

*The Cultivating Dragon: the metamorphosis of norms
and behaviour through slogans in Shanghai, China*



Puck Holthuis

2868510

Utrecht University

23/09/2021

A thesis submitted to the

Board of Examiners

in Partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts in Conflict Studies

and Human Rights

Name of supervisor	Chris van der Borgh
Date of submission	23/09/2021
Programme trajectory	Internship (15 ECTS) and Research & Thesis Writing (15 ECTS)
Word Count	12,142

Cover image: The art of Calligraphy passed on, Shanghai 2017. Captured by Puck Holthuis.

Abstract

This thesis and research developed from the empirical observation of posters with slogans written on them, visible in Shanghai, China. These slogans revolved mainly around topics of civility, harmony, and order. The research question of this thesis focuses on how these slogans function as a political tool through means of legitimization, and how they can be effectively implemented in society to alter behaviour and adapt the norms of this society. Additionally, this research question is concerned with what this ideal society may look like. Although the slogans incorporated various legitimization strategies to appeal to the audience, an underlying strategy that the majority of the posters shared was to reach an objective that lay in the future, the 中国梦, *the Chinese Dream*. The norms and behavioural traits advocated by the slogans appeared to strongly relate to various Confucian ideals, which form the foundation of this school of thought. They include harmony, rules, rites, order. When this is accomplished within governance and within society, the nation will flourish and succeed.

Acknowledgements

I would sincerely like to thank Chris van der Borgh for his continued support and encouragement. Your valuable insights and enthusiasm helped me bring this thesis to life.

A big thank you to the lecturers, fellow students, and all those involved in the Conflict and Human Rights Master program at Utrecht University. You continue to be an inspiration and I am grateful to have been a part of this exciting journey.

Last but not least, I want to thank my partner, friends, and family for your support and motivation. You believed in me and encouraged me, and kept my spirits up when the going got tough.

Abbreviations

CCP = Chinese Communist Party

PRC = People's Republic of China

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	7
1.1 THESIS OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTION	9
1.2 THESIS STRUCTURE	10
CHAPTER 2: (POLITICAL) SLOGANS IN SOCIETY.....	11
2.1 THE MAGNITUDE OF WORDS	12
2.2 POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND IDEOLOGY IN CHINA’S IMPERIAL PAST	14
2.3 NORMATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL SLOGANS	16
2.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORDS AND BEHAVIOUR	18
2.5 SUMMARY.....	20
CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF SLOGANS	21
3.1 METHODOLOGY	21
3.2 ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK	23
3.3 ANALYSIS: PIECES OF THE PUZZLE – LEGITIMIZING NEW NORMS AND BEHAVIOUR	26
3.3.1 <i>Legitimization through a hypothetical future</i>	26
3.3.2 <i>Legitimization through altruism</i>	27
3.3.3 <i>Legitimization through emotion</i>	30
3.3.4 <i>Legitimization through rationality</i>	31
3.3.5 <i>Legitimization through voices of experts</i>	35
3.4 THE COMPLETE PICTURE: THE IDEAL SOCIETY	37
CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION.....	38
BIBLIOGRAPHY:.....	41
BOOKS	41
IMAGES	41
JOURNAL ARTICLES	42
NEWSPAPER ARTICLES.....	43
YOUTUBE VIDEOS	44
APPENDICES	45
POSTERS PUBLISHED DURING WW2 IN THE UK.....	45
SLOGANS (CHINA), TRANSLATIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS.....	46

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

“I have heard that a nation or a family does not worry that it has little but that that little is unevenly apportioned, does not worry that it is poor but that it is unstable. Because with equitable distribution there is no real poverty, with harmony, no real scarcity, with stability, no real peril. When such a situation exists, if neighboring people do not submit to your ruler, then enhance your culture and virtue and draw them to you, and once you have drawn them to you, offer them stability.” (Confucius & Watson, 2007, p.115)

When one navigates the streets of Shanghai, one may observe uncountable placards hanged on buildings, park walls, school gates, mall entrances, and metro exits. In aesthetic fonts, some mirroring the Chinese calligraphic arts, one would read a message that fundamentally barely differs from the excerpt above. Although plentiful, their form and palette allow the placards to blend into the city, almost to the extent of imperceptibility. When noticed and read, however, the message may linger on one’s mind, like a melody one is intuitively humming. The rhetorical question “if walls could talk, what would they say?” does not apply to Shanghai: there, walls talk. And they have fascinating things to share.

The large assortment of messages on the posters conform to a kind of language China has used for centuries. The Chinese word for ‘slogan’ is 标语 (biāoyǔ), which simultaneously means ‘poster’. It comes as no surprise, then, that slogans are portrayed on posters, and that this has been the case for centuries. Not only have they been a way for the government to communicate with its immense population. But there is an intangible trait these slogans have had that can tell the curious a lot about the aspirations of Chinese politics in terms of the nation’s culture and future. The slogans are a political discourse. Each individual slogan reveals a piece of a puzzle that, when completed, may show an image of an ideal China that still lays in the future, according to the ruling political party.

The written language on these placards in Mandarin consist of few characters. The message is short in length, giving it the appearance of a slogan.¹ When spoken, they are audibly pleasant because of their almost poetic rhythm. The messages are at times presented cryptically. This

¹ An overview of the collected data (slogans and posters) for this research is presented in the appendices.

is interesting because this syntax appears to resemble ancient Chinese philosophical texts.² The source of the slogans is political. Their objective over the centuries has been an amalgam of principally guiding the nation's culture, philosophy, ideology, and economy (Fukanaga & Zhang, 2007; Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999; Reyes, 2011; Xia, 2009).

This thesis and research developed from the empirical observation of these placards in Shanghai. An additional curiosity, however, also played a most relevant role in arriving at this topic. Namely, the observation and personal experience of safety. Shanghai has one of the world's lowest crime rates, in relation to other metropolitan cities of similar size.³ Initially, I had expected the feeling of safety to be a consequence of the multitude of CCTV cameras, observing what could very well be every angle of every street, park, metro, and apartment block. Nevertheless, it seemed much more complex to organize such a huge population through the mere use of cameras and with all that this implies.

After more research on the effects of surveillance as well as political discourse on people's behaviour, it seemed that the placards with the slogans complemented the use of surveillance in an effort to achieve an objective. This objective was still unknown to me, although I presumed a safe society to be a part of it. Moreover, what was interesting to me was that many of the slogans I saw revolved around the values of harmony and order. Having studied Chinese philosophy before, these slogans seemed to resemble similar ideas as the ones that form part of several Chinese schools of thought, including Confucianism, Daoism, and Mohism, for example. Therefore, this thesis ultimately aims to gather a clearer understanding of what the objective of the slogans may be and what this may look like in reality.

In summary, this thesis looks at these slogans that are currently visible in Shanghai, China. It forms part of the academic discussion taking place on the different applications and consequences of the slogans in the Chinese political and cultural context. Slogans have a long history in the Chinese context, making it a relevant and popular topic of study. Nevertheless, this research incorporates Chinese philosophical schools in the analysis, because of what this

² This quality will be further explained below and in the following chapters.

³ See for example: <https://www.osac.gov/Content/Report/21ca7507-4bcd-4c47-a097-15f4aec276e6>

thesis argues is the important role of especially Confucianism in relation to the message of the slogans we can see today.

1.1 THESIS OBJECTIVE AND RESEARCH QUESTION

The study of slogans in a Chinese political context is fairly niche, especially the research that incorporates Chinese philosophy. Consequently, with this thesis I aim to contribute to this field of study to try and better understand current Chinese political affairs. Perhaps more importantly, however, I aim to learn more about the role Chinese philosophical schools play in Chinese politics, and the influence they may have on both politics and the culture, norms, and behaviour of Chinese society.

Although additional posters can be seen in various cities throughout the nation, the majority of my time was spent in Shanghai. Thus, my familiarity with this city made it the most relevant and appropriate location for this research. In combination with this, I believe that with my background in Chinese philosophy I can add valuable insights to the discussion on slogans in relation to Chinese politics and the culture of Chinese society.

To better understand what these slogans can tell us about what is envisioned for society on a cultural level, this thesis asks the following main research question:

Through which legitimisation strategies are changes in behaviour of citizens advocated in the slogans on posters visible in Shanghai, China, in the period 2020-2021?

Conducive to this research question, the following sub questions will be addressed:

1. Which behavioural traits are advocated and simultaneously expected from the reader of the slogan(s)?
2. Which norms are prioritised / advocated?
3. Do these norms and behavioural traits reflect those of Confucianism?
4. Which legitimization strategies are used to legitimize (new) behavioural traits and norms?
5. What can this information tell us about what the 'ideal Chinese society' looks like according to the Chinese Communist Party (CCP)?

The question focuses on the way in which these slogans work and how they are used in society. Additionally, this question is concerned with what the ideal society may look like once the slogans have indeed been effective. Consequently, I would argue that this research question can be described as a combination of a mechanical and processual puzzle (Mason, 2018).

1.2 THESIS STRUCTURE

The following chapter 2 on theory related to (political) slogans in society consists of two sections. At first, a theoretical discussion is presented to better understand how slogans can function as a political tool, especially in relation to a nation's culture. In this section, relevant definitions will be provided to allow for a more comprehensive understanding of the analysis that follows the theoretical chapter. The second section of this chapter discusses theory specific to slogans in the People's Republic of China (PRC) to provide a more contextual understanding, including how slogans have been used in China's past. This chapter utilizes prior research to shine a light on political slogans in China's past and present, taking into consideration how the slogans have changed to fit new circumstances, and how the currently visible change in ideology may be related to this trend.

Chapter 3 starts off with explaining the methodology of how this research was conducted. This section is followed up with an in-depth discussion of which analytic framework was used for the analysis of the slogans, and why the choice fell on this particular framework. Furthermore, the analysis of the slogans is presented. This section is divided up in two parts. The first part analyses the slogans utilizing the analytical framework described prior and illustrates the various norms and behavioral traits that the slogans advocate. The second part that follows discusses the bigger picture that is painted by these norms and behavioural traits, and how it relates to Chinese governance past and present. The latter part takes into its analysis the norms and behavioural traits that form part of Confucianism.

The thesis will close with a final conclusion in chapter 4 and an assessment of contemporary slogans in China. The conclusion will concisely provide answers to the main research question and sub questions in accordance with the analysis and theory chapters. Altogether this chapter will give an overview of the norms and behavioural traits advocated by the slogans, how this relates to Confucianism, and what that may mean for the Chinese society.

CHAPTER 2: (POLITICAL) SLOGANS IN SOCIETY

This chapter discusses the theory in relation to the use of slogans in a Chinese political context. At first, the chapter clarifies what slogans are, and how they fit into the discussion on political discourse. Secondly, the chapter discusses how slogans have been used in China's political past dating back to imperial times. In addition, it examines how the use of slogans contributes to the understanding of Chinese political trends and the relationship between Chinese politics and Chinese philosophical schools, for the purpose of the analysis chapter. Thirdly, to execute the analyses of slogans and their effects in the cultural realm, the affiliation between slogans and behaviour is elucidated. Lastly, an important distinction is made between the ways in which slogans may be effective in a society. This can ultimately alter the direction in which a nation is headed for better or for worse. Understanding this potential of slogans was relevant because this research is aimed at gaining a better understanding of the 'invisible' messages of slogans. These hidden messages may help clarify the process of socialization taking place.

The extensiveness of the study of communication and its effects on human behaviour and the human psyche extends far beyond the scope of this research. This research is concerned with a particular form of communication, which is political discourse. Similarly, there are numerous kinds of political discourse, such as presidential speeches or public debates. In this thesis, one particular type of political discourse is discussed, namely slogans. Slogans have been part of our world's history for centuries. For nearly 300 years, slogans are used for varying purposes (Karmazin, 2020; Sherif, 1937). For example, in modern times we see company slogans around us all the time encouraging us to purchase more or attempting to convince us of a product being the best. At times blatantly telling us that we were missing something that we were not even aware of, through slogans like "[Brand X], the duster you didn't know you needed!". This is an example of commercial slogans.

However, slogans do more than that. They also 'sell' ideas and have the potential to convince social groups of new or adapted ideologies (Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999; Reyes, 2011; Sherif, 1937; Vaara, 2014; Vaes et al., 2011). In other words, (political) slogans are a type of political discourse; a way for a government to communicate with its citizens, nudge them into a predetermined direction, or tell them to behave a certain way. To illustrate this effect, Sherif (1937) – the author of *The Psychology of Slogans* – states that: "[i]t is especially in critical times

that practical politicians utilize slogans most effectively in order to push people in the direction they wish them to go,” (Sherif, 1937, p. 452).

2.1 THE MAGNITUDE OF WORDS

In order to present a discussion on the use of slogans, the word itself ought to be defined first to gain a better understanding of its purpose. Sherif defines it as follows: “We shall consider a slogan to be *a phrase, a short sentence, a headline, a dictum, which, intentionally or unintentionally, amounts to an appeal to the person who is exposed to it to buy some article, to revive or strengthen an already well-established stereotype, to accept a new idea, or to undertake some action,*” (Sherif, 1937, p.45, emphasis mine).

Slogans are generally known to be short, powerful catchphrases; they are striking, and therefore memorable (Karmazin, 2020; Sherif, 1937). Slogans are used in advertising but can also serve political purposes. It is the latter function that this thesis will focus on; the ability of political slogans to appeal to its audience to accept a new idea, modify behaviour or to undertake some action. This can be arranged in a conscious or subconscious manner, depending on the intention as well as the slogan’s formulation (Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007; Reyes, 2011; Sherif, 1937; Xia, 2009). This research looks at slogans in a Chinese political context. In addition to Sherif’s definition of slogans stated above, Aleš Karmazin refines the definition and function of slogans particular to a Chinese political context. His addition is relevant to this research as it narrows down on the way in which slogans in China are utilized in the political and cultural realms. It further illustrates that the nature of the slogans in China are political and strongly relate to the nation’s methods of political discourse:

“[Karmazin argues] that [...] leadership slogans [slogans used by government] have gotten institutionalized in a specific way in the post-Dengian period [1980’s onwards]. They can be characterized by main roles which they play: 1) contributing to propaganda, 2) *enhancing ideological innovations*, 3) *formulating policy and strategic program (direction)*, 4) *structuring politics and political debates*, and 5) expressing continuity in Chinese communist politics (among different leadership generations) and hence upholding a sense of unity in the Communist Party of China (CCP),” (Karmazin, 2020, p. 412-13, emphasis mine).

China's use of slogans in a political context, such as during Maoist China (1950s to mid 1970s), differs greatly from many other nations. Whereas modern slogans in a political context in the United States, for example, revolve largely around domestic issues related to everyday life and progression – such as “(Let’s) Make America great again” or “Moving America forward” – China’s political slogans continue to be predominantly ideological, even philosophical (Callahan, 2008; Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007; Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999).

Considering the period from Imperial China to the early 2000s, for instance, Lu (1999) states the following: “[i]n its 49 years under communist rule, [China] experienced cultural and ideological change on a massive scale: from Confucian traditionalism to Maoist idealism to Deng Xiaoping’s economic pragmatism,” (Lu, 1999, p. 487). Especially in the last decades, the Chinese people have experienced turbulent ideological changes as a result of new governing tactics and objectives (Fukanaga & Zhang, 2007; Jiang, 2020; Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999; Xia, 2009). The slogans accompanying these periods and changes are characterizable by their ideological content to guide the people through these grant adjustments, rather than problems faced in everyday life such as jobs (Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007; Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999).

On account of the political nature of China, the CCP does not need to appeal to voters by making promises to fulfill their wishes and demands to gain their votes, as is more often the case in democratic nations. This is arguably one reason as to why slogans have an ideological nature. Nonetheless, instead of complete authoritarianism, Chinese government throughout the ages has put in great effort to communicate (although in a top-down manner) with its citizens. Much of this effort has been directed towards the creation and broadcasting of slogans: “[a]dapting the Confucian tradition of rectification of names, slogans have been utilized as an important instrument for achieving correct wording, cementing the regime’s discourse and putting forward a desired worldview [...] While the cultural revolution was a heyday of slogans [...], they have not disappeared even after that [...],” (Karmazin, 2020, p. 416).

The Mao era showed particular interest in broadcasting slogans: “[t]he period from 1950s to 1980s [also known as Maoist China] has been considered the “golden age” of China’s political slogans,” (Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007, p.87). Along with the worded slogans, visuals were also presented to the public. During this time there were many illiterates across China. Therefore,

visual posters were widely publicized as well, for visual comprehension of (new) state ideology to reach yet a larger audience (Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007; Lu, 1999).⁴ The slogans in this period of Chinese history attempted to “spread, protect and develop” communist ideology as rapidly as possible to challenge western capitalism (Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007, p.87; Lu, 1999; Xia, 2009). Karmazin (2020) characterises the slogans as the “seeking truth from facts” slogans (Karmazin, 2020, p. 412), which had a very different tone from, for example, the slogans during Deng Xiaoping’s reign.

“[In Maoist China], each new slogan would be published almost on a daily basis, and thousands of political slogans were posted and broadcasted through the means of mass media, billboards, or even as home decorations,” (Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007, p.87). This goes to show the great effort that was put into the conveyance of ideological ideas, and the importance that was attached to the use of slogans on posters as a form of political discourse. Fukunaga & Zhang also indicate that the citizens themselves rather happily received these slogans as well, by using them as embellishments.

During Deng Xiaoping’s presidency the slogans took a turn towards economical messages, in order to stimulate the nation’s wealth and development. However, this period also required an ideological shift for the people, as additional focus was put on peace; or peaceful development to be exact. Instead of a very strong Communist tone as during the Mao era, this period saw slogans encouraging people to work hard, earn more money, and live a fabulous lifestyle (Fukunaga & Zhang, 2007; Karmazin, 2020). At present, the slogans have shifted away yet again from the economical perspective and instead appear to focus on norms and behaviour, guided by Xi Jinping’s focus on the China Dream and New Era, or 中国梦 and 新时代 respectively (Karmazin, 2020, p. 412).

2.2 POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY AND IDEOLOGY IN CHINA’S IMPERIAL PAST

“[Confucius] said, Entirely trustworthy, a lover of learning, faithful until death, exemplar of the Way, he never enters a state where there is peril, never remains in a state where there is disorder. When the Way prevails in the world, he appears; when the Way is lacking, he retires. When the state follows the Way,

⁴ To see examples of such visual posters, visit https://www.abebooks.com/art/chinese-propaganda-posters/?cm_mmc=soc- -youtube- -MERCH- -link

being poor and lowly is a cause for shame. When the state is without the Way, being rich and eminent is a cause for shame,”
(Confucius & Watson, 2007, p.55-56).⁵

I would argue that the phenomenon of slogans in China having an ideological nature can in part be explained the way in which Chinese politics is structured as described earlier. Nevertheless, I would additionally argue that this trait comes forth from China’s history dating back to the Warring States Period – a time when rival states constituting the then Chinese nation in 475 B.C. battled for dominance.⁶ This period lasted a lengthy 182 years. Regardless of unceasing warfare, the Warring States Period birthed cultural, philosophical, agricultural, societal, and commercial flourishing (Callahan, 2008; Chan, 1969; Goldin, 2020). Many of the origins of Chinese philosophical schools – such as Daoism, Legalism, and Confucianism – lie in a response to combat during and the ramifications of the Warring States Period.

To comprehensively give an account of the various Chinese schools of thought relevant to this research is beyond the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, two particularly significant aspects of Chinese philosophy for this research are those of harmony and cultivation. In short, the mentioned philosophical schools concentrate largely on the question of how a nation, but more importantly a society, can be transformed into a harmonious one, in order for a nation to flourish. Many of these theories grew from an understanding that a harmonious society is established by cultivated rulers and individuals that make up the majority of society (Ames et al., 2003; Chan, 1969; Goldin, 2020; Slingerland & Cashman, 2014). In Daoism, for example, comprehension, questions, and theories related to the cultivation of an individual are a major theme (Ames et al., 2003; Chan, 1969). Similarly, Confucianism teaches rigorous rules and rites to order society so that along with the emperor, harmony reigns (Chan, 1969; Legge & Confucius, 2018).

Due to the hierarchical structure of a Chinese society the philosophical teachers would address the rulers of the time rather than the people, creating a top-down flow of information and instruction. It was expected of rulers to pass on this cultivation to their subordinates and that this would finally reach society. Thus, the teachings had the specific purpose to assist the rulers.

⁵ Although the concept of “The Way” stated in this excerpt from The Analects is highly complex, I would argue that it will suffice to know that it refers to the utmost harmonious state of being; the highest ambition that Chinese philosophical schools share.

⁶ Exact dates are unknown. Here I have adopted Sima Qian’s, a great Chinese historian, suspected dates.

As a result, the Confucian Analects, or the Daoist Dao De Jing to name a few of the scriptures, were attentively consulted by rulers for many centuries, to enjoy a successful reign.

Philosophy and governing were therefore closely intertwined and continued to be for a long time until the Cultural Revolution in 1966. To illustrate this connection, Karmazin (2020) states: “[c]ontinuing with a flexible approach to socialism [in the post-Mao era], [the slogan] Harmonious Society articulated specific values that go beyond the usual socialist canon and which connected China’s modernization with the ancient Confucian culture but also promoted China’s benign rise in international affairs (through the slogans of Peaceful Rise/Development and Harmonious World),” (Karmazin, 2020, p.418).

During the Cultural Revolution, the relationship that the Chinese society and former government had with especially Confucianism had for the most part been broken. An entirely new ideology rapidly became the new norm and guidelines for the lives of the people (Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999). Nonetheless, the close ties Chinese government has always had with philosophy could explain why China’s historical use of political slogans has stayed in the ideological and philosophical lane for the most part, and why it has largely been concerned with society’s normative behaviour.

2.3 NORMATIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF POLITICAL SLOGANS

According to Sherif, it is especially in critical times that political slogans serve a relevant purpose. In a time of great instability, when a vacuum of well-established norms has left a society in chaos, panic and disorganisation, slogans are particularly effective to lead, or push, the people into a desired direction.⁷ The author states that “[...] when the existing norms or stereotypes are no longer sufficient to regulate the new conditions, the situation upset by the rise of new and heretofore unaccounted factors and relationships has to be reformulated. The new situation produces its own appropriate norms,” (Sherif, 1937, p. 457). In other words, when there is a perceived inability to carry on living as one has done before – may it be a result of an attack or because the natural environment demands a change – norms can be readjusted

⁷ Sherif states that “It is especially in critical times that practical politicians utilize slogans most effectively in order to push people in the direction they wish them to go,” (Sherif, 1937, p. 452).

to fit the new circumstances.⁸ In short, it can be argued that norms are not set in stone; norms are malleable.⁹

Norms are an integral part of culture. The concept of norms is complex. According to Bicchieri et al., “[i]t has been argued that social norms ought to be understood as a kind of grammar of social interactions. Like a grammar, a system of norms specifies what is acceptable and what is not in a society or group. And, analogously to a grammar, it is not the product of human design,” (Bicchieri et al., 2018). For the purpose of this research, a simpler understanding of norms will suffice: norms are the expectations and (both legal and societal) rules that direct

⁸ Additionally, Sherif remarks that ““The psychological properties of slogans come into high relief when we take into account the rise and effectiveness of slogans in times of panic, critical situations, or revolutionary moments. Ordinarily the routine of daily life is regulated by more or less well-established norms—i.e., customs, traditions, modes, various kinds of well-implanted social values. Some of them become ossified stereotypes, and the flow of social life and human relationships as regulated by these norms and stereotypes is almost taken for granted,” (Sherif, 1937, p. 457).

⁹ An example of such a slogan designed in times of crises is the “Keep Calm and Carry On” slogan. It was initially designed in the United Kingdom for use during WWI to keep up morale and motivate the people to, quite literally, keep on going. However, it was reprinted more than 2.5 million times and ready for distribution in the United Kingdom prior and during WWII, instead. Keep Calm and Carry On as a slogan was perceived to be so robust, that the posters were initially not publicized but saved for a time when the people would need a moral boost after an even more critical incident during the war (IWM, 2012). Nevertheless, they ended up never being publicized at all, until recently. When an old copy turned up at a bookshop in the Northeast of the UK around the year 2000, suddenly the slogan became infamous and iconic in the 21st century (IWM, 2012). It has captured the attention of millions of people worldwide. The image has been reproduced, parodied, and trivialised, copied on a large variety of merchandise and at times reformulated to fit new circumstances. Although the initial purpose for this poster was in times of war, the popularity of this poster and slogan shows the timelessness of these words, and how this simple yet effective phrase has been repurposed to encourage one another in modern times for different reasons. Two other posters were designed to motivate the people of the United Kingdom and preceded Keep Calm and Carry On. These were “Your courage, Your cheerfulness, Your Resolution will bring us victory,” and “Freedom is in Peril, defend it with all your might,” (Imperial War Museums, 2012). It can be argued that these slogans are memorable, because of their conciseness and word choice. It is almost like a melody and is easily repeatable, making it perfect for reformulating the situation and steering the people into a direction that could lead to victory. An image of these posters can be found in the appendices.

the behaviour of individuals within a community. Simultaneously, norms demarcate what individuals (can) expect from others (Bicchieri et al., 2018; CrashCourse, 2017; Lu, 1999).

It is relevant to emphasise that the power of slogans may therefore also be used for more negative purposes, such as brainwashing or establishing a dictatorship. “For any group co-activity that lasts for any length of time results in a set of norms that defines the desired ends and taboos of the group. And slogans, especially at the time of crises and tension, become short-cut battle cries of the situation which may be used or abused as magic focal catchwords for intense action and feeling,” (Sherif, 1937, p. 457). In other words, when something has the power to effectively influence people’s mindset and behaviour, it can also be abused. Sherif continues to say that: “Thus slogans may serve as crystalizing points in the confusion of a crisis which tends to develop into a new regulation of a new order,” (Sherif, 1937, p. 457).

Vaara (2014) similarly remarks on the ideological implications of language: “[...] such nationalism [in speech] could also take the form of ‘banal nationalism’, building on and spreading simplistic and even dangerous stereotypes,” (Vaara, 2014, p. 515). It is important to take this functionality into consideration when analysing political discourse in the form of slogans. Not only does political discourse carry ideological weight, but it also carries the ability to harm or cause chaos and disorder. In summary, slogans can act as a means of control and coercion, or as a device of education or behavioural change.

2.4 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WORDS AND BEHAVIOUR

A question that follows, then, is how slogans are connected to (changing or reinforcing) behaviour. Many scholars remark that legitimization serves as one such method. Through legitimization, a political body is enabled to practise soft power through political discourse (Reyes, 2011; Sherif, (1937); Vaes et al., 2011). This extends as far as the audience being made to believe that the goals of the politicians delivering the speech or other form of political rhetoric, become goals of the audience itself.¹⁰ According to these scholars, slogans as a form of political discourse can be effective in the same way. In other words, there is a strong

¹⁰ To illustrate this, Reyes states: “[T]he inspiring orator can also lead a people, or rather mislead them, into believing that the narrow self-interests of the governing party are actually the interest of the people as a whole’ (Joseph, 2006: 13),” (Reyes, 2011, p. 784).

psychological element to slogans, which can have a great impact on a society. A few of such methods will be described below.

Vaes et al., for example, show how effective political discourse can be when it appeals to emotions. In their research they make a distinction between primary emotions and secondary emotions. Primary emotions are emotions that all animals feel, such as fear or pleasure. Secondary emotions are emotions that are particular to human beings, such as guilt or love. Their research concluded that when secondary emotions are evoked, the effect on the audience is much stronger and results in either a greater connection to or a bigger dislike for something or someone, depending on the intention of the message (Vaes et al., 2011).

Previously in this chapter, the extensive utilization of slogans during Maoist China was emphasised. This era accurately illustrates the potential slogans have on the behaviour of citizens in a specific nation. During the Cultural Revolution, citizens were encouraged to demolish the link with Confucianism, which, prior to the Mao era, was still a highly relevant school of thought for both government and society to live by (Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999). Many of these slogans in Maoist China instructed the people to 'rid the nation of a very destructive way of thinking and doing,' (Fukanaga & Zhang, 2007; Karmazin, 2020; Lu, 1999). The condemning of otherwise normative behaviour arguably greatly influenced the (especially younger) Chinese citizens to follow Mao Zedong out of fear, a desire to please, or to feel part of a group (Lu, 1999; Reyes, 2011; Vaes et al., 2011).

These slogans were arguably effective due to their play on emotions, such as Vaes et al. describe. Additionally, they were effective because the words painted an elucidatory picture of a future for China that many of the Chinese citizens would want to partake in. In other words, a hypothetical future that may be idealistic, but is attractive nonetheless. Moreover, the slogans would almost always portray Mao Zedong as a god-like figure – or emperor-like to be more contextually accurate – persuading the citizens of his limitless wisdom and abilities. To better understand what these slogans in a Chinese political context are a case of, the following chapter discusses one way in which political discourse has the intended efficacy, namely legitimization. In the next chapter, the above-mentioned strategies will be discussed in more depth to gain a better understanding of what they are, but also to better grasp how they

function. This will then be applied as an analytical framework to the slogans visible in modern day China for the purpose of analysis.

Although Sherif emphasises the effectiveness of slogans during times of crises, various scholars show that legitimization of political rhetoric can be effective regardless of being in a crisis midst when techniques such as the ones describe above are used (see Fukunaga & Zhang (2008), Karmazin (2020), (Lu (1999), Reyes (2011), Vaara (2014), Vaes et al. (2011), and Xia (2009). This thesis looks at slogans in China that are currently visible, even though it is not in a time of crisis. Nevertheless, I would argue that a variety of political discourse scholars have shown that these slogans can still be successful in guiding mindset and ultimately behaviour.

2.5 SUMMARY

This chapter discussed slogans as one type of political discourse in different settings. The use of slogans in the Chinese political context was emphasised to introduce the analysis that follows in the next chapter. Slogans in China's past have been researched by a great many scholars, many of whom were not mentioned in this research. This chapter discussed the roots slogans have in China's political and imperial past. Particularly, an emphasis was laid on the ideological content of Chinese political slogans. This thesis argues that the ideological content of the slogans is in part due to the influence Chinese philosophical schools of thought had on rulers of antiquity. The close relationship between philosophy and governance dates to 500 B.C.E., and, other than during the Cultural Revolution, continues to be visible in Chinese slogans.

Research has shown that slogans as a form of political discourse can alter behaviour, convince the audience of one or more ideological stances, and steer the audience towards a desired direction. In times of crisis slogans serve as a strongly convincing way to boost morale due to them being short and memorable. Nevertheless, slogans in the everyday create room for new values and norms when, for example, legitimization strategies (such as an appeal to emotion or a reference to a hypothetical future) are used to appeal to their audience in one way or another, and convinces them of new ideas, different ideologies, and normative behaviour that conforms to these novelties.

In addition, it can be concluded that through certain language techniques, such as legitimization named above, political discourse including slogans can have an effect on a

society's perception of norms and normative behaviour. Essentially, what is an especially valuable gained insight is that because legitimization (among other effective methods of political discourse) can influence norms and behaviour, it simultaneously functions as a way in which a society is led into a predetermined direction; perhaps to achieve a particular kind of political or cultural goal.

CHAPTER 3: ANALYSIS OF SLOGANS

3.1 METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the methodology of how the research was conducted will initially be explained. What follows is a discussion on the analytical framework that was used for the analysis, namely 'legitimization strategies'. A couple of such techniques were also described in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the analysis is presented in two separate sections. The first section analyses the slogans using the analytical framework. This section highlights the advocated norms and behavioural traits visible in the individual slogans. The second section discusses the more complete picture the former section can form. This part also focuses more on the presence of Confucianism in these slogans.

This research was conducted using qualitative-research-methods between 01 July and 09 September of 2021. As a result of the COVID-19 pandemic, I was personally unable to obtain the images of slogans and posters for executing this research. Nonetheless, personal connections in China helped me gather this necessary data by photographing slogans they came across daily and through engaging in conversation about the meaning of these slogans. The images selected for this research data consisted of 20 of the 21 images that I received from these connections.

The dataset contained posters of different appearances, broad topics and messages, and, at first glance, different legitimization strategies. In other words, the data was chosen according to its variation in design, message, and legitimization strategy to paint a broad and detailed picture of what may constitute an ideal society according to the CCP. Additionally, the images were captured at different locations throughout the city. Along different streets, on walls of buildings such as schools or office buildings, and within housing blocks. It can be expected that

hundreds if not thousands of people see these posters daily, considering Shanghai's population of 25 million citizens, and Xuhui district's of more than 1 million.

In addition to the primary data, the academic literature used in this research consisted of previously obtained hardcopy literature books and eBooks. Academic articles in online journals were retrieved from Google Scholar. Access to online sources was sufficient to find the relevant literature that would further guide this research. The scope of literature available on legitimization in political discourse, however, is extensive and far-reaching. This meant that not all these sources could be utilized. Nevertheless, the sources used helped refine the understanding of the functioning of slogans as a form of political discourse and rhetoric, and their influence on cultural aspects.

The literature was selected based on specific criteria, including the date of publication, similarities in context specific analysis, and research that showed a thorough understanding of Chinese politics and culture. This was relevant because this thesis similarly addresses philosophy and culture specific to China, thus literature that could broaden my understanding of these aspects came in especially handy.

Despite the help provided, the gathered primary data is not representative of the entire collection of slogans in Shanghai. These posters piqued my interest because during my time living in Shanghai, I came across these posters multiple times a day, in different locations, and with different slogans. Therefore, I know that the data I was able to gather is a small percentage of the actual data available for research. Nevertheless, I would argue that this data is useful because of their overlapping content and general message with the other slogans throughout the city.

Additionally, my comprehension of Mandarin is intermediate, but certain meaningful nuances in written Mandarin were undoubtedly missed not being a native speaker. This has been indicated in footnotes where possible. I translated the slogans using my Mandarin reading skills, as well as my familiarity with Chinese philosophical texts. This proved useful when I noticed that several the slogans in my dataset were structured, or written, like Chinese philosophical texts of antiquity. That is, the syntax in my opinion seems to resemble excerpts from, for example, The Analects. Nevertheless, fieldwork and a native understanding of Mandarin could

have provided additional intelligibility. In addition, the translation results in often much longer sentences in English, giving it less of a slogan's appearance and rhythm.

3.2 ANALYTIC FRAMEWORK

Different nations use slogans in different settings and for diverse purposes. In China, however, I would argue that the posters and slogans have at least two very specific purposes, namely socialization and governmentality. This understanding of the slogans and their meaning was further informed by the critical theory epistemological stance (Mason, 2018). As described in the previous chapter, to understand how the slogans function and may be effective, Reyes's rendering of 'legitimization' was utilized as an analytic lens for this analysis, which will be further elucidated in this part. Reyes provides the following definition of legitimization:

“Legitimization refers to the process by which speakers **accredit or license a type of social behavior**. In this respect, legitimization is a **justification of a behavior** (mental or physical). The process of legitimization is enacted by **argumentation, that is, by providing arguments that explain our social actions, ideas, thoughts, declarations, etc.** In addition, the act of legitimizing or justifying is **related to a goal, which, in most cases, seeks our interlocutor's support and approval**. This search for approval can be **motivated by** different reasons: to obtain or **maintain power**, to achieve social acceptance, to improve community relationships, to reach popularity or fame, etc.” (Reyes, 2011, p. 782, emphasis mine).

Reyes in his research focuses on legitimization in political discourse, using examples from two presidential speeches: President George Bush's speech on the USA's involvement in the war in Iraq in 2007, and President Barack Obama's speech on the USA's involvement in the war in Afghanistan in 2009. In this example below, Reyes quotes former President Obama from a delivered speech on December 1, 2009, and follows with an analysis of this extract using legitimization as the analytic framework:

“(4) On **September 11 2001, 19 men hijacked four airplanes** and used them to murder nearly **3,000 people**. (Obama, 1 December 2009)

What is the point of sentences like (4) in a political speech in 2009? There is no new information for the audience; the audience members have not forgotten 9/11. Nevertheless, this sentence triggers an emotional mode (fear, sadness, insecurity, revenge) in the audience,

ideal to later on legitimize political actions based on the effects of those emotions,” (Reyes, 2011, p. 789).

Reyes in his research takes an excerpt, usually one sentence, from a presidential speech and assesses the effectiveness of the chosen words in relation to licensing a type of behaviour. Reyes shows that even short sentences (although in combination with the remaining speech) have the power to legitimize behaviour. Similarly, I would argue that using this same analytic framework on slogans is therefore appropriate. Like short excerpts from a whole speech, one slogan is part of a whole collection of slogans.

Each individual slogan contributes to the licensing of one aspect of the whole picture of advocated norms and behaviour, like pieces of a puzzle together forming a complete image. Consequently, this research understands the legitimization strategies to be ways in which the audience is encouraged and moved towards a predetermined goal set by the CCP. Therefore, the analysis consists of the legitimization strategies used in the slogans as the first part. Secondly, what, then, the goal – what society is being led towards; the ideal society – actually looks like.

In Reyes’s example above, an appeal to various emotions convinces the audience certain action needs to be undertaken by the government for their own protection. This technique was in the previous chapter elucidated by Vaes et al., and we can see it returning here as a legitimization strategy. Reyes defines five ways legitimization is present in political discourse and rhetoric. It is these legitimization strategies this research utilizes for the analysis:

1. Legitimization through emotions: through appealing to and evoking emotions within social groups, their understanding of reality may change, and this effects their thought and behaviour
2. Legitimization through a hypothetical future: the past (X), present (Y), and future (Z) are connected, through “because of X, we must now act Y in order to enjoy Z,” and because Y is crucial, it is advocated as the right thing to do
3. Legitimization through rationality: rational decision making and actions that are based on thoughtful considerations are discussed, and these actions conform to standards of ‘right’ or ‘appropriate’

4. Legitimization through altruism: proposing actions as being valuable to other individuals or the community as a whole, especially to the disadvantaged
5. Legitimization through the voice of an expert: experts or authoritative figures are referred to or evoked when they have the same or similar claim to strengthen a position (Reyes, 2011, p.785-786).

In Reyes's rendering of 'legitimization', the words spoken by the government's representative justify the actions taken by the government itself. Arguably to convince the audience that the right thing is being done *for them*. In this research, however, the framework is used differently. Although the slogans analysed stem from the CCP, the action of the government itself is not justified.¹¹ Instead, certain ways of behaviour *of the citizens* are advocated, through different ways of legitimizing the proposed behaviour change of the citizens for varying ambitions. Consequently, two social groups are part of the analysis: on the one hand the social group that inspired the message conveyed through the slogans. This social group is collectively known as the CCP; their ideology, ideas, and demands are what constitute the message on the posters. On the other hand, there is the social group that engages with the slogans (hereafter named the audience), people in Shanghai who can read Mandarin, who come across the posters and engage with them through reading them and thinking about them, possibly talking about them afterwards in their social groups.

I would argue that this framework, more so than other frameworks used in other research, allows for analysis that captures not only the message of the words of the slogans themselves, but also an objective and thought process that may otherwise go unnoticed. Prior research has shown that the structure of political discourse is in itself a means to an end (Lu, 1999; McGee, 1980; Reyes, 2011; Sherif, 1937; Vaara, 2014, Vaes et al., 2011, Xia, 2009). This analytic framework provides a lens that brings forth cultural and political characteristics of China that, for example, Lu's used framework 'cultural criticism' would not satisfy.

Slogans are another method of conveying political messages or ideology. In other words, slogans are a kind of political discourse. Thus, it can be argued that approaching political

¹¹ Chinese governance has a long history of using slogans to communicate with its citizens. It is therefore a logical conclusion that the current Chinese government is the source of the slogans currently visible. In addition, considering the political context of China, it can be argued that such means of communication and such ideas could not be publicized from another political or cultural institution.

slogans with legitimization as an analytic framework can provide a deeper understanding of a government's ideology, ambitions for its citizens, and how it plans to achieve this. When applied to political slogans, it can be argued that the legitimization lens reveals otherwise hidden messages that are conveyed to and manifested within the perhaps unaware audience, much like Reyes's analysis of Obama's speech reveals.

3.3 ANALYSIS: PIECES OF THE PUZZLE – LEGITIMIZING NEW NORMS AND BEHAVIOUR

In this part of the analysis, the slogans found in the appendices have been organized according to what I would argue is the most prevalent legitimization strategy used. Most references to the slogans quote the slogan. Other references may only use the corresponding letter. In this analysis, the advocated norms and behavioural traits are emphasized in bold and are later discussed in more detail in part 2. Each legitimization strategy is first explained, after which follows the analysis of the slogans that fit into the category.

3.3.1 LEGITIMIZATION THROUGH A HYPOTHETICAL FUTURE

This legitimization strategy entails the construction of an image of a future that is in one way or another an improvement of the present. However, the present demands actions that shape the presented ameliorative future. This strategy legitimizes the norms and types of behaviour that reflect these necessary actions. In the gathered data specific to a Chinese context, it is not the actions of the government itself that is justified. Instead, it is the advocated behaviour of citizens that should collectively achieve the goal of a better future.

Poster (I) is a good example of how legitimization through a hypothetical future works. Although other legitimization strategies are detectable, I would argue that this strategy is most prevalent:

“When people all together build a well-off society, all the people share happiness.”

The audience is directed towards **companionship, responsibility, and collaboration**, the norms this slogan advocates. When everybody embodies these norms, all the people will share in happiness in the future, which is how this slogan legitimizes the actions that conform to these norms. Ultimately, the people will have the potential to **work together and build a well-off**

society.¹² Finally, happiness can be experienced and shared. It can be argued that people want to experience happiness and share it with their loved ones, and possibly even the whole community. This would explain why this legitimization strategy works and why it was used for this poster.

3.3.2 LEGITIMIZATION THROUGH ALTRUISM

This strategy assumes an inherently human trait of wanting to belong to a community and doing good for that community. It plays on the idea that people will feel better personally when they serve those around them and improve the lives of the disadvantaged. Additionally, this strategy evokes a strong communal empathy and connection, and impels individuals of a community to work together towards one or more ambitions.

Poster (E) illustrates legitimization through altruism. The words have a soft and kind tone to them, achieved by adjectives such as ‘beautiful’, ‘good’ and ‘civilized’, arguably fitting to altruism as a concept:

“A beautiful and good Xuhui
A civilized Xuhui
Xuhui education is with you
Speak civilly
Cultivate new trends
*Further the creation of civilized cities nationwide*¹³”

Xuhui is a district within Shanghai, and this poster inspires pride of being a Xuhui citizen. It speaks to the whole community, and how a civilized community is formed by sophisticated individuals. It gives the impression that a good and beautiful district is shaped by **taking responsibility for one’s acts and working together by helping each other and being civil with one another**. These are simultaneously the behavioural traits this poster advocates.

This poster also speaks to what is rather a distinctive characteristic of Chinese communities: neighbourhood watches. These are very common in city districts. ‘Watchdogs’ are volunteers

¹² Throughout the analyses, emboldened text can be found. These are the identified norms and behavioural traits the slogans on the posters advocate.

¹³ The words in italics are words that are more common on many other posters, and arguably evoke a strong communal connection where it uses altruistic phrases such as ‘with you’ and ‘civilized cities nationwide’.

from within the area, who contribute to the district's safety, cleanliness and harmony (Chen, 2017; Jiang, 2020).¹⁴ Through such communal characteristics in addition to these norms advocated in (E), one gets the impression that one is part of a whole. The kind of behaviour that contributes to a beautiful and good Xuhui is legitimized through this poster, and may further remind the reader of **civility and philanthropy**.

(F) like (E) also uses this strategy:

“Speak civilly
Cultivate new trends

*Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law,
Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness*

Honesty and trustworthiness are the essence of etiquette.
Passing on honesty makes companions of us all.”

Firstly, this poster reiterates the words ‘**speak civilly**’ and ‘**cultivate new trends**’, like can be seen in (E). The latter refers to the advocated behaviour commonly seen on all the posters. Secondly, the values in italics are also shared by many of the posters.¹⁵ Thirdly, the final words of the poster have altruistic elements. It assumes the people want to be part of an honest community but must partake in **honesty and trustworthiness** themselves to enjoy it from others. It gives the idea that when one person wants to be treated with honesty and trust, so he must **act honest** himself.

In other words: **act with etiquette and expect etiquette**. This arguably incorporates norms such as **companionship, civility, and responsibility**. What is interesting about this is that it mirrors an ideal fundamental to Confucianism: 己所不欲，勿施于人。 This means: What you do not want done to you, do not do to others (Legge & Confucius, 2018). This statement argues that

¹⁴ The following article attests to this: “In [a video posted on Chinese social media], [Guo Tianrui, an American living in Beijing] is seen giving tourists directions, getting water for a baby and even helping a neighbor sell yogurt. “I like helping others,” he said. “I live in the hutong and my neighbors and I usually help each other... This is where I live, where my friends are and where I call home,” (Chinadaily, 2017).

¹⁵ In a newspaper article on Chinadaily, the following is said: “The Communist Party of China has always striven to seek happiness for the people and progress for humanity, and pursued the shared human values of peace, development, fairness, justice, democracy and freedom, foreign experts said,” (Chen & Ren, 2021). The article argues that it is a priority of the Chinese government to ensure its citizens may live happy lives. These shared values are important to achieve that goal.

by treating someone else in the same way you wish to be treated engenders a safe and harmonious community, making companions out of strangers.

Poster (N) illustrates this further. This slogan arguably makes the reader feel connected not just with their fellow men through phrases like “honesty makes *companions* of us”, it arguably also makes people feel connected to their ancestors, when “*inherit* Chinese values” is stated. Ancestry plays an important role in Chinese culture. Certain festivals, for example, are based on the understanding that people wish to reconnect with their ancestors.¹⁶

I would argue that (N) advocates behaviour that aligns with the following norms: **honesty, pride, civility, and health**. To experience companionship, one must **act honestly and civilly**. Additionally, it seems as though it is expected that one understands what “the new style of the times” means and what it refers to. This further insinuates **observing the rules and laws, taking responsibility for furthering the development of society and the nation, and setting a good example for others in the community**.

This idea of companionship and community is also mirrored by (P), (R), and (U). These slogans use legitimization through altruism by stating that a healthy society starts with the input of every individual, and only then can everybody share in a healthy life:

“The new fashion is separating your trash, to establish a beautiful new home.

Patriotic public health means everyone shares in a healthy life.

A healthy civilization for you and me.”

The new norms according to poster (P) quoted above are to **take care of one’s own health and the environment’s health, be sanitary and contribute to a clean and healthy environment. One should observe these new (societal) rules and pioneer in rebuilding the nation**. By stating “the new fashion is [...],” it is suggested that this is the new way of doing things, it is the right thing to do – which echoes legitimization through rationality – and by doing so everybody can enjoy a healthy life – which reflects the legitimization through altruism strategy.

¹⁶ Other examples include ‘saving face’ to avoid bringing shame to one’s family name, gifting money when people are buried so they do not go into the afterlife poor, and simultaneously cushioning oneself for life after death. Using the word ‘inherit’ in this example arguably connects these dots for the reader, and therefore makes the words relevant and personal.

3.3.3 LEGITIMIZATION THROUGH EMOTION

Through appealing to and evoking especially secondary emotions, an individual's understanding of reality can be altered (Vaes et al.). Emotional responses are largely foreseeable, which makes crafting a slogan using this strategy attractive (Reyes, 2011). By inspiring specific emotions, an individual's previous understanding of a situation may be moulded to engender different thought patterns and ultimately behaviour. Collectively, individuals start to form an overarching understanding of a new (hypothetical) situation, and transform their behaviour fit this new reality.

(J), for example, uses the legitimization through emotion strategy:

“Hold high the great flag of socialism with Chinese characteristics, that strives untiringly for the Chinese dream to rejuvenate the Chinese nation.”

It can be argued that these words inspire a sense of pride within the reader; pride of the Chinese nation and of the hard work the CCP is putting into the rejuvenation of the nation. The rejuvenation would ultimately bring back lost glory from the past and turn China into a global leader. This appeal to emotion is what makes the slogan seem more personal and the goal appear as one the reader already had for himself. This poster speaks strongly to **patriotism**, and that one should not only **have national pride but also show it, by contributing to achieving the Chinese dream and help rejuvenate the Chinese nation.**

The slogans on poster (M) on the other hand, are rather philosophical in nature and have a spiritual essence to them. Like on many of the other posters, the slogans consist of four characters, which is typical to Chinese idioms. I would argue that the way in which (M) is written is reflective of Chinese philosophical texts or poetry. In Chinese culture, poetry is an ancient and intellectual art form. Structuring the slogans in this way could come from a sense of cultural pride – which would align with the message on other posters – but could also stem from a desire to reintroduce Chinese philosophy into the political realm, such as Confucianism, as discussed earlier.

Perhaps this legitimization strategy is present in these slogans precisely because the slogans are poetically written. I would argue that poetry as an art form strongly relates to one's emotions and understanding of the world. See (M):

“All rivers run into the sea [idiom: use different means to obtain the same]

Pursue excellence

Enlightened and wise

Magnanimity and modesty”

These separate phrases inspire behavioural traits such as **perseverance, staying modest, enlightening oneself and gathering wisdom, and to be generous and forgiving to one’s fellow man**. This is what is described as the “Shanghai city spirit” and gives a better understanding of what individuals constitute the ideal Chinese society.

3.3.4 LEGITIMIZATION THROUGH RATIONALITY

This legitimization strategy offers an explanation of completed or proposed action based on a perceived idea of what the right or appropriate thing is to do by the entire social group. In this data, the CCP largely defines the direction in which the country is headed. Nevertheless, this strategy can be employed when an action or kind of behaviour supports the ‘right thing’. Simply put, do X because it is the right thing to do (for you, for your community, for the nation). Whether it is indeed the right thing to do, is largely decided by the entire community. Nevertheless, this perception can be altered (Reyes, 2011; Vaes et al., 2011).

In (A), we can see the following text as an example of legitimization through rationality:

“Shanghai City, ‘7 new no’s’ norms, **pets do not disturb the people.**”¹⁷

The text itself is straight forward, like how an order would be given. This order-like nature of the text arguably implies that this is the way things are supposed to be and that controlling one’s pet, so they do not disturb the people, is the right thing to do. Although the text is simplistic, it is clearly implied that pets could disturb the people. Nobody wishes to be disturbed. I would argue that the majority of people wish to live in **harmony, peace and civility**. These are the exact norms this poster advocates.

¹⁷ The part in bold refers to the slogan. The rest of the sentence is still valid for analysis but is not part of the actual slogan, or what I would argue to be the slogan. The same goes for the other posters, where the words in bold indicate the actual slogan.

A pet as a source of nuisance needs to be controlled by the pet's owner. Those who read this text and who do not like pets in general or do not appreciate a barking dog or other kind of behaviour that may be disturbing, would likely agree with this poster and consider it a new 'rule' of the city. Should someone's pet disturb you, this poster through affirming it as rational, legitimizes **appropriate action taken to stop the pet from disturbing people**. In short, **play your role in a harmonious society and observe order**.

(B), I would argue, has a very similar ring to it as (A), including the commanding tone. The approach to the design is also the same; a drawing made by a child. Finally, they both form part of the '7 new no's'. The words on this poster read as follows:

“Shanghai City, '7 new no's' norms, **observe order, don't jump the queue**. Create civilized schools, you and I work together.”

What is interesting about this text is the phrase '*observe order*', which takes on the assumption that order is already the norm. Arguably this slogan suggests that if one does jump the queue, one is responsible for disrupting order. Consequently, **maintain peace, act civilly, work together, and observe order**. Taking into consideration China's political, cultural, and philosophical history, I would argue that disrupting order – or a harmonious society – is a miserable offence. Harmony and order are fundamental elements of these pillars of Chinese society. As a result, I would argue that the norms advocated in this poster include **harmony, civility, companionship, and order**.

Similar to (F) discussed previously, poster (B) also reiterates Confucianism, as well as other Chinese philosophical schools such as Daoism in that the idea of order and harmony has for centuries been a primary focus for Chinese rulers because of these philosophical schools.¹⁸

In addition to this strategy, the legitimization through altruism strategy can also be observed in (B). By referring to creating something together that would benefit both contributors, the

¹⁸ According to a news article on Chinadaily “[...] focus on the realization of the second centenary goal of building a strong and modern socialist country in all respects,” is a top priority of the current Chinese government. Additionally, the article states that: “Efforts should be made to ensure that people live and work in peace and contentment, society is stable and orderly, and the country enjoys long-term peace and stability [...]” (Zhang, 2021). This is arguably a trend in Chinese governance and can be recognized to rulers of antiquity.

reader of this poster may feel inspired to do exactly that, to satisfy the desire to belong to a community.

Part of the same sequence of these posters are (C) and (D), which will be discussed collectively:

(C): “Shanghai City, ‘7 new no’s’ norms, **do not indiscriminately cross the road.**”

(D): “Shanghai City, ‘7 new no’s’ norms, **do not indiscriminately throw garbage.**”

Both slogans are formulated using the legitimization through rationality strategy. Similar to the posters discussed above, they are commanding in tone. All the posters discussed thus far for this strategy, have in common the idea that something being a new norm, as is stated by the former part of the poster (**civility, safety, order, and sanitation**), is also the new reality, which is shaped by the latter part of the poster (**play your role in a safe society, observe traffic laws, ensure individual safety and safety of others, keep the city clean, ensure hygiene, keep your city clean and beautiful**).

What is interesting about poster (T (found in the appendices)) is that it serves as an answer to what some readers may be wondering after (D): What exactly does a clean environment look like? Why is it so important to throw garbage away? The answer shaped by (T) as well as other posters could look as follows: separating your garbage is what you should do because it is the new fashion, and you do not wish to be the odd one out. Establish a beautiful homeland, something that you can contribute to and feel proud of.

In fact, the correct way of behaving is explained by stating that one should not do its opposite (don’t indiscriminately cross the road = follow traffic rules and cross the road on a pedestrian crossing). In short, the current culture is being revised by changing things that are otherwise considered normal, including its values and norms (CrashCourse, 2017).

Additional information on the posters (A-D) is that they include the name of the child who drew the picture that serves as the background, and the name of the school this child attends. This may be another strategy of legitimization: legitimization through emotion. I would argue that the child-like appearance of the poster appeals to all generations of a Chinese household. The collectivistic nature of Chinese society means that parents and grandparents are heavily

involved in a child's life. These posters could intrigue these levels of society more because of this concern for a child. If this is the case, it would mean that a large part of society already feels compelled to adhere to these new norms, making it indeed rational and realistic behaviour for others to follow, too.

Poster (G (in the appendices)) combines various slogans together visible on other posters, proclaiming ideal ways of behaving and norms that are perhaps the most vital for a healthy and civilized society. This slogan uses the legitimization through rationality strategy, as it tells the audience *what to do* and *how to do it*.

Many norms come to light in this poster, including perhaps most importantly: **order, civility, patriotism, honesty, cleanliness, harmony, companionship, altruism, philanthropy, and hard-working**. Due to the detail of this poster, it is one of the few that is largely all-encompassing of the legitimized behavioural traits and norms that are advocated and expected of the ideal society. Arguably, these norms are considered standard to many nations. They are likely be found at the center of a society and what that social group deems relevant for the functioning of a society. Consequently, perhaps (re)socialization is the desired outcome of these slogans in China.

In a similar manner, the behavioural traits legitimized through this poster include **participating in the creation of a civilized, healthy and clean society, companionship and order to achieve harmony, safety, civilization, trust, honesty and friendliness, being helpful towards neighbours, the community and district, and taking responsibility for one's role in society to work hard towards achieving the Chinese Dream together**.

Posters (H) and (S (both found in the appendices)) are a collection of various posters, too. Together the slogans form the new norms titled the "Shanghai '7 new no's". What is interesting about the slogans linguistically is that they are all identically structured. They consist of five characters, with the character 不 (meaning 'no' or 'not' in these slogans) in the same position every time, making it appealing to the eye but also easier to remember and repeat. Slogans (A-D) discussed four of these new norms, the 7 new no's will not be discussed individually. Instead, the norms and behavioural traits this poster ultimately legitimizes through rationality will be discussed.

It is through stating what is considered a 'no', new rules are created for the citizens to abide by. From these things that one must not do, new norms can arguably be deduced that the reader must instead live up to. I would argue that the norms (H) legitimized are: **civility, harmony, safety, sanitation, order, peace, and philanthropy.**

The behavioural traits that this poster argues are wrong, have opposites that, in combination with various other slogans, are consequently the behaviours that one should replace the 'no's' with: **one must act civilly, take responsibility for one's behaviour, contribute to a civil, harmonious, orderly, and safe society, contribute to a clean and sanitary environment, and create and observe order.**

I would argue that (L) through simply stating the values that are at the heart of socialism with Chinese characteristics, induces a response in the reader, that consists of **observing these values, embodying them, and represent the nation through these values.** Although this poster is less direct in stating appropriate ways of behaving, I would argue that it is through this repetition of these values that the audience confronted with these posters will clearly recall these values as being important to their government and the government's goal to rejuvenate the nation, and ultimately, to themselves.

3.3.5 LEGITIMIZATION THROUGH VOICES OF EXPERTS

This strategy utilizes the importance people attach to a certain figure, may it be a political or cultural one. By quoting this figure or evoking him or her, a certain action can be accredited. In doing so, the claimed position is strengthened and appears more convincing.

Poster (O) is a good example of this strategy. President, or 'comrade' Xi Jinping is evoked in the mind of the reader, arguably inspiring a sense of fellowship with, especially in the Chinese political context, a very powerful man.

"Unite closely around the CCP with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core, spare no effort and strive for the victory of socialism with Chinese characteristics of the era!"

This strategy legitimizes behaviour that helps the nation achieve its goal: **helping the CCP in their efforts to rebuild the Chinese nation, through acts such as supporting the party, working on individual goals that revive the nation, setting an example for others to help too, trusting in**

your fellow man to work together as honest companions and comrades. It inspires the idea that **togetherness achieves.** It makes the reader feel important in that their acts matter to the most powerful figure in China: Xi Jinping.

“The people have faith – the nation has power – the nation has hope”

I would argue that other legitimization strategies are also used here, namely through a hypothetical future and through emotion. Nevertheless, because these words appear on this particular poster evoking the president, they place Xi Jinping at the center of this very hopeful and inspiring message. I would argue that these slogans inspire norms such as **patriotism, philanthropy, hope and power.**

(Q) similar to (O) evokes President Xi Jinping to legitimize actions and behaviour that contribute to achieving the Chinese dream:

“Xi Jinping’s thoughts for the modern Socialism with Chinese characteristics are an action guide for the CCP and the people of the nation to strive for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation!

Cultivate and practise the core values of socialism.

Undertake action and cultivate [yourself] to become the new population of a rejuvenated nation.”

What is interesting about this poster is the strong message it delivers regarding the influence president Xi has over the nation and its people. Reading this poster may leave one with little choice but to **take responsibility and contribute to achieving the Chinese dream. One ought to support and follow the CCP and work together to cultivate society and the nation. Have pride, obey the rules, observe the order, act civilly, and expect civility.**

This poster also echoes the idea of the Awakening Dragon but takes it one step further to socialize the people and cultivate the nation’s population. Nevertheless, what is also intriguing about this poster is that the responsibility is placed in the hands of the people themselves, and it is expected of them to **take this responsibility and transform it into a nation, a society, a family, and an individual of high standards. To be moral, healthy, wise, patriotic, a philanthropist, and powerful. In other words, the ideal society.**

3.4 THE COMPLETE PICTURE: THE IDEAL SOCIETY

The analysis of slogans in Shanghai, China, has resulted in a clearer understanding of how these slogans are effective, and what cultural changes may emerge through their presence. The most common legitimization strategy in this dataset appears to be 'legitimization through rationality'. This can in part be explained by the political structure of China. As the nation is communist, the citizens have little to say about what is the right or appropriate thing to do; this is primarily decided by the CCP. Accordingly, new societal rules extending to norms and behavioural traits are decided upon by the party and are for the people to abide by.

The most common behaviours legitimized through the slogans include act civilly and honestly and expect honesty and civility in return; take responsibility for your role in society and contribute to a safe, sanitary and harmonious community and environment; take care of others and they will take care of you, together you will share in a happy and harmonious future; observe order, obey the rules and laws, and ensure others do too; be proud of your district, your city, your nation and help the CCP in achieving the Chinese dream of rejuvenating China (中国梦).

The Chinese Dream (中国梦), is visible on almost every poster in the lower right corner and is presented as a traditional Chinese stamp, or a so called seal. Traditionally, these seals are considered very valuable. Like signatures that we know in many western nations, stamps were and still are used for identification and acknowledgement. Additionally, however, stamps visible today on specific artworks, for example, may date back to China's first emperor after he reunited the warring states. I would argue that Chinese stamps used today strengthen the connection between contemporary China and imperial China. They lend additional value to these posters and turn them into more official statements, belonging to the nation's Dream.

I would argue that the advocated behavioural traits strongly relate to various Confucian ideas. For instance, the emphasis placed on an individual's role in society reflects the similar emphasis Confucianism places on the responsibilities each individual has in their communities, work-lives, friendships, and homes, in other words the Five Constant Relationships (五伦). This theorizes ways in which to behave towards others depending on your own position in that relationship. The accentuation of observing order, obeying the (legal and societal) rules and laws, and managing others arguably all point to the very central theme of harmony in Chinese

philosophical schools. It can be argued that even 'sanitation' plays a role in a harmonious society. The idea of managing the environment cleanly and well, has in it characteristics of caring for things that lie outside oneself. It brings the outside together with the inside, the environment and neighbourhood together with the individual. It unites and harmonises.

From this data, the norms that appeared most common were companionship, civility, patriotism, order, harmony and peace, and hygiene and sanitation. In addition to legitimization through rationality, the strategy 'legitimization through altruism' was also very common. This could be due to the collectivistic nature of Chinese societies, and are echoed by these norms, too. I would argue that these norms are also central to Chinese philosophical schools. As explained in the previous chapter, these schools of thought were focused on reuniting the people and the nation and ensure a harmonious existence. The norms highlighted above strongly resonate with especially Confucianism in this ultimate objective. This school of thought prioritized rules and rites, which the above-mentioned norms strongly appeal to. Especially order and civility relate to this.

The legitimization strategies discussed above were all organised according to what I would argue was the most prevalent strategy in the slogan. Nevertheless, I would argue that all the posters in the dataset share one common strategy: legitimization through a hypothetical future. This, I would argue, is the hidden message that underscores all the slogans. It reveals a strong communal spirit of China as a nation, with a powerful political party at the centre leading the citizens through cultural and normative reform to cultural and political rejuvenation, the eventual objective. As a result, the ideal society is hard-working, patriotic, honest, civil, altruistic, clean, responsible, and intelligent. It is expected of every individual to mirror these norms and play their role in achieving the CCP's goal, which fundamentally may have been their own ambition.

CHAPTER 4: CONCLUSION

With this thesis I aimed to contribute to the field of study of political discourse, especially with regards to slogans in a Chinese political and cultural context. With thesis, I tried to better understand current Chinese political affairs. Perhaps more importantly, however, I aimed to learn more about the role Chinese philosophical schools play in contemporary Chinese politics,

and the influence they may have on both politics and the culture, norms, and behaviour of Chinese society.

The analytical framework that was used for the analysis was legitimization strategies. It proved a useful analytic framework to present a discussion on the ways in which the slogans can be effective and reach their audience. What was also particularly useful about this framework is that it showed an unexpected predominant legitimization strategy that could be observed in almost all the posters. This was the legitimization through a hypothetical future strategy.

However, this research could not be entirely representative of all the posters and slogans one can find in Shanghai. Therefore, being in China and obtaining one's own data would allow for better representation of the collection of posters and slogans, and thus for more accurate analysis that could result in a more detailed picture of what an ideal society may look like according to the CCP.

Although the slogans incorporated various legitimization strategies to appeal to the audience, an underlying strategy that the majority of the posters shared was to reach an objective that lay in the future, the 中国梦, *the Chinese Dream*. This what looked like a stamp with 中国梦 could be found on the majority of the posters. Consequently, it can be argued that legitimization through a hypothetical future is the strategy that was used most often to encourage society to embody the named norms and behavioural traits.

This brings me onto the next point, namely the advocated norms and behavioural traits. The norms that appeared most common and therefore prioritized were companionship, civility, patriotism, order, harmony and peace, and hygiene and sanitation. The advocated behavioural traits echo these norms. These included act civilly and honestly and expect honesty and civility in return; take responsibility for your role in society and contribute to a safe, sanitary and harmonious community and environment; take care of others and they will take care of you, together you will share in a happy and harmonious future; observe order, obey the rules and laws, and ensure others do too; be proud of your district, your city, your nation and help the CCP in achieving the Chinese dream of rejuvenating China. This strong emphasis placed on the socialization of society is a trend that can be observed in Chinese political history, too. Slogans pertain to this trend, because of their different messages throughout the ages focusing on different issues every time.

Additionally, the slogans that formed the dataset for this thesis can be described to be philosophical and ideological. The reason why the slogans have, in Chinese history, largely taken on this perspective is, I would argue, for two main reasons. The first one is because of the Chinese political system. This structure allows the governing party to have the deciding voice and little competition. Therefore, they do not need to appeal to voters to gain their vote based on the demands of the voters.

Secondly, due to the historical appeal of politicians and rulers to Chinese philosophical schools of thought, this thesis argues that philosophy and ideology have always been closely related to Chinese governance. This is an interesting trait, because during Maoist China, Chinese traditions such as Confucianism were abolished to make room for communist ideology and ways of life. Nevertheless, the norms and behavioural traits described above appear to strongly relate to various Confucian ideals that form the foundation of this school of thought. They include harmony, rules, rites, order. When this is accomplished within governance and within society, the nation will flourish and succeed.

Although I attempted to present a discussion on the presence of Confucianism in the slogans, I would argue that a more in-depth analysis of the advocated norms and behaviours in relation to Confucian texts would result in a more concise analysis. Future research could thereby more accurately conclude whether Confucianism is being reintroduced into Chinese governance and provide a more detailed prediction of what this may mean for the future of Chinese society.

BIBLIOGRAPHY:

BOOKS

Ames, R., Hall, D., & Laozi. (2003). *Dao De Jing: A Philosophical Translation (English and Mandarin Chinese Edition)*(Reprint ed.). Ballantine Books.

Bicchieri, C., Muldoon, R., & Sontuoso, A. (2018). *Social Norms*. The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Available at: <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/social-norms/>

Chan, W. (1969). *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (1st ed.). Princeton University Press.

Goldin, P. (2020). *The Art of Chinese Philosophy: Eight Classical Texts and How to Read Them*. Princeton University Press.

Legge, J., & Confucius. (2018). *The Analects of Confucius: The Books of Confucian Wisdom - Complete*. lulu.com.

Mason, J. (2018). *Qualitative Researching* (3rd ed.). SAGE Publications Ltd.

Slingerland, E., & Cashman, M. (2014). *Trying Not to Try: The Art and Science of Spontaneity*. Random House Audio.

Watson, B. (2009). *The Analects of Confucius (Translations from the Asian Classics)* (Illustrated ed.). Columbia University Press.

IMAGES

Keep Calm and Carry On

Pence, D. (2011, December 7). *Keep Calm and Carry On* [Image].

https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/9a/Keep_calm_and_carry_on_dapence.svg/512px-Keep_calm_and_carry_on_dapence.svg.png

Your Courage, Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution will bring us victory

Imperial War Museums. (1939). *Your Courage, Your Cheerfulness, Your Resolution* [Photograph]. <https://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/32326>

Freedom is in Peril Defend it with all your might

Heritage. (n.d.). *Freedom is in Peril Defend it with all your might* [Photograph].
<https://theright.store/products/freedom-is-in-peril-poster>

JOURNAL ARTICLES

Callahan, W. A. (2008). Chinese Visions of World Order: Post-hegemonic or a New Hegemony? *International Studies Review*, 10(4), 749–761.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2486.2008.00830.x>

Fukunaga, S., & Zhang, B. (2007). *A Comparative Analysis of American and Chinese Political Slogans: A Critical Linguistic Perspective* (No. 136). 岡山大学教育部研究集録.

Jiang, J. (2020). The Eyes and Ears of the Authoritarian Regime: Mass Reporting in China. *Journal of Contemporary Asia*, 1–20.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00472336.2020.1813790>

Karmazin, A. (2020). Slogans as an Organizational Feature of Chinese Politics. *Journal of Chinese Political Science*, 25(3), 411–429. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11366-019-09651-w>

Kou, Y., Semaan, B., & Nardi, B. (2017, September). A Confucian Look at Internet Censorship in China. 377–398.

LU, X. (1999). An Ideological/Cultural Analysis of Political Slogans in Communist China. *Discourse & Society*, 10(4), 487–508.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926599010004003>

- Reyes, A. (2011). Strategies of legitimization in political discourse: From words to actions. *Discourse & Society*, 22(6), 781–807.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926511419927>
- Sherif, M. (1937). The psychology of slogans. *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, 32(3–4), 450–461. <https://doi.org/10.1037/h0056327>
- Vaara, E. (2014). Struggles over legitimacy in the Eurozone crisis: Discursive legitimation strategies and their ideological underpinnings. *Discourse & Society*, 25(4), 500–518.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926514536962>
- Vaes, J., Paladino, M. P., & Magagnotti, C. (2011). The Human Message in Politics: The Impact of Emotional Slogans on Subtle Conformity. *The Journal of Social Psychology*, 151(2), 162–179. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00224540903510829>
- Xia, N. (2009). Political Slogans and Logic. *Diogenes*, 56(1), 109–116.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0392192109102160>

NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

- Chen, 陈子琰. (2017, August 31). American in Beijing lives his Chinese dream. *Chinadaily.Com.Cn*.
http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/201708/31/WS59bb6bcea310d4d9ab7e74c6_1.html
- Chen, Y. Q., & Ren, Q. (2021, August 28). Experts praise CPC for century of work. *Chinadaily.Com.Cn*.
<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202108/28/WS61298dfda310efa1bd66bbc6.html>
- NOS. (2021, August 30). Chinese tieners mogen nog maar drie uur per week online gamen. *NOS*. <https://nos.nl/artikel/2395767-chinese-tieners-mogen-nog-maar-drie-uur-per-week-online-gamen>

Zhang, Y. (2021, August 30). Peaceful China initiative discussed at CPPCC Standing Committee meeting. *Chinadaily.Com.Cn*.
<http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202108/30/WS612ce497a310efa1bd66c234.html>

Zhao, W. F. (2021, August 31). As with all things, moderation is key in gaming: To the point. *Opinion - Chinadaily.Com.Cn*.
<https://www.chinadaily.com.cn/a/202108/31/WS612d9e18a310efa1bd66c531.html>

YOUTUBE VIDEOS

CrashCourse. (2017, May 15). *Symbols, Values & Norms: Crash Course Sociology #10* [Video].
YouTube. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kGrVhM_Gi8k

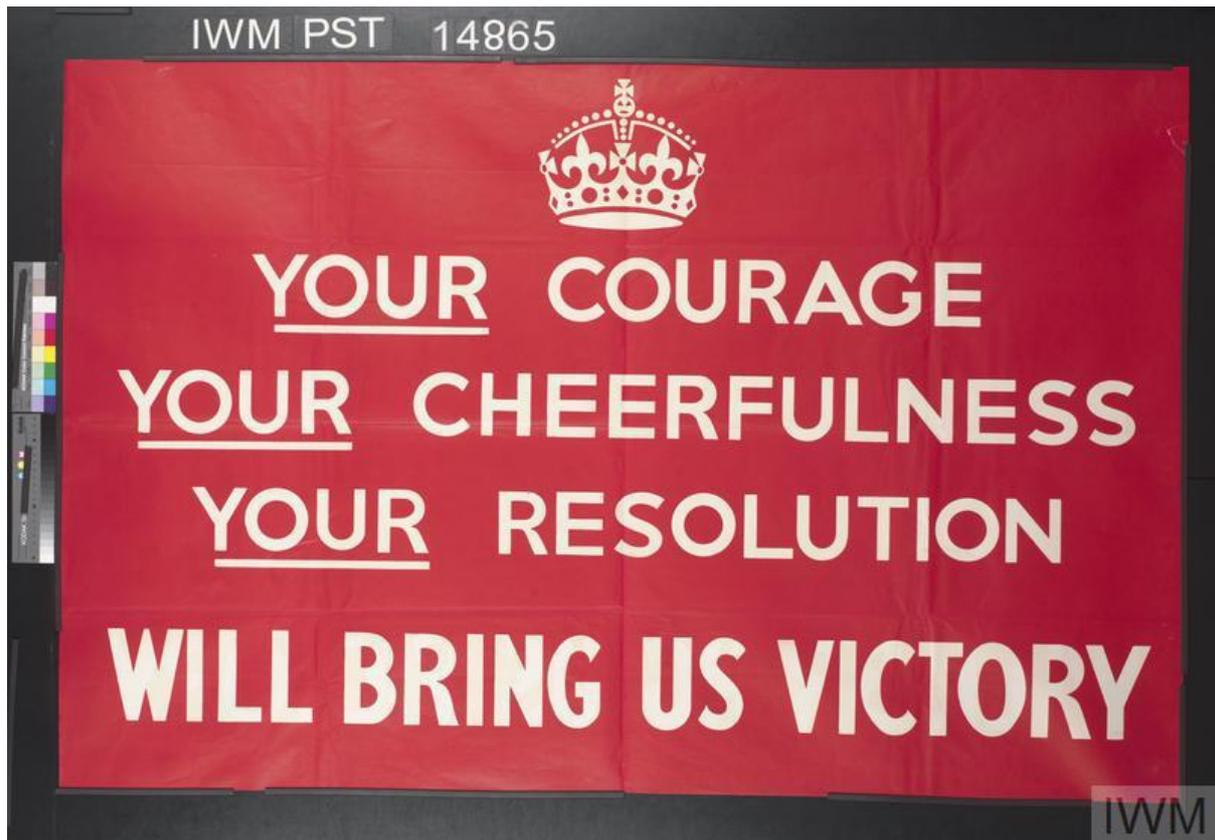
Imperial War Museums. (2012, February 28). *The Story of Keep Calm and Carry On* [Video].
YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FrHkKXFRbCI>

Barter Books LTD. (2017, November 3). *Keep Calm and Carry On: The Truth Behind the Poster* [Video]. YouTube. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=s16YLhKzfNI>

APPENDICES

POSTERS PUBLISHED DURING WW2 IN THE UK





Freedom is in Peril Defend it with all your might



SLOGANS (CHINA), TRANSLATIONS AND CHARACTERISTICS



Reference: A

Chinese:

上海市“新七不”规范

宠物不扰民

徐汇区第一中心小学

English translation:

Shanghai city “7 new no’s” norms

Pets do not disturb the people

Name of school

Name of student

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

The 7 **new** ‘no’s’ (new) norms.

Childlike illustrations (made by schoolchildren)

→ appealing to children, parents and grandparents

Dogs look like poodles most frequently seen

Norms:

Harmony

Peace

Civility

Behaviour:

Play your role in harmonious society

Refrain (your pet) from being a nuisance



Reference: B

Chinese:

上海市“新七不”规范

守序不插队

创建文明校

你我共行动

徐汇区第一中心小学

English translation:

Shanghai "7 new no's" norms

Observe order, don't jump the queue

Create civilized schools

You and I work together

Name of school

Name of student

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

Childlike illustrations (made by schoolchildren)

→ appealing to children, parents and grandparents

Norms:

Order

Civility

Companionship

Harmony

Behaviour:

Observe order

Maintain peace

Act civil

Work together



Reference: C

上海市“新七不”规范

马路不乱穿

徐汇区第一中心小学

English translation:

Shanghai “7 new no’s” norms

Do not indiscriminately cross the road

Name of school

Name of student

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

Childlike illustrations (made by schoolchildren)

Norms:

Civility

Safety

Order

Behaviour:

Play your role in a safe society

Observe traffic laws

Ensure individual safety and safety of others

You are responsible for safe roads



Reference: D

Chinese:

上海市“新七不”规范

垃圾不乱扔

徐汇区第一中心小学

English translation:

Shanghai “7 new no’s” norms

Do not indiscriminately throw garbage

Name of school

Name of student

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

Childlike illustrations (made by schoolchildren)

Norms:

Hygiene/sanitation

Behaviour:

Keep the city clean

Ensure hygiene

Trash is dirty and ugly, keep the city clean and beautiful



Reference: E

汇善汇美

文明徐汇

徐汇教育与您同行

讲文明 树新风 深化全国文明城区创建

English translation:

A beautiful and good Xuhui

A civilized Xuhui

Xuhui education is with you

Speak civilly
Cultivate new trends
Further the creation of civilized cities nationwide

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

States that this is a type of education for the people

Inspires pride of being a Xuhui citizen (district within Shanghai)

Norms:

Civility

Philanthropy

Behaviour:

Act civilly

Responsibility for your acts

Your behaviour is a deciding factor in how the nation develops



Reference: F

Chinese:

讲文明 树新风

富强 民主 文明和谐 自由 平等公正 法治 爱国敬业 诚信 友善

诚信为人之根本

传递诚信你我同行

徐汇区精神文明建设委员会

徐汇区天平街道精神文明建设委员会

English translation:

Speak civilly

Cultivate new trends

Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law, Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness

Honesty and trustworthiness are the essence of etiquette.

Passing on honesty makes companions of us all.

The Xuhui committee of establishing a spiritual civilization (& Tianping Road)

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

Reiteration of first line → strong redirection towards civilized behaviour

Reiteration of values → core of (future) society

中国梦

Chinese seals: identification, marking of important documents, or artworks. Proves reliability of a document, and adherence to identity. (<https://www.chinahighlights.com/travelguide/culture/chinese-seals.htm>)

norms:

companionship

civility

honesty

trustworthiness

responsibility

behaviour:

be honest to expect honesty

civil behaviour

act with etiquette



Reference: G

讲文明树新风

富强 民主 文明和谐 自由 平等公正 法治 爱国敬业 诚信 友善

徐汇市民公约

热爱徐汇家园

遵守公共秩序

践行文明规范

提升业务水平

爱护生态环境

注重清洁卫生

尊老敬老爱幼

邻里和睦友善

帮困扶贫救灾

热心社会公益

助人自助共享

参与志愿服务

人人传播文明

共建文明城区

English translation:

Speak civilly and create a new style

Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law, Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness

Xuhui Citizen Convention

Love Xuhui [district]

Observe by public order

Dedication to a first-class city

Practise civilized norms

Love, dedication and honesty

Improve business level

Take care of the environment

Respect the teacher, respect the old and love the young

Friendly and harmonious neighbourhood

Help the poor, alleviate poverty and provide disaster relief

Enthusiasm for social welfare

Helping others is helping yourself

Participate in volunteering
Everyone transmits civilization
A civilized district is built together

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Order
Civility
Patriotism
Honesty
Hard working
Cleanliness
Respectful
Friendly
Harmonious
Philanthropy
Altruistic
Companionship

Behaviour:

Work together to achieve harmony, safety, civilization, trust, honesty, friendliness, companionship and order
Be helpful
Work hard
Be kind and honest
Observe public order
Participate in society
Take responsibility for your role in society
The community and this district is your space, your family, your home, take care of it



Reference: H

Chinese:

上海 【新七不规范】

马路不乱穿

车辆不乱停

垃圾不乱扔

动物不扰民

餐食不浪费

言语不喧哗

守序不插队

English translation:

Shanghai [7 new no's norms]

Don't indiscriminately cross the street

Don't indiscriminately stop your vehicle

Don't indiscriminately throw your rubbish

Don't let pets bother people

Don't waste food

Don't speak too loudly
Don't indiscriminately jump the queue

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Civility

Harmony

Safety

Sanitation

Order

Peace

Be mindful of those who have less

Behaviour:

Act civilly

Take responsibility for your behaviour

Contribute to a civil, harmonious, orderly, and safe society

Contribute to a clean and sanitary environment

Observe order

Don't be a nuisance



Reference: I

Chinese:

讲文明树新风

富强 民主 文明和谐 自由 平等公正 法治 爱国敬业 诚信 友善

全民共建小康社会

全民共享小康幸福

English translation:

Speak civilly and cultivate new trends

Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law, Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness

When people all together build a well-off society, all the people share happiness

(小康社会= society in which the material needs of most citizens are adequately met)

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Companionship

Responsibility

'Team-player'

Behaviour:

Work together



Reference: J

Chinese:

富强 民主 文明和谐 自由 平等公正 法治 爱国敬业 诚信 友善

高举中国特色社会主义伟大旗帜
为实现中华民族伟大复兴的中国梦不懈奋斗

English translation:

Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law, Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness

Hold high the great flag of socialism with Chinese characteristics, that strives untiringly for the Chinese dream to rejuvenate the Chinese nation.

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Chinese dream → to rejuvenate the Chinese nation (“Awakening Dragon”)

Norms:

Patriotism

Behaviour:

Nation pride

Contribute to achieving the Chinese dream

Help rejuvenate the Chinese nation (by being proud of your country)



Reference: K

Chinese:

富强 民主 文明和谐 自由 平等公正 法治 爱国敬业 诚信 友善

深化全国文明城区创建

建设 社会主义 现代化 国际大都市 一流 中心城区

English translation:

Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law, Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness

Further the creation of civilized cities nationwide

Establish socialist and modern first-class district centers at the heart of international metropolises.

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Companionship

Behaviour:

Contribute to building a civilized nation

Play your role in our society

Take responsibility for socializing the nation



Reference: L

Chinese:

社会主义核心价值观

富强 民主 文明和谐 自由 平等公正 法治 爱国敬业 诚信 友善

English translation:

Socialist core values:

Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law, Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

Identifies the core values of socialism with Chinese characteristics

Behaviour:

Observe these values, embody them, represent them



Reference: M

Chinese:

上海城市精神

海纳百川

追求卓越

开明睿智

大气谦和

English translation:

Shanghai city spirit

'All rivers run into the sea' [idiom: use different means to obtain the same]

Pursue excellence

Enlightened and wise

Magnanimity and modesty

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

Norms:

Spirited

Wise

Modesty

Behaviour:

Persevere

Enlighten yourself and gather wisdom, be smart

Stay modest

Be generous and forgiving to your fellow man



Reference: N

Chinese:

传承中华美德 弘扬时代新风

诚实守信

你我同行

文明旅游

从我做起

文明健康 有你有我

English translation:

Inherit Chinese values

promote the new style of the times

Honesty makes companions of us

Civilized tourism starts with me

A healthy civilization for you and me

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Honesty

Pride

Civility

Healthy

Behaviour:

Act civilly

Observe rules and laws

Act honestly to expect honesty

Work together

Take responsibility for furthering the development of society and the nation

Have pride

But be modest

Set a good example

Care about yourself and the environment



Reference: ○

人民有信仰

国家有力量

民族有希望

紧密团结在以习近平总书记为核心的党中央周围，奋力夺取时代中国特色社会主义伟大胜利！

社会主义核心价值观

富强 民主 文明和谐 自由 平等公正 法治 爱国敬业 诚信 友善

文明健康 有你有我

English translation:

The people have faith

The nation has power

The nation has hope

Unite closely around the CCP with Comrade Xi Jinping at the core, spare no effort and strive for the victory of socialism with Chinese characteristics of the era!

Prosperity, Democracy, Civilization and Harmony, Freedom, Equality and Justice, Rule of Law, Patriotism and Dedication, Honesty and Kindness

A healthy civilization for you and me

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Patriotism

Hopeful

Helpful

Powerful

Behaviour:

Stand behind the CCP

Strive for the goal of the Chinese dream

Listen to the CCP

Help them in their efforts to rebuild the Chinese nation

Trust in your fellow man, nation, and your government, for they have power, faith and hope.

Togetherness achieves.



Reference: P

Chinese:

垃圾分类新时尚 建设美丽新家园

爱国卫生同参与健康生活共享有

文明健康 有你有我

English translation:

The new fashion is separating your trash, to establish a beautiful new home (planet)

Patriotic public health means everyone shares in a healthy life

A healthy civilization for you and me

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Health

Sanitation

Healthy and clean environment

Behaviour:

Contribute to a healthy and clean environment

Work together

Observe the new rules and laws and norms

Pioneer in rebuilding the nation



Reference: Q

Chinese:

创全国文明城做黄浦文明人

习近平新时代中国特色社会主义思想是全党全国人民为实现中华民族伟大复兴而奋斗的行动指南!

培育和践行社会主义核心价值观 培养担当民族复兴大任的时代新人

文明健康 有你有我

Establish civilized cities nationwide

Be a civilized Huangpu resident

Xi Jinping's thoughts for the modern Socialism with Chinese characteristics are an action guide for the CCP and the people of the nation to strive for the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation!

Cultivate and practise the core values of socialism.

Undertake action and cultivate [yourself] to become the new population of a rejuvenated nation

A healthy civilization for you and me

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Obey

Order

Civility

Power

Behaviour:

Contribute to achieving the Chinese dream

Support and follow your government

Work together

Have pride

Cultivate yourself and the nation

Play your role in cultivating the society and to achieve the Chinese dream



Reference: R

Chinese:

诚实守信 你我同行

文明旅游

从我做起

English translation:

Honesty makes companions of us

Civilized tourism starts with me

A healthy civilization for you and me

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Honesty

Civility

Companionship

Behaviour:

Be civil

Be honest and expect honesty in return

Be an example

Take care of your(self) and your surroundings



Reference: S

遵守“新七不”规范

马路不乱穿 车辆不乱停

垃圾不乱扔 宠物不扰邻

餐食不浪费

言语不喧哗

守序不插队

English translation:

Comply with the “7 new no’s” norms

Don’t indiscriminately cross the street

Don’t indiscriminately stop your vehicle

Don’t indiscriminately throw your rubbish

Don’t let pets bother people

Don’t waste food

Don’t speak too loudly

Don’t indiscriminately jump the queue

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

Spray-painted

中国梦 seal

Norms & behaviour:

Observe order

Be safe

Keep clean

Don't disrupt harmony

Be mindful of others who have less = equality



Reference: T

Chinese:

垃圾分类新时尚

建设美丽新家园

English translation:

Separating garbage is the new fashion

Establish a beautiful homeland

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Cleanliness

Pioneer

Sanitation

Behaviour:

Care about your environment

Play your role in establishing a beautiful homeland

Keep your city clean and sanitary



Reference: U

Chinese:

爱国卫生同参与

健康生活共享有

English translation:

Patriotic public health means everyone shares in a healthy life

Characteristics, norms and behaviour advocated:

中国梦 seal

Norms:

Companionship

Patriotism

Healthy

Behaviour:

Work together towards the Chinese dream

Be healthy

Share health

Play your role in society