The key contents of the political management democratization are the citizen's participation in the political management process and the restriction on the political management subject. Political participation enables citizens to express their own interests and demands, participate in government policy-making, and supervise government management.

However, democratization is a gradual process. Political democratization is restricted by the structural factors, such as socioeconomic environment, traditional ideas and ideological and cultural level of the mass. In particular, the ideological and cultural level of the mass means a lot in the political democratization process. If the masses do not have a correct understanding of democracy, democratic concepts and legal concepts, socialist democracy could be hard to implement in the real sense. Eligible citizens can only be cultivated through democratic politics education and in the democratic politics practice. In view of the above, the key issue lies in educating and training the youths who can participate in politics. Citizens with no high ideological and cultural quality can hardly participate in national political activities effectively.

With high ideological and moral quality and scientific and cultural level, college students pay close attention to the country's political construction and democratic process so they are apt

to master the knowledge and concept of democracy, and have certain political insight and political discrimination. They can not only actively participate in politics alone but also improve the quality of the whole nation through the all-round and multi-channel behavior of their groups or individuals, forming a broad and universal political participation of the whole society gradually and significantly applying it to the socialist democracy construction. Therefore, great importance is attached to the education of democratic political ideas and knowledge to college students, who should be guided to actively participate in political life.

Political science theory shows that a stable democratic system means neither fanatical participation nor indifference, but entails orderly participation. With orderly political participation, college students can express their political preferences, negotiate on and settle the contradictions between social groups under legal procedures, sort various relations, or resolve all kinds of conflicts in time. They could avoid the intensification of contradictions effectively, so that social conflicts will not eventually break out due to political relations tension. Orderly political participation allows more interest groups to participate in economic development and political reform, express their wishes and political demands freely, and participate in the formulation of various policies formulation and the implementation of policies supervision jointly, so that the policies will not be inclined to a privileged class, and all groups' interests could be well coordinated and balanced. On the contrary, a blocked political participation channel or disorderly political participation may lead to the disorderly or mandatory expression of various interests, and affect social stability.

College students are an important social group, who are young and energetic, easy to accept new things and dare to express their ideas. College students' political performance somewhat reflects the political state of the society and affects the political trend. As the main body of

politics, college students participate in the political process, affect political decision-making and political order, reduce political resistance, and improve political system stability. Political participation can promote college students' recognition of the economic and political system of their own society, the government legitimacy, the government's laws, regulations, policies and major initiatives to achieve social and political stability. Therefore, college students should be encouraged to participate in politics, and pass on some political appeals and wishes of the society to the government. According to the specific political information, the government's decision-making and output can meet the political demands and needs of the public or groups in varying degrees, thus, maintaining the political system stability effectively.

Improvement for Students' Political Socialization

Political participation is an important way for college students to exercise their political rights, and it also reflects the democratization level of national political development. In the process of orderly political participation, college students will strengthen their sense of participation, sense of gain, and sense of ownership, which is significant for political stability and inheritance of national political culture. As for colleges, they hope to improve affinity and the effectiveness of ideological political education, helping college students to realize their political, emotional, and ideological recognition in consciousness and actions, and guide them to participate in politics in the right ways. In summary, political education in colleges can be improved from important channels as below:

Firstly, educating college students to participate in politics in an orderly manner. Ideological political education has clear purposes, so it is an important way to improve political education in colleges. Furthermore, guiding students to strengthen political beliefs, ideological political

education takes the responsibility of cultivating college students to participate in politics in an orderly manner. Ideological political theory courses serve as the most important channel for the political socialization of college students. As a result, colleges should cultivate young people who are good at politics analysis, with strong abilities, and high quality through the construction of campus culture and the shaping of college spirits. Also, they can set objectives of ideological political courses as a whole, and develop new curriculum systems in accordance with the law of ideological political education and growth law of college students. In the meantime, it is a necessity to build ideological political classrooms involving society, curriculum, and campus ideological and political education, so as to highlight the purposes of ideological and political courses in this new era.

Secondly, strengthening the construction of systems for orderly political participation of college students. A good political environment is supported by sound political systems, and orderly political participation vividly demonstrates the democratization level of political development in a country. A premise to achieving the construction of socialist democratic politics is that college students should be conscious and capable of orderly political participation. In this regard, systems for orderly political participation should be perfect in colleges that can enhance awareness and the ability of students; for example, activities such as the selection of advanced students, selection of student cadres, or decision-making on major issues of class, open mechanism and supervision mechanism of class affairs must be modified constantly, so as to exercise the students' capabilities in solving public affairs. The student affairs management department of colleges can hire students; regular student symposiums can be held by the CYL and the academic affairs department to listen to the suggestions of students on study, campus management, classroom teaching and others. At the same time, colleges may set up student

suggestion boxes, or develop forums and other paths to improve the channels through which students can express their opinions and appeals, intending to intensify the participation ability of college students in politics.

Thirdly, making college students' online political participation more orderly and effective. The Internet age allows students to expand their social interaction from real world to the cyberspace. With the formation and development of the network society, a new public sphere is shaped like the network public sphere. Characterized by timely participation and high efficiency, online political participation is popular among more college students, and in other words, the Internet provides a convenient channel for them to orderly participate in politics. However, in order to elevate orderly and effective online political participation, relevant departments of colleges should reinforce website construction, and guide the students' well-organized participation online by relying on platforms such as Microblog and QQ. Simultaneously, the student public sector may make quick responses to the appeals of college students for political participation and correctly guide new media platforms.

Fourthly, perfecting incentive and guarantee measures for the orderly political participation of college students. For the purpose of cultivating students' behavioral habits of political participation, colleges shall guide them ideologically, implement related systems and introduce incentives and safeguards to lift the effectiveness and orderliness of political participation. It is necessary to provide conditions and sufficient time for orderly participation, and demonstrate the exemplary and leading role of peer education. Today, college students orderly participate in politics through exercising their right to vote, being involved in democratic consultations, and joining in club activities. Students can exercise their abilities in campus by joining in activities of

CYL member meetings, Party member meetings, democratic appraisal of members, or democratic appraisal of Party members. Focusing on strengthening moral education and cultivating students, colleges should create favorable conditions for orderly political participation. In terms of ideological guidance and system implementation, their behavioral habits for orderly participation should be developed, and colleges should encourage them to experience significance and value of orderly political participation in practices, hoping to boost abilities and the level of political participation.

Theory of Political Participation of Socialism with Chinese Characteristics

Nobel and Zhu (2017) mentioned that China has explored its own democratic line in the ongoing administrative reform. From the theory of mixed participation space, it can be seen that China has become a progressive society with multiple ways of participation. With transparent socialist characteristics, China's political participation theory summarizes the history of people's political participation in practical experience in combination with the Marxist political participation theory and China's realities. Sorting out and summarizing the development of Marxist political participation theory in China plays an important role in guiding and enlightening the college students' political participation in the new era.

If we put together the theories of mass participation or political participation as articulated by Mao, Deng and Jiang, we can see that CYL members' participation in the league activities can be regarded as mass participation in the Chinese society and polity. As such, the theories of mass participation are closely related to CYL, whose members' participation can be attributable to the evolving thoughts of Mao, Deng and Jiang as well as Xi.

Mao Zedong's Theory of Political Participation Themed by the Revolutionary Struggle

Zhang (2006a) analyzed that in the mode of citizen political participation, Mao supported mobilization and participation, especially large-scale mass mobilization. Mao Zedong attached great importance to the people's political participation. Wang and Jin (2006) mentioned that Mao's thought indicated that in order to win the revolution, a very important factor is the active participation of the people. This also has important reference significance for the construction of China's modernization. Mao Zedong's thought combines Marxism and China's realities and exerts profound influence on China's revolution and social development in the era of China's revolution and socialist construction. The political participation of Marx and Engels developed in combination with China's socialist construction practice. As the selected book of Mao (1999), he believed that the political power of a socialist country belongs to the mass and also elaborated the political participants' right on people to have the freedom of speech, assembly and association. The claim above is of great necessity in the revolutionary war period and the early days after the founding of new China.

As Dai (2009) pointed out, Mao's thoughts indicated that Mao only regarded the notion that people can enjoy the right to political participation in socialist countries, and that he supported the people's participation in politics. He (2006) mentioned that both Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping attach importance to political election, political expression, political association and other forms of participation. Mao Zedong attached great importance to the people's political participation, or mass participation. Wang & Nie (2016) indicated that In Mao' thought of political mobilization and political participation, mass movement is an important form of political mobilization and political participation, which is mainly manifested in the mobilization political participation to achieve the political, economic and social goals.

From the perspective of contents and mode of political participation, He (2006) mentioned that both Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping attached importance to political election, political expression, political association and other forms of participation. More specifically, Mao Zedong advocated the mass line implementation based on the practical experience of the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution at that time. As enlightened by the revolutionary struggle experience, we should attach importance to and give full play to people's power. The revolutionary struggle's victory is inseparable from people's support and participation. The purpose of revolutionary struggle fully safeguard people's fundamental interests. Both of the above are complementary to each other. Mao Zedong also laid emphasis on people's supervision. It can be seen that from the above that the people's supervision is critical to maintaining the stability of political power, and it guarantees the improvement of the Party's ruling level.

Deng Xiaoping's Political Participation Theory

Zhang (2006b) mentioned that both Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping have rich thoughts of political participation. Deng Xiaoping carried forward the positive elements of Mao Zedong's thought of political participation, mainly the guiding principles and basic systems of political participation. At the same time, it also takes the development of political participation, takes stability as a prerequisite and is guaranteed by the legal system. Deng Xiaoping's thought of political participation is more in line with the development law of political participation. Deng Xiaoping made a scientific explanation and brand new exposition on a series of major theoretical issues of China's reform and opening up, as well as socialist modernization by focusing on the important theme on earth socialism and how to build socialism. To be specific, the theoretical

thinking on the relationship between political participation, socialist development and political stability meant the further development of Marxist political participation theory.

Deng Xiaoping proposed that political participation serves as a critical purpose and means for socialist democracy development. Zeng (2004) pointed that Deng's thought creatively put forward the thought of political participation with Chinese characteristics, which still has very important practical guiding significance for China's socialist democratic political construction. The essence of China's socialist political participation is people's participation. Democracy is our development goal and our means of promoting development.

Deng Xiaoping further emphasized that without people's political participation, the in-depth development of socialist modernization is impossible since the reform and opening up. Long (2009) pointed that Deng Xiaoping's political participation emphasizes that the main body of political participation is the broad masses of the people. He advocated legal, moderate and orderly political participation, and oppose illegal, unlimited and disorderly political participation. Deng Xiaoping's thought of political participation is an innovation in the historical stage of building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

As Ding (1999) mentioned that political participation is the symbol and realization form of socialist democracy. Without the political participation of the broad masses of the people, the establishment and development of socialist democracy cannot be realized. Deng Xiaoping's thought of political participation plays an important role in developing socialist democracy and expanding the people's political participation. Deng Xiaoping proposed making necessary changes to some provisions of the Constitution in order to guarantee the people's right to political participation and beliefs at the third session of the National People's Congress. The most important thing is to adhere to and improve the system of people's congresses at all levels,

so as to facilitate people's participation in the management and supervision of state affairs. At the same time, Deng Xiaoping severely criticized the opinions and views that unreasonably suppressed people's political participation and requested stopping such a bad style of work resolutely. Deng Xiaoping thought that political stability is the premise for developing political participation.

Deng Xiaoping's thought of political participation is of great significance to China's socialist modernization and socialist democratic political construction (Ding, 1997). Deng Xiaoping always attached great importance to stability, unity and political stability, and regarded them as a prerequisite for political participation. Deng regarded reform as being the driving force; development is the goal, and stability is definitely the prerequisite and political stability does not mean making social politics stagnate. He clearly pointed out in the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the Party in 1978 on the most important two policies among all those proposed to develop democracy politically and to carry out economic reform with the reform correspondingly made in other areas of society. Development is the absolute principle. Only by promoting the economic construction and political democracy construction harmoniously in the process of socialist modernization can the real sense of national long-term stability achieved as well as social and political stability be maintained. Deng Xiaoping thought that expanding political participation means a lot for the promotion of social and political stability.

Jiang Zemin's Political Participation Theory

Li (1999) addressed Jiang's thought that in order to further expand socialist democracy, improve the socialist legal system and govern the country according to law, we must gradually

realize the institutionalization and legalization of socialist democracy, so that this system and law will not change due to the change of leaders and the change of leaders' views and attention. Jiang's thought regards democratization as the basic way to develop socialist democratic politics. With a strong focus on the Marxist thought of political participation, Jiang Zemin defined the importance of political participation and its internal nature, subject category, contents, mode and leadership core under the socialist market economy on the basis of inheriting Mao Zedong's and Deng Xiaoping's views on political participation.

Wu (2008) mentioned that Jiang's political development theory is a creative development of Deng Xiaoping's concept of political development. He also pointed out the importance of the construction of political civilization, establishing it as the basic goal of socialist modernization together with material civilization and spiritual civilization, which fully reflects the uniqueness and superiority of socialist democratic political development. Political participation is an inevitable requirement to promote the development of advanced productive forces and advanced culture. The development of economy and the reform of economic system not only change the relationship among economic interests, political power and group structure, but also urge people to participate in politics in order to realize or maintain their own interests, finally making it the fundamental driving force to promote China's political participation. To develop advanced culture, it is imperative to develop science and technology education vigorously, improve workers' ideological, moral and cultural quality, and cultivate socialist citizens with modern spirit; the key standard and characteristics of modern citizens are the independent awareness and the capacity of political participation. The development of advanced culture inevitably entails the promotion of political participation expansion and modern citizens' involvement in political participation creation together, making it the spiritual power to promote the development of

China's political participation and providing cultural support and environmental protection for political participation.

As Zhang (2007) pointed out during the transition period, a major challenge facing China is how to expand orderly political participation and maintain social stability. Jiang Zemin's thought of political participation has promoted the Party's institutionalization process, expanded orderly political participation, and is conducive to social stability in the transitional period. He also stated that Jiang Zemin has set the development of socialist democratic politics and the construction of socialist political civilization as an important goal of building a well-off society in an all-round way. This is the inevitable trend and practical need of China's socialist development. To build a political civilization with Chinese characteristics, we must expand citizens' orderly political participation. The democratic system should be improved and the forms of democracy should be enriched, so as to ensure that the people exercise their rights of democratic election, decision-making, management and supervision in accordance with laws.

Zhang (2004) indicated that China's democratic political construction has experienced a long period of development. Jiang Zemin set the development of socialist democratic politics and the construction of socialist political civilization as an important goal of building a well-off society in an all-round way. This is the inevitable trend and practical need of China's socialist development. According to the report of the 15th National Congress of the Party in 1997: "human rights must be respected and guaranteed" were first proposed. In the report of the 16th National Congress of the Party in 2002, the concept of "citizen's political participation" was explicitly put forward and used for the first time, which implies that the Party has constantly deepened its understanding of political participation.

As Wang (2004) mentioned, the construction of socialist political civilization contributes to the expansion of political participation and the promotion of democratic politics. The degree of political participation also affects the construction of socialist political civilization and the development of democratic politics. It can be seen that Jiang Zemin attached great importance to the internal relationship between developing socialist democratic politics and expanding citizens' political participation and improving the level of citizens' political participation. From the perspective of contents and mode of political participation, Jiang Zemin also elaborated the contents of safeguarding people's rights to manage state affairs, economic affairs, social affairs and other democratic rights in accordance with laws reliably as an important part of political participation. Only by guaranteeing citizens' right of political participation can the essence of socialism be reflected and the enthusiasm and initiative of the masses be mobilized at the maximum so that they could contribute their own wisdom and strength in the process of participating in public management and public life.

Hu Jintao's Political Participation Theory on Harmonious Society

Wu (2011) pointed out that the reform of the political system is compatible with the continuous improvement of the people's enthusiasm for political participation, which is not only a new summary of the construction of China's political civilization, but also the correct political direction for China's political system. Hu Jintao's thought of citizen's political participation is an important achievement derived from the Sinicization of Marxist political participation theory. Similar to the thought of citizen's political participation of Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping and Jiang Zemin, it reflects the characteristics of Chinese citizen's political participation in the new

era and conveys great significance for guiding the political participation of Chinese college students in the new era. Its basic idea mainly includes the following content.

As Li (2007) addressed, Hu's thought on socialist democracy and expanding citizens' orderly political participation are reflected in the direction for the development of China's socialist democratic politics and the reform of China's political system. It can be seen that the promotion of political participation must be coordinated with economic and social development. According to *the notice on strengthening and improving the party's leadership over the work of trade unions, the CYL and women's Federations*(1989), the CYL, Women's Federations and other people's organizations, all these organizations should be supported in carrying out their work in accordance with laws and their respective articles of association, participating in social management and public services and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests of the masses.

Pu (2011) mentioned that Hu's thoughts on expanding democratic politics meets the growing needs of citizens' political participation and is the driving force for the development of democratic politics. Expanding political participation while maintaining political and social stability and providing necessary conditions for the development of democratic politics. Through the active role of social organizations, the function of social autonomy is enhanced. Also, highlighting the development of grass-roots democracy in order to expand citizens' orderly political participation. People pose higher demand on political participation along with the development of society, which, on the contrary, requires the rapid development of grass-roots democracy. Developing grass-roots democracy plays a crucial role in safeguarding and realizing citizens' political rights. The political participation of the mass entails the support of laws, regulations and policies, as well as a broad platform for participation. Moreover, the forms of

realizing socialist grass-roots democracy politics should be enriched. The realization mode of the mass's socialist grass-roots democracy politics should be guided and organized from such aspects as grass-roots economy, politics, culture, social life, etc. and the mass should be guided and organized to improve their self-management in the practice of socialist grassroots democracy from the aspects of grass-roots economy, politics, culture, and social life. Xie (2007) pointed that Hu's thoughts on continuing to expand citizens' orderly political participation not only reflects the characteristics of the times of democratic political construction, but are also an effective way to adhere to and improve the socialist democratic system. Developing grass-roots democracy is conducive to the formulation of national policies and drives democratic politics development. At the same time, the self-government mechanism of the grass-roots masses should be established and based on developing grass-roots democracy. Grass-roots self-governance of the mass is of great significance for social harmony and stability, effective governance of the government, and the realization of citizens' rights. It also provides a policy system guarantee and basic platform for the orderly political participation of college students. Hu emphasized that bringing political consultation into the decision-making process to be an important measure to promote democratic consultation, expand socialist democracy and expand the orderly political participation of all sectors of society (Xin & Jia, 2008).

Xi Jinping's Political Participation Theory on National Rejuvenation

As Qi (2018) mentioned, the important thought of socialist deliberative democracy is not only conducive to expanding the channels of citizens' orderly political participation, but also conducive to enriching China's democratic forms and perfecting the democratic system. Since the 18th CPC National Congress in 2012, China's General Secretary Xi Jinping has made a

series of important discussions and put forward many new ideas focusing on the promotion of the socialist political system reform. The improvement of socialist political democratization and the expansion of citizen's political participation, enriches and innovates the theory of Marx's political participation theory and improves the socialist political participation with Chinese characteristics in the new era. Hu (2015) pointed out that Xi's emphasis on expanding citizens' orderly political participation at all levels and in all fields reflects that the state and the government continue to promote the reform of the political system, provide conditions for citizens' participation in political decision-making, democratic management and democratic supervision as planned, and expand the efficiency of citizens' political participation.

As Liu (2018) mentioned, Xi's thought on focusing on improving organizational strength, such as enterprises, schools, scientific research institutes, communities and social organizations has important theoretical value and practical significance. As pointed out in the report of the 18th CPC National Congress, expanding citizens' orderly political participation from all levels and all fields and realizing the legalization of various national works. As proposed in the report of the 19th CPC National Congress in 2017, expanding people's orderly political participation and ensuring people could carry out democratic elections, democratic consultation, democratic decision-making, democratic management and democratic supervision should happen according to laws. The above embodies the status and importance of citizens' orderly political participation intensified constantly and highlighted internally in the new era. Moreover, the essence of people's democracy is to gather all people to discuss their shared affairs under the socialist system of China, so that the people can become the real masters of the country.

Xi emphasizes on ensuring the people's right to equal participation and development, safeguarding social fairness and justice, and raising citizens' participation in politics from the issue of equal participation right to the height of building a socialist country under the rule of law with Chinese characteristics (Yao, 2013). Paying attention to the legal construction of citizens' orderly political participation. The democratic institutionalization process is the process when various democratic norms fall into the legal system. Xi Jinping has been more concerned on the institutional design and procedural norms of political participation, and insisted on promoting the orderly political participation of socialist citizens through legal thinking and mode. As specified in the *Decision of the CPC Central Committee on Major Issues Pertaining to Comprehensively Promoting the Rule of Law* ratified in the Fourth Plenary Session of the 18th CPC Central Committee, the institutionalization and legalization of democracy play a crucial role in ensuring people's democracy. Citizens' orderly political participation is one of the major forms to realize socialist democracy in China. China's constitution specifies the right and form of citizens' political participation. However, with the development of society and the progress of science and technology, the forms and means of political participation are ever-changing, and non-institutionalized political participation is on the rise. Therefore, it is a very urgent task to strengthen the legal construction of citizens' political participation. The equal status and mutual relations of participants should be determined lawfully. Political consultation helps to promote the construction of socialist democracy with Chinese characteristics. The theoretical experience and practical exploration of the political participation of socialist citizens with Chinese characteristics provide profound system guarantee, theoretical support and practical guidance for college students' political participation, and help the healthy development of college students' political participation.

The Development of Political Socialization of College Students in the New Era

A large number of theoretical and empirical studies have shown that the political structure of society has had and will continue to have a profound impact on civic education in Asia and other regions (Fairbrother, 2003b, 2003c; Kennedy & Li, 2013; Kerr, 1999). Upon the outbreak of COVID-19, the youth from China's all nationalities served the people wholeheartedly regardless of the dangers and difficulties. General Secretary Xi Jinping also affirmed their performance in the fight against the epidemic fully. With much importance attached to the education and teaching of ideological and political theories in colleges and universities by the Party and the state, the state has promulgated relevant policies, under which, the reform of the education and teaching of ideological and political theoretical classes in colleges and universities have also been boosted constantly. Of all the factors that influence the education and teaching of ideological and political theoretical classes, relevant policies play a dominant role and, therefore, better recognized.

After positioning the youth's work from political height, and taking the political nature as the prime requirements for the CYL organizations, General Secretary Xi Jinping proposed the significant principle of "insisting on the youth management by the Party" specially in the Middle-and Long-term Youth Development Plan (2016-2025) (hereinafter referred to as "the Plan"). The plan is helpful for youth, and also follows the Party's leadership in all work in terms of the youth work. The determination of the principle defines the basic orientation of the youth work and serves as the basis for the youth work as well. When making a survey in Donoghue Xincheng Community, Wuhan City after the outbreak of COVID-19, General Secretary Xi spoke with deep feelings after listening to the report of the community youth volunteer representative.

He believes that young students were labeled as not being strong-minded but became the main force in the frontline of the fight against COVID-19 and never afraid of hardships. The above represents the Party Central Committee's absolute trust on the youths and high attention on the youth work.

The Long-term Youth Development Plan (2016-2025), which complies with the time change rules and social development trend and enriches China's policy system regarding the youth work, points out explicitly that the development of youth is closely related to the development of the party and the country. The Plan brings forth specific development objective and measures respectively for ten fields including ideology and morality, education, health, employment, business startup, etc. from the strategic height and by essentially starting with the construction of the youth development policy system. It also regulates the implementation of ten key programs, which manifests the policies of solving ideological and realistic problems and intensifying the youth development comprehensively, and marks the new historical stage of China's youth development undertakings.

With the fast development and profound reform of economic society, modern youths have some distinct characteristics differing from their elder generations. Provoking changes have happened to the realistic foundation of youth work. Both opportunities and challenges co-exist in dealing with youth work in the new era. Nowadays, youths' material life have been improved substantially compared with that of the elder generation; modern youths have rich knowledge reserves and broad horizons. The youths' flow between urban and rural areas and at home and abroad have become frequent and new challenges have appeared in organizing and mobilizing

the youth effectively under the diverse social distribution status. It is also a new challenge to deeply lead and unite the youths with distinct characteristics and obvious network survival trend.

It is imperative to intensify policy services and enhance the service capacity of youth work. For the realistic difficulties and prominent demands regarding youth growth and development, we should intensify policy advocating and coordination, and boost the promulgation of more inclusive youth development policies so that we could respond to the calls of the youth directly in the form of specific policies. We should also care for the youth and grasp their growth demand such as solve problems and integrate resources for them, so they could feel the warmth of the Party and then love the country and the Party. The youth workers must understand the youth's changes of thoughts always, listen to their appeals, help resolve their difficulties and become their intimate friends to whom the youth could talk about their inner heart feelings.

Challenges for the CYL

It is inevitable that functions of the CYL will change with time and the adjustment of the Party's strategic tasks. Many statements were first mentioned by the Party and then followed up by the CYL. However, the question is: Is the CYL actively exploring how to implement and change these specific functions? To be honest, it is absolutely necessary to further expand the specific functions under the new normal of economic and social development. In February 2015, Li Yuanchao made a speech at the symposium on study and implementation of the spirit of working documents of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. According to him, group organizations should give full play to five major functions in the cause of socialism with Chinese characteristics: first, unite and mobilize masses to make contributions to the central task of economic and social development. Second, take a lead in cultivating and practicing core

values of socialism. Three, unite and attract masses in serving the masses and safeguarding their legitimate rights and interests. Four, play an active role in socialist democracy in accordance with the laws. Five, actively participate in innovative social governance and maintaining social harmony and stability. This has pointed out specific paths for expanding functions of the CYL.

With the deepening of reform and opening up, China has gradually entered a period of globalization with rapid political, economic and cultural development. In the context of globalization, the higher education system in China has witnessed profound changes. Higher education is increasingly international, diversified, popular and industrialized. On the one hand, globalization has diminished the diversity of universities, and on the other hand, it has facilitated new exchanges between colleges or universities. At the same time, globalization has also transformed the governance model of universities. For example, more opportunities for overseas study trips and more international cultural exchanges have made campus culture more diversified and rich. The original education methods of political courses and the ideological and political education of college students have been impacted and challenged; and the willingness and demand for political participation of college students have been increasing, all of which, have significantly contributed to the political socialization of college students.

In fact, in face of the complex social problems and youth' ideological problems, the CYL has encountered many new situations in guiding youth' political socialization needing to be improved. For example, learning from advanced people etc. During the new period, the CYL's guidance on the youth' political socialization manifested as carrying out extensive and vivid ideological and political education activities. For example, organizing students to pay a visit to revolutionary historical sites and collecting and editing historical materials could play a positive role in patriotism and revolutionary tradition education among the youth. Activities such as

organizing lectures for excellent college students themed “How to Become Talents” and learning on the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism to guide young students to adhere to the right way for growth; organizing reading activities to help them establish correct views on world, life and values; all these activities can improve their ideological awareness.

Xu (2012) mentioned that the CYL has set up a nationwide supervision system to legalize voluntary service. The youth can be united through measures such as expressing interest appeals on behalf of the youth and safeguarding the legitimate rights and interests. It is an important carrier for functional transformation of the CYL through building a grassroots cooperation and participation network, and dynamic coordination mechanism for the CYL’s work. The CYL lays emphasis on the education and training of League cadres. The construction of College Youth League cadres refers to the cultivation of high-quality College Youth League cadres by organizing learning and training sessions, and the continuous improvement of their ideological and political quality, cultural level and professional ability, so as to cultivate young cadres for the development of the College Youth League. Moreover, a variety of activities are organized to cultivate their hobbies and promote the all-round development of college students (Cui, 2016; Hu, 2013). For example, various systematic work programs, such as college students’ employment service program, voluntary service program, social practice program, recreation and sports competition program, etc., all of which, are all the worksites of the College Youth League. The activities of the College Youth League are the effective carrier and expression of its work, reflecting the importance of building the worksites and activity carriers of the College Youth League.

Dong (2019) mentioned that the reform of the CYL in colleges and universities is facing practical challenges. The traditional work mode of the Communist Youth League, which is based on ideological guidance and activity organization, has faced difficulties in meeting the needs of society, education and the development of Communist Youth League members. Changes of the CYL reflect the advancement in various works. The most important law for the CYL's change is keeping advanced. For example, the CYL had prominent political nature after the 16th National Congress of the CYL held in 2008, emphasizing that it needed to lead the youth to strive for the cause of modernization construction base on consolidating the Party's governance in the new era of construction. The CYL's development has always been able to grasp the pulse of era development following the Party's leadership, fulfilling the historical mission entrusted by the Party and the times in different historical development stages (China's revolution, construction and reform), reflecting the youths' interest demand, safeguarding their legitimate rights and interests and promoting economic and social development.

Doyon (2019) mentioned that the rise of CYL cadres is a by-product of the organization's weakness. For quite a long time, the CYL has been making progress, as socialism with Chinese characteristics enters a new era, the CYL, as the reserve force of the Communist Party of China, is playing a dominating role in connecting and serving youth. However, its leadership should be improved in practices. The problems are as follows: firstly, some CYL cadres focus on formalization and regularization when carrying out work and organizing activities, without innovation in work methods and work content. It is deprived of spirit of reform and innovation in coping with new situations and new problems. Young people cannot be attracted or called upon easily by conservative working methods. Secondly, cadres hold many part-time jobs (other teaching tasks in colleges and universities), spending limited time and energy on CYL's work.

Thirdly, cadres still need to boost practical ability. The knowledge learned must be combined with practices; for example, they should learn to listen when communicating with students, and understanding students.

The leadership of grassroots CYL cadres can be strengthened from two aspects: self-improvement and promotion of leadership by the organization. The youth are the hope of a country and the future of a nation. Therefore, college cadres should set an example for young people to talk about politics, learn politics, and understand politics, and be a qualified ideological guide to cultivate practical abilities. CYL cadres need to communicate with students, and guide practical work by introducing the Party's theoretical knowledge, so as to exercise tolerance in practice in order to improve capabilities. When raising abilities, they have to recognize strengths and weaknesses to make targeted progress. In addition, they should have the ability of self-reflection. Grasping method of introspection, CYL cadres should check whether they seriously reflect on their work status. They need to better serve the youth, formulate implementation plans scientifically and be innovative in decision-making plans, in order to make services more interesting and vivid.

The CYL organization should promote the improvement of the cadres' ability. Specifically, CYL organization can help grassroots CYL cadres to improve on their leadership in four aspects: training, building a learning platform, and motivating. Strengthening the trainings of political theory knowledge can be carried out from three aspects: create a theoretical policy learning classroom; firmly grasp overall situation of social development; learn basic theoretical knowledge of Marxism, socialist political system with Chinese characteristics; invite authoritative experts and scholars to interpret policies; and organize political theory knowledge examinations or competitions to strengthen targeted trainings. Carrying out learning and sharing

sessions for political theory knowledge, setting sharing topics in advance, and freely expressing learning feelings and experiences, aiming to aid CYL cadres in learning knowledge, speaking and talking about political theory knowledge, and cultivating their ability to integrate theory with practices.

The work of the CYL should be creative. The CYL has been focusing on mobilizing and organizing the youth. Many changes in the new era have exerted a profound impact on the developing CYL organizations. The CYL organizations at all levels are facing problems such as insufficient mobilization capacity and shortage of resources. The socialized operation of the CYL's work are no longer satisfied by simply using the traditional limited resources within the CYL. Therefore, the CYL organizations should switch their attention from inside to a broader social field base on making the most of the traditional strengths. For this reason, the CYL has made innovations substantially in such aspects as organization and mobilization, reasonable resource development, platform construction and operation mode in order to better comply with the youth' political socialization.

Learning platforms can be built to improve the leadership of CYL cadres by Youth League organizations, such as online and offline learning platforms, or building an online learning platform. Precisely, online platforms refer to the interconnection and information transmission through various forms of media, such as television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet. Online learning can be learnt from more experiences, with fast learning, and strong pertinence. The construction of offline learning platforms means that they are built at fixed locations and places with actual learning objects and environments, which can be visited and experienced by persons. In short, learning and exchanging experiences and methods improve the leadership of grassroots

CYL cadres on the spot. The advantage is that participation is direct and more people can be involved. But the weakness is that the object and scope of learning are limited to a certain extent. In a word, CYL organizations should do a good job in building online learning platforms while highly valuing offline learning platforms in order to provide more learning opportunities for CYL cadres and improve their capabilities. In fixed sites and places are objects and environments for learning. The youth can visit and experience in person, focus on practical innovation, and apply what has been learned in work, so as to make breakthroughs.

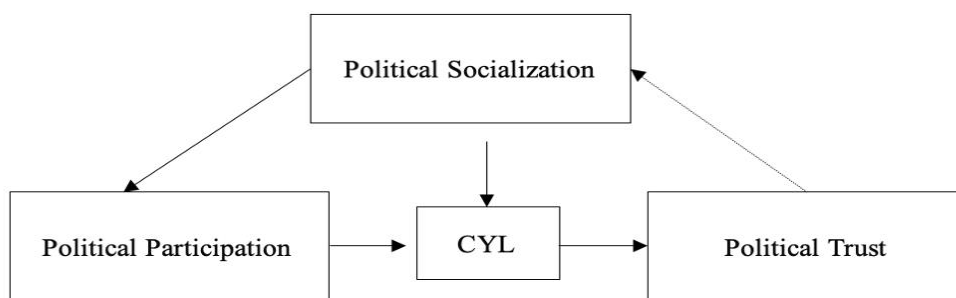
In August 2016, *Implementation plan of the Communist Youth League reform in Colleges and Universities* was introduced, marking the beginning of the reform of the CYL. General Secretary Xi Jinping emphasized that the reform plans adopted by the central government must be implemented and we should encourage differentiated exploration in different places. To complete this work, it is particularly necessary for CYL cadres to be capable of reform and innovation, so as to adapt to the work of the Communist Youth League under the new era.

3.5 The Conceptual Framework for the Research

Based on the literature review, this study constructed a framework that deemed political socialization, political trust and political participation as a complete cyclic process of the political system. A repeat of Figure 1 is featured below for reference.

Figure 1

A Cyclic Process of the Political System



Relationship between Political Socialization, Trust and Participation in the Conceptual Framework

Political socialization can be summarized as a process in people's whole life, through which social members learn and master political knowledge and skills. Political participation can be understood as a variety of ways for citizens to represent and maintain their own and team interests through efforts within the existing political system. Political trust is the confidence of citizens in the government and institutions. In short, political socialization is a subjective influence, while political participation and trust are objective feedback. From the connotation of the three theories, we can see that there are similarities between the research scope and the research object. Therefore, when they exist in the same political system, the connection between them is inevitable. If we study them separately, their theoretical concepts are too simple, besides, they will weaken the close relationship among the three in the operation of the political system.

At the same time, political socialization and the active and passive relationship of the study on participation and trust connected with each other in the same political system and for the same research object. For example, in the process of college students' personal participation in politics, political socialization focuses on the guidance or reference function of the results of political

participation for college students, that is, passive influence; while in political participation, trust focuses on the way in which the participants affect or change government decisions, that is, active influence. Therefore, political socialization, political participation and political trust form a complete cycle system in the whole CYL system.

Conditions, Models and Functions of Political Socialization, Political Trust and Political Participation

This could be explained clearly from the perspective of theory and logic: a. under what background the two are related - namely, the conditions for the interaction of the three; b. how the related three interact concretely - namely, what mode they interact with each other; c. how the facts of the related three affect the political environment that is, function. According to this idea, I will now elaborate on the interactive conditions, models and functions of political socialization and political participation from the theoretical perspective.

Conditions of Political Socialization, Political Participation and Political Trust Interaction

The existence and development of anything and relationships are based on a series of preconditions, which are what we usually call conditions. This will be mainly explained from two aspects: ideology and politics.

- a. Free and democratic consciousness is the ideological premise to ensure the sound interaction

A firm sense of freedom and democracy is not only the goal of political socialization, but also the premise of political participation and the operation of political trust. Only in this way, can college students improve their personal political literacy and enter the political system through

their own active efforts under the democratic system. Therefore, in all kinds of social and political activities in the future, we will unremittingly express our views on political affairs, constantly change public decision-making through political practice under the guidance of free and democratic consciousness, and consciously and actively use our knowledge of a modern political system to safeguard and expand the interests of individuals or groups represented by individuals. In the process of political socialization, college students can consciously improve their own political socialization, actively participate in politics, and meanwhile, strengthen political trust that can also effectively promote the circular interaction among the three.

- b. The democratic environment of politics is the condition of the interaction between political socialization and other factors.

First, a good political socialization needs a democratic political environment. Only in a country that has established a sound modern democratic system can political socialization smoothly affect the thoughts and behaviors of college students. When the political practice of college students is carried out as well as political participation fairly, the political socialization and political participation can gradually become an integral part of civil life, thus, widely affecting college students, and improving political trust.

Secondly, there should be a sound national system in the political socialization circulation system, such as the election system and the communication system. The election system can create a fair environment for political participation, enable college students to carry out universal political participation activities in an equal environment, and enable college students to understand the content and rules of the national election system correctly so that they can better

express their political views in the election system environment. For example, a good communication system is an important guarantee for the socialization of civil politics. The media can promote the whole process of political socialization. It cannot only promote the transmission and exchange of political ideas, but also enhance the political trust of citizens. As for political participation, the establishment of a good communication system has changed the current situation of the poor initiative of participants. Because of the establishment of a wide range of communication platforms, citizens can express their opinions more freely, express their political opinions more maturely and rationally, and pay more attention to and participate in national political activities.

The Mode of Interaction between Political Socialization, Political Participation and Political Trust

The process of political socialization is connected with the interests of every citizen. Therefore, in the process of studying political socialization, political participation and political trust, we should realize that the driving and influence of interests in each key interactive link is not limited to simple, mechanical and interactive analysis. By combining all kinds of subjective and objective situations, we can roughly sketch the interactive relationship pattern of political socialization, political participation and political trust. This model can intuitively show the general action path in the interaction process of the three and has universal applicability.

The running system formed in the figure: the process used to represent the path of political socialization, political trust and political participation. Next, I will introduce the main elements and operation path of the interaction relationship in the figure through three parts, namely, “four main parts”, “four groups of relationships” and “one cycle”.

The “four main parts” are:

- a. Political system formed by the whole society. In this study, this referred to the political system and political environment of the CYL.
- b. Political socialization aims to transfer knowledge from the CYL system to college students, so that college students can form or adjust their political consciousness.
- c. College students who have received the education of the CYL and have political experience will reflect their consciousness in political participation and enhance political trust after political socialization.

Political participation means for college students to express their political demands.

The “four groups of relationships” are as follows:

- a. Relationship between the political system of the CYL and political socialization. The CYL creates the political atmosphere, establishes the CYL system and forms the behavior standard, providing the source and the direction for the university student political socialization activity. Political socialization also reflects systematic political values.
- b. Relationship among political socialization, political participation and political trust. Political socialization is the only way for college students to learn political culture by transmitting political consciousness to them through the carrier of the CYL. After political socialization, college students will accept political orientation and adjust their political

cognition with updated political knowledge.

- c. Relationship between college students and political participation. Obviously, college students are the main body, political participation is the means, and college students participate in political activities through various ways, and then affect public decision-making in order to achieve their own goals.
- d. Relationship between political participation and political system. The results of political participation can affect the change of political decision-making of the CYL. It affects the internal adjustment of the political system; the adjustment of political decision-making of the CYL will also affect the purpose and motivation of the political participation of college students.

“One cycle” refers to the whole operating system:

We can see that political socialization, political participation and political trust interact with each other, which ensure a good cycle of the whole system. Specifically, the political system of the CYL forms a special political environment. Youth political socialization is to transfer this mainstream political consciousness to college students through the carrier of the CYL. After college students learn political knowledge, they will form a political understanding in line with the political system and then become political people, enhance political trust, and then seek multiple forces and ways to participate in political life. The purpose of becoming a member of the political system is to express political demands and safeguard their own interests. Once the opinions are listened to, the political system will make corresponding adjustments in the

formulation of its specific system, which will continue to affect the direction and intensity of the next round of political socialization.

This is a complete interactive system of political socialization, political participation and political trust. The clearest expression among them is that college students understand political knowledge, political views and political beliefs in the process of political socialization. Besides, college students reflect their degree of identification with the political system through political participation, strive for interests under the constraints of the political system, and make citizens' political values and political demands manifest as political behaviors through political participation, and constantly improve their political trust, participation and negotiation ability in such political behaviors. More importantly, through political participation, college students can also form their civil personality, enhance their sense of political responsibility, and further improve their degree of political socialization.

The Interaction of Political Socialization, Political Participation and Political Trust

From the perspective of the whole CYL system, the continuous circular interaction between political socialization and political participation is conducive to maintaining the stability of the political system. The political system instills in college students a variety of ideas in line with their own interests through the process of political socialization. Consequently, people who accept this idea, will inevitably follow certain ideas in the subsequent political life, and meanwhile, this idea is precisely from the long-term influence of the political system. Through this process, the premise is that college students accept the basic idea of a political system. Therefore, the interaction of political socialization, political participation and political trust enables college students, especially those who actively participate in politics, to accept the

operation philosophy and rules of the current political system, which makes the political system and students have common ideas and ideas. It ensures the stability of the operation of the political system.

From a personal point of view of college students, the interaction between political socialization and political participation can effectively safeguard and develop their personal interests and enhance their political trust. College students will use the political knowledge influence and change the political decision-making of a part of the CYL, and make the public resources of the CYL develop in the direction that is beneficial to themselves, and finally, achieves the effect of maintaining and developing their own interests.

This has been my theoretical explanation of the conditions, models and functions of political socialization, political participation and political trust interaction. So how does this kind of interaction show up in real conditions? Under the guidance of this idea, I analyzed and sorted out the experience of college students' participation in political socialization and explored the specific rules of interaction among the three through understanding and sorting out the objective influence and subjective and dynamic behavior of 26 college students' political socialization experiences.

3.6 Conclusion

For many times, the CYL has been renamed, changed its work emphasis and optimized its organization function since its establishment in 1922. The functions of the CYL change with the times and the adjustment of the Party's strategic tasks. Many statements were firstly mentioned by the Party and then followed up by the CYL. The CYL always guides the youths' political socialization, takes actions under the guidance of the Party's guiding ideology, and constructs its

political education in China's higher education. This section explained what is the CYL and included basic information of CYL members and discussed the historical evolution of the CYL. It also discussed the CYL's roles in guiding the political socialization of college students as well as their main political participation in the Communist Youth League and how to train CYL members in the CYL school. It discussed challenges for the CYL and discussed how the CYL guides the political socialization of college students to be a qualified League member. It also showed the conceptual framework. The next chapter contains the methodology and methods.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

4.1 Introduction

Based on the literature review in the previous chapter, this study explored students' political socialization experiences using qualitative methods. There are six parts in this chapter. Section 4.1 is the introduction. Section 4.2 outlines the research settings. Section 4.3 explains the research methods of data collection and analysis. Section 4.4 explains the fieldtrip observations. Section 4.5 discusses the document analysis. Section 4.6 explains the ethical issues. Section 4.7 points out the limitations of the research methods.

4.2 Research Settings: Four Cases

There were four different types of universities in this study in Jiangsu and Shanghai. Shanghai is the largest and developed city in China in terms of population and one of the largest urban areas in the world, with over 24 million people in its extended metropolitan area. Shanghai is also a technologically advanced city and China's financial center. Jiangsu is an economically and culturally developed province in eastern China located in the Yangtze River economic belt. Jiangsu governs 13 prefecture level administrative regions. It is a Yangtze River Delta urban agglomeration composed of Shanghai, Zhejiang and Anhui. The capital city is Nanjing. Nanjing is a famous ancient capital, it has a rich and celebrated past. Research settings included municipal key universities, provincial key universities, and general universities. These four universities recruit students nationwide (see Table 1).

Table 1*Sites for the Field Visits*

	Name	Location	Type of Higher Institution	Other characteristics
Case 1	S University	Shanghai	Tier 1 (Municipal key university)	Comprehensive university
Case 2	N University	Nanjing	Tier 2 (Provincial key university)	Featuring art
Case 3	C University	Nanjing	Tier 3	Featuring media and art
Case 4	J College	Nantong	Tier 3	Vocation education oriented

S University is located in Shanghai, China. It is a comprehensive university with the coordinated development of arts, science, engineering, and other disciplines as well as the characteristics of education, which stands out for its strength in liberal arts. In 2019, the university became a high-level local university construction unit in Shanghai.

N University is located in the Yangtze River Delta Region in Jiangsu province the capital city of which is Nanjing. It is the largest comprehensive art college and national key university in China. It is also the earliest higher institute of art established in China. This university established the earliest visual and performing arts disciplines in China, such as art, music, dance, theory and drama. The school is located in the main urban area of Nanjing.

C University is located in Nanjing, the capital of Jiangsu Province. This university focuses on media art application. It recruits students nationwide in the Jiangsu Province Yangtze River Delta Region. It has 49 majors closely related to cultural media and art forms.

J College is a general university. It has won the titles of “advanced collective of national supply and marketing cooperative system”, “advanced unit of vocational education and social in Jiangsu Province”. It is located in Nantong city. The characteristic of the university is to cultivate

high-quality skilled talents with solid theoretical knowledge and strong practical operation for vocational education. The university's CYL Committee has won many provincial and national awards.

4.3 Data Collection

Methods used in this study included semi-structured interviews, field visits and document analysis. The following sections will explain the process of data collection and analysis before discussing the ethical issues and potential limitations of this study.

Semi-structured Interviews

This study adopted semi-structured interviews. The advantages of this interview method were as follows:

RQ2 and RQ3 aimed at understanding students' political socialization experience from the perspective of students and how joining the CYL can contribute to the development of their political trust and political participation. The open coding system and qualitative analysis method of Miles and Huberman (1994) was adopted.

According to this process, the interview data were analyzed in the following four steps. The first step was to interview, transcribe verbatim, and process in Chinese. The second step was the data reduction. This refers to the process of selecting, focusing, sampling and converting the original data in the process of transcription. More specifically, Miles and Huberman (1994) mentioned that "data reduction is a form of analysis that sharpens classification, focusing, discarding, and organizing data so as to get and validate 'final' conclusions" (p. 10). This study was based on the research questions, through the methods of selection, summary, interpretation,

etc., to restore the interview qualitative data, and translate the relevant quotations into English. Third, an open coding system was used to identify useful pieces of information to form understandable pieces of text (Tesch, 2013). Fragments of similar significance were collected and tagged to identify some key topics. The fourth step was data display. This meant finding meaning in limited data (Folkestad, 2008). This study also used the form of graphics and charts to show the students' political socialization experience under the CYL system.

Interview Sample and Sampling Strategies

The number of student participants was 26. Students participants include 10 male students and 16 female students. The 26 student participants from freshman to senior with different majors were from four universities in Jiangsu and Shanghai. (see Table 2 and Table 3).

Table 2
Student Participants

Case Number	Field Visit Sites	Gender	Status	Majors
1	S University	Female	Freshman	Music Education
2		Male	Freshman	Music Education
3		Female	Freshman	Music Education
4		Male	Freshman	Music Education
5		Male	Freshman	Music Education
6		Male	Freshman	Music Education
7		Female	Freshman	Music Education
8		Male	Freshman	Music Education
9		Male	Freshman	Music Education
10	N University	Female	Senior	Arts
11		Male	Senior	Arts
12		Female	Senior	Arts
13		Male	Senior	Arts
14	C University	Male	Junior	Broadcasting and Hosting
15		Female	Junior	Broadcasting and Hosting
16		Male	Junior	Broadcasting and Hosting
17		Male	Junior	Broadcasting and Hosting
18	J College	Male	Sophomore	English Major
19		Male	Sophomore	English Major

20	Female	Sophomore	English Major
21	Male	Sophomore	Accounting
22	Male	Sophomore	Accounting
23	Female	Sophomore	Architecture
24	Female	Sophomore	Architecture
25	Female	Sophomore	Early Childhood Education
26	Male	Sophomore	Early Childhood Education

Flick (2009) suggested that the relevance of research samples to research topics determines their choice in targeted sampling. In terms of procedure, the CYL teachers in the colleges and universities were asked to select relevant student cadres based on students' willingness to participate in this study. The interviews were not limited to fixed exchanges. An attempt was made to create a relaxed and natural atmosphere in order to help students engage in an open exchange.

The research involved understanding and analyzing the activities of college students' political experiences by the CYL. The interviews with teachers hoped to gain a much broader scope than that from the original student perspective.

The selection of the teachers took into account two factors: their years of experience, education background. All teachers were from J College. This meant they had just joined the committee for less than 5 years, had been working for 5 to 10 years, or had been working for more than 10 years. According to the work distribution of J College CYL, the Director of the General Office and three teachers were from secondary colleges of J College. The teachers included Class Advisers (full time and part time), and the Director of Student Affairs (see Table 3).

Table 3
Teacher Participants (J College)

Teacher Participants	Positions	Major	Working Years	Gender	Full or Part-time	Secondary college
1	Class Adviser	Artistic Design Major	Less than 5 years	Female	Full-Time	Electronic Information School
2	Class Adviser	Chinese Language and Literature Major	Less than 5 years	Female	Full-Time	Basis Department
3	Class Adviser (also the "General Secretary of General Youth League Branch" (tuanzongzhi 团总支))	Education of Marxist Theory and Education in Ideology and Politics Major	5 to 10 years	Female	Part-Time	Electronic Information School
4	Director of Student Affairs	Computer Science and Technology Major	More than 10 years	Male	Full-Time	Administration Management

Design of the Interview Questions

An interview protocol was designed to solicit students' opinions and feelings about the political activities of the CYL, from the perspective of the working characteristics of the CYL Committee. There were three sections: background information, political socialization knowledge, and political socialization experiences. The interview questions included the following eight aspects: 1. Values of university students; 2. Attitude towards the country; 3. Attitude towards the government; 4. Attitude towards the world; 5. Attitude towards the rights and obligations of citizens; 6. Political socialization; 7. Political trust; and 8. Political

participation. A complete list of questions are included in Appendix A (see Appendix A for the full protocol).

Interviews were also conducted with teachers who were expected to have a more comprehensive understanding of the student experience at least from their perspective. Teachers offered views based on their experience of designing the CYL. Due to the latest development of the COVID-19 situation, only staff could enter my research sample colleges. My interview teacher participants were my colleagues from J College. The reason why I chose to interview my colleagues from J College was that the communication effect would be better than that of unfamiliar participants, and the interview content would be more in-depth. Moreover, I could also interview them face-to-face. They could have a better effect than online interviews or by phone. The teacher participants have lots of working experiences and it was expected they would not be nervous because we had worked together for quite a long time. The teacher interview questions mainly focused on what they considered to be the difficulties in organizing student activities and the factors teachers should consider in organizing activities (see Appendix B for the full protocol).

4.4 Fieldtrip Observations

The aim of the field visits was to gain an understanding of the contexts in which the CYL operated. I did some initial preparation to define the questions, made a plan and formulated the outline of the field investigation. With reference to my research questions and interviews outline, the questions of the field investigation included: How does student political socialization of college students take place? Where do college students carry out political activities? What are contents of the activities? Who has participated in the activities? How is the activity site arranged?

Observations were scheduled to be carried out in the Youth League Committee offices, the political teacher's office. I revised the outline of the field investigation based on the questions and plan (see Appendix B).

The numbers and frequency of the field visits were determined by several criteria. First, the school Youth League work plan (usually a week). The other two factors were students' willingness or rush hour (avoiding class time) and Chinese (COVID-19) outbreak policy. Field visit observations were chosen to cover as many areas as possible of the students' activities. According to the plan and outline, I conducted the field investigations from 5 October 5 to 28 November 2020, and I also collected photos of student activities during the field investigations (see Table 4).

Table 4
Schedule of the Observation Visits

Date	Half days	Cases	Observation plan
10/05	Morning Afternoon	N University	Prepare for new term New term seminar
10/13	Afternoon	N University	Students' calligraphy and painting exhibition
10/27	Afternoon	N University	New dance rehearsals
11/07	Morning Afternoon	S University	Seminar on piano works Art group students Rehearsal
11/9	Afternoon	J College	Workplace of the Teachers at J College
11/16	Morning	C University	Students Drama rehearsal
11/23	Afternoon		Students Chinese Ancient Poem Reading Competition
12/1	Afternoon	J College	Discuss with CYL Teachers
12/12	Afternoon	S University	Meeting of CYL Union Cadres
12/18	Afternoon	J College	Students' vocal performance
12/28	Afternoon	J College	Performance of Art Troupe
Total	13 half days		

4.5 Document Analysis

I collected documents related to the CYL activities. These related to the second half of the semester (Periods 1-4) and the student leader training program from J College. This material included student activity bulletins, evaluation forms for the work of the CYL and student cadres, student union and club workbooks, student activity schedules, etc. The issues of student union and club workbooks, student activity schedules could present the complete implementation process of an activity program in a very intuitive, visual, and vivid way by combining graphics with text. This was not only helpful for collating and analyzing the main contents and forms of student activities of the CYL, but also for analyzing the students' experiences, as well as expanding my analytical perspective. In addition, I also took photos of the student activities during the field investigations for the analysis (see Table 5).

Table 5
Documents of J College Students' Activities Records

1	2019-2020 Student Activities Bulletin Issues 1-4
2	Evaluation Form for the Work of the Youth League Committee and Student Cadres for the 2019-2020 Semester
3	2019-2020 Student Union and Club Workbooks
4	2019-2020 Student Activity Schedules

The student activity bulletins and the student activity schedules were recorded and created by the administrators to provide an objective and vivid representation of the training process. The student union and club workbooks not only contained a wealth of background information about student activities, but also served as a form of psychological feedback about the activities they attended. On the one hand, these data, to some extent, provided me an in-depth

understanding of the entire process of the activities, which compensated for some of the important details and information that I was unable to capture during the interviews and field investigations. On the other hand, the physical data not only verified the authenticity of the information provided by the student informants, but also validated some of the theoretical assumptions and analytical frameworks that I had gradually developed in the process of organizing and analyzing the interview data and field visit data.

Through an in-depth and detailed reading of the student activities bulletins, student union and club workbooks, the student activities schedules, and the student union and club workbooks, it can be said that these data were relatively consistent with those collected through the interview and field investigation methods regarding their responses to my research questions. From the analysis of the student activity schedules, student activity bulletins, and the student union and club workbooks in each issue, the philosophy, content, approach, and setting of the activities were consistent with the content of my interviews. From the transcripts of each issue of the student activities bulletins, it is clear that there were differences and different experiences among the members, consistent with the results of the interview data and the field investigation data.

To analyze each issue of the student activity bulletins and the student activity schedule in conjunction, I first used a combination of pictures and text to describe a relatively complete implementation of the activity. Then, I analyzed the main content and format of the current student activities after sorting out each student activity schedule. Finally, the information on each student activity were combed through and analyzed again.

Each issue of the student activities bulletins was analyzed in conjunction with the comment forms, the evaluation forms for the work of the Youth League Committee and student cadres,

and the student union and club workbooks. In each issue of the student activities bulletin, there were excerpts from the members' feelings and experiences, which helped me to get a first-hand understanding of the psychological impact of the activities on teachers and members. The student union and club workbooks and the evaluation forms for the work of the CYL and student cadres were considered to be the most direct feedback on the effectiveness of each student activity.

Documents expanded and enriched the content of this research. Each issue of the student activity bulletins and student workbook form showed the complete implementation process of an activity program in a very intuitive, visual, and vivid way by combining graphics with the text. This was not only helpful for collating and analyzing the main contents and forms of current student activities of the CYL, but also for analyzing the students' experiences, as well as expanding my analytical perspective. For this reason, I made an overall analysis of the collected student activity bulletins and the students, making up for the deficiencies of local observations of the research. In particular, the physical data I collected included information from all of the student activity trainings throughout the second half of the year, which greatly enriched and expanded the content of this research.

4.6 Ethical Issues

Prior to the start of my research, all interviewed students signed an interview agreement. The agreement included details such as the title of the interview, the purpose of the interview, how the interview was to be conducted, the potential risks of being audio taped or disturbed, the potential benefits, how to keep it confidential, voluntary participation, voluntary withdrawal, and how to preserve the data. Copies of the consent form kept by the researcher and the interviewer are in Appendix C.

I told my student participants directly about my research purpose before the interviews. I reached the following agreements with my research participants: firstly, all the research information (including research site and participants) would be kept confidential. Secondly, I would be asking questions about their political experiences in college through telephone interview and this may take 4 to 5 calls (depending on the specific situation). Lastly, they should try to describe the actual situation objectively in a “research” way, regardless of the teacher-student relationship. We arrived at a consensus that the research information would be for the research purpose only, and not for other purposes.

Information obtained in all the interviews would be kept strictly confidential. Only I could contact the student participants, and all the information would be used only for academic analysis. Student participants using pseudonyms, such as AAA (on behalf of the student informants) would be used to protect confidentiality in all the interview records or future reports. The students were given the opportunity to repeat videos or check the dictation notes of the researcher at any time. In this way, the participants could know whether all the interview records were complete and clear. All data have been stored only on my own computers in order to prevent the leakage of interview information.

At the end of the study, I observed and inquired whether the student participants felt uncomfortable during their interview, such as feeling uneasy, restless or tired. If the student participants felt anything adverse, the researcher took the responsibility and effective measures to solve the problems as soon as possible.

4.7 Limitations of the Study

The purpose of this study was to understand the experience of political socialization of college students in China. It chose examples of four types of universities located in Shanghai and Jiangsu.

Firstly, the sample size of the students and teachers in this research was very small. From the nature of qualitative research, this is reasonable, reflecting that these results are not universal.

Secondly, during the preparation for the telephone interviews, I found that I had to consider the ethical and moral problems involved in the research when the original teacher-student relationship was by passed. The most important thing was the necessity to ask students if they agreed to join in my research, and consent to the research method I adopted. In my opinion, the prerequisite was to fully respect the students' wishes. As the qualitative research progressed, I gained new findings. This chapter mainly discussed the research methods of this study. The next chapter will explore the CYL's activities through the students' eyes.

CHAPTER 5: THE CYL'S ACTIVITIES THROUGH THE STUDENTS' EYES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses the types of college students' political participation in the CYL. The research results of the activity content during the interviews mainly include the activities that the participants experienced personally. Section 5.2 presents the different types of activities organized by the CYL. Section 5.3 discusses the students' perceptions of the CYL activities. Section 5.4 discusses the students' critical reflections on the CYL's activities. Section 5.5 shows the teachers' perceptions about the CYL activities. It concludes with the teachers' perceived difficulties in organizing the student activities; the factors that the teachers considered in organizing activities and activities to attract the students from the teacher's point of view. Section 5.6 is a summary about this chapter.

5.2 The Different Types of Activities Organized by the CYL

Different political participation activities provide college students with diversified practice platforms, multiple ways of activities, and different people and things they contact, enabling students to harvest something different. The organization mode and content of activities are complementary to each other. An efficient and orderly organization mode can ensure the smooth development of an activity, fully exert its significance on college students, improve college students' abilities, and bring them training chances in the process. The content of college students' political participation activities also affects the determination of the organization mode.

Different political participation activities require the organizer to make organizations differently and the organizer's corresponding support and management are much appreciated in the process. Therefore, the college CYL should improve the realities of the college students' political participation activities from the perspective of the organization mode and the content of activities.

The research on the types of political participation activities understood by the participants helped to broaden their horizons and understand their concerns and needs for participating in political participation activities from another aspect. It mainly includes propaganda activities, community services, and volunteer activities:

Propaganda Activities

Propaganda activities mainly rely on the advantages of the college students' political knowledge. College CYL should consider the realities precisely and organize associations to learn the political knowledge that complies with times and spread to the public. The propaganda activities of the college CYL within the whole city encourage political practice activities for college students' to keep pace with the times. Guided and organized by the college CYL and involving college students, the propaganda activities are aimed to spread political knowledge to the public, and also include spiritual propaganda and other activities such as CYL lectures.

There are different forms of propaganda activities. For example, the propaganda activities are aimed to spread volunteer knowledge to the public also include spiritual propaganda and other activities such as CYL lectures. The CYL will also organize various forms of artistic performances, such as piano performances, dance performances or comprehensive performances. One way is conducted through college students' artistic performance activities under the

leadership of the CYL. These activities mainly highlight the characteristics of art education and regional cultural life of colleges and universities at different places, and reflect the achievements of art education reform, development and innovation in colleges and universities. College students' artistic performance activities could help enlarge artistic vision, build correct cultural orientation, ardently love national traditional culture, and enhance the overall quality of their personal development. Artistic performance activities are divided into three stages: In Stage 1, activities are carried out in colleges and universities, with a view to expanding the participation and popularization of colleges and students. In Stage 2, all provinces (districts and cities) organize performance activities centrally in order to intensify mutual exchange and learning among colleges and universities. Stage 3 is a period of national central performance on site to display the activity outcome and leading the direction. For instance, three students said the following:

"I took part in political participation during the first and second summer vacation of my college. In my first summer vacation, in the year 2016, I think so, I took part in the activities of supporting teaching in Hebei. We taught the local children cultural knowledge for about a week, but it cost much time from the preliminary planning to the final determination". (Student Participant 7)

"I got involved in more activities after finishing my study in the second year. First of all, it was a large activity throughout my sophomore year. I was the organizer as well as a participant. I taught the Party and CYL class twice in our department and organized other students to do it. Nowadays our department holds this activity every year. Sometimes, we also introduce some current events basically related to ideological and political education and the Party and the CYL in the process, such as the organization of the Green Forest Festival". (Student Participant 9)

“Well, I don’t know much about the activity organized directly by the CYL committee. It might be responsible for the training of urban volunteers for the Forest Festival this time. It also organized some CYL class activities in usual times”. (Student Participant 3)

Community Services

To organize college students in order to offer community services through the cooperation of colleges and universities and communities plays a crucial role in college students’ political participation. Through cooperation, communities can provide a stable political participation activity base for college students who can serve the communities accordingly. The college CYL’s organization of college students’ rendering services of “science and technology, culture, health, law” for communities means a lot to college students’ service for communities. Cooperation between communities and college CYL committees means establishing a long-term and stable cooperative relationship between them so that the college students could serve community residents and contribute to community construction. College students have participated in many community service activities, for example, their assistance to community workers for children caring. One student said:

“I think that the summer activity I participated in when I was a freshman was about a summer class for primary school students in the sub-district near my college. It was a tutorial class lasting for more than 20 days”. (Student Participant 2)

The CYL encouraged the students to conduct research projects to investigate social problems and improve the wellbeing in the community. As an activity not included in the teaching plan, it allows college students to choose the social problems they are interested in and concerned about, then make in-depth research, and investigate the specific social problems. Students in a team are responsible for different investigation work. After the investigation, they would write a research report on certain issues. Through this activity, students could better understand the society and more; the investigation report is conducive to the research. After choosing the social topics, national economy and people's livelihood issues that they were interested in, the students formed a practice team to explore the social issues in the society, such as the investigation of the migrant workers' living conditions, the Three Gorges immigration and the reform of rural compulsory education. The research activities that the college students have taken part in include social investigation on and off campus, such as supporting education in underdeveloped areas, and proposing suggestions for local services with professional knowledge. For instance, two students said:

"I once participated in an activity about the Investigation and Analysis of Middle-aged Women Square Dance Development, ... I mainly prepared some questions, asked everyone to fill in a questionnaire and then collect some statistical data". (Student Participant 19)

"By highlighting the issues of agriculture, rural areas, rural people and new countryside construction, we carried out social research in the vast rural areas of Jiangsu Province. The research team understood the realities by collecting data, analyzing actual cases, and visiting the local banks, private financial institutions and even rural residents homes. The

team members analyzed the survey data in detail under the teacher's guidance and had an in-depth exchange with the responsible comrades of relevant departments, village cadres and villagers on new countryside construction. They finally had a new understanding of new socialist countryside construction". (Student Participant 20)

The popular research topics related to environmental protection and cultural conservation. College students have also participated in wetland protection and sustainable utilization, the health status of minority areas and rural areas, etc. For instance, one student said:

"When I was a junior, I went to Jiangsu with the Green Youth Environmental Protection Association for an environmental investigation. The activity lasted for three days and had two purposes: environmental protection investigation and exercising of college students' practical ability. We went to Yangzhou by train. We went to a local farm first, and then to Yangzhou downtown next day. We, seven, went together and started a one-day investigation around Yangzhou's old streets on foot. We learned about the protection of old buildings from the local government and residents". (Student Participant 10)

Volunteer Activities

College students interviewed in this study had experienced the volunteer activities of Green Forest Festival held in the city. For example, five students said:

“Well, I don’t know much about the activity organized directly by the CYL committee. It might be responsible for the training of urban volunteers for the Forest Festival this time. It also organized some CYL class activities in usual times”. (Student Participant 3)

“One of the practical activities I participated in was a volunteer of the city sports meeting..... Oh, we received volunteer training for many times in the preparation stage, We were responsible for receiving athletes from other cities, including some venues and tourist attractions”. (Student Participant 13)

“I once participated in the activity organized by the CYL committee. I mean the I city volunteer service activity when I was a sophomore”. (Student Participant 11)

“Let me think about it, I became a volunteer for the city games last year. It was arranged by the CYL committee of my school. I was responsible for showing the sports team to the square”. (Student Participant 12)

“I got involved in more activities after finishing my study in the second year. First of all, it was a large activity throughout my sophomore year. I was the organizer as well as a participant. I taught the Party and CYL class twice in our department and organized other students to do it. Nowadays, our department holds this activity every year. Sometimes, we also introduce some current events basically related to ideological and political education and the Party and the CYL in the process, such as the organization of the Green Forest Festival”. (Student Participant 9)

One prominent volunteer activity is that the CYL organized students volunteer to be teachers in less disadvantaged regions. These activities are usually organized in the summer or

winter vacation. College students use their own culture and knowledge to spread knowledge to and open the horizons of children in remote and poverty-stricken areas. For example, four students stated:

“It’s fun. The school youth volunteer association organized activities of going to countryside to support teaching so we went to the countryside near our city for a week”.

(Student Participant 15)

“Yes, in the year 2017, I also took part in a political participation activity in my first summer vacation of college. I went to Sichuan Province to support education”.

(Student Participant 18)

“I remember that in July 2016, I went to Yunnan for support education. We gave lectures to primary school students for one week. mainly about Chinese and mathematics”.

(Student Participant 24)

“I took part in political participation during the first and second summer vacation of my college. In my first summer vacation, in the year 2016, I think so, I took part in the activities of supporting teaching in Hebei. We taught the local children cultural knowledge for about a week, but it cost much time from the preliminary planning to the final

determination”. *(Student Participant 7)*

Another kind of popular volunteer activity is to provide psychological counseling services to the public. The college volunteer association of the CYL committee organizes volunteers to

give psychological guidance to left behind children in counties and districts. According to seven students:

“On July 1, 2015, we organized volunteers to come to the community school in Changing District where they carried out two caring education activities, i.e., mental health education respectively for Grade 2 and 3 students of the junior high school”. (Student Participant 17)

“Our school volunteer team composed of 7 volunteers who carried out a 1-week volunteer activity of caring for children in the urban children’s center. I also participated in a series of activities, mainly including story-telling, to help and guide children’s development”. (Student Participant 14)

“I used to participate in the activities of the Youth Volunteer Association, and was mainly responsible for distributing leaflets and helping the community residents who were willing to join to fill in the forms”. (Student Participant 4)

“In my opinion, the activities organized directly by my class are not as many as those organized by the school’s CYL committee. These activities were seemingly about supporting education. My class also would apply to the school’s CYL committee for some volunteer activities sometimes, such as going to a nursing home, etc. That’s all what I know”. (Student Participant 6)

“I worked as a volunteer during the anti-epidemic period. I was responsible for assisting community workers to issue masks, going through pass permits, and taking and registering body temperature for people in and out of the community. When talking about the experience of being a volunteer, I think: “it is just in this volunteer activity that I deeply feel that all the

workers were hard working and I am glad that I could help our community residents. Everyone worked hard to contribute to the city. I feel much honored to participate in this activity” (Student Participant 8)

“I joined a volunteer group, Well, during the epidemic period, I actively applied for the volunteer work of epidemic prevention and control. I helped with resident quarantine and sent vegetables to their homes”. (Student Participant 14)

“During the epidemic period, oh, it’s hard at that time, school attendance was suspended but online learning did not. Several classmates and I joined the smart public welfare service studio for the elderly. Now, I teach the senior residents how to face the difficult times correctly and pass on the correct protection knowledge to them so that they could take easy”. (Student Participant 21)

5.3 Students’ Positive Perceptions of the CYL Activities

Political activities are important in colleges and universities. Students political participation is in the charge of the college CYL and its subordinate organizations, which include the CYL general branches of schools and departments, associations and student union of each department. It can be concluded from the interview with the respondents that the organization, planning and implementation of college students’ political participation activities are directly organized by the college CYL, which, therefore, should listen to students’ opinions, adopt their suggestions, and mobilize their enthusiasm to participate in the activities. The above is conducive to the development of practical activities. It was found that achievements somewhat influenced personal growth and development to a certain extent. These factors are summarized as follows:

Improve Communication Skills

Communication skills, as one of the necessary abilities in modern society, may even affect whether college students were recruited successfully when hunting for jobs, recognized by the society and sometimes become popular among others. College students wished to improve their skills of communicating with others via political participation, the very platform, including communication with friends and strangers of the same age, as well as the exchange experience with some leaders, so that they could treat others appropriately after entering the society. For instance, seven students accounted:

“Political participation that we are involve in can improve our communication skills. I’m not very good at communication and have no idea about how to chat with strangers. I hope that I can get to know more new friends and communicate equally through participating in activities. Generally, these activities have certain challenges. For example, when participating in the activities of supporting education, we are basically asked to lead a class there, communicate with the children, and take charge of the class daily arrangement. In this way, we could exercise the organizational ability. We also need to communicate with the leaders of other units during the activities, which allows us to learn some experience”. (Student Participant 10)

“I am not very active in university activities. I hope to know more about the society, improve my communication skills, and make more friends and classmates through these activities”. (Student Participant 17)

“I think, For example, I hope to improve my communication and operational ability”. (Student Participant 19)

“Because of the propaganda and interview, I improved my communication ability and

oral expression ability”. (Student Participant 1)

“I also improved my expression ability. You have to communicate when organizing an activity or meeting some strangers. Communication could also enhance my understandings. You may learn a lot of merits from the people in the society after contacting with them. You will find that you have made great progress after tackling the problem they bring”. (Student Participant 12)

“I have improved my ability to communicate with others. I was introverted and not very talkative. My hobbies such as writing and painting are related to my personality. I also exercised my English because I dared to speak loudly. Actually, I have improved my ability comprehensively. Some abilities are interrelated and imperceptibly influenced so they may support you sometimes in the future”. (Student Participant 11)

“I can learn more knowledge that can be hardly gained in textbooks, exercise myself and enhance my communicative competence. (Student Participant 13)

Improve Personal Social Participation

Social participation can reflect how individuals are recognized by the society. College students have pursued the society’s recognition in the course of active political participation and brave contribution to the society. For instance, two students said:

“Yes, the purpose of being a volunteer this time is to gain practical experience in enterprises, so that I could gain different feelings and more extensive participation”. (Student Participant 12)

“It’s true, I want to say that my purpose of participating in the volunteer activities of the

Urban Forest Festival is to experience large activities and increase my knowledge”. (Student Participant 23)

Prepare for Graduation and Find a Job in Advance

Many college students hope that by participating in the CYL committee’s political activities, they could find a job more easily in the future. To make long-term plans for their future employment, college students actively participate in various political activities, from which, they hope to gain experience to add brilliance to their future employment. For example, two students noted:

“I worked as a volunteer of the Urban Forest Festival, because I want to gain more experience that helps me find a job more easily in the future. (Student Participant 11)

“My sister told me that the experience of participating in the activities organized by the CYL committee actively could help you find a job in the future. Then, I think it is very important, especially for students like us who want to find a job”. (Student Participant 21)

Apply Knowledge into Practice and Broaden Horizons

The CYL committee organizes activities mainly to provide college students with a platform for putting what they learn into use. College students hope to do gain experiences related to their major after graduation because of their familiarity with major that has been learnt for four years. However, they are only good at theoretical knowledge. By participating in these activities, students could also associate theory with practice. Applying theoretical knowledge helps to

enhance the motivation of learning. Most of the college students chose their major independently based on interests, which could transform into learning motivation. Practice can test theory and deepen theoretical study. Different majors are applied to different application fields. College students wish to apply what they have learned into use by participating in professional targeted practical activities. Moreover, participating in political activities enables them to see the world beyond books, and learn to adapt to the society in practice and accumulate the political socialization experience before entering the society. Seven students said:

“I think the most important thing is experience. We meet teachers and classmates only at school but have to contact people from different backgrounds, ages and even different countries in the society. We may feel at a loss but need to learn gradually, such as how to get along with your superiors. Compared with students, the role change is highly significant but we have to comply with it. We could learn a lot in the process”. (Student Participant 5)

“We have many opportunities for public welfare activities, mainly about the short-term propaganda of the CYL, but we don’t have so many large and long-term ones. Therefore, it would be great if the CYL committee’s political activities could be closely related to our majors and help us find a job and integrate into the social development in the future”. (Student Participant 6)

“I also think so. The ideological and political courses we learn are closely related to something theoretical of the CYL and the Party. It would be good if we have learned into our work, such as writing materials”. (Student Participant 7)

“I have a new understanding of the volunteer service knowledge, I gained valuable experience after finishing my internship in the municipal Party committee”. (Student Participant 8)

“I think the college student activity organized by the college CYL committee should highlight their practical ability and be closed to life”. (Student Participant 9)

“I have a deep understanding of the rural areas’ construction and reform. The experience cultivated my spirit of hard work, inspired me to apply the knowledge I learned to my life and made me more passionate in serving the motherland”. (Student Participant 14)

“My involvement of political participation mainly aims at improving my practical ability to work in the society and testing myself so that I could know and improve my shortcomings”. (Student Participant 15)

Improve Team Cooperation and Organization Ability

Team cooperation ability improved in the political participation process and was found to be one of the respondents’ greatest outcomes in the political participation process. By playing their role and doing their work dedicatedly, all the students cooperate with each other in the whole process from the very beginning when the team is organized for the activity. Different from the usual study and life on campus, we must work together to solve problems and improve the team cooperation ability. For instance, four students explained:

“We have improved our team cooperation ability. When we went to Huai’an, we discussed everything together because we were not led by our teacher this time, and finished many things with our cooperation”. (Student Participant 2)

“I think teamwork is the biggest gift for me through the education supporting activity”. (Student Participant 3)

“I think I have improved my teamwork ability”. (Student Participant 10)

“First of all, I think it is about organization ability. You will not notice something until you really do it, only to find that there are many details to be handled. The act of experiencing or organizing these activities could help you a lot when you experience similar things again. For example, we really need to do a lot of preparations for a speech contest, such as inviting judges, preparing paper and pen, banner, microphone, etc. When involved it for the first time, we have no idea about tuning to confirm the sound device prior to the contest. It would be panic if sound is found defective. We ever experienced that panic”. (Student Participant 9)

5.4 Students’ Critical Reflections on the CYL’s Activities

Different political participation activities provide college students with diversified practice platforms, multiple ways of activities, and different people and things they contact, enabling them to harvest something different. The organization mode and content of activities are complementary to each other.

However, college students also gave their suggestions on the political activity organizer discussed in the interviews. Political participation, the most important activity in colleges and universities, is in charge of the college CYL and its subordinate organizations, which include the CYL general branches of the schools and departments, associations and student union of each department.

Giving More Voice to Students

The CYL should also listen to students’ opinions, adopt their suggestions, and mobilize their enthusiasm to participate in the activities. For example, four students said:

“I hope the school CYL can organize some relatively active activities, because some are

boring, such as planting trees on Arbor Day”. (Student Participant 7)

“I think the school CYL should work closer with the Youth League general branches. As for organization settings, some organizations of the school CYL work well, such as practice department, volunteer service department and quality development department. But I think that the propaganda department and the organization department should further expand their functions so that they could have more functions. For example, no one knows the propaganda and research department’s work. They can actually design some research topics and hand them over to the general branch of each department or group. Let’s take the organization department as an example, the Youth League general branch of each department organized some activities related to their own colleges. The college CYL can coordinate these activities and motivate participants’ enthusiasm through competition and evaluation. These activities can also make the school CYL and the Youth League general branch more closely”. (Student Participant 9)

“I think some CYL committees can organize propaganda work better, because a few students know nothing about the activities or cannot know them in time. It can update the propaganda via campus network more quickly”. (Student Participant 14)

“In my point of view, we can publicize more and hold the corresponding lectures to improve and deepen students' enthusiasm and understanding of political participation such as education support”. (Student Participant 19)

Establishing Long-term Collaborations with the Organizations Outside Universities

The college CYL committee should help the colleges and universities to establish their own political activity practice base, or establish long-term cooperation relationship with relevant

government departments and social institutions such as the Municipal Youth League Committee to provide students with a stable practice base. With the base above, students can concentrate on high-quality political activities. Integrating into grass-roots practice mainly refers to the basic sectors of social life such as rural areas and factories, such as the activities of education support in the countryside and “serving the country people in three aspects”, similar to establishing a practice base. For example, four students said:

“Yes, as declared in the school’s website a few days ago, we should make full use of the CYL school’s resources and expand the learning and practice platform. The school CYL committee should take the initiative in cooperating with the department of student affairs, and organize the activity under the main efforts of the student affairs office under the assistance of the CYL. With the efforts above, a learning practice base can be established. CYL can distribute tasks after the base establishment so that students from all departments can participate in it”. (Student Participant 10)

Could college CYL committee organize more activities of sending college students to practice in the grassroots? It’s fun”. (Student Participant 19)

“I think we need to organize more activities in grassroots level”. (Student Participant 25)

“I think that political participation activity must last for a certain period of time. For instance, compared with a political participation activity that lasts for one day, you will get more from a political participation activity that lasts for a month. And, to be honest, compared with our lecturing of Party and CYL class in middle schools for once or twice within a semester, 1-month internship at a company will yield more outcome. This kind of activity brings limited immediate help to students but after all, it is experience that brings brilliance to

your job hunting. From the perspective of the activity, it mainly helps students strengthen their understanding of the society and cultivate their love and public awareness. I think it has little effect in students' development and future employment. For example, for an activity about visiting nursing home, the organizer will benefit the most because he/she will coordinate various Youth League branches and students and contact the nursing home. The ability will be improved in the specific organization process". (Student Participant 9)

Carry Out More Online Activities

With the continuous development of science and technology in recent years, the CYL committee's many activities have been held online. Actually, the forms of political activities during the COVID-19 has changed, which defines a new direction and provides guidance for the ideological and political education in the future. One student said:

"I took part in the CYL committee's Youth League learning activities during the outbreak of COVID-19. I learned a lot about the CYL online. More online activities are appreciated". Student Participant 23)

5.5 Teachers' Perceptions about the CYL Activities

Teachers' Perceived Difficulties in Organizing Student Activities

According to the teacher's interviews, some teachers expressed their feelings that the problem of the student activities is the lack of more good activities to attract students, especially those who have the ability and sense of participation, and they rarely have the opportunity to

communicate with their peers in other colleges or universities. Moreover, college students are all different, from new students to graduates and their majors, etc. One of the most important influences is the pressure of getting employed and further education, which can affect students' participation in political activities. A few students are reluctant to continue their participation after attending a few activities. For example, four teachers said:

“Students concepts of participation need to be cultivated. Students were curious to learn more about it, and most of them enjoyed participating. But, there are a lot of great activities, but a few students don’t want to participate in them. This is a common situation. I guess there are two aspects. On the one hand, there is the pressure on students to get jobs. On the other hand, some of the capable students don’t want to participate, but are busy with internships and job searches. This is a common situation. Many of them nowadays do not have a systematic and in-depth understanding of the activities that they participated in. Some of them were arranged by the teacher, and some followed suit. So, the students themselves did not have a clear idea of what kind of activities to participate in or what kind of activities to choose for themselves. Of course, students were curious to learn more about it, and most of them enjoyed participating. So, their concepts of participation need to be cultivated ”. (Teacher 1)

“All the activities are about enriching students’ own experience, learning to love their country, and training them to serve society more. I think that's the main thing they have in mind for the concept and method of activities. Let’s take this summer social practice as an example. It was very good to hold this activity as it was meant to be! This is a necessary procedure, including the promotion of policies. So, this would pose impact on the results. Another thing is that a few students, although being very active in signing up, did not

participate in the end for one reason or another, mainly because they were afraid of hardship. After eliminating the various reasons, most of the students who participated in the activity were very positive". (Teacher 2)

"In the process of implementing each activity, it is still necessary to focus on what kind of activity is more appealing to today's students, which also leads to the problem of the relevance and effectiveness of training. Well, uh, in the course of the operation of our student activity practice in our school, I feel that there are some general questions: The first problem is that the effectiveness and pertinence need to be further strengthened. Why do I say so? Different types of overall designs have been made for activities outside of the school. But, this is far from enough. Let's say, in our university, there are so many student cadres in the committee, but they are still different from each other. Students' abilities and interests are different". (Teacher 3)

"For example, there are a lot of constraints. On the one hand, we would encounter some difficulties. For example, we would encounter some difficulties we are talking about, such as those brought by different interests and professional backgrounds of students. Some of them are CYL members while the others are not, and that was one of the problems that we encountered". (Teacher 4)

The Factors that Teachers Consider in Organizing Activities

Teachers believed that the factors that should be considered in organizing activities are paying attention to social hot spots and organizing different activities as much as possible. In other words, students' political participation activities organized by the colleges and universities should always keep pace with times and focus on social topics. The college CYL committee

should take the point above as one of the activity assessment standards in order to guide college students to care about current affairs, deepen their understanding of social hot spots and think more. While cultivating and developing college students' ability, colleges and universities cultivated their consciousness of serving the society and helping others. Different activities have enabled students to exercise their ability in the activities, for example, two teachers said:

“Through guiding our students, we found that, students should participate more. The biggest problem is that we lack more good activities to get our students, especially those who are capable, involved, and there are few chances for them to communicate and exchange with their counterparts from other colleges or universities. Also, the number of places in some competitions is often limited, so we mainly want to improve the conceptual level of the students participating in the competitions. Also, the number of places in some competitions is often limited, so we mainly want to improve the conceptual level of the students participating in the competitions. In addition, we also consider to let them learn some knowledge in practical aspects. In other words, we cannot say that there are too many ideas, and the students should participate more.” (Teacher 2)

“Activities are designed based on the different needs and characteristics of students. For example, the talent contest is for students who have artistic talents. Short-term summer volunteer activities are for students who volunteer a lot. The exchange with other colleges or universities is mainly a kind of comprehensive ability development. Of course, there are also activities to get the CYL cadres involved, which is a kind of training for them. An arrangement that allows the majority of students to participate in activities has been largely achieved. This arrangement is made with an eye to the overall characteristics and developmental needs of

students at different grade levels and with different interests. In my opinion, from the point of view of school policy, it is quite good. The question now is how to implement the school policy well in the actual process, and how to make it more detailed so that it will be effective”.

(Teacher 3)

Activities to Attract Students from the Teacher’s Opinion

In general, activities in colleges has made a relatively reasonable classification of the types of activities for college students, and then set up corresponding activities and contents. For example, for students with artistic talents, a variety of talent contests or art performances are held every year at the municipal and provincial levels. For outstanding students in other disciplines, they can be selected by the Youth League Committee to participate in science and technology competitions under the professional guidance of their instructors. In specific, some activities focus on basic professional knowledge, while others lay emphasis on general skills improvement.

According to the teacher’s words, from a practical point of view, arranging activities with students’ professional characteristics can attract students. In another words, when arranging student activities, activities related to their majors can attract students to participate. For example: one teacher said:

“From a practical point of view, we have also made some attempts. For example, we have designed activities with the characteristics of our secondary college in the process. We are the School of Electronics and Information Technology, and our students are majoring in electronics and information. During the summer practice, students went to the rural areas to help the villagers with the small environmental technology I designed, so we first designed a

questionnaire, listing several topics. Then, we asked the students to choose, to see what level or level of mastery they had of these technologies and these skills. Then, based on these needs and current status research, we designed the activities. Then, on the basis of the classification, we arrange the activities. Let's say, a few students have already mastered this aspect, or have a certain foundation, and they can become team leaders and guide other students in the activities. Different strategies and contents were applied depending on their foundations. So, in that way, it is very effective in attracting students". (Teacher 3)

5.6 Summary

This chapter has explained that the college students participated in the political activities organized by the CYL Committee based on different motivations. The majority of students still enjoy the experience of participating in various activities. The college students' level of political socialization and political participation is on the rise constantly. The CYL's political activities are highly attractive to college students. The college students could achieve a lot from political socialization. They have participated in the political activities organized by the CYL Committee based on different motivations. With the advancement of the democracy and the rule of law, China's democratic system has been developed and improved constantly. With the establishment of service-oriented government, the college students could enhance their sense of citizenship and social responsibility continuously, and political participation has shown a positive development trend. In today's society, globalization, information technology and various cultural thoughts interact and mingle with each other in the global information system. College students have an open mind than ever, making them willing to better participate in China's politics.

With the integration of culture and politics, we need to pay attention to the college students' political socialization experience. The CYL's different types of political socialization activities have different influences on college students. The experiences not only exert the content, way, method and type of college students' political activities, but also exert direct influence on the college students' political socialization from the management and level. The forms of political activities will be changed, which defines a new direction and provides guidance for the policies of colleges and universities in the new era. Teachers of college need to address and deal with many specific issues in the day-to-day management of students' activities and it is hard to organize student activities nowadays. The arrangement of student activities should keep pace with the times. The teachers also showed their opinions on students' activities. They discussed the difficulties in organizing student activities and showed the factors that should be considered in organizing activities such as paying attention to social hot spots and organizing different activities. It should be noted that activities related to students' majors can attract them to participate. The next chapter will provide the analysis of students' views on the world, life, values, and their ideas on the country, the government and the world.

CHAPTER 6: MEANING OF BEING A CYL MEMBER

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter explained that the college students participate in the political activities organized by the CYL Committee based on different motivations. It was found that according to the interview contents, college students have different reasons to participate in the social practice activities organized by the CYL. This chapter contains six sections. This section expounds the results of the interviews with some CYL members in order to understand their views on the world, life and values and their ideas on the country, the government and the world. Section 6.2 presents the identities of the college CYL members. Section 6.3 shows the findings of the values of the college CYL members. Section 6.4 brings the chapter to a close.

6.2 Attitudes Towards the CYL Identity

The identity of college CYL members to their own League identity in this research includes three aspects: the recognition of their own League identity, the CYL organization and the non-CYL member. Moreover, Zhao and Li (2010) mentioned that the political attitude of college students is very important. Next section will report the result of the interview with CYL member Interviewees. It found according to the interview contents that college students have different reasons to participate in the social practice activities organized by the CYL Committee.

Purpose of Joining the CYL

The CYL members' motivation to join the CYL should be voluntary and based on the recognition on the advancement of the CYL organization. However, many college CYL members join due to being recommended by teachers, so they had not yet formed a clear understanding of the CYL organization. CYL organizations can educate Youth League members in college when they have a more mature mind so that they could know the reason of joining the CYL. They joined in senior high school according to the background survey. Some college students have pursued being elites. For example, four students from J College accounted:

"I joined the CYL when I was in middle school in order to get prepared for becoming a Party member. I study hard to enhance my knowledge and join the organization voluntarily to learn from excellent students". (Student Participant 18)

"My school organized excellent students to join the CYL in the first year of senior high school but I don't remember the specific year". (Student Participant 23)

"I joined the CYL when I was in middle school. CYL is an advanced organization for the youth. I joined it in order to actively pursue progress". (Student Participant 24)

"I joined the CYL in high school in order to get closer to the League". (Student Participant 22)

Five students expressed their feeling that joining the CYL meant becoming excellent. Students want to be the elite in their class. For example, students stated that:

"The first batch of students joining the CYL were students ranking top in the first year of junior high school. It was a very glorious thing. Most of the students in my class were CYL members but there were still some non-CYL members. A few students joined the CYL in

Grades 1 and 3 of junior high school. With limited quota, my teachers chose those with good academic performance to join the CYL”. (Student Participant 19)

“I thought that the CYL was a relatively advanced organization when I was in junior high school around 2000. Only the outstanding people in all aspects could join it and all of us joined it. We did not have too many understanding on CYL in theory”. (Student Participant 9)

“We joined the CYL in batches in Grade 2 of junior high school. At that time, I felt very glorious to join the CYL first, so everyone rushed to join”. (Student Participant 20)

“The teacher gathered the class leaders together to let us join the CYL in Grade 3 of junior high school. I joined the CYL because it was a glorious thing”. (Student Participant 21)

“I felt honored to join the CYL when I was in Grade 2 of junior high school. The teacher selected the students with good grades and performance, so I joined the CYL as one of them”. (Student Participant 26)

Students gave their answers for preparation for joining the Party. For example, five students said:

“I joined the CYL in the first year of senior high school, because it was the premise for joining the Party”. (Student Participant 4)

“It just means you can join the Party. In fact, the criteria for joining the CYL have not been taken seriously today and maybe the only standard is that you must be under a certain age. When talking about its meaning...Maybe it means I’m not young anymore, and when I join the Party, it means I’m older”. (Student Participant 5)

“Maybe this is the premise of joining the Party. There is no such problem in our school. Many of the CYL members can join the Party smoothly”. (Student Participant 25)

“Because non-CYL members cannot join the Party”. (Student Participant 11)

“Get prepared to join the Party in the future and learn more knowledge”. (Student Participant 13)

Recognition of their CYL Identity

The internal aspect of identity refers to group identity, which means the subjective sense of the belonging of group members and the question of “who we are”. The research findings suggest that feeling as a CYL seems to be situational for the student informants. Only when the Youth League organization has a clear activity that involves college students can they really feel their identity as a CYL member. When asked “when do you realize that you are a CYL member?”, eight informants said, “when I just joined the CYL” (8%). As shown in Table 7, nearly half of the student participants said “when I participated in CYL organization activities, such as taking part in the May 4th Youth Day, attending the CYL opening meeting, the evaluation of excellent members and resume preparation. By contrast, only a few chose to state they always feel they are a CYL member (19%) (see Table 6).

Table 6

Statistics for the Recognition of the Students' CYL Identity

	Number of students (%)
When first joining the CYL	8 (21%)
Always	5 (19%)
During the CYL activities (e.g. May 4th Youth Day, attending the CYL meeting or being nominated for Award	13 (50%)
<i>Total</i>	26 (100%)

Diverging Meanings of Being a CYL Member

According to the interviews, some college students had a high recognition of their identity as CYL members, who could realize that being one meant responsibility and honor. They could also realize that the young CYL members are the reserves of the Party. By contrast, college CYL members who held an indifferent attitude towards their identity, directly led their low enthusiasm to participate in CYL organization activities hindering their pursuit of keeping advanced. When asked what the identity of being a CYL member meant to them, the student participants gave three answers: responsibility and honor, a channel for joining the Party, and indifferent attitude.

Some college students had a high recognition of their identity as CYL members, who could realize that being a CYL member meant responsibility and honor: responsibility and honor. For example, five students said that:

“I think being a CYL member means responsibility. As a member, we should make efforts in all aspects at least and furthermore, make some contributions to the Youth League organization. I'm also expecting some activities. We should have a sense of responsibility and remind ourselves that we are a CYL member. We must behave than non-CYL members and play a leading role”. (Student Participant 2)

“I think it means responsibility. When joining the Youth League organization, we feel closer to the CYL and the Party and feel that we are the successor of the society and the master of the country. If we join the CYL, we should contribute to our country. We should make improvements further to making contributions to our country in the future”. (Student Participant 3)

“Because we are in a socialist country, joining the CYL and the Party is a characteristic

that makes us different from other countries. Maybe it's because in socialist countries, there are many CYL members at our age. I feel honored sometimes because it is quite practical to join the Party in the future". (Student Participant 12)

"It means self-monitoring, self-discipline and self-improvement. Because CYL members are all excellent youth, we must work hard to keep up with the excellent ones". (Student Participant 15)

"I'm realistic and do not have a word. I don't think the CYL organization has a lot of activities in junior and senior high schools. I just want to join the Party and participate in the activities as a Party member as soon as possible". (Student Participant 4)

Four students showed an indifference attitude mainly because they can participate in various activities independently. There are many opportunities to participate in activities, not just as CYL members. Students said:

"It is a kind of responsibility in junior and senior high schools but we seldom pay attention to it. I don't think there are any specific measures and arrangements in our class, and there is nothing practical. When I was in college, I only cared about my study. My friends hardly talked about some topics about CYL members". (Student Participant 7)

"I feel OK because we can also participate in the activities that CYL members could be involved in colleges. I don't think there is anything different. We all did our obligations and participated in the activities as a CYL member". (Student Participant 10)

"I think there is nothing special because we can attend most activities". (Student Participant 14)

"It's not very important". (Student Participant 17)

According to J College CYL, the Youth League school has courses for students during one semester once they are in J College. It lasts 8 weeks. Youth League courses contain how to be a CYL member and some basic CYL knowledge. Students need to pass the exam. It showed that a few CYL members have not grasped the basic CYL knowledge firmly and pay little attention to it at present. This is because, on the one hand, college students lack this awareness; on the other hand, colleges and universities need to carry out more education activities regarding the political socialization knowledge of college students.

All the student participants thought it necessary to understand college students' political knowledge as CYL members but each of them had a different situation. Some felt that they knew it well, while others did not think so. The reason why some CYL members knew more about the college students' politicization knowledge is that their school or major is highly related to it. Furthermore, some schools might carry out CYL activities for students. Three students said:

"I think it's necessary and I also want to know something. I'm studying in the CYL school now. If you want to join the Party, you must at least have a certain understanding of the CYL and the Party; or I will study hard for it". (Student Participant 2)

"I think it's important for CYL members to understand the CYL knowledge. Because of my major, I have more CYL knowledge than others". (Student Participant 13)

"Quite necessary; I have a good knowledge of the CYL. The school organized some activities sometimes, such as CYL lessons". (Student Participant 17)

Most student participants thought that they did not know much about the basic knowledge of college students' politicization mainly because when joining the CYL, some members would have a certain understanding of the basic situation and basic information of the CYL, but with time passing by, these memories became hazy and they have forgotten most of the knowledge and have a blurred memory. For example, two students said:

"I am not clear about the CYL's song". (Student Participant 5)

"First, I was young when I joined it. At that time, I just thought joining the CYL meant affirmation. I need to learn and update a lot of knowledge". (Student Participant 14)

Three students paid little or no attention to CYL knowledge. For example, students said:

"There are many students who are CYL members in colleges. CYL members and non-CYL members attend many activities together. By feeling no difference, we will neglect our identity as CYL members". (Student Participant 10)

"If everyone can join the CYL whatever their knowledge and understandings, these knowledges become insignificant. Joining the CYL is an inevitable process regardless of their ideas or other aspects. If the CYL organization wants to make a difference, it must strengthen the construction in this respect and make people know the practical significance of joining the CYL. There are few people around us who know about the CYL. We are reluctant to listen to the CYL class but show interest in some CYL stories and something about ideal and reality". (Student Participant 11)

"I don't know much about it because I haven't paid special attention to it". (Student

Participant 15)

6.3 CYL Members' Values

Views on the Country

Five Students gave a positive answer on their view on the country. Students expressed their concern for national affairs and believe that as the future builders and masters of the country, they should have the sense of ownership and responsibility to care about national affairs. When being asked “Do you usually pay attention to state affairs?” Five students said:

“We must be concerned about state affairs because some policies will affect our own lives. Therefore, it is necessary to learn about state affairs through some social media”. (Student Participant 4)

“Understanding state affairs can enrich our knowledge and help understand the policy orientation”. (Student Participant 10)

“We should not only study hard but also learn about state affairs, pay attention to current news and enrich our knowledge. Actually, we can benefit a lot from the above”. (Student Participant 25)

“As the builder and master of the country in the future, we should have a sense of ownership. It is our responsibility to care about state affairs, to understand what is happening in the country, and the causes and consequences of these things”. (Student Participant 24)

“I am concerned about state affairs. My major is Childhood Education. I often care about the employment situation of some kindergarten teachers in the country, and I want to be a kindergarten teacher after graduation. Being concerned about state affairs can enrich my

horizons, improve my judgment, and grasp the latest dynamics, because they are closely related to my life”. (Student Participant 25)

However, two students answered indifferent to state affairs. For example, students said:

“Comparatively speaking, I am more concerned about my entertainment circle than about state affairs”. (Student Participant 5)

“I am not very concerned about state affairs, mainly because of the great academic pressure and a lot of exams”. (Student Participant 16)

When being asked “Are you satisfied with China's current development?” and “Are you satisfied with the government staff?”, most of the students expressed their satisfaction, especially the government's positive response after the COVID-19 epidemic. Most students stay at home during this time. Students insist on expressing their satisfaction and feelings to government in this special time. They answered that they were satisfied with China’s current development:

“I am satisfied and we need to adapt to society. Problems are everywhere. Where there is a problem, there is a way of self-improvement”. (Student Participant 8)

“I am quite satisfied. We should see the development of the country from a positive perspective. The country is constantly developing and progressing”. (Student Participant 10)

“I have been satisfied with this aspect. I think the administrative center became more convenient and the workers there were very friendly when I went there in the past two years. However, upon the outbreak of COVID-19, I felt very nervous at first, everything was very

chaotic, and I was very unhappy. Later, community workers took loudspeakers to make publicity in my community every day to tell everyone to calm down, pay attention to news and stay at home. I appreciate their efforts because I think they are very hard". (Student Participant 25)

"Satisfied. I often received messages from 10086 about our determination to fight against the epidemic in the outbreak of COVID-19, asking everyone to stay at home and go out less". (Student Participant 14)

"Satisfied. The government of my city sent a special bus to pick up the migrant workers stranded in Wuhan and brought them home safely. I was very happy to see them home. The government met enterprises' requirements to resume production and work, and kept production and life in a stable and orderly manner". (Student Participant 24)

Views on the Government

When being asked "What are your suggestions on government work?" After the outbreak of COVID-19, students expressed their desire to return to school, and hoped to increase their learning of some courses. For example, three students expressed their desire to return to school as soon as possible due to the impact of COVID-19. Students gave suggestions for the government work. For example, three students said:

"After the outbreak of COVID-19, many classes were suspended and online teaching was carried out. I hope I can make up the lessons and add some new courses as elective courses". (Student Participant 4)

“I hope the epidemic can disappear as soon as possible so that we can be back to school”.

(Student Participant 7)

“I want to go back to school as soon as possible. Everyone should wear masks and pay attention to safety”. *(Student Participant 20)*

Views on the World

When being asked “Do you follow the world news?” and “Which aspect do you care the most?” Most of the students expressed their concern for the world news. Four students were mainly concerned about the development of the epidemic during the COVID-19 outbreak. For example, four students said:

“I was most concerned on people’s livelihood because it is very related to our life. I think political news is too abstract and entertainment news too complicated. Recently, I knew that because of the influence of COVID-19, the whole world was buying masks and demand exceeded supply. I am also very worried about this. I think the government should purchase enough masks and distribute them to mass, particularly the old and the young”. *(Student Participant 14)*

“I am mainly concerned about COVID-19 and vaccine R & D. I wish vaccine can be developed successfully and used for the mass as soon as possible”. *(Student Participant 8)*

“I pay more attention to the travel news. I planned to travel to Japan during the winter vacation but I refunded my ticket because of COVID-19. I will go there after the epidemic

disappears”. (Student Participant 19)

“I am much concerned about COVID-19 and hope that doctors and nurses could take good care of themselves”. (Student Participant 26)

In the era of cultural exchange, integration, and diversified development, it is necessary to maintain students’ cultural identity in constantly changing environment and realize identity of values and political orientations. This implies the importance of multiculturalism, and an equal and open school environment should be constructed to encourage students to learn and refer excellent culture, broadening global vision. When being asked “Does cultural diversity affect your world view in today’s multicultural world?”, most students said that cultural diversity had a great impact on their view on the world and expressed we should respect other countries’ cultures besides loving our motherland. Students answered that cultural diversity had a great impact on their view on the world. Eight of them said:

“Multi-culture, as an important resource of a nation or country, can benefit future generations. The diversified and colorful traditional cultures of various nationalities and regions worldwide constitute a humanistic landscape with distinct charm. Therefore, although multi-culture brings a certain impact on national culture to a certain extent, it is somewhat conducive to the prosperity and development of nations and cultures in the world. It is self-evident that multi-culture has exerted in-depth influence in many aspects. New means of communication and entertainment, especially the Internet, have changed people’s way of life more transparently. I like shopping online and browse foreign websites directly. Moreover, I

can directly click on the foreign open course video to study the most advanced knowledge as soon as possible. This is also my favorite way of life and learning". (Student Participant 6)

"Every country has its own unique culture. We should respect other countries' culture. For example, cultural heritage is an important symbol of a country and a nation's historical and cultural achievements. We need to protect historic sites with a long history". (Student Participant 7)

"We should love the culture of our own country and respect the culture of others". (Student Participant 14)

"I like different cultures. Sometimes, I go and taste different cuisines around the world and how girls in other countries dress up". (Student Participant 20)

"Multi-culture helps promote communication and development. Development seems impossible if there is only one kind of culture". (Student Participant 21)

"We should retain the existing culture, absorb foreign culture and inherit national culture in future. Cultural diversity does not mean making culture single and boring". (Student Participant 25)

"I like Chinese traditional culture very much because of its national characteristics. I practiced calligraphy when I was in primary school. I also like the cultures of other countries and hope to travel there one day". (Student Participant 26)

Views on Individuals' Life Values

When being asked “What is the life value?” Students expressed different opinions on the value of life. Three students expressed the hope of living a comfortable life as well as to live a simple life, and their goals for life are more realistic. For example, three students answered:

“The question of life value is too broad. I think it means that I live a wonderful, comfortable life and don’t trouble others”. (Student Participant 25)

“The ordinary world is actually very simple. It means ordinary people engage in ordinary work. We expect a dignified life, such as buying a house, satisfying the basic urban consumption demands. I think amateur life is also needed.” (Student Participant 7)

*“I want to live every day comfortably and happily. I don’t want to grow old too fast”.
(Student Participant 26)*

Life means struggle and learning constantly. For example, students answered that they should work hard and make greater contributions to the society:

“I like the movie Operation Red Sea very much. This movie makes me feel that being a soldier can defend my country, so I want to be a soldier and realize my life value”. (Student Participant 9)

“I think the life value is to live and learn. For us ordinary people, we should enrich our knowledge and experience, increase self-cultivation and personality charm with interests and hobbies. In this way, life will be meaningful”. (Student Participant 5)

“People live and fight for happiness. I hope to work hard in the future, find fun in work, make tedious work interesting, and make myself carefree and healthy”. (Student Participant 12)

“The life value is to contribute to this society; I think hard work means serving the society. Everything is significant, whatever big or small ones”. (Student Participant 25)

Only one student answered: Don’t understand the life value.

“I often feel confused! Why do we live, just for eating, sleeping and shopping? I have no idea about my future”. (Student Participant 24)

When being asked about “the life goal”, and happy life, most students have a clear goal, a few thought it necessary to have a simple and happy life. Four students felt that a goal can be unnecessarily too big and would rather go step-by-step. Four students said: clear Life goals. For example:

“My goals: Never fail in exams, get scholarships, pass the CET-4 and CET-6 and the professional exam, join the Party organization, graduate smoothly, deal with interpersonal relations well, etc., but these need to come step-by-step. It is enough if I could realize all of them during my university study period”. (Student Participant 4)

“I want to live a wonderful life and start a business”. (Student Participant 25)

“I think I need to find a good job, make more money and live a better life”. (Student Participant 20)

“First of all, we need to adapt to life. We usually study in high school of our hometown but face a new environment in college. With more free time, we need to adjust and plan the pace of life instead of living aimlessly. Secondly, we should cultivate interests, such as reading, exercising and living a regular life; cultivate the passion with life, keep optimistic and positive,

and enhance our inner self-cultivation and physical health. We should also form a good habit of bookkeeping daily expenses and financial management, understand the aspects of living expenses, do a part-time job at ordinary times to earn some pocket money, and try to integrate into the society in advance; have some intimate friends, build good relations with roommates, encourage each other and learn teamwork spirit”. (Student Participant 24)

“Happiness reflects people’s attitude towards life at present”. (Student Participant 13)

“Live and doing things simply and get rid of anything that we cannot grasp and control. In this way, we can live a relaxed and happy life”. (Student Participant 17)

“Happiness means doing what you like every day and repeating this happy way and mood every day. It will become a habit with time goes by. In a word, we should do what we like”. (Student Participant 22)

“We need to learn how to enjoy life if we want to be relaxed”. (Student Participant 23)

6.4 Summary

The research interviews showed that young CYL members’ problems in political cognition and political identity have both similarities and differences. Students generally recognized the leadership of the Party and the government. In particular, most of the student participants supported the government’s active response to COVID-19 upon its outbreak. The CYL members interviewed could see social problems relatively rationally and maintain a calm and objective attitude, especially with regard to their ideas on COVID-19. The research interviews showed that the young CYL members’ problems in political cognition and political identity have both similarities and differences. With intense social changes, young students are showing distinctive

personalities in unique political and social environment where they live. Under this circumstance, it is important to cultivate, construct and promote political trust of student groups. Young students' optimistic and positive attitude towards the future is an important psychological cornerstone for building political trust. The continuous reforms and adjustments of the government itself play a fundamental role in the reconstruction of political trust of the youth. Only by this way can it win broad support of the public, including young students. Actually, positive reforms measures shall dramatically enhance political trust of students.

However, there are some problems in the youth' political cognition and identity but the overall situation is favorable. Only a few CYL members had a certain one-sided understanding of the basic political theory, or had ideological puzzles and hazy understandings on some basic problems. Most of the CYL members kept a positive attitude towards the views on world, life and values. CYL members could make choices in a more pragmatic and self-centered manner. Most CYL members showed an acceptance attitude towards the multi-cultural phenomenon and expressed their appreciation on traditional Chinese culture. Only one student answered: Don't understand the life value. A few college CYL members' understanding of the view on the world is not comprehensive and specific enough. Actually, in the process of students' political participation, it should educate critical spirit of college students. Facing the period of cultural development and transformation, college students should actively exert creativity to participate different activities. The next chapter will discuss the results in relation to the research questions with a focus on the implication of the results for theory, policy and practice.

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the results related to the college students' political participation. This chapter will discuss the results in relation to the research questions with a focus on the implication of the results for theory, policy and practice. Section 7.2 discusses the results in relation to Research Question 1. Section 7.3 discusses the results in relation to Research Question 2. Section 7.4 discusses the results in relation to Research Question 3. Section 7.5 discusses the results in relation to Research Question 4. Section 7.6 provides an overview of the chapter.

7.2 The Findings in Relation to Research Question 1

This study had two objectives:

1. To propose a political socialization model that applies to the CYL.
2. To analyse political of socialization and the relationship between political trust and political participation.

The study compared results of the semi-structured interviews, field investigations and document analysis, summarizing the main findings in relation to the research questions.

The first finding is related to Research Question 1: *How do students as members of CYL understand the processes of political socialization?*

My findings showed that students can understand the information transmitted to them through the process of political socialization. First, most of the students viewed social problems rationally and objectively. Second, a number of students had not yet formed a mature outlook on life and values, and failed to plan their life goals. Third, a few college students had not developed a global outlook.

Findings in Relation to Theory

According to Meng and Ma (2017), the political socialization of college students is a process of the unity of a duality: the external political system with its political information and the internal political identity of the individual. My findings show a different phenomenon: namely, the political socialization of college students in this study did not reflect this duality. For a few students, although a minority, it seems that individual identity may be more influential than the external political system. This suggests that transmission, engagement and pedagogical processes may not be as effective as might be assumed by their designers. It may also suggest that for some individuals, the messages are not well received or they may not be accepted.

There are lessons here for the CYL. How can members be supported with understanding the theories related to the political system? For example, colleges regularly organized a series of “expert lectures” activities to guide the CYL members to establish an outlook on life and values that helped to strengthen their political awareness, and helped them to develop a clear political standpoint. Ways of doing this were identified in the on-campus visits. For instance, the “Red Melody” publicity team was held by the CYL of J College, and it explained in detail the integration of Chinese culture and its role in the history of social development, such as *Love the Motherland*. In addition, the CYL convened “lectures by famous teachers” to analyze issues of

“international situation” in the current situation. These kinds of activities have been designed to help college students understand the current international situation, talk about topics related to it, help students analyze questions and answer doubts, thus, gradually strengthening the political awareness of CYL members.

Activities can also be linked to current issues and events. For example, after the “Two Sessions” in 2021, part of China’s parliamentary meetings, the CYL youth held a CYL class “Analysis of the National Two Sessions” to deepen college students’ understanding and cognition of current politics and teach them to explore problems rationally. The group CYL class training also held a seminar on “Shenzhou No. 12, Talking about China’s Development”. College students expressed their understanding and hope for China’s future in response to the development of national aerospace industry. The class triggered a discussion on ideals and pursuits of college student CYL members who could be urged to establish a sense of social responsibility and clarify their ideals.

The above suggestions are ways that could possibly strengthen the political socialisation process associated with the CYL activities. They recognize that the theory of political socialisation does not always work with every student in bringing together the external political system and individual identity. If this is a system goal, then different ways of using the CYL activities need to be considered.

Findings in Relation to Policy

In 2004, the CPC Central Committee and the State Council pointed out in the *Opinions on Further Strengthening and improving the ideological and political education of college students* (2004): From the strategic and overall perspective, this opinion emphasizes Party committees

and governments at all levels should fully understand the major education of strengthening and improving the ideological and political education of college students. This opinion also put the major issues of who to be trained and how to train in an important position in the process of political education by earnestly strengthen leadership. Ideological and political work should through the whole process of education and teaching (Xi, 2014).

My findings show that the Party committees and their members do understand how to better educate and improve their ideology, and also strengthen leadership. Party committees and their members have a clear understanding that better education can improve ideology, and strengthen leadership. In the above quotation, political education is seen as the way to achieve these objectives. Yet, my results suggest that such education does not always achieve its objectives.

Policies are important ways of signaling a government's or a political party's expectations. Yet, if policies are to be successful, they need to be promoted and supported – this includes the one referred to in the quotation above. The announcement of a policy should be seen only as the first step in making it a reality. The CYL can play an important role in helping students be aware of laws and policies and what needs to be done in order to make them successful.

The CYL can play an important role in developing and supporting new and existing law and policies. It can adopt various forms to publicize relevant policies and regulations related to political participation in politics for college students. This can boost the awareness and concept of the legal system for the CYL members. College students can set up standards for judging right and wrong, learn to participate in politics, and cultivate the sense of fairness. Moreover, they should be educated and guided to consciously maintain social fairness and justice in accordance with legal principles and moral concepts. Understanding policies can help them to do this.

Furthermore, gaining a deeper understanding of policies and regulations may help those students who, to date, have not fully benefited from the CYL activities and objectives. Policies bring students closer to the purposes and objectives of political participation and can boost the awareness and concepts relating to the legal system.

In other words, policies bring the political system to students and allow them to evaluate the system for themselves. This means that they do not have to rely on what others say or what others tell them. They can see for themselves, ask questions and discuss. Policies can make the world of politics seem real and this is what might assist those students who do not always receive the messages taught by their CYL teachers. Policies can be used to teach and spread the messages that have been endorsed by the political system.

Findings in Relation to Practice

The CYL uses multiple practices as a means of political socialisation. These include organizing visits to the Revolutionary History Memorial Hall and history museums, organizing visits to the old revolutionary base areas, conducting research based on professional knowledge and focusing on ‘hot’ issues. In particular, the Party and CYL Theme Party Day activities, campus cultural activities, red volunteer service, and ideological and political theory courses are also important. My findings indicated that all these activities and practices strengthened political socialization, ideological awareness and affinity with the Party for the majority of students. Yet, they were not successful with all students.

The key characteristic of the activities referred to the above is that they are designed to connect with students’ real lives. Ideological and political education integrated in this way

should not be seen as something separate from the daily life of students. In order to help all of the CYL members, but especially those who have found difficulty in achieving the desired outcomes, it is very important to create a good campus environment that is welcoming and open. Personality development and the mental health of college students can be affected by the physical and humanistic environment of the campus. In particular, the small details of such things as school spirit, school discipline and class discipline cannot be ignored. For instance, J College has organized social welfare activities many times, including a “Bright Future” book donation activity, and “supporting education activities” that have enabled the CYL members to exercise and make improvements. In practical activities, positive energy affects can affect students and can be part of what could be called the ‘invisible’ education of college life.

All CYL activities need to be evaluated for the effect they have on students. Activities need to mobilize enthusiasm and encourage maximum involvement. Students can be involved in jointly organizing, planning and implementing activities. Yet, the important thing is that whatever activities are planned, they need to be effective and achieve the desired results. At times, activities can be planned with bright themes and diverse styles, so that the CYL members can learn to think independently and cherish teamwork. Yet, unless there are systematic evaluations of these kinds of activities, their effectiveness cannot be judged. For example, they may be effective for a few students but not others. Course organizers and teachers need to provide feedback on the effectiveness of activities so that students who are having problems can be identified and supported.

7.3 The Findings in Relation to Research Question 2

The second finding related to Research Question 2: Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political trust?

The answer is joining the Communist Youth League is conducive to cultivating political trust. Most college students had a high recognition of their identity as CYL members, who could realize that being one meant responsibility and honor. When being asked “Are you satisfied with China’s current development?” and “Are you satisfied with the government staff?” most of the students expressed their satisfaction, especially the government's positive response after the COVID-19 epidemic, they answered satisfied with China’s current development. By contrast, college CYL members who held an indifferent attitude towards their identity, which directly led to their low enthusiasm to participate in Youth League organization activities and hindered their pursuit of keeping advanced.

Findings in Relation to Theory

Tang (2011) argued that “political trust has an enhanced effect on the motivation of public political participation” (p. 49). Yet, my results have suggested a reverse relationship: participation in the CYL appeared to be associated with enhancing levels of trust.

First, the learning that takes place for the CYL members is one means of developing trust. This can happen, for example, by learning political basic theories. College students have strong independent thinking and self-study abilities to help them understand professional knowledge and political principles. After class, members can consciously pay more attention to current

affairs news and newspaper reviews, in order to cultivate their political acumen and in the process of developing political trust.

Secondly, the improvement of political trust requires the support and guidance of colleges that are major platforms for disseminating and cultivating mainstream social political concepts in the new era. As for teachers in charge of ideological and political theory, they can explore and analyze existing hot events by using theories in textbooks, and adopt vivid language to arouse students who are interested in politics. The ideological and political theory courses focus on students, help to mobilize their enthusiasm, allow them to play a central role in class through group discussions, teaching salons and other methods. This helps them to develop ownership over what they learn and, therefore, develop further political trust.

Moreover, colleges should positively guide college students' political understanding, political values, and political trust through ideological education courses. Teaching methods should be changed from traditional instillation to the combination of theory learning and practices. Teachers impart theoretical knowledge, and students initiatively participate in discussions. Colleges may guide students to discuss developments and changes in domestic and international situations, as well as some social hot issues and focal issues. This is hoped to mobilize students' enthusiasm in class and heighten political passion. As students are overwhelmed by new media, they should open media education courses appropriately in order to help students establish correct views of the media.

The interaction between college students' effective political socialization and political participation has brought many positive effects to the society and promoted political trust. This interaction can improve the political environment and enrich the political experience of college students. In the process of imperceptible influence, this interaction makes college students

integrate into the society, enhances their sense of national identity, strengthens the national cohesion, and is conducive to the stability of China's political system. However, although college students' political participation activities are constantly improving due to the improvement of the political environment, and have an optimistic prospect of expanding the political participation groups, so how can college students enhance their political trust and better participate in politics? I think, we need to combine the interactive relationship between political socialization and political participation.

College students, according to their own goals, formulate reasonable and efficient political participation plans, and participate in politics which could achieve the positive interaction between them and the social political system. First, attention to cognition. College students need to learn and communicate with the outside world in order to gain a correct understanding of politics in line with China's political laws and the mechanism and role of China's politics. Secondly, diversified political participation. To choose the most suitable and efficient way for college students to participate in politics cannot be limited to one way. We should enhance college students' ability to participate in politics through a variety of ways of participation, and also carry out propaganda through a variety of communication channels. Third, political practice. After the preparatory work, college students can participate in various political activities, elections and so on. What needs to be put forward here is that in this process, college students should sum up the difficulties they encounter in their attempts to participate in politics. Finally, summarize the experience. After the early preparation, college students try to participate in politics and accumulate experience.

Findings in Relation to Policy

Policies are developed at different levels in the political system and in the light of my results, there are implications for policy development at these different levels. The issue for policy development is how policies at different levels of the political system can facilitate. According to the speech at National Conference of Ideological and Political Work in Colleges and Universities in 2016, President Xi (2016) commented to enhancing the grass roots structure construction of Colleges and Universities. The results of my study suggest how policies can be developed to respond to this.

The trust developed as a result of CYL membership can be further developed by consolidating and prioritizing the responsiveness of the local and national governments. On graduation, the further political participation of students should be encouraged. This will help to build confidence and further develop trust. Space can be found for student representatives on committees to allow them to experience decision making while engaging them in meaningful experiences.

While still in college, students can also be given opportunities to engage. There can be open channels of communication to allow them to express their ideas and opinions. If students do not feel they are trusted, it is unlikely that they will develop trust. With the pace of change in the country, as well as the influence of globalization, together with accelerated population mobility, students need to feel they have some input in order to build up their political trust.

Findings in Relation to Practice

As Shangguan et al. (2011) concluded, political trust is “a political phenomenon which refers to the belief, entrustment and expectation generated from public direct or indirect

interaction with the political system” (p. 99). My findings could support the argument: political participation helps to develop political trust.

The CYL activities need to focus on participation since they will help in the development of students’ political trust. The degree of political trust of the CYL members is likely to be influenced by their subjective about the opportunities to participate in politics. They can also participate in political organizations, such as the Jiu San Society, or internship in the Party and government organs for participating in the selection of civil servants. Additional opportunities for participation need to be developed to allow students to benefit from their engagement.

While my study has shown that participation can build political trust, there is also a need to develop political interest. Across the activities organized for students as part of their CYL membership, they should be encouraged to express their opinions, to discuss, and be respected. They need to know that their opinion counts, that they can influence political ideas and the political system. The CYL teachers need to organize activities in such a way that they not only teach the knowledge for which they are responsible while also engaging students. Interest and trust go together and all the CYL activities should reflect this.

7.4 The Findings in Relation to Research Question 3

The third finding was related to Research Question 3: Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political participation?

My results indicated that CYL membership impacts upon their members’ political participation. The CYL organized a variety of activities to enrich the students’ experiences of political participation. Most CYL members when asked “*when do did you realize that you are a*

CYL member?” reported that “when I participated in Youth League organization activities, such as CYL opening meeting, the evaluation of excellent members and resume preparation” and some others reported “when I just joined the League”. It can be seen that when the CYL organization has a clear activity that CYL membership could facilitate the development of political participation.

The CYL has a clear political agenda in engage the students. In this study, some student participants also considered being the CYL member as a means to join the Communist Party. For example: Student Participant 13 said: *“Get prepared to join the Party in the future and learn more knowledge”*. Student Participant 25 said: *“Maybe this is the premise of joining the Party. There is no such a problem in our school. Many of the CYL members can join the Party smoothly”*.

Student participants, however, showed less interest in following the CYL’s political agenda but intend to enhance their personal development in the process of participating in political activities. The students reported that they can improve their skills by participating in different political activities; in other words, different political activities have different promoting effects on the college students. For example, Student Participant 17 stated that: *“I am not very active in university activities. I hope to know more about society, improve my communication skills, and make more friends and classmates through these activities”*. Student Participant 10 said: *“I feel OK because we can also participate in the activities that CYL members could be involved in colleges. I don’t think there is anything different. We all did our obligations and participated in the activities as a CYL member”*. Student Participant 14 said: *“I think there is nothing special because we can attend most activities”*.

On the whole, CYL membership can provide a path for the university students' political participation in Chinese universities through offering some training sessions and organizing different activities on campus. Moreover, CYL membership can also enable college students to participate in the political activities of other social organizations, for example, the Red Cross Society of China (RCSC) or the China Association for Science and Technology (CAST). If the CYL tasks are carried out in these organizations, the CYL will attract and motivate youth organizations. Students could also learn to understand the Chinese society and participate in social practices from different perspectives.

Findings in Relation to Theory

In theory, CYL membership can stimulate participation and does so for most students. As Tsimonis (2018) mentioned, the CYL strives to attract and respond to students' interests and demands by broadening consultation channels and deepening participation in providing welfare services. From the practices, I find that this theory is true, but the picture may be more complex. For example, some of the CYL members want to gain leadership experience and expertise, and some want to improve communication skills or improve team cooperation and organization ability and so on. It means that the motivations of the CYL members are diverse and complex. The theory of CYL membership, therefore, and political participation need to pay attention to the motivation of its members.

Actually, the CYL members will understand the world clearly and comprehensively through situation and policies courses. Student Participant 4 said: *"We must concern state affairs because some policies will affect our own lives. Therefore, it is necessary to learn about state affairs*

through some social media". Student Participant 25 said: *"We should not only study hard but also learn about state affairs, pay attention to current news and enrich our knowledge. Actually, we can benefit a lot from the above"*. Student Participant 24 said: *"As the builder and master of the country in the future, we should have a sense of ownership. It is our responsibility to care about state affairs, to understand what is happening in the country, and the causes and consequences of these things"*. Student Participant 10 said: *Understanding state affairs can enrich our knowledge and help understand the policy orientation*. Moreover, during education, college students should be taught to better understand contemporary social and political phenomena and trends in society, and participate in the political situation with positive attitudes and ideas.

Generally speaking, in a democratic, fair and just political environment, and in a political environment where the CYL can learn and gain political experience, members of the CYL have the opportunity to gain rich political experience through political participation. Zhou (1999) argued that political participation refers to the behavior that citizens participate in within the social and political process in order to fight for, realize and safeguard their own interests and directly or indirectly influence political decision-making. The CYL provides a framework for the students' political participation in the university setting, but the student members' participation in politics is bound to be restricted by the CYL's agenda. The formation of the political environment is a collection of long-term political conditions. Especially in the summer social practice every year, most members of the CYL participate actively and gain rich political experience. Most students expressed that they would continue to participate in the activities organized by the CYL. It can be seen that the democratic political atmosphere of the CYL can encourage students' political participation.

Findings in Relation to Policy

The CYL plays a strong role in Chinese youth's political development and lots of policies have been issued regarding the CYL at different levels, such as the 'Implementation Opinions on promoting the medium and long term youth development plan (2016-2025) during the 14th Five Year Plan period' and the 'Regulations on the election of local organizations of the Communist Youth League of China' (2021). In recent years, the emphasis has been put on how to engage the emerging various student association in the CYL's institutional structure in the Chinese universities. For example, the *Interim measures for the administration of student associations in colleges and universities* (2016) made the point on strengthening and improving the work of the student union is an important part of implementing the party's educational policy. What is more, promoting quality education should also under the unified leadership of the Party committee of colleges and universities as an important task. The findings of this study also show that how the operation of student associations may interact with the CYL in influencing the Chinese university students' political participation. Xu (2012) argued that the CYL has the power to legalize voluntary service under the current regime, and this legalization effort may consolidate the development of the CYL. Xu's argument suggests the complicated relationship between the CYL and student-led associations in Chinese universities. Currently, the CYL's management for these student associations has transformed from a direct to an indirect manner. This is also an important form of promoting student participation. In the management of the university, the relationship between the CYL and student organizations can be closer and cooperate with each other. For example, activities such as selection of advanced students, selection of student cadres, or decision-making on major issues of class, open mechanism and supervision mechanism of class affairs must be modified constantly, so as to exercise students' capabilities in solving

public affairs. Regular student symposia can be held by the CYL to listen to the suggestions of students on study, campus management, classroom teaching and others. At the same time, colleges may set up student suggestion boxes, or develop forums and other paths to improve channels through which students can express opinions and appeals, intending to intensify the participation ability of college students in politics.

Findings in Relation to Practice

My findings suggested that the practices of the CYL political participation enhance member's participation in activities such as political activities, community services, volunteer activities and so on.

Wu (2003) states that university students' political participation is the activity in which contemporary university students participate in political life and influence political decision making through institutionalized or non-institutionalized channels based on their cognition of the country's political status quo. The present study suggests that the CYL members and students should be more passionate about political participation. Members actively cultivate political participation ability and enthusiasm for political life, follow and understand government news via various opportunities, actively participate in political life, and contribute opinions for the development of the country and society. In addition, there should be a positive attitude. Naturally, college students should consciously study national laws and regulations on political participation, understand methods and means of political participation, and participate in politics in an orderly manner under the premise of fully complying with laws.

Yu (2012) points that there are many ways by which university students can participate in politics, such as the expression of opinions, political votes, political association, political social

practices, volunteer actions, and political non-participation. Moreover, the CYL members can autonomously organize ideological and political research clubs, to deeply understand political theories and political events, and enhance their ability to participate in politics. It is obviously, the CYL is an organization of advanced youth groups, occupying a special political position in the socialist system with Chinese characteristics. In other words, the CYL may encourage college students to actively participate in politics. Its education is not only the education of cultural skills but also political education through social practice and organizational life training and practice, so that the youth receive political education and life outlook education in the group. Their political rights should be protected and, based on this, colleges should help college students learn political expression while cultivating qualified citizens, so as to establish correct political concepts. As a result, political participation is also an important way and method to carry out ideological and political education for CYL members and help them develop. In this regard, the CYL can construct more ideological and political clubs for college students, aiming to expand the influence of clubs.

7.5 The Findings in relation to Research Question 4

The fourth finding was related to Research Question 4: What are the other influences on college students' political socialization in addition to CYL membership?

My results indicated that in addition to CYL membership, government, non-government organizations or other activities have influences on political socialization. When being asked “Are you satisfied with China's current development?” “Are you satisfied with the government staff?” Most of the students expressed their satisfaction, especially with regard to the government’s positive response after the COVID-19 epidemic, they answered satisfied with

China's current development. For example, Student Participant 10 said: *"I am quite satisfied. We should see the development of the country from a positive perspective. The country is constantly developing and progressing"*. Student Participant 25 said: *"I have been satisfied with this aspect. I think the administrative center became more convenient and the workers there were very friendly when I went there in the past two years. However, upon the outbreak of COVID-19, I felt very nervous at first, everything was very chaotic, and I was very unhappy. Later, community workers took loudspeakers to make publicity in my community every day to tell everyone to calm down, pay attention to news and stay at home. I appreciate their efforts because I think they are very hard"*. Student Participant 14 said: *"Satisfied. I often received messages from 10086 about our determination to fight against the epidemic in the outbreak of COVID-19, asking everyone to stay at home and go out less"*. Only one student expressed indifference to state affairs. Student Participant 16 said that: *"I am not very concerned about state affairs, mainly because of the great academic pressure and a lot of exams"*.

My results indicated the importance of non-government organizations or other activities as a source of information. Student Participant 1 said, for example, *"During the weekends or summer holidays, I will take part in the volunteering activities held by my community if I have time. Last summer vacation, my community recruited volunteers to teach in a kindergarten nearby, and the work was to tell kids stories. I participated in it and was responsible to tell stories to 30 children. At first, I chose the picture book together with the kindergarten teacher, and then got familiar with the story as soon as possible, and at last, told it to the children fluently. The kids surrounded me when I told the story, and I exaggerated my movements and voice when it came to an interesting part, which made the children laugh. In my opinion, telling children stories in picture books is "very meaningful". In this way, children can both enjoy the beauty of pictures*

and learn to love reading". Student Participant 13 said: *"We have many chances to travel abroad now to appreciate different views and broaden our vision"*. Student Participant 19 said: *"I studied overseas as an exchange student and joined one short-term training in a foreign university. From these activities, I learned different knowledge"*. Student Participant 22 said: *"I once performed in a foreign university with my chorus mates. I felt so happy and the activity is my unforgettable experience"*. It can be seen that different activities contribute an important part in the political practice of college students, with obvious political and pedagogical characteristics, aiming to promote the formation of ideological concepts that meet the needs of society. In the global era, it is essential to update the content of the political socialization of college students, and keep them updated with new ideas through different activities, ideological education, political education, among others. At the same time, new challenges of political socialization accompanying globalization require college students to rise up to the collision and integration of diverse cultures and develop global concepts and cultural ideas required for active participation in globalization. Therefore, the cultivation of global awareness could also part of the politicization of college students as members of the CYL in the new era.

On the whole, the political socialization of college students needs to improve their global vision. It is subject to formulation and implementation of government policies and the effectiveness of government work. The governing ability and the governance performance of political party may influence the recognition and emotions of college students for the Party. What is worth mentioning is that the interactive communication of peer groups can expand the channels of college students' political socialization. Attaching importance to cultivating the correct political view among peers could also play an exemplary and leading role, so that college students can constantly improve their political self and become rational citizens.

Findings in Relation to Theory

According to Wang (2016), this study used the question: “How do you feel about the Taiwanese government”? (p. 527) This research measured the assimilation degree of Chinese mainland students, but the statistics showed that this variable did not have a significant impact on the change of political trust in China. My findings also show the phenomenon: specifically, other than the CYL activities, students have other channels to acquire political information through, for example, government and non-government organizations. The findings also suggest the internationalization of Chinese universities may have an impact upon the students’ political socialization. The improvement of the government management level can improve students’ political trust from a macro perspective through better fulfilling its functions and establishing democratic legal systems. Meanwhile, channels for the political participation of college students should be broadened, to accelerate political communication, increase demands for political participation, and expand participation channels. Functions of the political system shall be reflected and shortcomings can be modified only when there is active participation of students, laying a solid foundation for college students to elevate their political trust.

On the whole, the continuous positive reforms and adjustments of the government itself play a fundamental role in the reconstruction of political trust of the youth. Actually, in the globalization period, young students are showing distinctive personalities in the unique political and social environment where they live. Under this circumstance, it is important to cultivate, construct and promote the political trust of student groups. The youth hold optimistic and positive attitudes towards the future, which, of course, is a significant psychological cornerstone

to reconstruct their political trust. Only by this way can it win broad support of the public, including young students.

Findings in Relation to Policy

In fact, positive reform measures can be reflected in the government's management of nongovernmental organizations in China. The development of social organizations and non-government organizations help to building a harmonious society and promoting the process of modernization. Therefore, the government should relax the control of social organizations, improve the institutional environment of organizations, encourage social organizations to manage society, become a good helper of the government, and make civil society develop orderly and healthily in a good environment. In recent years, in view of various problems faced by social activities in the development process, China has established many relevant laws and regulations such as: *Law of the People's Republic of China on Administration of Activities of Overseas Nongovernmental Organizations in the Mainland of China*. The implementation date was November 5, 2017. This law has encouraged a safe and harmonious environment. But in the changing era, social organizations and non-government organizations activities should be constantly improved to deal with complex situation. My findings give suggestions:

Li (2009) pointed out that higher education institutions cultivate active citizen learning, where students are reflective and open social subjects, thus, promoting the development of a vibrant civil society. The CYL promotes the political socialization of Chinese college students. The CYL could also serving as a channel for cultivating global awareness among youth in China. The CYL fosters and accelerates the political socialization of college students through its guiding and educational functions. The political socialization of college students needs to play a leading

role in ideological construction and guide young students' ability to communicate, absorb, and choose in multicultural exchanges. Therefore, emphasis should be laid on the guiding function of the global culture in the process of the political socialization of college students. Finally, the advantage of the politicization of college students as members of the CYL can be manifested in the ideological education and guidance of college students in practice, as opposed to the traditional counterparts that takes place in schools. The global consciousness raising can also be integrated and permeated into the school curriculum, campus education, and other educational processes, and the cultivation of global consciousness is necessary and feasible.

College students' political socialization should deal with the relationship between localization and internationalization. Internationalization is the inevitable trend of economic globalization. The further openness of society requires that civic education should not only introduce characteristics of the socialist country, but also conform to the reality of social development. At the same time, globalization is a characteristic of the times of contemporary society. Economic globalization has brought about globalization of the entire society, politics, culture, etc. Political socialization must be in line with the development requirements of globalization. In other words, China's political socialization should focus on cultivating Chinese citizens with a sense of subjectivity, awareness of rights and obligations, and initiative of participation. A broad mind for the entire world citizenry can be fostered, in order to incorporate the universal values and global pursuits into civic education. These universal values are universal, regardless of regions, races or ethnic characteristics.

Findings in Relation to Practice

According to Tsimonis (2018), “CYL cadres occupy a weak position in the academic, generational, and political hierarchies on campus, a situation that compromises the CYL’s potential for a renewed and more responsive engagement with students” (p. 170). My findings showed the CYL activities can be improved as follows:

Firstly, by highlighting the political functions of the CYL whose members are mostly young people. The CYL should recognize the importance of political education for college students; it should publicize political education among college students considering modern mainstream activity modes. For example, Student Participant 7 said: *“I think our school can provide policy support for the school CYL committee so that it could organize activities more lively and innovatively”*. . . . Student Participant 12 said: *“I think the activities should cover a certain period of time and can be longer. You may harvest little by involving a 1-day activity. The effect will be different for a 1-month activity”*.

Secondly, by expanding the service functions of the CYL. In the new era, young students will encounter problems in study, life, practices, and making friends, which requires the CYL to provide humane and comprehensive services to meet the diverse demands of college students. For example, Student Participant 6 said: *“I hope the CYL committee can cooperate with some companies to expand the practice platform. The activity can be a long-term one. A long-time base for learning and practice may be a good choice so that students from different departments can join it at different times”*. Student Participant 24 said: *“I hope some activities can be innovative. Some of them are outdated and not attractive”*. Therefore, the CYL should profoundly understand that each young student expand its works by analyzing the characteristics of students and their concerns, and stimulate the enthusiasm of students to participate in activities. Moreover, as an organization for serving youth groups, it needs to realize the practical

needs of college students, and correctly guide their needs while offering support and assistance. The CYL adopts modern scientific and technological means, and also accepts traditional service carriers, such as providing services via student publications, campus activity centers, and broadcasting stations. These methods better help college students to protect their rights. Strictly speaking, college Youth League organizations should guide and educate college students in services, and support them to establish political ideals and political beliefs, realizing political socialization. It is necessary to follow the concept of serving the youth, and take students' satisfaction with the CYL as the basic criterion for testing the work of the CYL. In the long run, it is conducive to strengthening the appeal of the CYL in the ideological political work of colleges.

The management of the government needs to be continuously improved with the passage of times. The relationship between the government and the society will be repositioned. More precisely, the government can conditionally relax social activities, exert self-regulating ability of social subjects, and implement limited intervention. Consequently, the government should actively polish the image of the rule of law, responsibility, and high-efficient image, and realize limited governance, fair and just governance.

In short, government and non-government organizations or other activities can work together to enrich the political socialization experience of college students. Providing college students with the opportunity to participate in non-government organizations or other activities can enrich their experience of political socialization. Diverse activities are celebrated every year, offering college students with opportunities to join in political activities during their schooling. Participating in activities, college students will master capabilities in problems analysis,

treatment and solving. Government and non-government organizations or other activities also allow college students to understand how to contribute to society, serve others, and find ways to realize the value of life and open channels for students to achieve political socialization. Meanwhile, peer group communication is also an increasingly important educational model. It is necessary to encourage and advocate peer education so as to really promote college students to continuously enhance their political ability in order to ensure a healthy and orderly political environment.

CHAPTER 8: CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

Chapter 7 discussed the findings in relation to the research questions with a focus on the implication of the results for theory, policy and practice. This chapter draws the study to a close. It is composed of six sections. Section 8.2 provides a summary of the different chapters in the thesis. Section 8.3 narrates the theoretical and empirical contributions of the research to the political socialization of college students. Section 8.4 outlines the research limitations. Section 8.5 highlights the implications for future research. Section 8.6 draws the thesis to a close.

8.2 Thesis Summary

Chapter 1 introduced the research aims, research questions, research design, significance and the structure of this research. In this study, four relevant questions have been discussed: RQ1: How do students as members of the CYL understand the processes of political socialization? RQ2: Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political trust? RQ3: Does CYL membership facilitate the development of political participation? RQ4: What are the other influences on college students' political socialization in addition to CYL membership?

Chapter 2 reviewed the literature on political socialization, participation and trust and their relationship. In this study, a framework was constructed where political socialization, trust and participation were considered as a cyclical process linked to the political system. It explored the politicization process for college students in the CYL, and investigated the mutual effects of political socialization, political trust and political participation, reflecting the entire system.

In addition, the relationship among political socialization, trust and participation provided a conceptual basis for the study. Political socialization is the political attitudes and beliefs an individual acquires through learning and transformation in the society. It is a political education process influencing individuals' attitudes to and acceptance of the political system. It is also the communication of political culture. Political trust is difficult to be directly observed. Individuals may gradually establish political trust through political socialization or the opposite may occur. Schoon and Cheng (2011) believed that political trust is the belief of citizens that institutions are competent and provide services fairly. Political participation is the practice of political activities. The relationship between political socialization and political trust is that one of the objectives of political socialization is hopefully the development of political trust.

Chapter 3 introduced the Communist Youth League (CYL) and its role in political education in China's higher education system. The CYL is an organization for transmitting the dominant ideologies of the Communist Party of China (CPC) to youth and preparing some of them for membership. The CYL is one of the key players supporting political education in Chinese educational institutions.

Chapter 4 focused on the research methods. In this study, qualitative research methods were used. Information was collected using interviews, which was helpful to explore the college students' political activities and educational models directly revealing their political socialization experience. The study also explored Chinese college students' experiences of political participation based on the data collected during the field visits at the four case universities. College students' political participation promotes political trust.

Chapter 5 presented the research results of the activity content during the interviews which mainly included the activities that the informants experienced personally. It presented different types of activities organized by the CYL and explained the students' perceptions and critical reflections of the CYL activities. Teachers' perceptions about the CYL activities were also included in this chapter.

Chapter 6 explored the results of the interviews with some CYL members in order to understand their views on the world, life and values and their ideas on the country, the government and the world. It also presented the identities of the college CYL members.

Chapter 7 discussed the results in relation to the research questions. It began by discussing the results in relation to Research Question 1. Then, the results in relation to Research Questions 2-4 were discussed. This chapter discussed the results in relation to the research questions with a focus on the implication of the results for theory, policy and practice.

8.3 Research Contributions

This section explains the contribution of this study to theories and practices of college students' political socialization.

Contributions to the Theoretical Development of Chinese University Students' Political Socialization

In this study, the political socialization of college students was investigated in relation to their membership of the CYL. Its purpose was to contribute to the development of theoretical research on political socialization in China, including the implications for policy and practice. As shown in this study, the CYL guided the political socialization of youth through introducing

them to the study of ideological and political theories, various practical activities, and training for collective life.

Contribution to Understanding the CYL's Roles and Development in Chinese Colleges under the Xi Jinping Administration

The findings of this study indicated that the theme activities organized by the CYL Committee, for example, patriotic theme activities, environmental protection theme activities serve as an important way of college students' political participation. They originate from current political hotspots, with significant effect, so, are preferred by teachers and students. In addition, there are also other forms of political activities for college students organized by the CYL, such as volunteering, summer practice, science and technology competitions, signifying diverse forms of college students' political activities. The political activities organized by the college CYL have expedited construction of political culture. The CYL will hold political activities annually that transmit the CPC's mainstream ideologies, boost construction of college political culture, and further accelerate the political socialization of students. For example, during the "May 4th" Youth Festival, the CYL calls on members to launch activities, so as to highlight patriotic education, and promote the CPC's policies and theories. These activities have created a political and cultural atmosphere of colleges and actively facilitated the development of political culture on campus.

Serving as the Party's assistant and reserve of the party, the CYL boasts of a long history and good traditions, playing an important role in socialist work and construction. Under the new era, with changes in economic and social structures, new problems have emerged in its development. The development of the CYL should focus on getting close to the youth, and to

serve the youth. Therefore, it is particularly important to innovate in systems connecting with youth. For the CYL, all work should be youth-oriented. In my opinion, youth league organizations can deepen the connections with youth only by unblocking and innovating the expression channels of the youth. The youth shall be attracted all the time when advancing with the times, paying great importance to the new characteristics of the youth. Mechanisms connecting the youth will be implemented effectively provided that resources and work guarantee mechanism of youth league organizations are launched. Policies can be improved to the development of reforms, establishing contacts with the youth in a true sense. In other words, the development of the CYL, instead of a simple adjustment and improvement, is truly a profound self-renovation, which requires the adjustment of resources, power and relations of the CYL organizations. In the long run, the CYL shall be enlightened and encouraged to carry out work as a group, and create opportunities for people who are concerned about youth work in order to serve the youth.

Contributions to Research Methods for Social Politicization of College Students

Using various data collection methods to collect data can combine the advantages of each method and provide more insights into the collected data. In the current research, interviews enabled me to accurately understand the students' experience of participating in the activities organized by the CYL. Field visits allowed me to understand the contexts in which the CYL operated. Document analysis helped me reflect on their political activities and analyze the reasons for their participation. Through these methods, research allowed me to deeply explore the detailed arrangement of students' participation in political activities and their actual

participation. Interviews with the teachers gave me opportunities to also understand suggestions on the students' activities from the teachers' experience.

8.4 Limitations

Research Limitations

Sample size: 26 CYL members and 4 teachers from J College were involved in the study. For the teachers, two factors were taken into account: 1) their years of working experience: less than 5 years; 5 to 10 years, more than 10 years; and 2) their education background. While this enabled detailed information to be collected about the participants' experience, it has not enabled any generalizations to be made.

Research settings: The data collection area was mainly concentrated in East China. These sample universities are mainly concentrated in large and medium-sized cities, with few remote cities. The political socialization experience of the students in this area cannot fully represent the experience of all Chinese students. We cannot ignore the experience of the political socialization of college students in small and remote cities, and because the number of interviews was limited, continuous investigation and research are needed to truly judge and predict the process of the political socialization of college students. Due to limited research resources, the researcher conducted this study in daily work universities and familiar universities. Data should be collected from other universities for comparison and analysis. In addition, the limited number of student participants led to limitations of the sample of college students.

Impacts of COVID-19: The contents and forms of political activities in the period of the epidemic greatly differ from those before. Some activities in this period were carried out

“online”. Numbers and the frequency of my field visits were determined by the Chinese (COVID-19) outbreak policy. Due to the COVID-19 situation, I interviewed a few students online, by phone as well as face-to-face.

8.5 Implications for Future Research

This study has revealed that the CYL plays an important role in the process of political socialization. Future research may consider the following topics:

Firstly, this study investigated the process of college students’ political socialization, but we should also pay attention to the CYL with the help of the network as the media of activities. Students’ political socialization practice of network also has a strong influence and role on college students. Therefore, future research could analyze the CYL’s online interaction and students’ participation, analyze and compare online activities, and explore and establish targeted political socialization schemes according to the political socialization characteristics of different ways of college students’ participation. Research could also innovate the offline and online CYL political socialization schemes from the perspective of college students in order to form a coherent political socialization system to ensure the effectiveness of political socialization.

Secondly, teachers’ political socialization deserve attention in future research. It is necessary to explore their political socialization processes, find out how to improve political literacy and political ability, and achieve effective interpersonal transfer in education and daily communication with students. These can exert a positive effect and have an influence on the political socialization process of students. On the whole, the interview records of teachers are another very important background. Understanding the content and form of students’ political participation from the perspective of teachers can assist in understanding the political

socialization experience of college students from different angles. The effect and influence of the implementation of student activities are also worthy of in-depth investigation and analysis. At present, the content and form of student activities can be changed and improved. The implementation of students' political activities, from the perspective of teachers to explore the change and improvement of activity content, can be discussed from a deep level, and enrich the understanding of college students' political socialization experience. From the perspective of teachers, more participation in different activities can bring students a better experience.

8.6 Conclusion

The research obtained the experiences of college students' political socialization, closely related to the CYL system. This study was based on a sample of data of the CYL in Chinese colleges and universities, and proposed a political socialization model that can be operated under the CYL background and also carried out a more exhaustive analysis for political socialization. The research also explored the relations between political socialization, political trust and political participation.

The college students hold different motivations for participating in political activities organized by the CYL committee of colleges and universities. The level of their political participation consciousness directly affected their political participation methods and behaviors, and determined their tendency and height of democratic politics development in the future. The college students will be able to correctly understand China's political systems when they re-examine the issue of political participation consciousness based on grasping the historical evolution law of political participation consciousness. More importantly, they should enrich their political participation experience through diversified political participation channels.

Based upon the findings of Research Question 1, students can understand the information transmitted to them through the process of political socialization. The findings of Research Question 1 also revealed that most of the students viewed social problems rationally and objectively. A number of students had not yet formed a mature outlook on their life and values, and failed to plan their life goals. Also, a small number of college students had not yet developed a global outlook. This suggests that transmission, engagement and pedagogical processes may not be as effective as might be assumed by their activities organizers. It may also suggest that for some individuals, the messages are not well received or they may not be accepted. In addition, policies can be used to teach and disseminate information recognized by the political system and to help students who do not always accept the information taught by the Communist Youth League teachers.

The relationship between political participation and political trust was also revealed in the findings of Research Question 2. Participation in the CYL appeared to be associated with enhancing levels of trust. Moreover, colleges should positively guide college students' political understanding, political values, and political trust through ideological education courses. Additionally, the interaction between college students' effective political socialization and political participation has brought about many positive effects to the society and promoted political trust. This interaction can improve the political environment and enrich the political experience of college students. Policies are formulated at different levels of the political system. According to my research results, policy-making at different levels will be affected. The question of policy-making is how policies at different levels of the political system promote development. To sum, the teachers of the CYL should organize activities, not only to teach about their responsible knowledge, but also to attract students. Political participation can build political trust,

but it also needs to cultivate political interest. As a part of the members of the CYL, students should be encouraged to express their opinions, discuss and be respected in activities organized for them. They need to know that their opinions are important and that they can influence political thought and the political system.

The findings of Research Question 3 indicated that CYL membership impacts upon their members' political participation. It also revealed that when CYL organizations have a clear activity, CYL membership could facilitate the development of political participation. Political participation need to pay attention to the motivation of the CYL members was also revealed in Research Question 2. The motivations of the CYL members are diverse because some want to gain leadership experience and expertise; and some want to improve their communication skills or improve team cooperation and organization ability and so on. Additionally, the findings of this study also shows that how the operation of student associations may interact with the CYL in influencing the Chinese university students' political participation, which was found in Research Question 3, which reflected the other important form of promoting student participation. In the management of the university, the relationship between the CYL and student organizations can be closer and cooperate with each other. In addition, the research findings also suggested that the practices of the CYL's political participation enhanced its members' participation in activities such as political activities, community services, volunteer activities and so on. As a matter of fact, political participation is also an important way and method to carry out ideological and political education for CYL members and help them to develop. In this regard, the CYL can construct more ideological and political clubs for college students, aiming to expand the influence of clubs.

Combined with the research results of Research Questions 1, 2 and 3, the influencing factors on the political socialization of college students in addition to membership of the CYL surfaced in the findings of Research Question 4. My results indicated that in addition to CYL membership, government, non-government organizations or other activities have influences on political socialization. What is worth mentioning is that the interactive communication of peer groups can also expand the channels of college students' political socialization. Attaching importance to cultivating the correct political view among peers could also play an exemplary and leading role, so that college students can constantly improve their political self and become rational citizens. In short, the government and non-governmental organizations or other activities can work together to enrich the political socialization experience of college students. By participating in activities, college students will master the ability to analyze, deal with and solve problems. Government and non-governmental organizations or other activities also let college students understand how to contribute to society, serve others, find ways to realize life value, and open up channels for them to realize political socialization. At the same time, peer group communication is also an increasingly important educational model. It also should encourage and advocate peer education, to promote the continuous improvement of college students' political ability, and ensure a healthy and orderly political environment.

It is worth mentioning that the contents and forms of political activities greatly differ from those before because of COVID-19. All activities during this period were carried out 'online'. The focus of political socialization is "to combat novel coronavirus pneumonia effectively". Since this special time has been a core and key factor affecting the contents and forms of political socialization of college students, it should be the most influential and important timeline in this research. The experience of political socialization during this period has not only affected

the contents, forms, methods and types of college students' political activities, but also exerted direct influence on the results of the political socialization of college students from the management level.

It should be noted that the implementation of political activities could reap good results from the perspective of the teachers. Actually, teachers were able to fundamentally recognize the importance of students' participation in activities. Teachers expected the higher authorities to organize and promote more activities suitable for university students, so that more students and teachers, can be involved in the activities. The interview transcripts, research memos, and document analysis are consistent with my statement or conclusion. However, as noted above, in collating these data, there has been another very important context, namely the content and form of the students' activities, which seems to tell a complete story of the process through a narrative approach. Such a narrative would seem to provide a more dynamic and complete picture of the process of student life. It can be seen that various activities can enrich students' political socialization experience. When I take a deeper level of analysis and consider the cultural perspective of the implementation of the CYL policies or activity programs, it is clear that the implementation of student activities can also give students opportunities to gain different experiences and pile up their experiences. Additionally, from the students' point of view, more participation in different activities can lead to more and better results.

Overall, this research contributes to the current literature basis by deeply understanding the four research questions related to college students' political socialization. As a matter of fact, the experience of college students' political participation helps to form the source of their political socialization knowledge. It is hoped that this study can promote more future research studies on

college students' political socialization via the CYL college students and attract more attention. Furthermore, this study is expected to help arrange the political activities of college students under the CYL environment in China.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW GUIDE I

In order to better understand what students know about Political Socialization and the knowledge and your related political experiences in China, I sincerely invite you to talk with me. The whole conversation consists of three parts: political socialization knowledge, background information and political socialization experiences. This interview will only be used for academic purposes. It is anonymous. I don't need you to sign it. All the contents and your information will never be outflowed. Please feel free to talk. Please answer sincerely and completely according to your knowledge and experience. All the interview answers will be destroyed after I defend the thesis. All the names of the respondents will be kept confidential and their names will not be revealed in my thesis. Thank you very much for your participation!

College Students' Political Socialization Experiences Survey

Section I : Background Information

In this section, I would like to get some information about your background information so that I can better understand the results of this survey.

1. Gender: _____
2. Age: _____
3. Major: _____
4. How would you rate your political socialization knowledge proficiency?
5. Could you please describe your political participation ability as related to CYL activities?

6. How long have you received training in the Youth League school for Political Socialization knowledge during the last 12 months?
7. How long have you attended the CYL workshops during the last 12 months?
8. Have you ever been abroad before?

Section II . Knowledge of Political Socialization

1. National identity

Statements in this part refer to your knowledge of political socialization (e.g., Chinese college students' national identity, etc.)	Loving very much	Loving much	Loving less	Loving much less
(1) Do you love Chinese traditional culture?				
(2) Are you proud to be Chinese?				
(3) Do you love living in China?				
(4) Do you love to communicate in Chinese?				
(5) Do you love the national flag?				
(6) Do you love patriotic songs?				

2. Political knowledge learning

- (1) How much do you know about the Principles of Marxism?
- (2) How much do you know about Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping's thoughts?
- (3) How much do you know about League School Training?
- (4) How much do you know about Military Theory?
- (5) How much do you know about Situation and Policy?

3. Value orientation

Statements in this section refer to your values Do you agree, strongly agree, disagree, strongly disagree...?	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
(1) Do you agree to act with a good goal to fight for life with a high degree?				
(2) Do you agree we should continue to pursue high ideals and aspirations and do our work well?				
(3) Do you agree people's life should be created continuously?				
(4) Do you agree money isn't everything?				
(5) Do you agree your life is happy?				

4. Political Interest

- (1) Do you like to talk about national politics?
- (2) Do you like to be concerned about national leaders?
- (3) Do you like to discuss politics with your classmates at school?
- (4) Do you like to get political news by reading newspapers?
- (5) Do you like to get political news through new media?

5. Satisfaction degree of political courses in Colleges and Universities

- (1) How much do you know about the Principles of Marxism?
- (2) How much do you know about Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping's thoughts?
- (3) How much do you know about the League School Training?
- (4) How much do you know about Military Theory?
- (5) How much do you know about Situation and Policy?

6. Your relationship with these people

- (1) What is your relationship with your class teacher?
- (2) What is your relationship with your political class teacher?
- (3) What is your relationship with student work teachers?

Section III: Political Socialization Experiences.

In this last section, I would like to get some information to learn about your political socialization experiences.

- (1) Do you often watch reports on national political events?
- (2) Do you always express your opinions to government agencies?
- (3) Do you often join the political community?
- (4) Do you have any experiences on participation in elections?
- (5) Do you always express your opinions to local government officials ?
- (6) Does participation in the CYL affect your playing time?
- (7) Does participation in the CYL affect your family activities?
- (8) Do you like to participate in other political activities more after joining the CYL?

《大学生政治社会化经验调查》

为了更好地了解学生对政治社会化的了解，以及你在中国的相关政治经历，我诚挚地邀请你与我交谈。整个对话由三部分组成：政治社会化知识、背景信息和政治社会化经验。本次面试仅用于学术目的。它是匿名的。我们不需要你签字。所有的内容和你的信息永远不会外泄。请随意交谈。请根据您的知识和经验，认真、完整地回答。非常感谢您的参与。在论文答辩之后，所有的面试答案都会被销毁。所有被调查者的名字将保密，学生的名字将不会在我的论文中透露。

访谈指南

第一部分：背景资料

在这一节中，我想了解一下你的背景资料，以便更好地了解这次调查的结果。

1.性别： _____

2.年龄： _____

3.专业： _____

4.你如何评价你的政治社会化知识水平？

5.你能描述一下你的政治参与能力和共青团的活动有关吗？

6.在过去的12个月里，你在团校接受了多久的政治社会化知识培训？

7.在过去的12个月里，你参加共青团多久了？

8.你以前去过国外吗？

第二部分：政治社会化知识

民族认同	非常爱	热爱	没那么爱	很少的爱
(1) 你喜欢中国传统文化吗?				
(2) 你为自己是中国人而自豪吗?				
(3) 你喜欢住在中国吗?				
(4) 你喜欢用中文交流吗				
(5) 你喜欢国旗吗?				

10.政治知识学习

- (1) 你对马克思主义原理了解多少?
- (2) 你对毛泽东和邓小平思想了解多少?
- (3) 你对共青团学校的训练了解多少?
- (4) 你对军事理论了解多少?
- (5) 你对形势和政策了解多少?

11. 价值取向

价值取向	非常同意	同意	不同意	非常不同意
(1) 你同意做事要有理想目标, 有了高度才能为之奋斗终身吗?				
(2) 你同意我们是要有理想和志气, 做好事情吗?				
(3) 你同意人的一生要不断努力创造吗?				
(4) 你同意钱不是一切吗?				
(5) 你同意你的生活是幸福的吗?				

12. 政治利益

- (1) 你喜欢谈论国家政治吗?
- (2) 你喜欢关心和议论国家领导人吗?
- (3) 你喜欢在学校和我的同学讨论政治吗?
- (4) 你喜欢看报纸来获取政治新闻吗?
- (5) 你喜欢通过新媒体获取政治新闻吗?

13. 高校政治课满意度

- (1) 你对马克思主义原理了解多少?

- (2) 你对毛泽东和邓小平思想了解多少?
- (3) 你对团校学校的训练了解多少?
- (4) 你对军事理论了解多少?
- (5) 你对形势和政策了解多少?

14.你和这些人的关系

- (1) 你和你的班主任是相处的好吗?
- (2) 你和你的政治课老师相处的好吗?
- (3) 你和学生工作老师相处的好吗?

第三部分：政治社会化经验

在最后一节中，我想了解一些关于你们政治社会化经历的信息。

- (1) 你经常看关于国家政治事件的报道吗?
- (2) 你总是向政府机构表达你的意见吗?
- (3) 你经常加入政治团体吗?
- (4) 你有参加选举的经验吗?
- (5) 你总是向地方政府官员表达你的意见吗?
- (6) 参加共青团会影响你的比赛时间吗?
- (7) 参加共青团对你的家庭活动有影响吗?
- (8) 加入共青团后，你更愿意参加其他政治活动吗?

Interview Schedule

《访谈提纲》

需要了解的方面 Aspects to Learn	访谈问题 Questions	问题 Questions
1 Values of university students 1 大学生价值观	1. What do you think is the value of life? 2. May we talk about your life goals? 3. Do you agree your life is happy? Could you please explain?	1. 您觉得人生的价值是什么? 2. 我们可以谈一谈您的人生目标吗? 3. 您觉得怎样的人生是快乐幸福的? 请解释。
2 Attitude towards the country 2 对国家的看法	4. How often do you pay attention to national issues in daily life? Could you please explain? 5. Do you often watch CCTV News? 6. Are you satisfied with the current development of China? Could you please explain?	4. 您平时关注国家大事吗? 请解释 5. 您经常看新闻联播吗? 6. 您感觉中国现在的发展满意吗? 请解释原因
3 Attitude towards the government 3 对政府的看法	7. Are you satisfied with the government staff? Why? 8. Do you have any suggestion on the government work?	7. 您对现在政府的工作人员满意吗? 为什么? 请解释。 8. 您对政府的工作有什么建议吗?
4 Attitude towards the world	9. How often do you read world news ?	9. 您平时关注世界新闻吗?

<p>4 对世界的看法</p>	<p>10. Which aspects do you focus on? Can you give an example?</p> <p>11. As we are living in a diversified world today, does cultural diversity influence your opinion about the world? How? Can you describe it in detail?</p> <p>12. Do you and your classmates discuss political events? If yes, please give an example. How is the attitude of your classmates?</p>	<p>10. 您关心哪些方面的世界新闻呢? 能举个例子吗?</p> <p>11. 生活在多元文化的今天, 文化的多样性影响您对世界的看法吗? 是怎样影响的呢? 请详细说明。</p> <p>12. 您会和同学们讨论政治事件吗? 如果会, 请举例说明。同学们的态度是怎样的呢?</p>
<p>5 Attitude towards the rights and obligations of citizens</p> <p>5 对公民权利、义务的看法</p>	<p>13. Do you know what rights do undergraduates own? Which rights are the most important? Are these rights exercised in your study and life on campus? If yes, please give an example. If no, what do you think are the reasons?</p> <p>14. In your opinion, what responsibilities should an undergraduate fulfill for our country and our society? Which responsibilities have we taken? Please given an example. And which responsibilities have failed to fulfill? What are the reasons for this?</p>	<p>13. 您知道大学生应该拥有哪些权利? 哪些权利是最重要的? 这些权利在大学校园的学习和生活中有没有落到实处? 如果有, 请具体举例子。如果没有, 您觉得是什么原因呢?</p> <p>14. 您觉得作为大学生应该对我们国家、社会尽到什么样的责任? 您觉得实际上哪些责任我们做到了? 请举例说明。哪些责任没</p>

		有做到？您觉得是什么原因呢？
6 Political socialization 6 政治社会化	15. Are you satisfied with the current politics curriculum? What problems exist in your view? How to improve? Could you please explain? 16. Do you get along with your politics teachers? 17. How do you evaluate your current politics teachers?	15. 您对现在开设的政治类课程满意吗？您觉得存在什么问题呢？该如何改进呢？ 16. 您和现在的政治老师的相处融洽吗？ 17. 您对现在教您的政治老师的总体评价是什么？
7 Political trust 7 政治信任	18. How do you describe the feeling of living in China? What does the country you trust look like? Could you please talk about your experience? 19. Could you please describe what political trust is? What major aspects does it include? Please give several examples.	18. 您怎样形容生活在我们的国家的感觉？您信任的国家是怎样的？您可以讲讲自己的经历吗？ 19. 您能描述一下什么是政治信任吗？您觉得它主要有哪几方面？请几个例子。
8 Political participation 8 政治参与	20. Have you participated in any political activity? Please describe the entire process of participation. 21. What is your motive of participating in political activities? 22. What is your position in the political participation activities? What	20. 您参加过哪些政治活动？请描述一下政治活动的整个过程。 21. 请问您参加政治活动的动机是什么？ 22. 请问在政治参与活动

	<p>did you do? In which aspects did you improve after the activities were over?</p> <p>23. In your opinion, what is the role of the CYL Committee in the entire political activity? Do you have any suggestion on the political participation activities organized by the CYL Committee (suggestions on contents, organization and implementation of such activities)?</p> <p>24. Except for the political participation activities organized by the CYL Committee, have you taken part in other political participation activities? If yes, please give an example. What is the difference between such activities and those organized by the CYL Committee?</p>	<p>中，自己处在什么位置？主要做些什么呢？</p> <p>活动过程结束后，您在哪些方面有了提高呢？</p> <p>23. 您认为学校团委在整个政治活动中起了什么作用呢？您对学校团委组织的政治参与活动有什么建议吗？（包括活动内容和组织实施方面的建议）。</p> <p>24. 除了学校团委组织的政治参与活动，您还参加了哪些政治参与活动？如果有，请举例说明，请问与学校团委组织的政治活动有什么不一样的地方吗？</p>
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I'd appreciate any general thoughts or comments about this interview you may have. Please tell me what you think or how you feel about this interview.

若您有任何关于本次访谈的想法或评价，请写在下方，非常感谢。

*******THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION!**

(谢谢您的合作!)*****

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW GUIDE II

1. Outlines of Interviews with Teachers on the Current Situation of college students' Activities (Teacher Participants 1)

Years of Experience:

Educational background:

Gender:

1. Have you attended any student affairs training in the last 5 years? What level of training and learning have you attended? How many trainings have you attended above the municipal level?
2. Do you think it is important and urgent for college students to participate in the activities organized by the Youth League Committee? Why? What do you think is the main purpose of political participation by college students?
3. What do you think are the main reasons that influence college students to participate in political activities? Why?
4. What do you think is the most effective form of political activity for college students? What type of political activities would you like students to participate in? What is the format of the activities? What do you hope will be the most appealing aspect of student activities?
5. What do you think are the main problems in the current political activities of college students? What do you think are the competencies that students need to improve in order to become politically engaged?
6. What do you think is the urgent need for college students to participate in political activities?
7. What do you think is lacking in the area of “political activity concept” among college students?
8. In terms of “political knowledge”, what do you think is lacking in college students at the moment?
9. What do you think is lacking with respect to “political participation” among college

students?

10. What do you think the content of political activities of college students should focus on in terms of “knowledge and ability”?

11. Do you think there is a significant improvement in the growth of college students after participating in the activities organized by the Youth League Committee? If so, what do you think are the main aspects which have been given improvements?

12. What other suggestions or requirements do you have regarding the building and use of resources in activity venues for college students to participate in activities?

2. Outlines of Interviews with Teachers on the Current Situation of college students' Activities (Teacher Participants 2)

1. What is the current status of student activities in 2016-2020? What is the task of student activities undertaken by the committee?

2. What do you think is the philosophy of political activities of college students? How did you put such a concept into practice during activity management?

3. In the course of the activities carried out by the college students, do you think that the management model of the department is somewhat unique? What is the specific management and operating system?

4. What do you think is the most effective form or type of activity for today's college students? How did you work during activity management?

5. In your opinion, what are urgently needed in the political activities of college students? How did you work during activity management?

6. What do you think is lacking in the “concept of political activity” among college students? How did you work during training?

7. In terms of “political knowledge”, what do you think is currently lacking in college students? How did you work during training?

8. In terms of “professional competence”, what do you think teachers are lacking in? How did you work during training?

9. What do you think the college students are currently lacking in terms of “political participation”? How did you work it?
10. If you were to make an overall assessment of the effectiveness of college students’ political activities in recent years, what would it be?
11. What do you think are the main problems or constraints in the current management system of college students’ political activities? In what ways do you think it can be improved or enhanced in the future?

3. Outlines of Interviews with Teachers on the Current Situation of college students' Activities (Teacher Participants 3)

1. What do you think is the philosophy of political activities of college students? How did you put such a concept into practice when designing the activities?
2. In the process of carrying out the activities, do you think that the organization has a complete system for arranging and designing the activities? What is the main framework or content of this activity system?
3. What do you think is the most effective form or type of activity for college students? How did you work in the design and implementation of the activities?
4. In your opinion, what kind of training content is urgently needed by college students at present? How did you work in the design and implementation of the activities?
5. What do you think is lacking regarding “political activity ideas” among college students? How did you go about designing and implementing the activities?
6. In terms of “political knowledge”, what do you think is lacking in college students at the moment? How did you go about designing and implementing the activities?
7. What do you think is lacking in the area of “political participation” among college students? How did you go about designing and implementing the activities?
8. What do you think the content of political activities of college students should focus on in terms of “knowledge and ability”? How did you work in the design and

implementation of your activities?

9. If you had to make an overall assessment of the effectiveness of the design and implementation of college student activities, what would it be?

10. What do you think are the main problems or constraints in the design and implementation of current college student activities? In what ways do you think they can be improved or enhanced in the future?

4. Outlines of Interviews with Teachers on the Current Situation of college students' Activities (Teacher Participants 4)

1. What do you think is the philosophy of political activities of college students? How did you put such a philosophy into practice during classroom management?

2. Do you think there is a model for class management of college students' political activities in the organization during the activities? What is the specific management and operating system?

3. What do you think is the most effective form or type of college activity for college students? How did you work during classroom management?

4. In your opinion, what are the most urgent activities for college students to participate in? How did you work during classroom management?

5. What do you think is lacking regarding "political activity concept" among college students? How did you work during classroom management?

6. What do you think are the aspects that college students currently lack with regard to "political knowledge"? How did you work during classroom management?

7. What do you think are the areas in which college students are currently lacking in terms of "the ability of being politically engaged"? How did you work during classroom management?

8. What do you think the content of political activities of college students should focus on in terms of "knowledge and ability"? How did you work during classroom management?

10. What do you think are the main problems or constraints of current college students' participation in political activities with respect to classroom management? In what ways do you think it can be improved or enhanced in the future?



APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM

THE EDUCATION UNIVERSITY OF HONG KONG

Department of Curriculum and Instruction (C&I)

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

College Students' Experiences of Political Socialization as members of the Communist Youth League: A Case Study

I _____ hereby consent to participate in the captioned research supervised by Dr. ZHAO Zhenzhou and conducted by HU Die, who are staff / students of SSC;C&I in The Education University of Hong Kong.

I understand that information obtained from this research may be used in future research and may be published. However, my right to privacy will be retained, i.e., my personal details will not be revealed.

The procedure as set out in the **attached** information sheet has been fully explained. I understand the benefits and risks involved. My participation in the project is voluntary.

I acknowledge that I have the right to question any part of the procedure and can withdraw at any time without negative consequences.

Name of participant

Signature of participant

Date
