

# LOGOS REVIEW

ISSUE 1  
EDUCATION

創刊號  
教育專題

# 漢語學志



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LOGOS  
REVIEW

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# 教育专题

Education

第一期 Issue 1

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《汉语学志》的创办,是为了延续一种志业。

如果说社会像一个有机的“身体”,百体各领其职,那么作为学人,我们的职责多在于思考、求问、钻研和写作。可这条路正变得难走。

环顾四周,尽管同行还在,景象却有些萧条。能公开探讨的话题越来越少,空间也越来越小。若以思考为志业的人习惯了沉默和转移话题,久而久之,也许真的会失去提问题和讲真话的能力。

而且,话题越重要,越需要深耕。需要有人回溯思想的源头,挖掘、分析、爬梳,并且锤炼出与之相应的文字。我们要用足够好的汉语,共同探讨切身的问题。

这样的工作需要养成。有时养成须费百年,荒废却只在一二年间。

话题会荒废,一些公共的主题却不会,尤其当它们事关生存、生命、公义和爱。只要人始终渴望活得真实丰满、深刻并且保有人性,它们就不会消失。回应它们的召唤,即使在艰难中,生命也会有活力;倘若长期无视和回避,生活里的其他内容,也会因为失去心魂而萎缩。

为此,我们希望创建一个平台,让努力思考的人能够互相交流、彼此阅读,减轻一点彷徨与孤单。

我们想要重拾一种汉语:它植根于个体生命与公共生活,带着自身的历史和问题意识,不断与处境以及文化对话——有时甚至是挑战。为了接近真实,它愿意接受磨练,变得更加谦逊、宽广。

它吸收外来养分,却不是纯粹的舶来品。为此,它也要符合现代汉语的语感,在追求学术性与思想性的同时,不失文笔之美。因为我们盼望思想能成为生活方式,而非象牙塔或空中楼阁。

它还承载着社会其他成员的托付。正因为百体各领其职,我们的关系,是相互依存、唇亡齿寒。既然以思想为志业,我们就有责任将许多人想说又不易说清的话,准确地表达出来。

今天和未来的伙伴需要我们。《汉语学志》的创办,正是为了传递这一小小的薪火。

2025年8月  
《汉语学志》编辑部

Logos Review was founded to pursue a vocation.

If society may be imagined as a living body—each part serving its function—then the scholar’s duty is thought: inquiry, research, and writing. Yet this path grows harder. Though our peers remain, the intellectual landscape has grown barren. The range of subjects one can discuss in public narrows; the space for discourse contracts. If thinkers come to accept detours and long pauses, they may, in time, lose even the capacity to pose questions and to speak the truth.

The weightier the subject, the more it demands sustained cultivation. We must return to sources: excavate, analyze, and untangle ideas, and temper a language worthy of their complexity. We must cultivate a Chinese language robust enough to address, together, the questions that press upon our lives. Such work requires formation. A tradition may take a century to build, and yet be squandered in a decade or two.

Specific subjects may fall into neglect; fundamental themes do not—especially those touching survival, flourishing, justice, and love. So long as the human spirit seeks a life that is authentic, rich, deep, and humane, these themes endure. To answer their call is to quicken life, even in difficult times; if we habitually ignore or sidestep them, the rest of life withers, as though its animating soul were gone.

For this reason, we hope to create a platform where those who labor to think can read one another and converse—easing, if only a little, the uncertainty and solitude.

We seek to reclaim a Chinese that is rooted in individual lives and public life; that bears its own history and critical consciousness; and that keeps an unceasing dialogue with its circumstances and culture—at times, even a challenge. To draw nearer to truth, this language accepts discipline, becoming humbler and more capacious. It draws nourishment from other cultures without being a mere import. It should also accord with the sensibilities of contemporary readers of Chinese, uniting scholarly rigor and intellectual seriousness with grace of expression. We hope for this because thought ought to be a way of life—not an ivory tower, nor a structure without foundations.

This work also bears a trust placed upon it by others. Because each part has its function, we are mutually dependent; the fortunes of one are bound to the fortunes of all. Since our vocation is thought, we have a responsibility to articulate, with care, what many find difficult to express.

Our partners—present and future—need us.

The founding of Logos Review is our way of passing on this small flame.

August 2025  
Logos Review

# 专题按语

**FOCUS**

教育不堪之重负

EDUCATION IS  
OVERWHELMED

自古以来,教育便寄托着人们对美善和幸福的盼望。在各大文明经典中,都不乏对教育的论述。《学记》有云:“玉不琢,不成器;人不学,不知道”。时至今日,教育被广泛地视作一项公民的基本权利,一种分配社会地位的合理手段,以及一种传承文化培养人才的公共工程。从发展科技到国家繁荣,从立德树人到出人头地,不一而足。无论是对国家还是个人,教育似乎都承载了许多梦想与承诺。然而,当我们望向现实,却会发现今天的教育似乎已经与人们对她的盼望渐行渐远。

一方面,在宏观层面,教育被赋予培养接班人和建设者的使命。学生——作为被教育对象——成为被规训和被治理的对象。教育的功用在于守护和传承某些被认定的核心价值。另一方面,在个人层面,教育越来越多地被个人和家庭——教育产品的消费者——视为私人物品,作为就业和阶层跃迁的核心武器,而培养公民责任的公共性使命,变得不再那么重要。特别地,在曾经拥有科举制度选拔官吏千年传统的中国,如今已经建立起世界上规模最大的教育系统。在这个系统中,以高考为核心的人才选拔筛选机制被很多人认为是最公平最透明的制度设计。然而,以高考为指挥棒的学校教育系统因扼杀学生的创造力、想象力和批判性思考能力而饱受诟病。当教育成为社会各阶层争夺社会地位的“军备竞赛”,当幼儿园到大学各环节的不平等竞争被暴露出来,教育作为“社会均衡器”的功能似乎已经消解。

在今天这个人工智能带来快速变化的时代,从智能教学工具到自动化评估系统,从远程课堂到在线自学系统,技术的介入深刻改变了教育的结构与方法。一向富有惰性的教育体系,正面临新一轮技术革命前所未有的挑战与诘问。在技术导致的对效率愈发迫切的追求中,个体的内在需求——情感、认知、价值观的塑造和精神成长,是否会被忽视?教育是否还能够关注和尊重个体的独特性?当教育逐渐被视为实现具体社会目标、阶层跃迁、甚至国家强盛的工具,教育是否仍然致力于培养独立的个体,而不仅仅是训练适应社会竞争的“工具”?教育是否还能够为学生提供思想的自由、情感的表达以及人格的成长空间?当人工智能和数据成为教育的核心工具时,教育本身是否还保持着其深层次的、不可取代的价值?

正是在这样的背景下,我们提出:必须重新审视教育的问题。我们的孩子从幼年起就在学校里长大,学校教育占用了绝大多数人的童年和青少年时期最长的时间。在学校被技术理性和数据驱动的框架所包围的今天,我们需要追问一系列问题。比如,我们的教育,究竟在多大程度上促进了学生的全人发展?在多大程度上,教育兑现了幸福的承诺?人们对一些教育相关重大问题

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Guest Editors: Yingquan Song & Yajun Zheng

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Since ancient times, education has been the embodiment of people's hope for beauty, goodness, and happiness. There is no shortage of discussions on education. The Book of Learning states, "If jade is not polished, it will not become a useful tool; if people do not learn, they will not know." Today, education is widely regarded as a basic citizen's right, a reasonable means of allocating social status, and a public project for inheriting culture and cultivating talent, from developing science and technology to national prosperity, from cultivating morality to achieving success, and so on.

Whether for countries or individuals, education carries many dreams and promises. In reality, we find that today's education seems to be drifting further and further away from people's expectations.

On the one hand, at a macro level, education is entrusted with the mission of cultivating successors and builders.

Students—as the subjects of education—become objects of discipline and governance. The function of education is to safeguard and pass on specific, recognized core values. On the other hand, at the individual level, education is increasingly viewed by individuals and families—consumers of educational products—as a private good, a key tool for employment and social mobility. The public mission of cultivating civic responsibility has become less critical. In particular, China, which once had a millennium-old tradition of selecting officials through the imperial examination system, has now established the world's most extensive education system. Within this system, the talent selection mechanism centered on the college entrance examination is considered by many to be the fairest and most transparent institutional design. However, the school education system, guided by the college entrance examination, has been criticized for stifling students' creativity, imagination, and critical thinking. When education becomes an "arms race" between different social classes for social status, and when unequal competition from kindergarten to university is exposed, education's function as a "social equalizer" seems to have been eliminated. In today's era of rapid change driven by artificial intelligence, technology—from intelligent teaching tools to automated assessment systems, from remote classrooms to online self-study systems—has profoundly transformed the structure and methods of education. The education system, traditionally prone to inertia, is facing unprecedented challenges and inquiries from this new wave of technological revolution. In the increasingly urgent pursuit of efficiency driven by technology, will the inherent needs of individuals—emotional, cognitive, value-building, and spiritual growth—be overlooked? Can education still focus on and respect the uniqueness of the individual?

As education is increasingly viewed as a tool for achieving specific social goals, transitioning from social class to national strength, can it still cultivate independent

上也缺少系统追问。比如,教育的本质何在?什么是好的教育?教育的真正目的是什么?在宏大叙事下的教育目标与个人微观层面的期盼出现张力时,个体可以如何行动?那些曾经被附着在教育之上的盼望,在这个充满不确定性的未来,还有没有实现的可能?抑或,我们需要重新考虑教育之于人类的意义之所在。

除了学校教育的问题,我们还看到,在现代教育体系中,知识的传授越来越成为市场化竞争的附庸。人力资本理论的兴起,推动了教育从本质的“培养人类精神与人格”的功能转向了纯粹的经济和社会效益工具。然而,当教育被过度工具化时,其本应承载的价值维度和人文精神逐渐被削弱,教育的核心使命——帮助个体实现自由、理解世界并塑造自我——被边缘化。本期《汉语学志》通过八篇文章集中探讨了不同领域的学者对这些困境的反思,这些文章形式各异,有研究论文,有学术札记,也有书评和访谈。令我们动容的是,这种种观察和反思不约而同地指向了对受教育者的主体性的强烈关切。在这些研究里,受教育者不再是冷冰冰的统计数字,而是一个个鲜活的、具体的、独特的、有局限的真实的人。透过这些文章,我们得以更深刻地理解教育工具化所带来的系统困境与个体悲剧,也得以从不断前行的教育创新实践中找出些许盼望的缘由。

### 一、当价值缺位:主体的消逝与生命的异化

被工具化的教育的第一个悲剧便是“人”的消失。当教育的目标沦为功利化的知识灌输与标准化的人才筛选时,学生作为拥有内在价值与灵魂的生命体被降格为单纯的知识接收器。许晶在《看见作为认知主体的儿童》中以犀利的眼光揭示了这一异化的开端。她批判了图灵提出的“空白笔记本”理论,认为儿童的认知能力远非空白的,它是主动建构和探索世界的过程。然而,在当前教育体系中,儿童的这一天性被压抑,他们被迫适应一个以标准答案为核心的学习模式,这使得学习变得与儿童的生命体验脱节,成为了“死记硬背”的功利性行为,而非真正的探索与成长。教育将儿童的认知主体性抽象化,摒弃了他们本应拥有的自由探索与思维发展空间。

进入大学阶段,这种主体性的丧失被推向极致。刘云杉在《困于二手时间》中,描绘了中国精英高校的“做题家”群体,揭示了他们在应试教育体系中获得的“成功”与随之而来的灵魂空洞化。尽管这些学生在学术上看似优异,他们却失去了与自我、他人、甚至世界对话的能力。在这个体系中,教育不仅消耗

individuals, rather than simply a tool for adapting to social competition? Can education still provide students with freedom of thought, emotional expression, and space for personal growth? When artificial intelligence and data become core tools of education, does education itself retain its deep and irreplaceable value? It is against this backdrop that we propose the need to reexamine the issue of education. Our children have been in school since childhood, and schooling occupies the most significant portion of childhood and adolescence for most people. Today, when schools are surrounded by technological rationality and data-driven frameworks, we need to ask a series of questions. For example, to what extent does our education promote the holistic development of students? To what extent has education delivered on its promise of happiness? People also lack systematic questioning of some significant issues related to education.

For example, what is the essence of education? What is a good education? What is the true purpose of education? When is there tension between educational goals under the grand narrative and individual stories? How can individuals act? In this uncertain future, are the hopes once attached to education still possible? Alternatively, we need to reconsider the meaning of education to humanity.

Beyond the problems of schooling, we also see that in the modern education system, the transfer of knowledge has increasingly become a subsidiary function of market-driven competition. The rise of human capital theory has driven education's shift from its essential function of "cultivating the human spirit and personality" to a purely economic and social tool. However, when education becomes overly instrumentalized, the value dimension and humanistic spirit it should carry are gradually weakened, and its core mission—helping individuals achieve freedom, understand the world, and shape themselves—is marginalized. This issue of the *Journal of Chinese Studies* explores the reflections of scholars from various fields on these predicaments through eight articles, ranging from research papers and academic journals to book reviews and interviews. What is moving is that these observations and reflections consistently point to a strong concern for the subjectivity of the educated. In these studies, educated people are no longer cold statistics but real, living, concrete, unique, and limited individuals. Through these articles, we gain a deeper understanding of the systemic dilemmas and individual tragedies brought about by the instrumentalization of education, and we also find some reasons for hope in the continuous advancement of educational innovation and practice

## 1. When Values Are Absent: The Disappearance of the Subject and the Alienation of Life

The first tragedy of instrumentalized education is the disappearance of the "person."

了他们的创造力与个性,反而让他们成为了教育目标的工具——他们的生命体验被彻底挤压在“已知的过去”与“预设的未来”之间,当下的存在感被完全剥夺。教育的功利化,将灵魂与生命的意义剥离,最终使学生的自我意识陷入空虚与迷茫。

## 二、当手段为王:情感的压抑与结构的暴力

教育被工具化的第二个悲剧,便是情感的压抑与结构的暴力。现代教育体系以标准化考试为核心,忽视了学生情感和精神世界的多样性与复杂性。当教育被视作通向成功的唯一“窄门”时,教育体系中的高压应试环境便将学生的情感世界简化为需要治理和矫正的“问题”。王鹏凯在《脆弱不安的青春》中,深入剖析了县域中学的情动政治,揭示了青少年在这种环境下的情感压抑和心理困境。王鹏凯指出,学校不再是情感与思想自由的培养场所,而是将青少年的情感视作可操控的“耗材”,从而形成了对学生情感世界的结构性暴力。这种暴力并非仅仅是管理失当,而是一种文化与教育体制所内化的暴力:一个仅追求学术成绩而忽视心灵成长的体系,必然会将学生的情感压抑到极限。

这种暴力在不同社会阶层中展现出不同的面貌。郑雅君在《形似而神异》中通过对不同社会阶层教育体验的分析,揭示了教育系统如何根据家庭背景和社会阶层差异塑造学生的主体性。她指出,城市中产阶级的学生通常具备更多的教育资源和选择性,而非优势阶层的学生则更多依赖于教育体制,缺乏自主性和个性发展空间。教育系统的工具化不仅仅加剧了社会的不平等,还将精神枷锁强加给处于其中的每一个人。

## 三、当微光亮起:在破碎中重寻意义之源

尽管当前教育体系面临种种困境,体制外的民间探索为我们提供了宝贵的“微光”。傅国涌的“国语书塾”与梁俊的“诗性教育”便是这种探索的代表。傅国涌通过关注母语教育、经典阅读和人文学科的培养,尝试在现代教育的框架下为学生提供一个超越功利的成长空间。傅国涌在访谈中提到,教育不仅仅是传授知识,而是通过启发学生的审美力与思想力,帮助他们建立自主的思维模式。他强调,母语教育不仅是语言的学习,更是心灵与世界对话的起点。这种基于人文关怀的教育理念为学生提供了超越知识工具的深度,帮助他们在内心深处获得真正的自我。而梁俊在大花苗社区的支教实践更让我们看到,即使在乌蒙山这样的穷困高寒之地,只要孩子们获得了自由且真实爱的浇灌、被给

When the goal of education is reduced to utilitarian knowledge indoctrination and standardized talent screening, students, as living beings with inherent value and soul, are reduced to mere receivers of knowledge. In “Seeing Children as Cognitive Subjects,” Xu Jing penetratingly reveals the beginnings of this alienation. Critically criticizing Turing’s “blank notebook” theory, she argues that children’s cognitive abilities are far from blank; they actively construct and explore the world. However, in the current education system, this innate nature of children is suppressed. They are forced to adapt to a learning model centered on standardized answers.

This disconnects learning from children’s life experiences, turning it into a utilitarian act of “rote memorization” rather than true exploration and growth. Education abstracts children’s cognitive subjectivity, denying them the space for free exploration and intellectual development they should have.

This loss of subjectivity reaches its extreme in university.

In “Trapped in Secondhand Time,” Liu Yunshan portrays the “test-takers” of elite Chinese universities, revealing the “success” they achieve within the exam-oriented education system and the resulting hollowing out of their souls. Despite their seemingly academic excellence, these students have lost the ability to engage in dialogue with themselves, others, and even the world. Within this system, education not only saps their creativity and individuality but also renders them mere tools for achieving educational goals. Their life experiences are completely squeezed between a “known past” and a “predicted future,” completely depriving them of a sense of present existence. The utilitarian nature of education strips the soul from the meaning of life, ultimately leaving students with a sense of self-awareness that is empty and lost.

## 2. When Means Are King: Emotional Repression and Structural Violence

The second tragedy of the instrumentalization of education is the suppression of emotions and the violence of structures. The modern education system is centered on standardized tests and ignores the diversity and complexity of students’ emotions and spiritual world.

When education is viewed as the only narrow path to success, the high-pressure, test-oriented environment of the educational system reduces students’ emotions to mere “problems” that need to be managed and corrected. In “Fragile and Uneasy Youth,” Wang Pengkai deeply analyzes the emotional politics of county middle schools, revealing the emotional repression and psychological difficulties faced by adolescents in this environment. Wang Pengkai argues that schools are no longer places

予了充分的阅读和写作机会，也依然保持着旺盛的生命力、情感和创造力。他个人在这段实践过程中经历的个人蜕变，也见证了一场去工具化的、真正的“教育”的发生：

“直到我放下实现个人价值的疯狂追求，进入乌蒙山，在那个几乎被忽视的族群中工作与生活，我才第一次强烈地感受到：原来我的学识和能力可以直接服务一个真实的社区，并在这个过程中释放出真正的能量。这种价值感，不是对成就的夸耀，而是对生命的滋养。这份体验，改变了我，也成为我后续人生的根基。”

张军对乔丹·彼得森的《意义地图》一书的评论，为我们提供了另一个重要的教育反思视角。“教育的目标，不仅在于知识的传递，更在于思维模式和能力的培养。而教育的最高目标，则在于人格和心灵的塑造”。张军通过对乔丹·彼得森《意义地图：信念的架构》一书的解读，从认识论角度，指出教育使人寻找人生永恒意义的可能契机。文章指出，教育的根本目的是帮助个体解答“为何生存”的哲学问题，而不仅仅是教会他们“如何生存”。他认为，教育的目标应当是人格和心灵的塑造，是帮助学生寻找生命的意义和存在的价值。无论现代科技如何发展，教育始终需要关注人的内在世界，帮助学生理解他们的存在为何具有意义，这一思考为未来的教育指明了方向。

宋映泉则在对高等教育的批判中，明确提出了以人力资本理论为代表的工具理性与“人类繁盛”概念之间的对立。他通过列举中国大学在人才培养上的诸多挑战指出，今天教育所面对的许多问题都与对教育价值的工具性理解有关，而教育的最终价值不应仅是为社会提供“工具”或是为达成一己私利服务。宋映泉回溯至古希腊哲学与犹太-基督教智慧传统，强调教育的核心目标是促进人的繁盛，帮助学生走向更加充实、自由的生活。这种生活不是以自我为中心的，而是关系性的——个体与其环境之间存在着和谐、成长与充满意义的互动。良好的教育促进人类繁盛，使拥有幸福的人可以成为家庭、社区、社会和世界之祝福。

结语：AI时代的教育母题

当下的教育系统充斥着矛盾——它既是阶层流动的阶梯，也是结构性暴力的载体；既许诺幸福未来，又制造现实痛苦。要打破这一困境，或许需要重新审视教育的本质：它不是知识的灌输，而是生命的对话；不是标准的达成，而是可能性的开启。

for the cultivation of emotional and intellectual freedom, but rather treat adolescent emotions as “consumables” to be manipulated, thus creating a structural violence against students’ emotional lives. This violence is not simply a result of mismanagement. Still, rather than violence internalized by the culture and educational system, a system that prioritizes academic achievement over spiritual growth inevitably suppresses students’ emotions to the extreme.

This violence manifests itself differently across different social classes. In “Similar in Form but Different in Spirit,” Zheng Yajun analyzes the educational experiences of different social classes, revealing how the education system shapes students’ subjectivity based on family background and social class. She points out that urban middle-class students typically have greater access to educational resources and greater choice. In contrast, students from less privileged backgrounds are more dependent on the educational system, lacking autonomy and space for individual development. The instrumentalization of the education system not only exacerbates social inequality but also imposes mental constraints on everyone within it.

### 3. When the Light Shines: Rediscovering the Source of Meaning in Brokenness

Despite the numerous difficulties facing the current education system, grassroots exploration outside the system offers valuable glimmers of hope. Fu Guoyong’s “Mandarin Private School” and Liang Jun’s “Poetic Education” exemplify this exploration. By focusing on mother tongue education, classic reading, and the cultivation of the humanities, Fu Guoyong attempts to provide students with a space for growth beyond utilitarianism within the framework of modern education. In an interview, Fu Guoyong stated that education is not simply about imparting knowledge, but about inspiring students’ aesthetic and intellectual capacities, helping them develop independent thinking patterns. He emphasized that mother tongue education is not just about learning a language, but also about the starting point for a dialogue between the soul and the world. This humanistic approach to education provides students with a depth beyond the tools of knowledge, helping them to discover their true selves deep within. Liang Jun’s volunteer teaching experience in the Dahua Miao community further demonstrates that even in impoverished and high-altitude areas like the Wumeng Mountains, when children are nurtured with free and genuine love and given ample opportunities to read and write, they can maintain a vibrant vitality, emotion, and creativity. His personal transformation during this experience also bears witness to the emergence of a truly de-instrumentalized “education”: “It wasn’t until I gave up my frantic pursuit of personal fulfillment and ventured into the Wumeng Mountains, working and living among a largely neglected ethnic group, that I felt strongly for the

教育的重负,源于人们对教育的过度索取——既要充当社会竞争的裁判,又要担任个体幸福的担保。然而,真正的教育或许更应像一泓静水:不承诺即刻的功利,却滋养生命的根系;不制造喧嚣的胜利,却守护心灵的深邃。或许,在这个人工智能当道、技术理性高歌猛进的时代,真正无法被算法和机器替代的,是看见和尊重人的主体性的教育,是把教育者和受教育者当作真实的、有限的人,致力于发展其生命潜能,发现其人生使命,发挥其生命影响的教育。正如傅国涌所言,教育是“有限的人在有限的时间中求问确定不变之价值的管道”。唯有回归对人的尊重,才能让教育从重负变为翅膀,承载个体飞向更辽阔的天空。

教育如何在承担社会功能的同时,避免成为压迫个体主体性的工具?只有当教育不再单纯服务于功利目标,而是帮助个体找到内在的平衡与繁盛时,它才能真正成为塑造有意义人生的力量。或许到那时,人的盼望才不会落空。

first time: my knowledge and abilities could directly serve a real community, unleashing real energy in the process. This sense of value isn't a boast of achievement, but rather a nourishment of life. This experience transformed me and became the foundation of my subsequent life.”

Zhang Jun's review of Jordan Peterson's Maps of Meaning provides us with another critical perspective for reflection on education. “The goal of education is not only to impart knowledge, but also to cultivate thinking patterns and abilities. The highest goal of education is to shape personality and mind.”

Jordan Peterson's interpretation of his book Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief suggests, from an epistemological perspective, that education offers a potential opportunity for people to find the eternal meaning of life. The article argues that the fundamental purpose of education is to help individuals answer the philosophical question of “why do we exist?” rather than teach them “how to exist.” He argues that the goal of education should be to shape character and mind, helping students find the meaning of life and the value of existence. Regardless of how modern technology advances, education must always focus on the inner world of the human being, helping students understand the meaning of their existence. This reflection points the way forward for future education.

In his critique of higher education, Song Yingquan explicitly posits the tension between instrumental rationality, as exemplified by human capital theory, and the concept of “human flourishing.” Citing the numerous challenges facing Chinese universities in talent development, he argues that many of the problems facing education today stem from an instrumental understanding of its value. Education’s ultimate value should not be to provide a “tool” for society or to serve self-interest. Drawing upon ancient Greek philosophy and the Judeo-Christian wisdom tradition, Song emphasizes that the core goal of education is to promote human flourishing and help students lead more fulfilling and liberated lives. This kind of life is not self-centered but relational—a harmonious, nurturing, and meaningful interaction between individuals and their environment. A good education fosters human flourishing, enabling happy individuals to be a blessing to their families, communities, society, and the world.

### Conclusion: Educational Themes in the AI Era

The current education system is rife with contradiction—it serves as both a ladder for social mobility and a vehicle for structural violence; it promises a happy future while also creating real suffering. To break this dilemma, perhaps we need to reexamine the very nature of education: it is not about imparting knowledge, but about engaging in a dialogue with life; it is not about achieving standards, but about opening up possibilities.

The burden of education stems from people’s excessive demands on it—it must serve as both a judge in social competition and a guarantor of individual happiness. However, perhaps true education should be more like a still pool of water: not promising immediate gains, but nourishing the roots of life; not creating a clamorous victory, but safeguarding the depths of the soul. Perhaps, in this era of artificial intelligence and the rapid advancement of technological rationality, what truly cannot be replaced by algorithms and machines is education that recognizes and respects human subjectivity, an education that treats educators and learners as real, finite people, committed to developing their potential, discovering their purpose, and exerting their influence. As Fu Guoyong put it, education is “a channel for finite people, within a limited time, to seek certain and unchanging values.” Only by returning to respect for human beings can education transform from a burden into wings, carrying individuals to a broader sky.

How can education avoid becoming a tool to oppress individual subjectivity while fulfilling its social functions?

Only when education no longer serves purely utilitarian goals and instead helps individuals find inner balance and flourishing can it truly become a force for shaping meaningful lives. Perhaps then, people’s hopes will be fulfilled.

# 专题文章

**FOCUS ARTICLES**

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Logical Relationship between Family Background and School  
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Yingquan Song, Higher Education and Human Flourishing

# 看见 作为 认知主体 的儿童

Seeing  
Children as  
Cognitive  
Agents

## 灵魂拷问

2024年9月初,十四岁的儿子在国内度过暑假,返回美国。西雅图初秋傍晚,松柏苍翠,我带着儿子散步,讨论他这趟回国的体验。孩子突然问我:“妈妈,你都考上了清华大学,为什么要来美国呢?在西雅图(普通美国人)有谁知道清华大学啊(言下之意,在国内有谁不知道清华大学)?”突如其来灵魂拷问仿佛当头棒喝,我怔住了,思量孩子为何提问,我该如何作答。这个在西雅图散养长大的孩子,短短一个月的回国旅程,就感受到深刻的文化冲击,甚至价值冲击。他对美国大学排名了解甚少,却已经觉察出清华大学对于国内家长和学生意味着什么,也体会到国内教育竞争的压力。他看到小孩子连暑假都那样忙碌疲惫,跟我吐露心声:“妈妈,我以后只想回国度假,不敢回去上学,(回国那段时间)有点困惑人生目的是什么。”我这才明白他究竟在纳闷什么:他惊异发现,考上北大清华简直是国内很多家庭的重大目标。我试着回答他:“妈妈小时候确实觉得考上清华很重要。可是,考好大学就是人生唯一的价值吗?不是的,我现在不这么看。生命很宽广,不管考上怎样的学校,往后人生都要经历诸多劳苦愁烦,也有很多快乐的事跟上哪所大学无关”。我也把问题抛给他:“你现在的的生活过得有意义有盼望吗?”他很自然地回答:“有”。孩子的灵魂拷问直指教育的价值甚至生命的意义。

长久以来一直是我在凝视孩子,从他呱呱坠地到成长为快乐自信的少年。庸常生活中这样的对话却让我察觉,我也在被他凝视。儿童其实一直是认知主体,是具有强大学习能力、能够主动感知、思考、理解并建构知识

的行动者(agent)。每个孩子作为独特的个体,透过自己的心智能与周遭世界发生联结。身为母亲,我和绝大多数家长一样,育儿焦虑无时无刻,无处安放:教育目的为何?什么是好的教育?有没有最佳的育儿理论?我们能设计孩子的成长吗?育儿焦虑大体出于自上而下的姿态,将儿童视作客体、视作凝视对象。教育价值见仁见智,只是在研究与养育交织的过程中慢慢看见作为认知主体的儿童,多多少少对我自己起到一些治愈作用。因此我感恩有机会研究儿童,尤其是在人类学与认知科学交叉的认知人类学视野下研究儿童。从人类学田野到心理学实验研究,从当代中国到不同时空多样文化情境,从观察者到养育者,我不断被儿童的创造力所震撼。儿童的心灵世界像磁场一样吸引着我,那里隐藏着何以为人的奥秘。谨以拙文回顾育儿与研究交织的经历,介绍跨学科的治学路径与分析案例,看见作为认知主体的儿童。

### A Soul-Searching Question

In early September 2024, my fourteen-year-old son returned to the United States after spending his summer vacation in China. One early autumn evening in Seattle, surrounded by verdant pines and cypresses, I took a walk with my son to talk about his trip. He suddenly asked me, “Mom, you got into Tsinghua University. Why did you come to America? Who in Seattle (meaning, ordinary Americans) has even heard of Tsinghua? (The implication being, who in China hasn’t heard of Tsinghua?)” This sudden, soul-searching question struck me like a sudden blow. I stood there, stunned, pondering why he would ask this and how I should respond. This child, who had grown up with a great deal of freedom in Seattle, had experienced a profound cultural and even existential shock during a short one-month trip back to China. He knew little about American university rankings, yet he had already sensed what Tsinghua University means to parents and students in China. He had felt the pressure of its educational competition. He saw how young children were busy and exhausted even during their summer break, and he confided in me: “Mom, I only want to go back to China for vacation in the future, not for school. For a while (during my time in China), I was a bit

confused about the purpose of life.” It was only then that I understood what was really troubling him: he was astonished to discover that getting into Peking University or Tsinghua University was the ultimate goal for so many families in China.

I tried to answer him: “When I was young, I did think getting into Tsinghua was very important. But is getting into a good university the only value in life? No, I don’t see it that way anymore. Life is vast. Regardless of which school you attend, life will be filled with many hardships and sorrows, but it will also have many joys that have nothing to do with what university you went to.” I then turned the question back to him: “Is your life right now meaningful and filled with hope?” He answered, very naturally, “Yes.” My son’s soul-searching question points directly to the value of education, and even the meaning of life itself.

For a long time, I have been gazing at my child, from his birth to his growth into a happy and confident teenager. However, a simple conversation in our ordinary life made me realize that he was also seeing me. Children have, in fact, always been cognitive agents—active agents endowed with a powerful capacity to learn, perceive, think, understand, and construct knowledge. Every child is a unique individual who connects with the surrounding world through their own mind and emotions.

As a mother, like the vast majority of parents, I am beset by parental anxiety at all times and in all places: What is the purpose of education? What constitutes a good education? Is there a single best theory of parenting? Can we design our children’s growth? Parental anxiety largely stems from a top-down posture that treats children as objects to be viewed and molded.

While the value of education is a matter of opinion, the process of seeing children as cognitive agents, which I have gradually come to in the interweaving of my research and parenting, has had a therapeutic effect on me. For this reason, I am grateful for the opportunity to study children, especially from the perspective of cognitive anthropology, which lies at the intersection of anthropology and cognitive science. From anthropological fieldwork to psychological experiments, from contemporary China to diverse cultural contexts across time and space, from being an observer to a parent, I am constantly awed by the creativity of children.

The world of a child’s mind draws me in like a magnetic field, for it holds the secret of what it means to be human. With this humble essay, I wish to look back on my intertwined journey of parenting and research, introduce my interdisciplinary scholarly path and analytical cases, and see children as the cognitive agents they are.

孩子出生的那一年，我在读人类学博士，兼修发展心理学的课程，亲身经历了田野和理论的相互照亮。我零星记录过儿子幼时的点滴，感慨小生命成长之神奇：育儿过程最有趣的不是如何教养，而是如何学习，学习俯下身去，透过孩子的眼睛看世界。孩子刚出生不久，一天我给他洗澡的时候，发现他在静静地看着对面的白墙，原来澡盆的水波映在墙上光影奇幻，让他感到惊奇。家里一幅挂画画着小鸭子，我时常抱着他哼一首“小黄鸭”的儿歌，有时会指着那幅挂画；几个月大的某一天，当我念到“小黄鸭”，他的视线突然转向挂画，在语言表征、外界物体以及母亲的沟通信号（communicative cues）之间建立了逻辑关联。这些时刻有如灵光闪现：婴儿的凝视给研究者打开了通往人类前语言期精神世界的窗口，许多心理学实验就是通过测量婴儿注视时长或者分析社交场景中婴儿如何与成年人视线融合、共享注意力和意向性，来探究婴儿的先验知识、学习机制和认知发展。我带着一岁的儿子去超市，我目光所及全是家居用品，而这个小人儿站在他的高度颠颠儿地走路，一眼看到货架底层摆着一个大球，他最喜欢的玩具，他一边拉着我，一边指着那个球，眼里只有那一样东西。孩子有自己的视角，并不是我所习以为常的视角，那个场景让我印象深刻。孩子六岁的时候，放学回家，我一如往常问他在学校都做什么了，他很认真地说：“Fly trap（捕苍蝇装置）！”然后绘声绘色描述从小朋友那里听到的两个不同的捕苍蝇装置。一天的学校生活，我关心的是老师课堂教了什么内容，而对他来说捕苍蝇装置、或者说从小朋友那里听到的新鲜事才是亮点。第二天早上一起床，他就迫不及待跟我讲蜜蜂和马蜂的不同，蜜蜂蜇人一次自己就牺牲了，马蜂蜇人一百次自己都不会，简直跟发现了新大陆一样，这也是从小朋友那里听来的。我这个成年人的脑回路几乎从未处理过有关捕苍蝇、蜜蜂和马蜂的信息，可孩子热切的眼神表明，他所关心的世界与我视为理所当然的世界并不一样。也许去了解孩子看到的世界，才是教育的开端。

而陪伴孩子学音乐的历程，则让我大开眼界，领悟到什么是好的教育。第一次送儿子去试小提琴课，记忆犹新。五岁半的他性格敏感害羞，走在窄窄的楼道里，抱着我说：“妈妈我怕。”我问：“宝宝你怕什么？”他怯怯地说：“我怕拉不好小提琴”。我从没学过小提琴，无法感同身受，只能画饼讲道理：“我知道你怕学不好，可是什么东西，只要认真学多练习，都能学好，

The year my son was born, I was a doctoral student in anthropology, also taking courses in developmental psychology. I personally experienced the mutual illumination of fieldwork and theory. I sporadically documented moments from my son's infancy, marveling at the miracle of a small life's growth. The most interesting part of parenting is not how we teach, but how we learn—learning to lower ourselves to see the world through a child's eyes. Not long after my son was born, I was giving him a bath one day when I noticed he was staring quietly at the white wall opposite him. The ripples in the bathwater were casting fantastical light and shadows on the wall, and he was mesmerized. We had a picture of a duckling in our home, and I would often hold him and hum “The Little Yellow Duck” song, sometimes pointing to the picture. One day, when he was a few months old, as I said the words “little yellow duck,” his gaze suddenly shifted to the picture. He had established a logical connection between a linguistic sign, an external object, and his mother's communicative cues.

These moments are like flashes of insight. An infant's gaze opens a window for the researcher into the pre-linguistic human mind.

Many psychological experiments explore an infant's innate knowledge, learning mechanisms, and cognitive development by measuring their looking time or analyzing how they align their gaze with adults and share attention and intentionality in social scenes. When I took my one-year-old son to the supermarket, all I saw were household goods. Nevertheless, this little person, hobbling from his own height, spotted a large ball—his favorite toy—on the bottom shelf of an aisle. He pulled me along, pointing at the ball, his eyes fixed on that single object. A child has their own perspective, one that is not the same as my own accustomed view. That scene left a deep impression on me.

When my son was six, he came home from school, and as usual, I asked him what he did that day. He said very seriously, “A flytrap!” and then vividly described two different flytrap devices he had heard about from a friend. In a day of school, what I cared about was what the teacher had taught in class; for him, the highlight was the flytrap, or rather, the novel things he had heard from his friends. The next morning, he woke up and could not wait to tell me the difference between bees and wasps—a bee stings once and sacrifices itself, while a wasp can sting a hundred times and be fine. It was as if he had discovered a new continent, and this, too, was something he had heard from a friend. My adult brain had seldom processed information about flytraps, bees, or wasps, but the eager look in my son's eyes showed that the world he cared about was not the same as the world I took for granted. Perhaps understanding the world as a child sees it is the very beginning of education.

比如你小时候本来不会骑两轮单车，后来外婆带着你每天都练习，不是就学会了吗？”他似懂非懂点点头，小手紧紧拽着我。到了教室门口，听到各种琴声混杂，有悠扬娴熟的，也有发出咋擦声响的初学者，我说：“宝宝，你听，有个小朋友也是刚学，也不会拉；可是你看一直练习，就像另外一个琴声那么好听了对吧？”老师工作室门口贴着日本音乐教育家铃木镇一先生的名言，也是老师的教育信条：“When love is deep, much can be accomplished. ... I am mentally preparing myself for the five-year-old mind. I want to come down to their physical limitations and up to their sense of wonder and awe” 中文意思：“爱若足够深沉，万事皆可达成。我预备自己的心智，以迎接一个五岁孩子的精神世界——我要俯身，适应他们身体条件的局限，也要起来，追随他们对世界充满惊奇与敬畏的感知”(Suzuki and Suzuki 1993)。学界对铃木教学法褒贬不一，但这句话让我深受触动，谦卑自己，“看见”儿童。走进工作室见到老师，印象极好。老太太满头银发，说话慢条斯理，对小孩子温柔耐心。我问她小提琴这么难，好动的小男孩如何能学好。老师笑意盈盈地说：“我特别喜欢教孩子，真的太奇妙了。你不知道一个小小的孩子有多么大的潜力！”我们就这样踏上一段新旅程。

这位老师带了很多低龄小男孩，其中不乏顽皮淘气之主。作为小提琴启蒙老师，她的第一教育原则是不扼杀学生的兴趣。她极少批评学生，对于练琴时间也没有硬性规定，而是因材施教，滋养孩子对音乐的感知力。每次上课都感受到老师对音乐教育的热爱，对孩子的慈爱，与门口贴的“爱若足够深沉”相称。一年以后，老师教新的练习曲，儿子很喜欢。我问他为什么喜欢(这看似枯燥的练习曲)?他表述一番，大意是喜欢乐曲旋律有高低戏剧转换，有不同速度。我非常惊讶：一个只知道玩变形金刚的小男孩，对音乐如此细腻又天然的感悟从哪里来?老师教到一半，问他：“我觉得这些够多了，今天就学到这里吧?”孩子摇头，表示想接着学完，老师顺着他的意思继续把乐曲教完。我细细观察他练习的样子，每一个新的指法，乐音，或者节奏，都好专注。他调动着自己的精神世界，来解析、认识、并且生成新的时刻。他眼神聚焦在琴板上，黑黑的长睫毛像蝴蝶一样停歇着，一个一个瞬间都像油画般的美。就在那一天我看到他的内在小马达已经开启，进入到了一个美的新世界!感恩遇上好老师，孩子习琴将近十年，越大越爱音乐。他会会拉着我欣赏他爱的曲目、说听马勒第五交响曲感受到超越有形经验、

The journey of accompanying my son as he learned music, however, truly opened my eyes and gave me a profound insight into what good education is. I still vividly remember the first time I took him for a trial violin lesson. At five and a half, he was sensitive and shy. Walking down the narrow hallway, he hugged me and said, “Mommy, I’m scared.” I asked, “What are you scared of, sweetie?” He said timidly, “I’m scared I won’t play the violin well.” I had never learned the violin and could not empathize, so I could only offer platitudes and abstract reassurances: “I know you’re afraid of not doing well, but with anything, if you practice seriously, you can learn it well. Like when you didn’t know how to ride a two-wheel bike, but Grandma took you to practice every day, and you learned, right?” He nodded with a glimmer of understanding, his small hand gripping mine tightly. At the door to the classroom, we heard a medley of sounds—some melodious and skilled, others the scraping noises of a beginner. I said, “Look, sweetie, there’s another child who is just starting and can’t play well either. But if you keep practicing, you will sound as good as that other music, right?” On the door of the teacher’s studio was a quote from the Japanese music educator Shinichi Suzuki, which was also the teacher’s educational creed: “When love is deep, much can be accomplished. ... I am mentally preparing myself for the five-year-old mind. I want to come down to their physical limitations and up to their sense of wonder and awe” (Suzuki & Suzuki, 1993). While the Suzuki method receives mixed reviews in academic circles, these words moved me deeply, humbling me to “see” the child.

When we entered the studio and met the teacher, my impression was excellent. She was an older woman with a full head of silver hair who spoke slowly and was gentle and patient with children. I asked her how a restless little boy could learn an instrument as complex as the violin. The teacher smiled warmly and said, “I especially love teaching children. It is truly marvelous. You have no idea how much potential a small child has!” Thus, we embarked on a new journey.

This teacher had taught many young boys, including some who were quite rambunctious. As a beginner’s violin teacher, her first principle was not to stifle her students’ interest. She rarely criticized them and had no strict requirements for practice time; instead, she tailored her approach to each child, nurturing their feeling for music. Every lesson, I could feel the teacher’s love for music education and her affection for the children, which perfectly matched the “When love is deep” motto on her door. A year later, the teacher introduced a new practice piece that my son loved. I asked him why he liked it (as it seemed to be a rather tedious exercise). He explained that he liked how the melody had dramatic highs and lows and different speeds. I was astonished: where did this little boy, who only knew how to play with his Transformers, get such a nuanced and natural feel for music? Halfway through a lesson, the teacher asked him, “I think that’s enough for today, shall we stop here?” My son shook his head,

无以言表的震撼。我羡慕他有这样的爱好，将来面对人生种种境遇，或悲或喜，总有情感出口。与音乐相比，有的科目则完全激发不起他的兴趣，我也无法勉强，毕竟人生的路还得他自己走。尽管只养育这一个孩子，我看到儿童的个体意志如此鲜明，也慢慢理解铃木镇一的名言，“起来，追随他们对世界充满惊奇与敬畏的感知”。

## 跨学科对话

看见作为认知主体的儿童，追随他们奇妙的精神世界，这个观点既来源于我对儿童发展的理解，又持续滋养着我的研究，型塑我超越学科分野探索儿童世界的研究轨迹。主流社会科学，包括人类学在内，并不重视儿童认知，甚至曾有一篇题为《人类学家为什么不喜欢儿童?》(Hirschfeld 2002) 的论文流传甚广。尽管儿童对于理解“何以为人”、“文化习得”等人类学核心问题至关重要，主流人类学家对儿童的认知能力与认知发展机制关注甚少，且忽略了儿童认知发展对理解社会文化有何意义。即便教育人类学，大多数研究关注焦点也在于“育儿”，偏重于教育制度、理念和策略，而并不在于理解儿童自身丰富的思维情感世界。许多人类学者对于儿童认知都抱着旧时代、前认知科学的偏见：一种是行为主义偏见，将儿童心智视作黑匣子，只关注外在环境刺激-外在行为反应即可，无需关注大脑信息处理的复杂机制；另一种则是极端建构主义偏见，将儿童心智视作白纸一张，任由环境塑造(Xu, 2024: 15)。在社会科学的话语体系里，儿童不过是环境的产物，这个环境包括社会结构、文化理念、政治经济系统。

认知人类学发端于20世纪中叶打开人类心灵(mind)黑匣子的“认知科学革命”(Miller 2003)，将思维心智视为理解人类行为和社会文化的重要基础，也格外重视儿童发展；这个方向处于人类学与心理学交叉地带，将社会文化与个体心理认知的交界面置于理论聚光灯之下，既研究心理机制，又秉持人类学的跨文化视野和反思精神，成为我所投身的理论方向(许晶, 2020)。从认知人类学的视角来看，儿童不是教育的对象，而是教育的主角。人类有漫长的童年期，儿童是地球上前所未有的学习者，可以说学习是儿童的天性。儿童在语言习得和对生物世界、物理世界等知识体系的建构上都有很强的主体性，使得这些领域的教育成为可能。我的研究方向

saying he wanted to finish learning the whole piece. The teacher followed his lead and continued. I watched him practice closely; he was so focused on every new fingering, every note, every rhythm. He was mobilizing his entire mind to analyze, recognize, and generate new moments of understanding. His eyes were fixed on the fingerboard, his long, dark eyelashes resting like butterflies, each instant as beautiful as an oil painting. On that day, I saw that his inner motor had started, and he had entered a beautiful new world. I am grateful we found such a good teacher. My son has now been learning the violin for nearly ten years, and his love for music has only grown. He will pull me over to appreciate a piece he loves, or tell me how listening to Mahler's 5th Symphony gives him a sense of awe that transcends the tangible world and defies words. I envy him for having such a passion, a constant emotional outlet for all the joys and sorrows he will face in life. In contrast, some school subjects fail to spark his interest at all, and I cannot force him; after all, he must walk his own path in life. Even though I have only raised one child, I have seen how distinct a child's individual will can be, and I have gradually come to understand Shinichi Suzuki's words: to "rise, and follow their sense of wonder and awe for the world."

### Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue

Seeing children as cognitive agents and following their wondrous mental worlds—this perspective stems from my understanding of child development. It continues to nourish my research, shaping my academic trajectory of exploring the world of children beyond disciplinary divides. Mainstream social sciences, including anthropology, do not pay much attention to child cognition. There was even a widely circulated paper titled "Why Don't Anthropologists Like Children?" (Hirschfeld, 2002). However, children are crucial to understanding core anthropological questions like "what it means to be human" and "cultural acquisition." Mainstream anthropologists have paid little attention to children's cognitive abilities and developmental mechanisms, and have overlooked the significance of children's cognitive development for understanding society and culture. Even in educational anthropology, most research focuses on "parenting," emphasizing educational systems, philosophies, and strategies, rather than on understanding the rich inner world of thought and emotion of the child.

Many anthropologists hold outdated, pre-cognitive science biases about child cognition. One is a behaviorist bias, which treats the child's mind as a black box and focuses only on external environmental stimuli and behavioral responses, without needing to consider the complex mechanisms of information processing in the brain.

偏重儿童社会认知(social cognition), 意即儿童如何理解社会角色关系、文化习俗、道德规范等。谈起人类文化的传承与演变, 绝大部分研究专注于成年人的角色, 然而人类之所以能积累丰富的社会文化知识, 甚至人类能够繁衍至今, 儿童自身的学习能力不可忽略(Lew-Levy and Amir 2024)。儿童学习具有主动性——儿童主动探索世界而非被动接收信息(Gweon and Zhu 2024)、反思性——儿童就像科学家那样能不断反思和修正知识体系(Gopnik 2010)、和意向性——人类在婴儿期就可以按照意图目标展开行动, 也发展出理解他人意向的能力(Wellman 2014)。(许晶, 2020)。

二十年前我偶然看到一部中文纪录片,《幼儿园》, 记录了武汉一所寄宿幼儿园的日常生活, 小朋友的言行举止看似童稚却又发人深省, 我萌生出研究儿童的念想。例如这个场景, 摄制组一名成年女性(此处暂且名为“阿姨”)与一个小男孩的对话:

阿姨:“你最喜欢班里那个同学?”

男孩:“女的?”

阿姨:“嗯”

男孩:“呃……不知道……”(犹豫害羞)

阿姨:“不知道?我看你喜欢了不敢说”(边问边笑)

男孩:“你怎么看得出来呀?”

阿姨:“我一看就看出来了, 你犹豫了好半天。可能我也知道是谁, 那个白白的”。

男孩:“就你知道你怎么还要问我咧?”

我在国内大学演讲播放过这个片段, 学生们会心一笑。有的学生告诉我, 在那短短几个回合的对话中看到了文化情境的影响:“即使访谈者与小朋友已经有了比较强的信任关系, 但是处在中国文化情境——小孩子是不可以早恋的、谈到感情问题的中国人基本上比较害羞——小朋友依旧选择隐藏(自己的想法)”;也有学生看到了具体研究情境中研究者与研究对象之间的互相揣摩:“在那个情境中, 孩子会犹豫他说出的话, 对方的反应, 而

Another is an extreme constructivist bias, which treats the child’s mind as a blank slate (tabula rasa) to be shaped by the environment (Xu, 2024: 15). In the discourse of social science, the child is merely a product of the environment, which includes social structures, cultural ideas, and political-economic systems.

Cognitive anthropology emerged from the “cognitive revolution” of the mid-20th century, which opened up the black box of the human mind (Miller, 2003). It regards the mind and cognition as fundamental to understanding human behavior and social culture, and thus places special importance on child development. This field lies at the intersection of anthropology and psychology, placing the interface between social culture and individual cognition under a theoretical spotlight. It both studies psychological mechanisms and maintains anthropology’s cross-cultural perspective and reflexive spirit, which has become the theoretical direction I have dedicated myself to (Xu, 2020). From the perspective of cognitive anthropology, children are not the objects of education, but its protagonists. Humans have a long childhood, and children are unprecedented learners on this planet. One could say that learning is a child’s nature. Children demonstrate strong agency in language acquisition and in constructing their knowledge systems of the biological and physical worlds, which is what makes education in these domains possible. My research focuses on children’s social cognition—that is, how children understand social roles, cultural customs, moral norms, and so on. When we talk about the transmission and evolution of human culture, most research focuses on the role of adults. However, the fact that humans have been able to accumulate such a wealth of social and cultural knowledge, and that our species has even managed to thrive, is inseparable from the learning capacity of children themselves.

(Lew-Levy & Amir, 2024).

Children’s learning is active—they proactively explore the world rather than passively receiving information (Gweon & Zhu, 2024); it is reflective—children, like scientists, can constantly reflect on and revise their knowledge systems (Gopnik, 2010); and it is intentional—humans can act based on intended goals from infancy and also develop the ability to understand others’ intentions (Wellman, 2014) (Xu, 2020).

Twenty years ago, I watched a Chinese documentary, *Kindergarten*, which recorded the daily life of a boarding kindergarten in Wuhan. The words and actions of the children, seemingly naive, were also thought-provoking, and the idea of studying children inspired me. For example, in one scene, a female adult from the film crew (let us call her “Auntie”) is talking to a little boy:

Auntie: “Who is your favorite classmate in your class?”

访谈者看出孩子在犹豫,又在推论孩子为什么会犹豫”。<sup>[1]</sup>这么一个小片段让我看到:

1)小朋友在幼儿期就已经发展出感受和推测他人思维情感的能力,认知科学称之为“心理理论”(Theory of Mind, ToM),是人类丰富社会认知的基础;要理解儿童认知的发展机制,需要有心理学的系统知识和严谨方法;

2)儿童的精神世界深受社会文化环境的影响,社会文化如何型塑个体生活世界属于人类学的研究范畴;

3)不仅如此,人类学的认识论和方法论强调知识生产的情境性(situational knowledge),研究者和研究对象的主体间性(intersubjectivity):研究者和研究对象带着各自复杂意义系统、权力位置、人生经验和交往意图在具体情境中发生联结。

二十年后再回望《幼儿园》片段,我领悟到认知人类学这个跨学科方向不仅帮助我探索理论问题,儿童认知发展如何与社会文化环境交互,也启发我追寻更深层的认识论问题,有关儿童发展的知识如何生成。例如,法国认知人类学家丹·斯珀伯(Dan Sperber)和英国语言学家迪尔德丽·威尔逊(Deirdre Wilson)合著的“关联理论”(Sperber and Wilson 1996)提供了一个超越学科界限、凸显人类认知主体的哲学框架。透过“关联理论”来看我的研究领域,不论是通过人类学的田野调查还是心理学的控制实验,我们生产出关于儿童的知识都是人际沟通互动的结果:研究者和研究对象在具体行为情境和多重意义系统中互相揣测,对彼此交际意图进行认知推理,找到话语/沟通信号和语境之间的关联性。不光成年人,儿童也以认知主体的角色投身于这些揣测、推理和交流过程。例如《幼儿园》访谈场景,小男孩试图在访谈者的言语信号和情境之间寻找关联、推测访谈者的意图,才会心生困惑:你为何明知故问?

有关认识论问题,我在新书《“任性”的儿童》(Xu 2024)强调,儿童主动“察言观色”的能力对于田野研究结果有很大的影响,甚至是民族志得以可能的基础;换言之,透过儿童视角,我重新发现田野实践与书写的内在肌理。这本新书是对汉学人类学经典田野资料的重新发现:1950年代末、人类学家武雅士夫妇(Arthur & Margery Wolf)在台北盆地汉人村庄进

1. 2023年九月华东师范大学社会工作系方法论课程讲座笔记。

1. Lecture notes from the methodology course in the Department of Social Work at East China Normal University, September 2023.

Boy: “A girl?”

Auntie: “Yes.”

Boy: “Umm... I don’t know...” (hesitantly and shyly)

Auntie: “You don’t know? I think you like someone but you’re afraid to say.” (smiling as she asks)

Boy: “How can you tell?”

Auntie: “I can just tell. You hesitated for a long time. I probably even know who it is, the one in white.”

Boy: “If you already know, why are you still asking me?”

I have shown this clip in lectures at universities in China, and the students always smile in knowing agreement. Some students told me they saw the influence of the cultural context in this brief exchange: “Even if there is a relatively strong bond of trust between the interviewer and the child, in the Chinese cultural context—where young children are not supposed to have crushes and where Chinese people are generally shy about discussing feelings—the little boy still chose to hide (his thoughts).” Other students saw the mutual interpretation between the researcher and the research subject in this specific research setting: “In that situation, the child hesitates in his response, and the interviewer observes the child’s hesitation and then infers why the child is hesitating.” [1] This short clip showed me that:

- 1) Children in their preschool years have already developed the ability to perceive and infer the thoughts and feelings of others, a capacity known in cognitive science as “Theory of Mind” (ToM), which is the foundation of rich human social cognition. Understanding the developmental mechanisms of child cognition requires systematic knowledge and rigorous methods from psychology.
- 2) A child’s mental world is deeply influenced by their socio-cultural environment; how society and culture shape an individual’s lifeworld is a domain of anthropological research.
- 3) Moreover, the epistemology and methodology of anthropology emphasize situational knowledge and the intersubjectivity between the researcher and the researched. The researcher and the subject, each with their own complex systems of meaning, power positions, life experiences, and communicative intentions, engage with each other in a specific context.

行了两年多田野调查,是欧美学界第一个聚焦汉人儿童的田野研究,收集了包括访谈、观察和心理实验在内大量资料,却因为种种原因没有完成对这批资料的系统分析(许晶,2023)。我对这批资料的重新阐释立足于儿童丰富的社会认知,因为所有文本都是当地孩子们与各位研究者沟通互动的结果。仅以儿童打架为例:武雅士在附近小学做问卷调查,一个重要问题是关于打架,假设被同龄人欺负,儿童会如何反应。孩子们选的答案是不反应,不还手,因为他们从小被教导,小孩子不应该打架。可是在另外一个情境下,当武雅士的研究助理在村里访谈孩子们,问到同样的问题,很多小孩子表示会以牙还牙,该出手时就出手,并不顾忌“正确答案”。同样的问题,截然不同的回答,反映出儿童对研究情境、研究者身份和意图的敏感:在孩子们眼里,美国人类学家武雅士是奇怪的外人、他们不敢跟他接近,当面惧怕、背后却戏称他为“兜鼻仔”,在他眼皮底下填写问卷,而且是在气氛严格、只能讲国语的教室里,孩子们乖乖给出正确答案;而那位十几岁的本族研究助理则被孩子们唤做“陈姐姐”,是他们亲近的玩伴,且用孩子们的母语(闽南语)进行交流,所以孩子们不介意在她面前吐露真心,且描绘出生动细节。说到底,我们在研究儿童的时候,儿童也在研究我们。我选择用武雅士拍摄的一张儿童嬉戏照片当作书的封面,因为这张照片捕捉了研究者/摄影师与研究对象目光交汇的瞬间,他们的彼此凝视。

不仅人类学民族志研究需要重视儿童与研究者的“主体间性”(intersubjectivity),以控制实验见长的心理学研究也面临意义阐释的问题。儿童并不只是“被试”(subject)而已,更是“对话者”(interlocutor);儿童在实验中的言语行为反映出他们的文化知识以及他们对研究情境的理解(Xu 2019)。以发展心理学经典研究的棉花糖实验(The Marshmallow Test)为例:该实验通过测试儿童是否会为获得第二颗棉花糖而放弃食用眼前的糖果,来评定儿童的延迟满足能力(能否为了更大的奖励而克制即时冲动);近来跨文化比较研究则引发学者对该实验意义的反思。例如,同样的实验程序,日本儿童在等待棉花糖奖励时表现出更长的延迟满足时间;但当奖励换成包装好的礼物时,美国儿童的等待时间反而超过日本儿童;实验结果反映的并不是儿童能力对比,而是文化惯习的差异:在日本,等待进食是重要的餐前礼仪,在美国,圣诞节或生日派对等节日场合延迟拆礼物则是常见的文化实践(Yanaoka et al. 2022)。我与合作团队目前正在进行的实验研究也发现微妙的文化差异:有个实验环节是给参与的儿童观看简

Twenty years later, looking back at this clip from *Kindergarten*, I realize that the interdisciplinary approach of cognitive anthropology has not only helped me explore theoretical questions about how child cognitive development interacts with the socio-cultural environment, but has also inspired me to pursue more profound epistemological questions about how knowledge about child development is produced. For example, the “Relevance Theory,” co-authored by French cognitive anthropologist Dan Sperber and British linguist Deirdre Wilson (1996), provides a philosophical framework that transcends disciplinary boundaries and highlights human cognitive agency. Viewing my research field through the lens of Relevance Theory, whether it is anthropological fieldwork or controlled psychological experiments, the knowledge we produce about children is the result of interpersonal communicative interaction. The researcher and the subject mutually interpret each other in a specific behavioral context and within a multi-layered system of meaning, making cognitive inferences about each other’s communicative intent to find the relevance between utterances/communicative signals and the context. It is not just adults; children, too, participate as cognitive agents in this process of interpretation, inference, and communication. In the Kindergarten interview scene, for instance, the little boy tries to find the relevance between the interviewer’s verbal cues and the context and to infer her intention, which leads to his puzzlement: Why are you asking what you already know?

Regarding epistemological questions, in my new book, *‘Unruly’ Children* (Xu, 2024), I emphasize that a child’s active ability to “read faces and interpret moods” has a significant impact on fieldwork results, and may even be the foundation that makes ethnography possible. In other words, through the lens of the child, I rediscovered the inner texture of ethnographic practice and writing. This new book is a re-examination of classic ethnographic materials from Sinophone anthropology. In the late 1950s, anthropologists Arthur and Margery Wolf conducted more than two years of fieldwork in a Han Chinese village in the Taipei Basin. It was the first ethnographic study in the Euro-American academic world to focus on Han Chinese children. They collected a large amount of data, including interviews, observations, and psychological tests, but for various reasons, they never completed a systematic analysis of this material (Xu, 2023). My reinterpretation of this material focuses on the children’s rich social cognition, because all the texts are the result of communicative interactions between the local children and the various researchers. Taking children’s fights as an example: when Margery Wolf administered a questionnaire in the local primary school, a key question was about fighting. Assuming a peer bullied them, how would the children react? The children’s chosen answers were not to react or fight back, as they had been taught from a young age that children should not fight.

However, in a different context, when Margery Wolf’s research assistant interviewed

单几个身体动作,然后请儿童来模仿;有些西雅图华裔儿童迟疑中揣测哪一个动作是正确答案,或者给我展演他们最擅长的动作,仿佛实验是一场权威人物对他们的考察,这跟他们从小浸润的教育文化有关,也可能与我的华裔成年人身份有关;而非洲刚果的孩子则羞于模仿,因为在他们部落文化里身体动作(舞蹈)是集体仪式,不是个体表达。儿童带着哪些知识、规范、预期进入实验情境、与什么样的研究者互动、如何与研究者的互动,决定了心理实验是否真的在测量所要评估的概念,以及在多大程度上达到了测量目标。将儿童视作认知主体,心理实验与田野民族志某种程度上异曲同工。

the children in the village and asked the same question, many of the children said they would fight back, “an eye for an eye,” and would not hesitate to act when necessary, without regard for the “correct answer.” The same question elicited starkly different answers, reflecting the children’s sensitivity to the research context, the researcher’s identity, and their intentions. In the children’s eyes, the American anthropologist Margery Wolf was a strange foreigner whom they dared not approach. They feared her in person but nicknamed her “big-nosed one” behind her back. When filling out her questionnaire in the formal atmosphere of the classroom where only Mandarin was allowed, the children obediently gave the correct answers. However, the teenage local research assistant, whom the children called “Big Sister Chen,” was a playmate they were close to. They spoke to her in their mother tongue (Minnan), so they did not mind revealing their true feelings and described events in vivid detail.

Ultimately, when we study children, children are also studying us. I chose a photograph taken by Arthur Wolf of children playing as the cover for my book, because this picture captures the moment when the gazes of the researcher/photographer and the research subjects meet—their mutual seeing.

It is not just anthropological ethnography that needs to consider the intersubjectivity between children and researchers. Psychological research, known for its controlled experiments, also faces the problem of interpreting meaning. Children are not just “subjects” but also “interlocutors.” Their verbal and nonverbal behaviors in an experiment reflect their cultural knowledge and their understanding of the research situation

(Xu, 2019). Take the classic study in developmental psychology, the Marshmallow Test, for example. The experiment assesses a child's capacity for delayed gratification (the ability to resist an immediate impulse for a greater reward) by testing whether they will wait for a second marshmallow instead of eating the one in front of them. Recently, cross-cultural comparative research has led scholars to reconsider the meaning of this experiment.

For instance, in the same experimental procedure, Japanese children show a longer delay of gratification time when waiting for a marshmallow reward. However, when the reward is changed to a wrapped gift, American children's waiting time exceeds that of Japanese children. The results do not reflect a difference in the children's abilities but rather a difference in cultural habits. In Japan, waiting to eat is an important pre-meal ritual. In the United States, delaying the opening of gifts is a common cultural practice at occasions like Christmas or birthday parties (Yanaoka et al., 2022). My collaborators and I have also found subtle cultural differences in our ongoing experimental research. In one task, we show participating children a few simple body movements and then ask them to imitate them. Some Chinese-American children in Seattle hesitate, trying to guess which movement is the "correct" one, or they perform the movement they are best at, as if the experiment is a test by an authority figure. This is related to the educational culture they have been immersed in since a young age, and possibly also to my identity as a Chinese-American adult.

In contrast, children from the Republic of the Congo are shy to imitate, because in their tribal culture, body movements (dance) are a collective ritual, not an individual performance. The knowledge, norms, and expectations a child brings into an experimental setting, the type of researcher they interact with, and their interaction style all determine whether a psychological experiment truly measures the intended concept and to what extent it achieves its measurement goals. When children are seen as cognitive agents, psychological experiments and ethnographic fieldwork are two sides of the same coin.

道德能力是人性的奥秘之一,人类群体道德之复杂性远超动物世界。然而,有关道德发展,人类学和心理学两种路径分野迥异,各自有其局限:心理学关注个体心理机制,对于人和道德的假设带有强烈普遍主义的色彩,人类学理论则批评脱离语境的普遍道德理性,落脚于人在多样而具体的结构、制度、话语和生活世界型塑之下的伦理实践;二十一世纪认知科学的经验研究发现人类道德知识与情感萌芽于婴儿期,儿童发展成为研究人类道德心理的重要方向;而人类学近二十几年涌现出关于道德伦理的思想体系则忽略了儿童发展这一维度、尤其遮蔽了作为认知主体的儿童(许晶,2020)。我的研究试图在人类学和心理学之间架设桥梁,促进认知与文化的理论对话,以田野民族志认识论为基础,整合访谈、观察、问卷、心理实验、计算文本分析、行为建模分析等多种方法,来理解儿童的道德发展与学习。我的研究倡导新的理论取向,即道德发展与学习兼具普遍性与多元性(simultaneously universalistic and pluralistic),两者并非冲突互斥,而是交织互补:1)本体论层面上,人类具有超越文化差异的基本道德关怀(basic moral concern)这样的道德关怀既是共通的又是多元的,例如关爱、互惠、公平、权威等等;2)个体发生学层面上,具有普遍意义的基础道德在童年期表现为儿童的道德直觉,由多重社会认知机制支撑,这些认知机制源自解决不同类型问题或者调节不同社会关系的动机需求,儿童从小就习得如何在具体情境下处理不同道德关怀之间的次序甚至矛盾;3)教育层面上,培养道德品质、将儿童塑造成具有社会价值的成员,是所有社会的共同教育目标;但不同时空的社群在对道德发展的理解、理想价值观、社会化实践等维度上存在显著差异(Xu, 2019: 657; Xu, 2024: 17-18)。

不管道德心理学还是道德人类学,其理论源流依然囿于西方中心论,因此我的研究带着对目前流行理论概念的反思,联结汉学关于“人伦教化”的思想脉络和鲜活田野所发现的儿童经验世界,来讨论中国文化语境下的道德发展,凸显儿童的认知主体性。汉学人类学长久以来所流行的“育儿/社会化”研究范式(child training/socialization)其实是一种自上而下、对儿童的凝视,重点在于成年人育儿理念和策略,并不在于儿童自身的体验。这种范式既将与将儿童心智视作黑匣子或者白板的社会科学思路相关,也反映出中国道德思想脉络,“尤其是儒家思想将‘孝道’和纵向家庭关系

Moral capacity is one of the mysteries of humanity; the complexity of human group morality far exceeds that of the animal world. However, on the topic of moral development, anthropology and psychology have followed divergent paths, each with its own limitations. Psychology focuses on individual psychological mechanisms and holds strongly universalistic assumptions about humanity and morality. Anthropology, on the other hand, critiques decontextualized, universal moral reasoning, focusing instead on people in diverse and specific structures, institutions, and discourses, and their ethical practices shaped by their lifeworlds. In the 21st century, empirical research in cognitive science has discovered that human moral knowledge and emotions emerge in infancy, making child development a crucial direction for studying human moral psychology. Meanwhile, the body of thought on morality and ethics that has emerged in anthropology over the past two decades has largely ignored the dimension of child development, thereby obscuring the child as a cognitive agent (Xu, 2020).

My research attempts to build a bridge between anthropology and psychology, to promote a theoretical dialogue between cognition and culture. Based on the epistemology of ethnographic fieldwork, I integrate multiple methods—including interviews, observation, questionnaires, psychological experiments, computational text analysis, and behavioral modeling—to understand children’s moral development and learning. My research advocates for a new theoretical orientation, one in which moral development and learning are simultaneously universalistic and pluralistic. These two aspects are not contradictory but are interwoven and complementary. 1) On an ontological level, humanity possesses a basic moral concern that transcends cultural differences. This moral concern is both common and diverse, including concepts such as care, reciprocity, fairness, and authority. 2) At the ontogenetic level, these universal fundamental moral concerns manifest in childhood as moral intuitions, supported by multiple social-cognitive mechanisms. These cognitive mechanisms originate from the motivational need to solve different types of problems or to regulate different social relationships. From a young age, children learn to manage the order and even the contradictions between different moral concerns in specific situations. 3) At the educational level, different communities across time and space show significant variation in their understanding of moral development, their ideal values, and their socialization practices (Xu, 2019: 657; Xu, 2024: 17-18).

Whether in moral psychology or moral anthropology, the theoretical lineages remain rooted in Western-centric thought. Therefore, my research carries a reflexive stance toward current theoretical concepts. It connects intellectual threads from Sinology about “moral cultivation” (*renlun jiaohua*) with the vibrant child experiences discov-

(父子轴、母子轴)置于首位,将儿童视为中国道德教化和家庭伦理的承接器皿、视为伦理话语的投射对象,以建构出‘纯真儿童’的原型意象”(许晶,2023:76)。我的研究则聚焦儿童认知,探讨儿童如何主动习得道德知识和建构伦理规范,而不是被动接受教导。

我第一本书*The Good Child* (Xu 2017)(中译本《培养好孩子》)以及相关论文出自2010年代在上海一个幼儿园的田野研究。本书探讨价值体系变迁、家长焦虑重重的时代下,儿童如何应对复杂的教育信息,习得公平、互惠、同理心、等级权威等道德知识与情感。我发现儿童的实际认知与他们所接受的明确教导之间存在张力,例如他们的分享并非基于集体主义式、人人平等的教导,而反映出个体互惠的考量;儿童对基础道德关怀的理解又体现出他们对具体社会秩序和文化观念的敏感,例如他们对互惠的理解渗透着人情关系的文化影响;他们对“表现好”这一道德话语的习得让我反思西方理论所强调的公平观念(横向道德秩序),看到中国文化土壤深厚的等级权威观念(纵向道德秩序)(详细综述见许晶,2020)。第二本书“*Unruly Children* (Xu, 2024)则将研究视角从当代全球化大都市转向1950年代末台北盆地的传统汉人社会,书中主角从排排坐“表现好”的幼儿园小朋友变成村子里奔跑嬉笑的孩子们。这本书虽然内容是分析前辈人类学家武雅士所遗留下来经典田野资料,写作意图却不仅仅是重构已消逝的童年历史和被遮蔽的学术历史,更希望重新看见儿童。有别于大众所熟知的“顺服”、“听话”等教育理念,田野材料中浮现的却是与家长顶嘴周旋,或者阳奉阴违、戏谑大人的顽童意象,让我反思何谓“传统汉人家庭”。主标题,打引号的“‘任性’儿童”,承载着本书的核心论点:从成年人视角出发,我看到的是屡屡违逆指令的儿童,但当我将眼光转向儿童视角,特别是聚焦于儿童与同伴之间的玩耍互动,我看到的则是与“任性(*unruly*)”相对的秩序景象:孩子们达成合作、解决冲突、也在合作与冲突的中间地带逡巡嬉闹、建构出自己小世界的准则规范。

遇见“‘任性’的儿童”为我理解道德发展打开了新的研究方向。我看到亲子互动的谜之问题:惩罚为何无效?尽管打架的孩子会受到父母严厉惩罚,尽管孩子们会在美国人类学家武雅士面前给出“(打架)不还手”的正确答案,尽管他们在心理测试中看到打架的画面会说“男孩打架以后会变成流氓”这样的话,这些批评惩罚却没有立竿见影的效果。如果我们将儿童视作认知主体,那惩罚过程就不是机械的“刺激-反应”,而是复杂的信

ered through fieldwork to discuss moral development in a Chinese cultural context, highlighting the cognitive agency of children. The “child training/socialization” research paradigm, long prevalent in Sinophone anthropology, is in fact a top-down gaze at the child, focusing on adult parenting philosophies and strategies, not on the child’s own experience. This paradigm is related not only to the social science approach that views the child’s mind as a black box or a blank slate but also reflects the lineage of Chinese moral thought, “especially Confucian thought, which places ‘filial piety’ and vertical family relationships (the father-son axis, the mother-son axis) at the forefront, viewing the child as the vessel for Chinese moral cultivation and family ethics, and as the object onto which ethical discourse is projected, in order to construct the archetype of the ‘innocent child’” (Xu, 2023: 76). My research, in contrast, focuses on child cognition, exploring how children actively acquire moral knowledge and construct ethical norms, rather than passively receiving instruction.

My first book, *The Good Child* (Xu, 2017), and its related publications are based on fieldwork in a Shanghai kindergarten in the 2010s. The book explores how, in an era of shifting value systems and intense parental anxiety, children handle complex educational messages and acquire moral knowledge and emotions related to fairness, reciprocity, empathy, and hierarchical authority. I found a tension between what children actually know and the explicit instruction they receive. For example, their sharing is not based on a collectivist, egalitarian principle, but rather reflects considerations of individual reciprocity. Children’s understanding of fundamental moral concerns also shows their sensitivity to specific social orders and cultural concepts. For instance, their understanding of reciprocity is permeated by the influence of *renqing* (human feeling/social connections). Their acquisition of the moral discourse of “behaving well” led me to reflect on the concept of fairness (a horizontal moral order) emphasized in Western theory and to see the deeply rooted concept of hierarchical authority (a vertical moral order) in the soil of Chinese culture (for a detailed review, see Xu, 2020). My second book, *‘Unruly’ Children* (Xu, 2024), shifts the research perspective from a modern global metropolis to a traditional Han Chinese society in the Taipei Basin of the late 1950s. The protagonists of the book change from kindergarten children sitting in neat rows, “behaving well,” to children running and laughing in a village. Although this book analyzes the classic fieldwork data left behind by the senior anthropologists Arthur and Margery Wolf, my intention in writing it was not just to reconstruct a vanished childhood history and an obscured academic history, but more importantly, to see children anew.

In contrast to the widely known educational ideals of “obedience” and “being good,” what emerges from the fieldwork materials is the image of the “unruly” child who talks back to parents, feigns compliance while acting in defiance, and teases adults. This led me to reflect on what constitutes a “traditional Han Chinese family.” The main title,

息交互。回到前文所述的“关联理论”，孩子会揣测大人惩罚的意图，会评价惩罚是否正当，会感到羞辱或者愤怒，而不只是惧怕。在田野资料中品味出儿童在被惩罚过程中的情绪体验和沟通推理，不仅给我带来研究的灵感，也提醒我作为母亲教养孩子的时候应该更多自省。我看到同伴学习的重要性，也是儿童作为认知主体的一部分：从西方道德发展理论到中国思想脉络都比较重视纵轴式的教育关系（成人与儿童）、自上而下的道德教化，而这本新书则凸显儿童世界的横轴关系，同伴群体和兄弟姐妹。小孩子们一起干活，一起玩耍，一起八卦，一起发明自己的游戏规则，也一起戏谑成年人世界的怪现象，例如模仿节庆游行时倒着走路的神明，模仿警察抓赌博，模仿大人们酒后推搡，模仿主人们抢着招待客人，来回拉扯。我看到人类智能的奥秘：儿童玩耍的世界风趣幽默，他们运用创造力将丰富的文化意涵重新编码，重新情境化，赋予新的属于他们自己的意义。当我用前沿的大语言模型来系统分析一千六百多则自然观察文本时，我发现高效高速的人工智能算法面对这些嬉戏与想象交织的时刻，并不能很好解读儿童创造的意义迷宫。我期待未来的研究继续以伦理道德为窗口，探索儿童认知主体性与人工智能的关系。

*'Unruly' Children* (with “unruly” in quotation marks), carries the book’s core argument: from an adult’s perspective, I see children who repeatedly defy instructions, but when I shift my gaze to the child’s perspective, mainly focusing on the playful interactions among children, I see a scene of order that contrasts with “unruliness.” Children reach agreements, resolve conflicts, and in the space between cooperation and conflict, they linger and play, constructing the rules and norms of their own small world.

Encountering the “unruly” child opened a new research direction for my understanding of moral development. I encountered a perplexing question about parent-child interaction: why is punishment ineffective? Although children who fight are severely punished by their parents, although they give the “correct” answer of not fighting back to the American anthropologist Margery Wolf, and although in psychological tests they say that a “boy who fights will become a hooligan,” these criticisms and punishments have no immediate effect. If we see the child as a cognitive agent, then the process of punishment is not a mechanical “stimulus-response,” but a complex exchange of information. Returning to the “Relevance Theory” mentioned earlier, a child will try to infer the adult’s intention behind the punishment, evaluate whether the punishment is deserved, and may feel shame or anger, not just fear. Savoring the children’s emotional experiences and communicative reasoning during the process of being punished in the fieldwork data not only gave me research inspiration but also reminded me to be more self-reflective as a mother raising my own child. I saw the importance of peer learning, which is also part of the child’s cognitive agency. From Western theories of moral development to the intellectual traditions of China, the emphasis has been on the vertical axis of educational relationships (adult and child) and top-down moral cultivation. This new book, however, highlights the horizontal relationships of the child’s world: peer groups and siblings. Children work together, play together, gossip together, invent their own games together, and also mock the strange phenomena of the adult world together—for example, by imitating the gods who walk backwards in festival processions, imitating police raiding a gambling den, imitating adults shoving each other after drinking, or imitating hosts fighting over who gets to treat a guest, pulling each other back and forth. I saw the secret of human intelligence: the world of children’s play is witty and humorous. They use their creativity to recode rich cultural meanings, re-contextualize them, and give them new meanings that belong to them. When I used a cutting-edge large language model to analyze more than 1,600 naturalistic observation texts systematically, I found that even this highly efficient and high-speed artificial intelligence algorithm, when faced with these moments interwoven with play and imagination, could not decipher the enigma of the children’s creative meaning-making.

I look forward to future research that continues to use moral ethics as a window to explore the cognitive agency of children and their relationship with artificial intelligence.

1950年,“人工智能之父”图灵在其名篇《计算机器与智能》中如此设想:“可以推测,孩子的大脑就像是从文具店买来的笔记本,内部机制很少,但有大量空白的页面”;“与其试图编写程序来模拟成人的心智,何不尝试创造一个模拟儿童心智的程序?如果随后对其施以适当的教育过程,我们就能获得成人的大脑”(Turing 1950)。大半个世纪过去了,认知科学与计算科学的融汇已经催生出强大的人工智能体,人工智能研究者正在与发展心理学家携手,从儿童学习的视角破解智能的奥秘,例如用一个孩子61小时日常音视频数据,而不是海量互联网数据,训练机器学习算法,词汇习得效果显著(Vong et al. 2024)。尽管如此,真正意义上模拟儿童心智的程序尚未问世。儿童大脑显然不是图灵所设想的“空白笔记本”,可我们对儿童心智发展谜之初始条件和复杂学习机制还知之甚少,换言之,我们对于儿童认知主体性的理解还只是冰山一角。

心理学家用机器学习、强化学习的“探索-利用权衡(Exploration-Exploitation Tradeoff)”框架来比拟儿童与成年人智能/算法之区别:前者是探索性学习,向未知可能性敞开,未必立即带来最佳回报;后者是利用性学习,利用已有知识做出决策,以期实现短期收益最大化(Gopnik 2020)。2016年国际婴儿研究会议(ICIS)的主旨演讲,至今仍刻在我脑子里。纽约大学Karen Adolph教授研究婴儿学步,意识到当研究者走出“实验室”的思维,看到更奇妙的婴儿世界:若以成年人的标准,基于控制实验发现婴儿步行是“利用性学习”,婴儿行走是因为前方有吸引他们的东西,他们行走按照最短最有效的模式,他们行走目标明确。然而,当研究者撤掉人为的实验室装置以后,才发现婴儿步行时常漫无目的,很可能目光从一个地方换到另一个地方,行走的路径复杂无序;哪怕就在一个空空如也、毫无目标物品的房间,他们也步行不停。当研究者走出实验室,采用头部摄像头跟踪记录儿童自然状态下的步行时,或者用我的话说,俯身进入儿童视角,看到婴儿们用自己的眼睛、自己的脚丫子、自己的身体在开放地感知这世界。他们为学习而学习,探索精神一往无前。

漫长的童年期是人类获得的馈赠,儿童是存在与生成(being & becoming)、现在时与将来时的奇妙共生体。面对十四岁儿子的灵魂拷问,我庆幸他曾经有过自由感知世界、未被短期目标框住的童年。回望我见证过

In 1950, Alan Turing, the “father of artificial intelligence,” envisioned the following in his famous paper “Computing Machinery and Intelligence”: “It can be maintained that the child’s brain is like a notebook bought from a stationer’s, with very little mechanism in it, but plenty of blank sheets”; “Instead of trying to produce a programme to simulate the adult mind, why not rather try to produce one which simulates the child’s? If this were then subjected to an appropriate course of education, one would hope to obtain the adult brain” (Turing, 1950). More than half a century has passed. The convergence of cognitive science and computer science has given rise to powerful artificial intelligence. AI researchers are now joining hands with developmental psychologists to crack the code of intelligence from the perspective of child learning. For example, using 61 hours of first-person audio-visual data from a single child, rather than massive internet datasets, a machine learning algorithm was trained and achieved remarkable results in word acquisition (Vong et al., 2024).

Nevertheless, a program that truly simulates the child’s mind has yet to be created. A child’s brain is clearly not the “blank notebook” Turing imagined. Yet, we still know very little about the initial conditions and complex learning mechanisms of the developmental puzzle that is the child’s mind. In other words, our understanding of the cognitive agency of children is still just the tip of the iceberg.

Psychologists use the “Exploration-Exploitation Tradeoff” framework from machine learning and reinforcement learning to compare the intelligence/algorithms of children and adults. The former is characterized by exploratory learning, open to unknown possibilities, which may not bring immediate optimal returns. The latter is characterized by exploitative learning, using existing knowledge to make decisions in order to maximize short-term gains (Gopnik, 2020). The keynote speech at the 2016 International Congress of Infant Studies (ICIS) is still etched in my mind. Professor Karen Adolph of New York University, who studies infant walking, realized that when researchers step out of the “laboratory” mindset, they see a more wondrous world of infants. By adult standards, based on controlled experiments, infant walking appears to be “exploitative learning.” Babies walk because there is something attractive in front of them; they walk in the shortest, most efficient pattern; their walking is goal-oriented. However, when researchers removed the artificial laboratory apparatus, they discovered that infant walking is often aimless. Their gaze might shift from one place to another; their walking paths are complex and non-linear. Even in an empty room with no objects to serve as goals, they still walk nonstop. When researchers stepped out of the lab and used head-mounted cameras to track and record children in their natural state—or, in my words, when they stooped down to enter the child’s perspective—they saw infants

的那些谜一样的奇境,那些物我两忘的瞬间,心灵为之颤动:孩子在小提琴音符变幻里感受到出神的美,为蜜蜂马蜂小草小树的生命而惊奇,盯着白墙上水波荡漾……还有,近乎神性的瞬间(a divine moment):孩子很小很小的时候,他坐在距离我一两米之外的床上,我在对着电脑写论文。我不经意撇过头往他的方向看,突然与他视线相遇。小婴儿在注视我,目光里有说不出的温柔好奇、静谧的欣喜和全然信任,生命原初的爱。那一刹那,星辰闪烁。孩子爱的凝视里,隐藏着任何算法无以破解的奥秘。

using their own eyes, their own feet, and their own bodies to openly perceive this world. They learn for the sake of learning, their exploratory spirit forging ever forward.

The long period of childhood is a gift to humanity. The child is a wondrous co-existence of being and becoming, of the present and the future.

Faced with my fourteen-year-old son's soul-searching question, I am glad that he once had a childhood where he could freely perceive the world, unconstrained by short-term goals. I look back at those mystery-like wonders I witnessed, those moments of being lost in the world that made my soul tremble: my son feeling an ecstatic beauty in the shifting notes of a violin, marveling at the lives of bees, wasps, grasses, and trees, staring at the ripples on a white wall...

And then, there was that almost divine moment: when he was very, very small, he was sitting on the bed a few feet away from me while I was writing at my computer. I glanced over in his direction, and suddenly our eyes met. The baby was looking at me, his gaze filled with an indescribable gentleness and curiosity, a quiet joy and complete trust, the primordial love of life. In that instant, the stars twinkled. In a child's loving gaze lies a mystery that no algorithm can ever decipher.

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# 困于“二手时间”： 当代大学生的 成长之惑

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Trapped in  
“Second-Hand  
Time”:  
The Growth  
Predicament  
of Contemporary  
Chinese  
University  
Students

本文对“做题家”的群体特征进行剖析,探讨当代中国青少年在教育体制、家庭结构、社会文化的多重规训下所面临的成长困境。以寻求“标准答案”为核心的应试教育遮蔽了学生的主体经验,使学习沦为形式化的解题操练而非真实的世界探索;家庭教育中父母对子女的高期待、高控制,在一定程度上剥夺了孩子的可塑性与依赖性,造成了“独子”的孤独与关系的缺位;过度的自我掌控和目标导向则不可避免地走向抽象化、自我封闭与世界退隐。当下的自我与具体的生活被“已知的过去”和“预设的未来”所挤压、吞噬,学生普遍陷于“二手时间”的困境中,在被动学习中失去了与世界、他人乃至自我的真实联系。论文呼吁应重建行动与经验基础,使知识回归生命场景,在实践中唤回学生的现实感与主体性,从而走出困境、实现真正的个体成长。

# 摘要

# ABSTRACT

关键词:二手时间 做题家 成长之困

Keywords: Second-Hand Time, Zuòtíjiā (Inveterate Exam-Taker), Growth Predicament

This article analyzes the group characteristics of the “inveterate exam-taker” (zuòtíjīā), exploring the growth predicament faced by contemporary Chinese youth under the multiple disciplines of the educational system, family structure, and social culture. The exam-oriented education, with its core focus on finding “standard answers,” obscures students’ subjective experiences, reducing learning to a formalistic exercise of solving given problems rather than a genuine exploration of the world. In family education, parents’ high expectations and high control, to some extent, strip children of their plasticity and capacity for dependence, leading to the loneliness of the “only child” and an absence of genuine relationships. Excessive self-control and goal-orientation inevitably lead to abstraction, self-enclosure, and a retreat from the world. The present self and concrete life are squeezed and devoured by the “known past” and the “preset future,” leaving students commonly trapped in the predicament of “second-hand time,” where passive learning causes them to lose their real connection to the world, to others, and even to themselves. This paper calls for the reconstruction of a foundation based on action and experience, to return knowledge to life’s scenarios, and to reawaken students’ sense of reality and agency through practice, thereby enabling them to overcome this predicament and achieve true individual growth.

“我是谁?是小镇做题家,是应试教育的佼佼者,是高考制度下的幸运儿。十二年的学习经历唯一教会我的,是面对一张张试卷,一道道题目时,如何得到分数最高的答案。一张卷子甚至刷十遍,掌握所有的知识点,花100个小时来做与花2个小时做,效果是完全不一样的。”<sup>[1]</sup>

这是“做题家”的由来。在世界与词语之间(world and words),词语遮蔽了世界;在已知与未知之间,已知驱逐了未知;在过去、现在与未来之间,现在缺席了。

“我们的语文老师给大家看过一个印度裔科学家的TED演讲,核心要义是说‘凡是标准化考试必然有标准答案’。因此,哪怕是主观题我们都必须对着参考答案,找自己和标准答案的差距。”“‘寻找标准答案’是我在高考以前的人生阶段里最主要的矛盾,为此我可以从早上7点端坐到晚上11点,在做题、总结和反思的流程中无限循环。”

“做题家”的本质是以符号为其特征,学习且掌握自己所未知,却是他人所已知、人类所已知的内容,但学习者终究是要回到自己的经验与生活之中,直面自己的真实处境,遭遇自己的问题(problem)。这时,“已知”才能活化为方法,或者工具,“已知”也才由此进入学习者的世界,与他发生切实的关联,获得了意义:“已知”成为一个行动者头脑中的“坐标”,探险者手里的“地图”。

“做题家”的养成是以“解题”替代了“解决问题”,他不是将脚踩在土地上,开始真正的行走;我们在设身处地想,一个孩子是怎么进入世界的?他一定用他的身体,这是他最原初、忠实可靠、也最灵敏的探究器官,他要四处触摸,他要东张西望,他还会察言观色,他高兴了会咧呀地说和笑,这是他最初的表达;他饿了,不舒服了,会哭、会闹,这是他的要求。他是带着他的身体、情感和当下每一刻具体的生命需求和流动的生命感受来到世界,也来到学校。

做题家置身于“知识化的学校”,准确地说学校教育的知识化,一个具体的、活的、不断生成、展现的成长过程变成了单维度的、封闭的“已知”轨道中重复转圈。纸上谈兵地熟记地图,或者在头脑中不断地演练,却不让他

1. 作者深耕大学生成长研究多年,文中出现的楷体字内容出自访谈、学生撰写的自传,也有课堂讨论与课程作业。本文重在阐述观点,学生材料或为问题的提出,或为例证,或推进论述;多为学生其言、其思、其惑,不将其作为个案呈现,故不再呈现其具体的专业、年级与身份,仅以字体和引用加以标识。

1. The author has been deeply engaged in research on university student development for many years. The italicized content in the text comes from interviews, student-written autobiographies, as well as class discussions and coursework. The primary purpose of this article is to elaborate on a viewpoint; the student materials serve to raise questions, provide examples, or advance the argument. As they are not presented as case studies, their specific majors, years, and identities are not disclosed, and they are identified only by font and quotation marks.

## I. The “Inveterate Exam-Taker”: The Absence of the “Present”

“Who am I? A small-town exam-taker, a champion of exam-oriented education, a lucky one under the gaokao system. The only thing my twelve years of schooling taught me was how to get the highest score when facing test papers and questions. I would even drill a single test paper ten times. Mastering all the knowledge points by spending 100 hours is completely different from spending 2 hours.” [1]

This gives rise to the “inveterate exam-taker” (*zuòtíjiā*). Between the world and words, words obscure the world; between the known and the unknown, the known expels the unknown; between the past, present, and future, the present is absent.

“Our language teacher showed us a TED talk by an Indian-American scientist, whose core message was that ‘all standardized tests must have standard answers.’ Therefore, even for subjective questions, we had to compare our answers to the official key and identify the differences.”

“‘Finding the standard answer’ was the central conflict of my life before the gaokao. For this, I could sit from 7 a.m. to 11 p.m., endlessly cycling through the process of doing problems, summarizing, and reflecting.”

Symbols characterize the essence of the *zuòtíjiā*. They learn and master content that is unknown to them but already known to others and to humanity. Ultimately, however, the learner must return to their own experience and life, confront their real situations, and encounter their own problems.

Only then can the “known” be activated as a method or tool; only then does the “known” enter the learner’s world, establish a tangible connection with them, and acquire meaning. The “known” becomes a “coordinate” in the mind of an actor, a “map” in the hands of an explorer.

The cultivation of the *zuòtíjiā* replaces “problem-solving” (in a real sense) with “solving given problems” (on paper). They do not plant their feet on the ground and begin a real journey. Let us put ourselves in their shoes: how does a child enter the world? They must use their body—their most primal, reliable, and sensitive organ of inquiry. They touch everything, look around, and observe facial expressions. When happy, they gurgle and laugh—their first expressions. When hungry or uncomfortable, they cry and

真正地走出去，哪怕撒一下欢，放飞一下。今天的学校不再是原初意涵的闲暇所在，而是用一套绩效指标(KPI)将制度的基因植入普通的人性之中。在效率导向下，给了封闭的题型、精炼的方法，却没有了真实的内容；这正如语法修辞中，及物动词却缺了宾语，成了空洞的动作，构成了动作的空转，如同训练上臂二头肌一样，这是新的形式训练说。

没有了真实的生活，没有了内容的滋养，本应充满增长的学习成了苦役，学习过程充斥着反复且单调的操练；精神昂扬的学习也成贱役，为了达到一个外在的目的而做自己并不感兴趣的事情。孩子的成长有他天然的资源，譬如兴趣，这是连接活泼的心智与外在事物的中介，将心智的热情与外部的事、物之间形成能量的沟通与有机的循环，这一过程即是直接的、朴素的，也是自足的、富有生机的。思维的发展，不是外在材料的强行植入，哪怕是高阶的思维体操课，只有在做事中，在行动中，思维才有了力量和生气——行是知之始。只有行与知合一，气血才能融通，情志才能昂扬，精神也才抖擞。这是知识减负的要害，不是简单地减去知识的量，而是要以行动与经验成为知识的根基，成为源头活水。

下面这段是一个学生回溯她成长中的困惑，既是与父母的对话，也是与自己的对话：

“我为什么学习？”

“为了认识世界，理解自己。”

“那我现在做的事情，是在认识世界，理解自己吗？”

“好像不是，我在上课、做题，这个过程或许可以帮助认识一部分世界，理解一部分自己。但是主要任务是做出正确的答案，目标是获得一个较高的分数，其他的可以排在后面。”

“(可是，这些)为什么排在后面？为什么不多花时间认识世界，理解自己，如果你认为这是学习的根本目的？”

“因为我应该先做好题，考高分，这样才可以上一个比较好的大学，然后……”

“然后呢，你要做什么？”

fuss, expressing their demands. They arrive in the world and at school with their body, emotions, and the concrete needs and fluid feelings of each living moment.

The zuòtíjīā is situated in a “knowledge school,” or more accurately, in the “knowledgezation” of school education. A concrete, living, and ever-unfolding process of growth is transformed into repetitive circling on a one-dimensional, closed track of the “known.” They memorize maps on paper or rehearse scenarios in their minds but are never allowed to actually go out, not even to run free for a moment. Today’s school is no longer a place of leisure in its original sense but rather a system that implants its institutional DNA into common human nature through a set of Key Performance Indicators (KPIs). Driven by efficiency, it provides closed-ended question types and refined methods, but without real content. This is like a transitive verb in grammar that lacks its object, resulting in an empty action, a hollow motion, akin to an exercise that only trains the biceps. This is a new form of formal discipline.

Without real life, without the nourishment of content, learning, which should be full of growth, becomes drudgery. The learning process is filled with repetitive and monotonous drills. The spirited endeavor of learning also becomes a menial task, done to achieve an external goal without personal interest. A child’s growth has its natural resources, such as interest, which is the medium connecting a lively mind with external things, creating a circulation of energy and an organic cycle between intellectual passion and the world of objects and affairs. This process is at once direct and straightforward, self-sufficient and vibrant. The development of thinking is not the forced implantation of external materials, not even through high-level mental gymnastics. It is only in doing things, in action, that thinking gains power and vitality—action is the beginning of knowledge. Only when action and knowledge are unified can one’s vitality flow, one’s emotions be uplifted, and one’s spirit be invigorated. This is the crux of reducing the academic burden; it is not simply about cutting the quantity of knowledge but about making action and experience the foundation of knowledge, its living source.

The following is a student’s reflection on their confusion during their growth, a dialogue with both their parents and themselves:

Student: “Why do I study?”

Parent: “To understand the world and yourself.”

Student: “Then are the things I’m doing now helping me understand the world and myself?”

“咱能先考上大学再说么……”

这时，用延迟满足来冷淡他与事物之间的热情，也滋生了他非分的欲念，一个靠本来力量就能自足、能成长的孩子，就这样被扭曲了。欲念成了操控学习者的手段，它置换了学习的目标又不给学习者直接且即时的满足，他朴素的热情淡下去了，虚妄的欲念之火却炙烤着他。他的世界从神秘的万物转向了驯兽场，他如同一头幼狮，在驯兽师的冷血训练中，习得一套技艺，这套技艺既不是符合天性的，也不为幼狮正当地捕获食物，而是为了在竞赛中战胜同类，准确地说是羞辱同类，获得奖赏，在体系中拾级而上。他活成了“别人家的孩子”，或者渴望成为“别人家的孩子”，他既趾高气昂与脆弱空洞。成功学像瘟疫一样蔓延。

在过去、现在与未来的时间链条上，学生所拥有的是现在，他应该活在现在，可是，他的现在，他的当下是如何“熬过去”、“撑下去”？

“做题家常在‘计时做题’：多数人不仅活在一种毫无变化的规律生活之中，并且活在一种秒表般的精确之中。”

为什么一方面活在时间的精确与紧迫之中，另一面拖延症又大面积地蔓延？因为手头的事与心中的梦是切断的，手头的事是外在强加，心中的梦常是虚妄且碎片的，未来很美，但未来很远；现在很重要，但现在很苦；用光鲜但空洞的未来定义现在，现在徒具投资的价值，在熬过的“每一天”中，没有了喜爱的事，没有值得珍惜的关系，也就没有了自主的动力。如何能把未来化成“胸前一尺”，变成可以着手去做事？因为未来不是虚妄的设计与选择，未来是从现在走出来的，是从现在的情势中生发出来，未来植根于现在，也应走入现在。

过去如何进入他的世界？作为“已知”，它是方法、工具与坐标，但它只能是“手中活”的工具箱，“眼前事”的参照，“心中梦”的指南针，它不是作为教条与圣经，不是用一个静态的、完成了的体系禁锢或限制着学生。若此，过去的“已知”吞噬了当下的所感与所知，他的头脑早已成为别人知识的跑马场。

夸美纽斯在《大教学论》中生动地指出：

“学校没有教过它们的学生去发展他们的心灵……如同‘伊索寓言’

Parent: “It seems not. I’m attending classes and doing problems. This process might help in understanding a part of the world and a part of myself. But the main task is to get the correct answer, the goal is to get a high score, and everything else can come later.”

Student:“(But) why does it come later? Why not spend more time understanding the world and yourself, if you believe that is the fundamental purpose of learning?”

Parent:“Because I should first be good at solving problems and getting high scores, so I can get into a better university, and then...”

Student: “And then what? What do you want to do?”

Parent:“Can we just focus on getting into university first?”

At this point, delayed gratification is used to cool their passion for things, while also breeding inordinate desires. A child who could have grown self-sufficiently on their own strength is thus distorted. Desire becomes a means of manipulating the learner; it replaces the goal of learning, yet offers no direct or immediate satisfaction. Their simple passion fades, while they are scorched by the flames of empty ambition. Their world shifts from one of mysterious wonders to a circus ring for trained animals. Like a young lion, they learn a set of skills through the cold-blooded training of a beast-tamer. These skills are neither in line with their nature nor for the legitimate purpose of hunting food, but for defeating—or more accurately, humiliating—their peers in competition to win rewards and climb the ladder of the system. They become “that other family’s child” or aspire to be one, simultaneously arrogant and fragilely empty. The gospel of success spreads like a plague.

On the timeline of past, present, and future, what the student possesses is the present. They should be living in the present. Yet, how is their present, their “now,” to be “endured” or “gotten through”?

“The inveterate exam-taker often ‘times their practice.’ Most not only live a monotonously regular life but also one of an almost stopwatch-like precision.”

Why, on the one hand, do they live with temporal precision and urgency, while on the other, procrastination is so rampant? Because the task at hand is disconnected from the dream in their heart. The task at hand is externally imposed; the dream is often illusory and fragmented. The future is beautiful, but the future is distant; the present

上面的乌鸦一样,用其他鸟儿的羽毛去装饰自己,学校没有耐心去开发潜伏在学生身上的知识的泉源,而用从别处取来的水去灌溉他们……结果是,大多数人都没有知识,而只有从不同作家搜索得来的引语、文句和见解,这样去把他们的知识镶补起来,像一张镶补成功的被褥一样。……真是一群奴才相的家伙,他们习于负载不属于他们自己的负载。”[2]

学生在反思:为什么“做题家”常能踩点得分,看似逻辑清晰,又常不知所云?

“在文科的考试中,客观的选择题可以通过大量的刷题,熟悉易错点解决。材料题及主观题,为了追求‘有区分度’以及判卷的效率,答题可以拆分为:美观性、条理性、知识理解能力,关键词记忆能力几点。上述能力中,仅有知识理解能力这一占比较小的部分需要理性思考。用一套工具逻辑来解析材料,组织答案,联系知识点,用这样一连串死板的能力来对付这门学科,无怪乎学起来并无意义感和收获感。”

同样,当今高考作文训练的风气——“积累大量的名人名言和素材,一般的名人名言还不行,最好是陌生化、高深的那种,以提升整篇文章的‘格调’”。一篇高分作文的实质,很可能就是“镶补成功的被褥”。更可笑的是,大部分的名句都是为了用而用的(毕竟背名句也是很累的,自然要多次利用),因此常常很不贴切,貌合神离,扭曲了原意。”

采撷“鸟儿的羽毛”来装饰自己,而不是走入古人的内心与经验,以今人之心通古人之心,人同此心,心同此理,相同的根基是文化之流与经验实践。从现在走入过去,过去的人文之光开启了精神疆域;典范人格启示了不同的生命样式。可是,如果没有了生活之流,没有了当下鲜活的经验,过去是死的,它被供奉起来;如果过去吞噬了现在,没有了当下性,在一个已经完成了的世界,他如何参与其间呢?他的心智是旁观的,甚至是冷漠的。杜威在《艺术即经验》中阐述:

“世界是完成了的,结束了的,没有中途停止与危机的痕迹,不提供任何做出决定的机会。在一切都已经完成了之处,没有完满。”[3]

未来根植于“未”:“未完成”、“未定义”,换一个角度,是有待定义,有待完成,这是生长性与可塑性;生长来自当下的缝隙,所面对的困难,所运

2. (捷) 夸美纽斯:《大教学论》,傅任敢译,北京:人民教育出版社1984年版,第124页。

3. (美) 杜威:《艺术即经验》,高建平译,北京:商务印书馆2010年版,第19页。

2. Comenius, John Amos. *The Great Didactic*. Translated by Fu Rengan. Beijing: People's Education Press, 1984, p. 124. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

3. Dewey, John. *Art as Experience*. Translated by Gao Jianping. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2010, p. 19. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

is important, but the present is bitter. When the present is defined by a glamorous but hollow future, it is reduced to mere investment value. In each “day” that is endured, there are no beloved activities, no cherished relationships, and thus no autonomous motivation. How can the future be brought into the “here and now,” transformed into something one can start working on? Because the future is not an empty design or choice; the future emerges from the present, grows out of the current situation. The future is rooted in the present and should enter the present.

How does the past enter their world? As the “known,” it serves as a method, tool, and coordinate. But it can only be a toolbox for the “task at hand,” a reference for the “matter before them,” a compass for the “dream in their heart.” It should not be a dogma or a bible, a static, completed system that confines or restricts the student. If it is, the “known” of the past devours the feelings and knowledge of the present. Their mind have long become a racetrack for others’ knowledge.

Comenius, in *The Great Didactic*, vividly points out:

“Schools have failed to teach their students to develop their own minds... like the crow in Aesop’s Fable, they adorn themselves with the feathers of other birds. Schools have no patience to develop the founts of knowledge that lie dormant in the students, but water them with water drawn from other sources... The result is that the majority of people have no knowledge, but only a collection of quotations, sentences, and opinions, gleaned from various authors, with which they patch together their learning, like a successfully patched-up quilt.... They are a servile lot, accustomed to carrying burdens that are not their own.” [2]

A student reflects: Why is it that the zuòtíjīā can often score points precisely and seem logically clear, yet frequently speak nonsense?

“In humanities exams, the objective multiple-choice questions can be solved by drilling numerous problems and familiarizing oneself with common pitfalls. For material-based and subjective questions, in the pursuit of ‘differentiation’ and grading efficiency, the answering process can be broken down into several components: aesthetic presentation, organization, knowledge comprehension, and keyword memorization. Among these, only knowledge comprehension, which accounts for a small proportion, requires rational thought. Using a utilitarian logic to analyze materials, organize answers, and connect knowledge points—using such a string of rigid skills to tackle the subject—it’s no wonder that learning it feels meaningless and unrewarding.”

用的方法,所调动的能量,所创造的条件,所汇聚的气势。智力是一个副词,来自于对手中事的专注的程度,来自于对心中光的持久追逐。未来是从现在长出来,如同溪流一样,从各种岩石缝、泥土中钻出来,再随地势、山形,时隐时现,成地下河,成山中涧,成天下溪。未来不是一个头脑中空洞的蓝图,成长不是几个备选的赛道,或者按照想象的人设,打造自己,经营形象。成长是用自己的脚,在无路之中走出自己的路。

“现在”既被典当给了“过去”,又被预支给了未来,在过去与未来之间,现在却是缺席的,这是一个“二手时间”<sup>[4]</sup>。在一个已经完成了的世界中,在缺失了时间的变动与生长的节律的二手时间中,睡与醒没有区别。

诡异之处恰在于,心智一方面是沉睡的,另一方面又是敏感且精明的,这沉睡与敏感是如何拧巴地纠缠在一起?他又如何建立与他的身边、周遭的关系呢?

4. “二手时间”的概念曾见于诺贝尔文学奖得主、白俄罗斯作家阿列克谢耶维奇创作的同名纪实文学作品“Время Second Hand”,作者有言:“今天的所有想法和所有语言全都来自别人,仿佛是昨天被人穿过的衣服……所有人都在使用别人以前所知、所经历过的东西,所以说是二手时间。”参见(白俄)S. A. 阿列克谢耶维奇:《二手时间》吕宁思译,中信出版社2016年版,译后记。本文用“二手时间”来形容当下大学生被“过去”和“未来”所框限的成长状态,仿佛生活在“二手”的时间当中。

Similarly, consider the current trend in *gaokao* essay training:

“Accumulate a large number of famous quotes and materials—and not just any quotes, but preferably unfamiliar, esoteric ones to enhance the ‘tone’ of the essay. The essence of a high-scoring essay is likely just ‘a successfully patched-up quilt.’ What’s more ridiculous is that most of these quotes are used for the sake of being used (after all, memorizing them is tiring, so they must be used multiple times), and are therefore often ill-fitting, superficially connected but spiritually divorced from the topic, distorting their original meaning.”

They pluck “the feathers of other birds” to adorn themselves instead of entering the hearts and experiences of the ancients, connecting the modern heart with the ancient heart. All men’s hearts are the same, and what is true for one is true for all. The standard foundation is the stream of culture and the practice of experience. By entering the past from the present, the humanistic light of the past opens up spiritual territories; exemplary figures reveal different ways of life. But without the stream of life, without

the vivid experience of the present, the past is dead, enshrined. If the past devours the present, if there is no “presentness,” how can they participate in a world that is already completed? Their mind is that of a spectator, even an indifferent one. Dewey, in *Art as Experience*, explains:

“The world is finished, ended, and there are no traces of suspense and crisis, and no opportunity for choice. Where everything is already complete, there is no fulfillment.” [3]

The future is rooted in the “un-”: “unfinished,” “undefined.” From another perspective, it is “to-be-defined,” “to-be-completed.” This is growth and plasticity. Growth comes from the crevices of the present, the difficulties faced, the methods used, the energy mobilized, the conditions created, the momentum gathered. Intelligence is an adverb, derived from the degree of concentration on the task at hand, from the sustained pursuit of the light in one’s heart. The future grows out of the present, like a stream emerging from rock crevices and soil, then following the terrain, appearing and disappearing, becoming an underground river, a mountain brook, a stream in the world. The future is not a hollow blueprint in the mind; growth is not a choice between a few preset tracks, nor is it about crafting oneself or managing an image according to an imagined persona. Growth is using one’s own feet to forge a path where there was no path.

The “present” is mortgaged to the “past” and pre-spent on the “future.” Between the past and the future, the present is absent. This is a “second-hand time.” [4] In a world that is already completed, in a second-hand time that lacks the rhythm of temporal change and growth, there is no difference between being asleep and being awake.

The paradox lies in how the mind can be simultaneously dormant and yet sensitive and shrewd.

How are these dormancy and sensitivity so twistedly entangled? Moreover, how do they establish relationships with their surroundings, with their world?

4. The concept of “second-hand time” appeared in the eponymous work of documentary literature, *Время Second Hand*, by Nobel laureate and Belarusian writer Svetlana Alexievich. The author states: “All of today’s ideas and all the words are from someone else, as if they were clothes worn by someone yesterday... Everyone is using what others have known and experienced before, which is why it’s called second-hand time.” See S. A. Alexievich, *Second-Hand Time*, trans. Lü Ningsi, CITIC Press, 2016, postscript. This article uses “second-hand time” to describe the growth state of current university students, who are constrained by the “past” and the “future,” as if living in “second-hand” time.

## 二、“独子”：“关系”的缺位

一个孩子是如何走入这个世界的?孩子是柔弱的,他依赖于身边的人,以及和他切实相关的身体所需;世界又是如何涌入孩子的心中?杜威考察儿童,“儿童具有头等社交能力。儿童具有灵活和敏感的能力,对他们周围的人的态度和行为,都同情地产生感应,很少成年人能把这种能力保持下来。”<sup>[5]</sup>

孩子有依赖性,“这依赖性是一种力量而不是软弱,它包含相互依赖的意思”,它向缔造可靠的、可信的、温暖的关系开放。孩子有可塑性,“这可塑性不同于蜡或油灰,完全是由外力挤压成型,人的可塑性含有不因受外来压力就改变形式的一种能力。”<sup>[6]</sup>人的可塑性是一种柔韧的弹性,既在于对环境的适应,也在于对自我的坚守,在于自我与环境之间的周旋平衡。可塑性来源于经验中,从经验中获得对付日后情境中的困难的能力。

一位来自北京的学生回溯:

“从小管我的是母亲,母亲自然难逃焦虑,随波逐流成了一名‘海淀妈妈’。在我的童年,有关学习的挫折解决的太早,而有关人生的挫折来的太晚。小时候背诵诗歌课文遇到困难,抑或是某一学科表现不佳,母亲都会尽心尽力的分享经验,寻找老师,及时提供帮助。日常事务上的困难,能大包大揽便大包大揽;我的母亲,把管教当作日常,把自由当作恩准,关怀和陪伴在其中缺位。”

“海淀妈妈”是中国父母的典型,其后的动力是一代代中国人“理想自我”与“现实自我”的冲突,是“现在”与“未来”的较劲:谁的人生不跌跟头?谁在机遇面前没有错过与追悔,“再来一次!”的冲动转换成生育子女的实践,“未来”因而有了具体的切近的“将来”——切实的即将到来。

费孝通对此体察很细致:“子女既常被父母视作是自我的一部分,……于是一个被现实所蹂躏过的自我,在这里却找到了再来一次的具体机会。每个父母多少都会在子女身上矫正他过去的缺点。他常小心提防使自己不幸的遭遇不致在他的第二生命中重现。”<sup>[7]</sup>

这是人之常情,也是家之常态。费孝通对中国家长有生动的描写,他

5. (美) 杜威:《民主主义与教育》,王承绪译,北京:人民教育出版社,1990年版,第51页。

6. (美) 杜威:《民主主义与教育》,王承绪译,北京:人民教育出版社,1990年版,第52页。

7. 费孝通:《乡土中国·生育制度》,北京:北京大学出版社1998年版,第202-203页。

5. Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education*. Translated by Wang Chengxu. Beijing: People's Education Press, 1990, p. 51. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

6. Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education*. Translated by Wang Chengxu. Beijing: People's Education Press, 1990, p. 52. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

7. Fei Xiaotong. *From the Soil: The Foundations of Chinese Society & A Chinese Village*. Beijing: Peking University Press, 1998, pp. 202-203. \[Note: The Chinese title is 《乡土中国·生育制度》. This is a standard translation of the title. \]

## II. “The Only Child”: The Absence of “Relationship”

How does a child enter this world? A child is fragile, dependent on those around them, and on their tangible physical needs. Moreover, how does the world enter a child’s heart? Dewey observed children: “The child has a primary social capacity. He is flexible and sensitive, sympathetically responsive to the attitudes and actions of those around him, to a degree that few adults can maintain.” [5]

A child has dependence. “This dependence is a power, not a weakness; it signifies interdependence.” It is open to the creation of reliable, trustworthy, and warm relationships. A child has plasticity. “This plasticity is different from that of wax or putty, which is entirely shaped by external forces. Human plasticity includes the ability not to change form just because of external pressure.” [6] Human plasticity is a supple elasticity, involving both adaptation to the environment and adherence to the self, a balancing act between the self and the environment. Plasticity comes from experience, from which one gains the ability to deal with difficulties in future situations.

A student from Beijing reflects:

“My mother was the one who raised me, and naturally, she couldn’t escape anxiety, becoming a ‘Haidian mom’ like everyone else. In my childhood, academic setbacks were resolved too early, while life’s setbacks came too late. When I had trouble memorizing poems or texts, or performed poorly in a subject, my mother would diligently share her experience, find tutors, and provide timely help. For daily life difficulties, she took care of everything she could. My mother treated discipline as the norm and freedom as a privilege. Care and companionship were absent in between.”

The “Haidian mom” is a classic example of Chinese parents. The driving force behind this phenomenon is the conflict between the “ideal self” and the “real self” for generations of Chinese people, a struggle between the “present” and the “future.” Who does not stumble in life? Who has not missed opportunities and felt regret? The impulse to “do it all over again” is channeled into the practice of raising children. The “future” thus acquires a concrete and immediate “near future” — something tangibly approaching.

Fei Xiaotong observed this in detail: “Since children are often seen by parents as a part of themselves... a self that has been ravaged by reality finds a concrete opportunity to try again. Every parent will, to some extent, correct in their children all the flaws of their own past. They will be careful to prevent the misfortunes they encountered from

们既慈亦严,“长辈们捻着胡须,容忍自己的过失,而把责任轻轻地交卸到下一代去。你们得好好干!” [8]

在血缘和责任的传承中,亲子虽是一体,世代之间却难免有隔膜:

“子女怎么看呢?父母把子女看作自我的一部分,子女是否也这样呢?父母把理想交卸给了子女,而且有权来监视他们子女的行为,子女是否愿意接受父母所责成他们的理想呢?” [9]

这就涉及到亲子关系中一组关系:“共生”与“契洽”。费先生引用帕克的这对概念来揭示亲子关系的复杂性。共生(Symbiosis)是生物界普遍存在的现象,两种动物互相因为对方的生存而得到利益,譬如蚂蚁和蚜虫的关系,蚂蚁并没有承认蚜虫的人格,更不必管蚜虫的喜怒哀乐,它保护蚜虫,衔着蚜虫去找适宜的地方,为的是它自己的利益,蚜虫是它的傀儡;蚜虫也如此,它给蚂蚁一些分泌的甜汁吃,可以得到一些卫兵和轿夫,相互利用,共存共生。人类有另一种关系,Consensus(契洽),他们愿意牺牲一些自己的利益来成全别人的意志,成全而非利用,这才发生道德,而不是利害。这也才有忠恕之道,也才有社会和团结。 [10]

亲子之间既有生物性又有社会性,共生与契洽,两者交错且渐渐演变,十足的忠恕之道只存在于乌托邦里。今天的中国,既有传统向现代的转型,又有社会结构的变动,还有代际之间生活方式与生活风格的断裂,“亲子一体”与“世代间的隔膜”面临更大的困难。

传统中国的教育是把生命的“种子埋在地里” [11],把个体的生命安置在代与代之间,上以事宗庙,下以继后世,成为社会继替中的一环。育、养与教,身、心、灵,三者合一,由身体而情感再至头脑,环环相序,逐次展化。为人父母,为人子女,上所行,下所效,多在日用伦常之中,耳濡目染。传统中国人讲究的是对外有“伦”——人人相处之道,对内有“节”——对自我的约束,处世做人要害在于分寸拿捏。这里的“伦”并非仅仅是共时性的,还包括历时性,不仅处理同一个空间中同代人的迎来送往,也处理历时性中与祖先与后代的继往开来。这意味着,传统社会从来不会把人理解成为一个单独的个体,而理解成在过去与未来相传承的某种社会关系之中的“整个人”。 [12]

在乡土社会,学是与陌生的事物的最初的接触,学的方法是“习”,习

8. 费孝通:《乡土中国·生育制度》,北京:北京大学出版社1998年版,第203页。

9. 费孝通:《乡土中国·生育制度》,北京:北京大学出版社1998年版,第203、205页。

10. 费孝通:《乡土中国·生育制度》,北京:北京大学出版社1998年版,第206页。

11. 参见林耀华:《金翼》,第二十一章标题和故事的结尾。

12. 潘光旦:《潘光旦文集第6卷》(M),北京:北京大学出版社,2000.112-124

8. Fei Xiaotong. *From the Soil*, p. 203.

9. Fei Xiaotong. *From the Soil*, pp. 203, 205.

10. Fei Xiaotong. *From the Soil*, p. 206.

11. See Lin Yueh-Hwa, *The Golden Wing*, Chapter XXI title and the end of the story.

12. Pan Guangdan. *The Collected Works of Pan Guangdan*, Vol. 6 (M). Beijing: Peking University Press, 2000, pp. 112-124.

reappearing in their second life.” [7]

This is human nature and a typical family dynamic. Fei Xiaotong vividly describes Chinese parents as both compassionate and strict. “The elders stroke their beards, tolerate their own mistakes, and lightly pass the responsibility on to the next generation. ‘You must do well!’” [8]

In this transmission of bloodline and responsibility, although parent and child are one body, a gulf between generations is almost inevitable:

“How do the children see it? Parents see their children as part of themselves, but do the children see it that way? Parents pass their ideals on to their children and have the right to supervise their children’s behavior, but are the children willing to accept the ideals imposed upon them by their parents?” [9]

This touches upon a set of dynamics in the parent-child relationship: “symbiosis” and “consensus.” Fei Xiaotong uses Parker’s concepts to reveal the complexity of this relationship. Symbiosis is a common phenomenon in the biological world, where two species benefit from each other’s existence, like ants and aphids. The ant does not recognize the aphid’s personhood, let alone care about its joys or sorrows; it protects the aphid and carries it to suitable places for its own benefit—the aphid is its puppet. The aphid, in turn, provides the ant with sweet secretions in exchange for guards and carriers. They use each other, coexisting in symbiosis. Humans have another kind of relationship: Consensus. They are willing to sacrifice some of their own interests to fulfill the will of others—fulfillment, not exploitation. This is where morality, not just utility, arises. This is where the principles of loyalty and empathy emerge, and with them, society and solidarity. [10]

The parent-child relationship is both biological and social, a mix of symbiosis and consensus that evolves over time. Pure empathy exists only in utopia. In today’s China, with its transition from tradition to modernity, social structural changes, and the rupture of lifestyles and styles between generations, the “parent-child unity” and the “generational gulf” face even greater difficulties.

Traditional Chinese education was about “burying the ‘seeds’ of life in the soil,” [11] placing the individual’s life within the continuity of generations—serving the ancestors above and continuing the lineage below, becoming a link in the chain of social succession. Nurturing, raising, and teaching—body, mind, and spirit—were integrated, unfolding sequentially from the physical to the emotional to the intellectual. As parents and as children, what the elders did, the young imitated, mainly through daily ethical interactions and observations. Traditional Chinese culture emphasized “lún” (伦)

是反复地做,靠时间中的磨练,使一个人惯于一种新的做法;习也是一种陶冶,学习背后是熟悉,熟悉又是从具体的、多方面和经常的接触中所发生的亲密的感觉。这感觉是无数次小磨擦中陶炼出来的结果。“不亦悦乎”是描写熟悉后的亲密感觉。<sup>[13]</sup>这时人与他所身处的环境,周边的人和事,建立起一种既盘根错节又根深叶茂的生命形态。传统中国以家为中心,不强调自主的个体,在家之上有族,有乡,有国;在一个大家庭中能共处,横着一个忍字,竖着一个耐字,孩子对长辈充满恭顺之情。传统中国人的一生,扶老携幼,在事、情、理繁复的操持中,维持着绵密又有韧性的种种关系;他活在关系中,做人做事,有事功,有面子,有声望。

转型期的中国,教育成为阶层跃升的阶梯。苦乐兼备的滋味变成了“苦中苦”,“人中人”的现实所寄往的却是“人上人”的期待,父母用自己的“苦中苦”来托举“人上人”的孩子,孩子用“人上人”的虚妄来熬过当下的“苦中苦”,在“知识改变命运”诉求中,家庭与社会的教育与成长被局限在狭小的学校的知识传授中,扭曲为同龄人的竞争筛选中,“把生命连根拔出”,方能实现向上流动。

父母认为子女拥有“无限”的潜能和“无限”的能力,于是拼了命地给予所有的资源试图去诱导和培养,将自己“无限”的期望加诸于他们身上,他们承受着无休止的焦虑,辛劳一生,苦口婆心地告诉自己的子女,所有的一切所有的付出都是为了他们的未来和前程,怀着一种无比崇高的责任感和道德感将孩子的教育安排得无比妥帖。

“海淀妈妈”多是当代中国第一代大学生,他们希望在孩子身上复制自己的成功:用一种严苛的方式去践行他们心中的教育标准,从六岁到十八岁这十二年拉通了去规划孩子的学业,让他们在高考的厮杀里闯出来,进入名校,以为这样就可以改变孩子的命运,这样就是对他们负责。

他们精心设计,高投入与高问责,将孩子置放在一个拔掉一切钉子,看似光鲜的、养料丰沛,却隔开了自然中的天光、冷热;在一个巨大的泡泡中,孩子活成了父母的面子,家庭投资的KPI,也活成了父母欲念的傀儡。这些高规划、高控制的父母竟相犯下了愚蠢的错误,他们剥夺了生命成长最重要的特征:可塑性。

生命作为一个有机体与周围的事物的同步性不断失去与再次恢复,

13. 费孝通:《乡土中国·生育制度》,北京:北京大学出版社1998年版,第10页。

13. Fei Xiaotong. *From the Soil*, p. 10.

externally—the way people interact—and “jié” (節) internally—self-restraint. The key to conducting oneself was a sense of proportion. Here, “lún” is not merely synchronic but also diachronic; it deals not only with the comings and goings of contemporaries in the same space but also with the continuation between ancestors and descendants over time. This means that traditional society never understood a person as an isolated individual but as a “whole person” within a web of social relations passed down from the past to the future. [12]

In an agrarian society, learning (*xué*, 學) was the initial contact with unfamiliar things. The method of learning was practice (*xí*, 習). *Xí* meant repetitive doing, conditioning a person to a new way of doing things through the tempering of time. *Xí* was also a form of cultivation. Behind learning was familiarity, a sense of intimacy born from concrete, multifaceted, and frequent contact. This feeling was the result of being refined through countless small frictions. “Is it not a pleasure?” describes this feeling of intimacy after familiarity. [13] At this point, a person establishes a life form that is both intricately intertwined and deeply rooted with their environment and the people and things around them. Traditional China was family-centered and did not emphasize the autonomous individual. Above the family were the clan, the village, and the state. Coexisting in a large family required tolerance horizontally and patience vertically. Children were full of reverence for their elders. The life of a traditional Chinese person, in supporting the old and raising the young, maintained dense yet resilient relationships through complex dealings of affairs, emotions, and principles. They lived in relationships, with achievements, “face,” and reputation.

In a transitional China, education has become a ladder for social mobility. The bitersweet taste of life has turned into “the bitterest of bitters,” and the aspiration to be a “decent person” (*rénzhōngrén*) has become the expectation of being a “person above others” (*rénshànggrén*). Parents use their own “bitterest of bitters” to lift up their “person above others” child, and the child uses the illusion of being a “person above others” to endure the “bitterest of bitters” of the present. In the pursuit of “knowledge changing one’s destiny,” family and social education and growth are confined to the narrow scope of knowledge transmission in schools, distorted into a competitive screening process among peers. One must be “uprooted” to achieve upward mobility.

Parents believe their children possess “infinite” potential and “unlimited” ability, so they desperately provide all resources to induce and cultivate them, placing their “unlimited” expectations upon them. They bear endless anxiety, labor their entire lives, and earnestly tell their children that all their efforts and sacrifices are for their future and prospects, arranging their chil-

或者是努力,或者是幸运,经历差异与抵抗,生命本身得到了丰富。裂隙太大,生命体就死亡,太一致,生命体不会受到刺激,不能拥有正常的经验。杜威特别强调:

“在直接的经验中,行动、感受和意义是合一的,直接经验来自于自然与人的相互作用,在这种相互作用中,人的能量积聚、释放、抑制、受阻、遂愿。欲望与实现,行动的冲动与这种冲动的抑制,循环往复,周而复始。”<sup>[14]</sup>

在一个设计完好的泡泡中,孩子的生命能量却窒息了。泡泡被照得越亮,里面的生命之火越黯淡,他以冷漠与无感来面对,年轻人中有了倦怠症:

“我这样对着喜欢种花的母亲说,过早地给植物施加肥料只会烧苗,每一个对着父母倾诉压力很大的孩子,都是希望能得到应有的沟通 and 理解的吧,而不是家长以一种不平等的态度,剥夺了我们在面对压力时对着他们诉苦的权利。或者说他们不觉得我们的压力是压力。久而久之,这种压力和人格上不被重视终究会扭曲一个人的内心,即使我们从来没有察觉过。”

一意托举孩子的父母,在无微不至的照顾中,他们却剥夺了生命成长的第二个重要前提:依赖性。生命独立于环境的自主,不仅是一个假命题,更是一个恶命题,在看似自足与自主之后,是将人的机械化。生命不仅是自主的,也是脆弱的,他对环境的依赖,对关系的依赖,正是成长的动力。

今天的父母,自己扛着责任,把期待托付给子女,而这一期待是实现父母的梦想,这个梦却不是像自己,而是与自己不同,不是留在身边,洒扫应对,润物无声,在熟悉的水域,如鱼得水;而是离巢远行,在陌生的水域中,如鱼离水,“连根拔起”的生命,在哪儿获得陶冶?

“一啼一笑,彼此相和答;一痛一痒,彼此相体念,是为亲人;亲人,人互喜以所喜者之喜,其喜弥扬;人互悲以所亲者之悲,悲而不伤,心理共鸣。”<sup>[15]</sup>

这是梁漱溟对传统中国文化中亲人的描述,然而,在当下,被托举的孩子,长大后我就成了你,是期待还是回避?是愿望还是噩梦?“口之于味,有同嗜也;目之于色,有同美也”<sup>[16]</sup>没有了共同的生活、共同的趣味,親子之间,情感是不通的,心是隔开的。依恋与抗拒、心疼与鄙夷、分裂的习性让年轻人陷入难以自拔的沮丧,与原生家庭的生活常识、常情、常理如何融入?“断亲”出现了。

14. (美)杜威:《民主主义与教育》,王承绪译,北京:人民教育出版社,1990年版,第18页。

15. 梁漱溟:《中国文化要义》,上海:上海人民出版社2005年版,第77页。

16. 参见《孟子·告子上》

14. Dewey, John. *Democracy and Education*. Translated by Wang Chengxu. Beijing: People's Education Press, 1990, p. 18. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

15. Liang Shuming. *The Essential Meanings of Chinese Culture*. Shanghai: Shanghai People's Publishing House, 2005, p. 77.

16. See Mencius, Gaozi I.

dren's education with meticulous care out of an immense sense of responsibility and morality.

“Haidian moms” are often the first generation of university graduates in contemporary China. They hope to replicate their success in their children: using a strict method to implement their educational standards, planning their children’s academic path from age six to eighteen, pushing them to fight their way through the *gaokao* and enter prestigious universities, believing this will change their children’s destiny and that this is how they are responsible for them.

With their meticulous planning, high investment, and high accountability, they place their children in what seems to be a polished environment, rich in nutrients but sealed off from the natural light and temperature of the world—a giant bubble. In this bubble, the child becomes the parents’ “face,” the KPI of the family’s investment, and a puppet of the parents’ desires. These high-planning, high-control parents have all made a foolish mistake: they have deprived life of its most important characteristic: plasticity.

The synchronicity of a living organism with its surroundings is constantly lost and restored, through either effort or luck. By experiencing difference and resistance, life itself is enriched. If the gap is too large, the organism dies; if it is too uniform, the organism is not stimulated and cannot have a normal experience. Dewey particularly emphasized:

“In direct experience, doing, feeling, and meaning are one. Direct experience comes from the interaction between nature and man, an interaction in which human energies are concentrated, released, inhibited, frustrated, and fulfilled. Desire and fulfillment, the impulse to act and the inhibition of this impulse, repeat themselves in a circular and recurring rhythm.” [14]

In a perfectly designed bubble, the child’s life energy suffocates. The brighter the bubble is illuminated, the dimmer the flame of life within. They respond with indifference and numbness. A sense of burnout appears among the youth:

“I once told my flower-loving mother that applying fertilizer too early only burns the seedlings. Every child who tells their parents they are under a lot of pressure is hoping for proper communication and understanding, not for parents to adopt an unequal attitude and deprive them of the right to complain about pressure. Or perhaps they don’t consider our pressure to be pressure at all. Over time, this pressure and the lack of respect for one’s personhood will inevitably twist a person’s heart, even if we never notice it.”

他们身处一种缺乏关系的关系结构之中。

### 三、掌控自我：“世界”的退隐

一个逃离学校，也逃避社会，很难再进入世界的学生这样写道：

“我以为我看过‘这个世界’，其实我只不过看过了‘世界地图’，看过其他人走过看过这世界后写的‘游记’而已。课本和考试为我提供了‘完全确定、一切都有标准答案，一切都可以在教科书里找到答案’的理论世界，我能考第一，在这个理论世界里如鱼得水，不愿也不想走出来。”

他固执地沉溺于理论之中，如同沉溺于游戏之中。他对理论世界有误解，好的理论是根植于生活与经验，有对经验的解释力与错误的包容力。他的“完全确定”，“标准答案”不过是一些“似真”的概念体系，如同柏拉图在“洞穴之喻”所描绘的那些隔开了经验的真实之光，充斥于头脑中的影子而已。他活在一种“镜像认知”与“镜像人生”之中。

“因为总是存在着唯一的答案，我们没有必要去质疑老师讲出的结论，因而不需要任何额外的努力，就可以直接去相信并且牢记课本上的知识。久而久之，我们便渐渐失去了独立思考的能力，因而也变得害怕不确定的结果，因为不确定的结果，就意味着考试的分数可能会更低，这从心理的条件反射上，给予我们恐惧。”

害怕不确定，进而拒绝真实，真实的玫瑰总有瑕疵，有盛开有衰败，他们只要最饱满的瞬间，他们拒绝了时间，时间中有阴晴圆缺，有机运有变化。他们活在一种“似真的”——一个应从经验中提纯却删除了经验的抽象世界，一个去掉杂质没有瑕疵的虚构世界，他迷恋纯粹与确定，一个抽象的观念世界滋长出来的畸形力量。

这一些又是如何养成的呢？他们的成长中，学校内外盛行的是自主学习的教育理论。在当代的学习理论中，被转译为自我调控学习(Self-Regulated Learning, SRL)，指由(学习者)自身发动的持续的有一定导向性的认知、情感、行动的过程，也即学习者设定并调控学习目标，瞄准目标监控、

Parents who are solely focused on lifting up their children, in their meticulous care, have also deprived them of the second crucial prerequisite for growth: dependence. The autonomy of a life independent of its environment is not only a false proposition but a harmful one. Behind seeming self-sufficiency and autonomy lies the mechanization of the person. Life is not only autonomous but also fragile. Its dependence on the environment, on relationships, is precisely the driving force of growth.

Today's parents bear the responsibility themselves and entrust their expectations to their children. Yet this expectation is for the children to realize the parents' dreams—dreams that are not about being like the parents, but different from them. Not about staying close, helping with daily chores, and thriving in familiar waters like a fish in water, but about leaving the nest, traveling far, and struggling in unfamiliar waters like a fish out of water. For a life that has been “uprooted,” where can it be cultivated?

“A cry and a smile, mutually responding; a pain and an itch, mutually empathizing—this is what makes a family. Among family, people rejoice in the joy of their loved ones, and their joy is amplified; people grieve in the sorrow of their loved ones, and their sorrow is not injurious. This is psychological resonance.” [15]

This is Liang Shuming's description of family in traditional Chinese culture. However, in the present day, for the child who has been lifted up, “I will become you when I grow up”—is this an aspiration or a nightmare? “The mouth has the same tastes; the eye has the same sense of beauty.” [16] Without a shared life, without shared interests, there is no emotional connection between parent and child; their hearts are separated. The conflicting habits of attachment and resistance, of tenderness and contempt, plunge young people into an inescapable depression. How can they integrate with the common sense, familiar feelings, and standard principles of their family of origin? The phenomenon of “*duànqīn*” (cutting off family ties) has appeared.

They exist in a relational structure devoid of genuine relationships.

### III. Mastering the Self: The “World's” Retreat

A student who fled school and avoided society, finding it difficult to re-enter the world, wrote:

“I thought I had seen ‘the world,’ but in reality, I had only seen a ‘map of the world,’ only read the ‘travelogues’ written by others after they had walked through and seen the world. Textbooks

调适认知性和元认知性的过程。

这体现为目标导向,教与学不再是一个未知与世界的打开,而是行为操作主义下的刺激反应理论(S-R)实践,产生快速且准确的反应;学习评价在教学的“过程-产出模型”(process-product research)得到充分的运用,教学被视为一个功能主义的系统,教学过程不是一个开放的、创生与丰富的场域,而是一个追究因果关系的、有效的、封闭的功能性管道——这正是目标导向的自我学习的原型。佐藤学批评这一模式无视个体的内部经验,将个体性或整体性分解为可观察的、可量化的均质的指标。它继承了博比特的社会效率主义,以生产工程比喻学习模型(目标、成就、评价的模型);继承了泰勒与布卢姆的行为科学的教育研究,以生产性、效率性的工业主义与行为主义为基础,借助系统工程学的技术控制课堂中的教与学过程。[17]在目标导向的过程-产出模型中,教与学成为行为工程学,教师成为行为工程师,评价变得极为重要,掌控PDCA周期成为教师不可或缺的通用能力:

Plan(计划)——Do(实施)——Check(检查、评价)——Act(改进):预测制订计划,根据该计划展开业务,检查与评价实施结果是否符合计划,改进不符合计划的业务,这样形成一连串的周期。[18]

舒尔曼批评:在“过程-产出模式”中教学研究缺乏3C,内容(content),认知(cognition),背景(context):不问教学内容的探讨,不问师生的认知与思维,不问课堂的社会背景,仅限于学习目标与教育技术的有效性验证。[19]

目标导向的学习忽视了教学的具体性与情境性,假设有一种内生的、抽象的能力或者潜能脱嵌于具体的知识与学科之上。这体现在测试中出现以下转向:由具有强烈文化约束的求知形式的测试(具体知识)转向抽象而更加公平的强调思维的测试(方法与思维),出现了成就测试(已掌握的知识)与能力测试之间存在张力,能力测试假设有一些超越的、非经验化的素质。[20]在美国的学术成就测验(SATs)中,很少强调学习内容,大量强调学习方法,在考察能力与思维方法中,知识被稀薄了,知识被弱化了。在测验中,把潜力和已经取得的成就区分开来,假设考生知识贫乏(不再深植于文化情境之中),多考察方法与思路,譬如用词汇测试来考察词汇思维过

17. (日) 佐藤学:《课程与教师》,钟启泉译,北京:教育科学出版社2003年版,第309-310页。

18. 钟启泉:《核心素养十讲》,福建,福建教育出版社2018.114页

19. (日) 佐藤学:《课程与教师》,钟启泉译,北京:教育科学出版社2003年版,第312页。

20. (美) 安德鲁·阿伯特:《大学教育与知识的未来》,王桐等译,北京:三联书店2023年版,第213页。

and exams provided me with a theoretical world that was 'completely certain, where everything has a standard answer, and everything can be found in the textbook.' I could score first place, thriving in this theoretical world, unwilling and unthinking of stepping out of it."

He stubbornly indulges in theory as one might indulge in a game. He misunderstands what good theory is: a theory rooted in life and experience, with explanatory power and tolerance for error. His "complete certainty" and "standard answers" are merely a system of "verisimilar" concepts, like the shadows on the wall in Plato's "Allegory of the Cave," separated from the true light of experience and filling the mind. He lives in a "mirror-like cognition" and a "mirror-like life."

"Because there is always a single answer, we see no need to question the conclusions our teachers present. Thus, without any extra effort, we can directly believe and memorize the knowledge in the textbooks. Over time, we gradually lose the ability to think independently and thus become afraid of uncertain outcomes, because uncertain outcomes mean lower exam scores, which, through psychological conditioning, instills fear in us."

Fearing uncertainty, they reject reality. A real rose always has flaws; it blooms and withers. They want only the most perfect moment. They reject time, for time contains waxing and waning, chance and change. They live in a "verisimilar" world—an abstract world that should have been distilled from experience but has had experience deleted, a fictional world without impurities or flaws. He is infatuated with purity and certainty, a deformed power grown from an abstract conceptual world.

How did this come to be? In their upbringing, both inside and outside of school, educational theories of autonomous learning are prevalent. In contemporary learning theory, this is translated as Self-Regulated Learning (SRL), which refers to a continuous, goal-oriented process of cognition, emotion, and action initiated by the learner. That is, the learner sets and regulates learning goals, and monitors and adjusts cognitive and metacognitive processes to aim for those goals.

This manifests as goal-orientation. Teaching and learning are no longer about opening up the unknown world, but rather about practicing the stimulus-response theory (S-R) under behavioral operationalism, producing rapid and accurate responses. Learning evaluation is fully utilized in the "process-product research" model of teaching. Teaching is seen as a functionalist system. The teaching process is not an open, creative,

程,而非思维是否正确,这就出现了思维的过程与思维的内容的分离,抽空了内容的思维只能是操作性的,它需要精神的肤浅性。[21]

没有了生活的经验,没有内在的理解,只有形式的正确,常常一本正经地说自己完全不理解的话:

“面对知识,如果只有一个好似‘镶补失败的被褥’的思维,要么掌握不了,要么以一种错误的、混乱的方式去掌握,要么只会依葫芦画瓢地照搬别人的方法去掌握。长期不顾逻辑地乱贴狗皮膏药,人的思维就可能变得越来越混乱,逻辑感越来越差。很多时候他们只会乱说一气,但实际上不知所云,更别提独到的见解。”

或者长期沉浸于“似真”的抽象世界,或者将理论变成教条,或者从形式逻辑出发,简单推论,容易发育出一种极化思维,或者全对,或者全错:

“于是有了无数的‘巨婴’,有了自大狂,有了‘直男癌’,有了无数大大小小的男权或是女权主义者滥用言论自由在网络平台上重拳出击不顾后果地漫骂嘲讽。”

他活在自己的意见中,而不能直面真实的世界。情感也容易沉浸在梦境中,“完美的主人公、完美的亲情爱情、完美的人生、完美的世界”,情感上他要的是浓度与烈度,思维中要的是纯度,走入他人时,易患“亲密的专制”,或者完全打开,将他人视为另一个自我,稍不顺意,心生芥蒂,又完全封闭,将他人视为敌人,视为无物。人人相处之中,练习的是明恕之道,知己所短,识人所长,明白自己所长所短,对待他人才能宽恕,宽恕他人,也才能宽恕自己的平常;也才能接纳且走入平常人生。

更有可能,他活在一种麻木且无感之中,他接受着过量的刺激、过量的信息,在当下,过度成为真正的贫困!尤其是过量的信息造成了极强的认知负荷,颗粒度更高、数据更多,细节更高清,可是这些庞大的信息造成能朴素地、直观地把握整体图景变得更难,他的身体与情感跑不过头脑中过量又短暂的信息,他有窒息感;强烈的外部刺激,快速的、过量的信息之流,瞬间一瞥的中断或突如其来的意外感……

个人如何抵御由一种社会技术组织所带来的(精神)降低或(情感)磨

21. (美) 理查德·森内特:《新资本主义的文化》,李继宏译,上海:上海译文出版社2010年版,第89-91页。

17. Sato, Manabu. *Curriculum and Teacher*. Translated by Zhong Qiquan. Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House, 2003, pp. 309-310. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

18. Zhong Qiquan. *Ten Lectures on Core Competencies*. Fujian: Fujian Education Press, 2018, p. 114.

19. Sato, Manabu. *Curriculum and Teacher*. Translated by Zhong Qiquan. Beijing: Educational Science Publishing House, 2003, p. 312. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

20. Abbott, Andrew. *The Future of the University and the Future of Knowledge*. Translated by Wang Tong et al. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company, 2023, p. 213. \[Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided. \]

and enriching field, but a closed, functional pipeline for pursuing causal relationships and efficiency—this is the prototype of goal-oriented self-learning. Manabu Sato criticizes this model for ignoring the individual's internal experience and breaking down individuality or wholeness into observable, quantifiable, homogeneous indicators. It inherits Bobbitt's social efficiency ideology, using a production engineering analogy for the learning model (goals, achievement, evaluation); it inherits the educational research of Taylor and Bloom based on behavioral science, using production-oriented, efficiency-driven industrialism and behaviorism, and controlling the teaching and learning process in the classroom with the techniques of systems engineering. [17] In the goal-oriented process-product model, teaching and learning become behavioral engineering, teachers become behavioral engineers, and evaluation becomes extremely important. Mastering the PDCA cycle becomes an indispensable generic skill for teachers:

Plan – Do – Check/Evaluate – Act:

Predict and formulate a plan, carry out the task according to the plan, check and evaluate whether the implementation results match the plan, and improve the task that does not match the plan, thus forming a continuous cycle. [18]

Shulman criticized the “process-product model” in teaching research for lacking the “3Cs”: content, cognition, and context. It does not inquire into the teaching content, the cognition and thinking of teachers and students, or the social context of the classroom, limiting itself to validating the effectiveness of learning goals and educational technology. [19]

Goal-oriented learning neglects the specificity and contextuality of teaching, assuming the existence of an innate, abstract ability or potential detached from specific knowledge and disciplines. This is reflected in a shift in testing: from testing forms of knowledge with strong cultural constraints (specific knowledge) to testing abstract and supposedly fairer thinking skills (methods and thinking). A tension arises between achievement tests (knowledge already mastered) and aptitude tests, with aptitude tests assuming some transcendent, non-experiential qualities. [20] In the American Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SATs), there is little emphasis on learning content and a great deal on learning methods. In assessing ability and thinking methods, knowledge is diluted and weakened. In testing, potential is separated from past achievement, assuming the test-taker is knowledge-poor (no longer deeply rooted in a cultural context). The tests focus more on methods and approaches, such as using vocabulary tests to examine vocabulary thinking processes. This leads to a separation of the process of thinking from the content of thought. Thinking devoid of content can only be operational, and it requires a spiritual superficiality. [21]

蚀?一战之前的德国,齐美尔发出这样的疑问。

“都市人发展出一种器官来保护自己不受危险的潮流与那些会令它失去根源的外部环境的危险,他用头脑代替心灵来做出反应,对都市的反应使器官变得麻木不仁、毫无个性。” [22]

E-motion, 感·动, 由感受(世界向你涌来)而带来的动(内心的悸动), 可是世界不再触及我了, 我也不再能触及到外界的世界了, 所有的共鸣都静默下来的抑郁状态, 外在的一切都死寂苍白, 冷淡空洞, 连我内心的一切也都沉默麻木了。

从“自主学习, 认识世界”转向“自我监控, 掌控自我”: 在这个被高度掌控的自我面前, 世界退隐了, 自我也退隐了。他活在一套算法之中, 既野心勃勃, 又脆弱如傀儡, 既被算法所操纵, 又操纵算法。在他们的世界, 分数与GPA(成绩绩点)是流通货币:

“分数成为唯一的认可, 做成一件事, 做好一件事的成就感, 流行的货币是分数与绩点。”

在这个GPA所打造的世界中, 每个人都有自己的位次, 他们变得毫无个性, 又高度相似; 他们共享一场没有出口竞赛, 虽为同道, 却相互疏远, 彼此厌恶。

“自由选择, 选我所选, 爱我所爱, 可是, 我不知道喜欢什么, 也没有真正的动力, 抛开梯子, 去走自己的旷野。”

没有了乐趣, 没有所珍惜的, 我们常说, 如何认识一个人, 判断一个人, 要察其所安, 观其所由。可是, 如果既无所安, 亦无所由, 他的自我也隐退了。

世界与自我, 开始了双向退隐。生命与其所身处的环境是有机的, 生命置身于一个具体的环境中, 它是属己的, 是长在一起:

“生命是在一个环境中进行的; 不仅仅是在其中, 而且是由于它, 并与它相互作用。……在任何时刻, 活的生物都面临来自周围环境的危险, 同时, 在任何时刻, 它又必须从周围环境中吸取某物来满足自己的需要。一个

22. (德) 齐奥尔格·西美尔:《时尚的哲学》, 费勇等译, 广州: 花城出版社 2017年版, 第248页。

23. (美) 杜威:《艺术即经验》, 高建平译, 北京: 商务印书馆2010年版, 第15页。

21. Sennett, Richard. *The Culture of the New Capitalism*. Translated by Li Jihong. Shanghai: Shanghai Translation Publishing House, 2010, pp. 89-91. [Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided.]

Without life experience, without inner understanding, there is only formal correctness. They often say things they do not understand at all, with a straight face:

“When faced with knowledge, if one only has a mind like ‘a poorly patched-up quilt,’ they either fail to grasp it, grasp it in a wrong and chaotic way, or just copy others’ methods mechanically. Long-term, illogical application of random fixes can make one’s thinking increasingly chaotic and weaken one’s sense of logic. Many times, they just talk nonsense, not knowing what they are saying, let alone having any original insights.”

Either they are long immersed in a “verisimilar” abstract world, or they turn theory into dogma, or they reason simplistically from formal logic, easily developing a polarized mindset of all-or-nothing:

“Thus, we have countless ‘adult-infants,’ megalomaniacs, ‘chauvinists,’ and countless major and minor feminists or male-rights advocates who abuse freedom of speech on online platforms, launching fierce attacks and ridicule without regard for the consequences.”

They live in their own opinions and cannot face the real world. Their emotions are also prone to dream-walking: “perfect protagonists, perfect family and romantic love, perfect lives, perfect worlds.” Emotionally, they demand intensity and extremity; intellectually, they demand purity. When interacting with others, they are prone to “intimate tyranny”—either they open up completely, seeing the other as another self, and at the slightest displeasure, harbor resentment, or they close off completely, seeing the other as an enemy or as nothing. In getting along with others, one should practice the path of empathy and forgiveness, knowing one’s own shortcomings and recognizing others’ strengths. By understanding one’s own strengths and weaknesses, one can be forgiving towards others, and in forgiving others, one can forgive one’s own ordinariness, and thus accept and enter an ordinary life.

More likely, they live in a state of numbness and insensibility. They receive an excess of stimulation, an excess of information. In the present, excess has become true poverty. The overload of information, in particular, creates a severe cognitive burden. The granularity is higher, the data more abundant, the details more precise, but this vast amount of information makes it harder to grasp the overall picture and understand intuitively. Their body and emotions cannot keep up with the excessive and fleeting information in their minds; they feel suffocated. Intense external stimuli, a rapid and excessive flow of information, the interruption of a momentary glance, or a sudden

生命体的经历与宿命就注定是要与周围的环境,不是以外在的、而是以最  
为内在的方式作交换。” [23]

没有了内在的、有机的能量交流,自我与世界在双向隐退中,又如何  
相遇呢?二次元流行,戴上面具,打造人设,将世界当舞台,四处打卡。锦衣  
华服,浓妆艳抹,拿着道具,穿越时空,世界不过是舞台,主角是想象中人  
设,虚与实无所谓区分。甚至世界都不是舞台,舞台不够空灵,舞台与戏剧  
有场景的限制,演员之间要互动,与台下的观众也要互动,有需要沉浸的剧  
情,有要演绎也要服务一个完整的剧情。

他的人生,已经担负不起一个有始有终的剧情。他的人生,不过就是一  
场游园惊梦。

一个终于有勇气选择休学一年的学生这样写道:

“年轻人的一生之所以充满了谎言,不是因为他太自大,而正因为他  
太卑微——他总是受他认为‘应该做’的事情左右,而不是去做他真正想  
做的事。”

“年轻人望着过来人给他画的饼,给他指的路,却忘记了自己也有双  
眼,有能力去发现,去看见。”

“世界那么大,我想去看看。以及,我走得太匆忙,需要停一停。”

她停下来,认真地看,相信她能从疑惑中走出“二手时间”,真正走出  
自己的道路与人生。

22. Simmel, Georg. *The Philosophy of Fashion*. Translated by Fei Yong et al. Guangzhou: Flower City Publishing House, 2017, p. 248. [Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided.]

23. Dewey, John. *Art as Experience*. Translated by Gao Jianping. Beijing: The Commercial Press, 2010, p. 15. [Note: This is a translation of the Chinese citation provided.]

sense of the unexpected...

How can an individual resist the (spiritual) degradation or (emotional) erosion brought about by a socio-technical organization? Before World War I, in Germany, Georg Simmel posed such a question.

“The metropolitan man develops an organ to protect himself from the dangerous currents and external environments that would uproot him. He reacts with his head instead of his heart; this reaction to the metropolis makes the organ numb and impersonal.” [22]

E-motion, gǎn-dòng (感-动), is the “movement” (dòng) of the heart brought on by “sensation” (gǎn) as the world rushes toward you. However, the world no longer touches me, and I can no longer touch the outside world. In the state of depression where all resonance has fallen silent, everything external is deathly pale, cold, and empty, and even everything inside my heart is silent and numb.

From “autonomous learning to understand the world” to “self-monitoring to master the self”: before this highly controlled self, the world retreats, and the self retreats too. They live within an algorithm, at once ambitious and fragile as a puppet, both manipulated by and manipulating the algorithm. In their world, scores and GPA are the currency:

“Scores become the sole recognition. The sense of accomplishment from doing something, from doing it well—the prevailing currency is scores and GPA.”

In the world built by GPA, everyone has their rank. They become devoid of personality, yet highly similar. They share a race with no exit, and though they are on the same path, they are distant from and disgusted with one another.

“Free will: choose what I choose, love what I love. But I do not know what I like, nor do I have any real motivation to cast aside the ladder and walk into my own wilderness.”

Without joy, without anything to cherish... We often say that to know and judge a person, one must observe what they are at ease with and what motivates them. However, if they are at ease with nothing and motivated by nothing, their self has also retreated.

The world and the self have begun a mutual retreat. Life is organic to its environment; life is situated in a specific environment that belongs to it, that it grows with:

“Life goes on in an environment; not merely in it but because of it, through interaction with it...

At every moment, the living creature is exposed to danger from its surroundings, and

at every moment, it must draw something from its surroundings to satisfy its own needs. The life-experience of a living creature is destined to be an exchange with its surroundings, not in an external, but in the most intimate way.” [23]

Without this internal, organic exchange of energy, how can the self and the world, in their mutual retreat, ever meet? The world of *ACGN* (Anime, Comics, Games, and Novels) becomes popular. They put on masks, craft personas, and treat the world as a stage, checking in at various locations. Dressed in splendid attire, with heavy makeup, holding props, they travel through time and space. The world is but a stage, and the protagonist is an imagined persona. The distinction between virtual and real is irrelevant. The world is not even a stage; a stage is not ethereal enough. A stage and a play have scenic limitations; actors must interact with each other and with the audience below. There is a plot to be immersed in, a complete narrative to be enacted and served.

Their life can no longer bear a story with a beginning and an end. Their life is but a fleeting dream in a garden.

A student who finally found the courage to take a year-long leave of absence wrote:

“The reason a young person’s life is so full of lies is not that he is too arrogant, but precisely that he is too humble—he is always governed by what he thinks he ‘should do,’ rather than what he truly wants to do.”

“The young person looks at the pie in the sky drawn by those who have come before, at the path they point to, but forgets that he too has eyes, the ability to discover, to see.”

“The world is so big, I want to go and see it. And, I have been walking too hastily; I need to stop for a while.”

She has stopped to look carefully. I believe she can walk out of her confusion, out of “second-hand time,” and truly forge her own path and life.

# 形似而神异： 再议家庭背景 与学校教育 之间的关系逻辑

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Alike in Form,  
Different in Spirit:  
Revisiting the  
Logic of  
the Relationship  
between Familial  
Upbringing  
and Formal  
School Education

当前关于中国及东亚社会的量化研究暗示了不同阶层在教育态度上的“扁平化”趋势, 本文通过对来自精英高校与县中两类教育场域的深度访谈与实地观察, 揭示出不同社会阶层与学校教育系统之间关系逻辑的深层差异。研究发现, 城市中产家庭往往以“消费者式/企业家式学习者”姿态, 选择性地调动教育资源, 以高度理性的自主策略服务于自身目标; 而对非优势阶层而言, 学校教育更像是一个“他者”的系统——它是外在的、稀缺的, 一种通过层层竞争才有资格进入的陌生领域。由于选择的缺乏、流动能力弱, 他们牢牢依附于教育体制, 其姿态更像是“程门立雪”的学徒之于强势的师傅, 自主性和个性被压抑和放弃。洞悉这种主体性的差异, 不仅有助于深化对教育公平问题的讨论, 也有助于理解一些教育公共政策(如“双减”、“新高考”)在执行中之所以陷入目标偏差的深层社会心理机制。研究呼吁, 应超越将受教育者视为均一整体的前见, 将不同社会群体“异质化的教育主体性”纳入学术研究、政策制定与评估的考量。

# 摘要

# ABSTRACT

关键词: 家庭背景 县域 精英高校 教育主体性 学校教育 社会阶层

Keywords: Family Background, County-level, Elite Universities, Educational Subjectivity, School Education, Social Class

While current quantitative studies on China and East Asian societies suggest a “flattening” trend in educational attitudes across different social classes, this article, based on in-depth interviews and field observations in two distinct educational settings—elite universities and county-level high schools—reveals profound differences in the relational logic between different social classes and the school education system. The study finds that urban middle-class families often adopt the posture of a “consumer-style/entrepreneurial learner,” selectively mobilizing educational resources and employing highly rational, autonomous strategies to serve their own goals. In contrast, for non-advantaged classes, school education is more like an “other” system—external, scarce, and a foreign territory one is only qualified to enter after rounds of competition. Due to a lack of choice and weak mobility, they are firmly attached to the educational system, their posture more akin to that of a pious apprentice before a powerful master, where autonomy and individuality are suppressed and surrendered. Understanding this difference in subjectivity not only deepens the discussion on educational equity but also helps to understand the deep socio-psychological mechanisms behind why some public education policies (such as the “Double Reduction” and the “New Gaokao”) deviate from their intended goals during implementation. The study calls for moving beyond the preconception of students as a uniform whole and incorporating the “heterogeneous educational subjectivities” of different social groups into the considerations of academic research, policy-making, and evaluation.

“尽管人们至今仍普遍否认阶级的存在，但它实则深植于个体与教育关系的核心之中。社会学的关键任务正是揭示并理解阶级千变万化的表现形式——唯有如此，阶级所造成的严重教育不平等问题方能开始得到解决。”

—— Diane Reay (2009, p. 402)

## 一、问题的提出

正如Diane Reay所言，探讨教育系统与社会阶级之间的关系是教育社会学的一个经典议题，吸引代代学人在不同社会背景下发起追问：学校教育究竟是促进社会流动的“均衡器”（the “great equalizer”），还是施加社会控制、维持社会结构再生产的隐蔽机制？(Bernardi and Plavgo 2019) 如果说西方世界的学者基于对资本主义秩序的批判感到更有理由认同后者(Bourdieu 1967; Bowles and Gintis 1976; Coleman et al. 1966; Willis 1977)，那么在当代中国的背景下，这一问题的争议可能更大。中国的枢纽性教育制度——高考——及其上下游的考试制度，被认为是一种对各阶层相对公平的筛选制度(Hu, Kao and Wu 2020; Hu and Wu 2021)，因而被广泛视为“最不坏的”阶层流动通道。社交媒体对于教育话题的狂热关注，各阶层普遍感知到的教育焦虑，以及街头巷尾随处可见的教育机构，使得任何人都能轻易感受到社会成员对学校教育的普遍重视——仿佛这部“社会电梯”就在这里向所有人敞开机会，每个家庭和孩子要做的就是尽力投入，为参加这个公正的锦标赛做好准备。

一些研究者的发现也在某种程度上支持了这种想象——中国民众对于教育的重视程度和投入力度普遍较高，阶层差距比西方社会更弱。Li和Xie(2020)在一项比较研究中指出，教育期望在东亚社会显著地不太依赖于家庭背景，即便在较低社会经济地位的家庭中，对教育的认同和期望依然相当强烈。而从教育支出来看，Hu等人(2023)利用中国家庭追踪调查(CFPS)数据发现，中国家庭的教育支出占总收入的比重远高于其他国家，而农村家庭的教育支出比例比城市家庭更大。即便是低收入家庭，其教育支出占收入比例也显著高于西方国家同类家庭。对于这种广泛存在的“教育狂热”，一些学者将其归因于东亚文化传统的濡化作用(Hawkins

“Although class is still widely disavowed, it remains at the heart of the individual’s relationship to education. A key sociological task is to reveal and understand the changing manifestations of class—only then can the profound educational inequalities class generates begin to be addressed.”

—Diane Reay (2009, p. 402)

## I Introduction

As Diane Reay states, exploring the relationship between the education system and social class is a classic theme in the sociology of education, attracting generations of scholars to ask in different social contexts: Is school education the “great equalizer” that promotes social mobility, or a hidden mechanism that imposes social control and maintains the reproduction of social structure? (Bernardi and Plavgo 2019). If scholars in the Western world, based on their critique of the capitalist order, feel more justified in agreeing with the latter (Bourdieu, 1967; Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Coleman et al., 1966; Willis, 1977), this issue is perhaps more contentious in the context of contemporary China. China’s pivotal educational institution—the gaokao (college entrance examination)—and its associated examination systems are considered a relatively fair screening system for all classes (Hu, Kao, and Wu 2020; Hu & Wu, 2021), and are thus widely regarded as the “least bad” channel for class mobility. The fervent attention of social media to educational topics, the educational anxiety felt by all classes, and the ubiquitous educational institutions on every street corner make it easy for anyone to sense the universal importance that members of society place on school education—as if this “social elevator” is open to all, and all each family and child has to do is to invest their best efforts to prepare for this fair tournament.

The findings of some researchers, to a certain extent, support this perception—the importance and investment that the Chinese public places on education are generally high, with class disparities being weaker than in Western societies. In a comparative study, Li and Xie (2020) pointed out that educational expectations in East Asian societies are significantly less dependent on family background; even in families with lower socioeconomic status, the recognition of and expectation for education remain pretty strong. In terms of educational expenditure, Hu et al. (2023), using data from the China Family Panel Studies (CFPS), found that the proportion of total income spent on education by Chinese families is much higher than in other countries, and the proportion for rural families is even larger than for urban families. Even low-income families’ educational expenditure as a proportion of their income is significantly higher than

2012; Stevenson and Stigler 1994)。Li和Xie (2020)认为,东亚文化传统赋予教育高度正面意义,使得城乡和各阶层家庭普遍认同教育的价值。Hawkins (2012)指出,儒家思想与科举制度的历史遗产塑造了“教育改变命运”的全民共识,高学业成就在东亚具有着深远的社会意涵,往往被视为实现个人成功、家庭荣耀和践行孝道的重要路径,被所有阶层普遍认可。Andrew Kipnis (2019)也在中国山东的田野调查里窥见了这种集体性的教育欲望,并指出这是由儒家伦理、公共政策与市场力量共同创造出的、一种超越个体理性的文化共识。对此相对应的,实证研究也发现,中国学生的学业成就受家庭社会经济背景的影响相对比西方国家更小(Lyu, Li and Xie 2019),甚至发现与家庭财富不显著相关(Liu and Xie 2015)。

由此观之,上述研究似乎共同暗示着,中国社会民众中存在着一种对待教育的相对普遍的、匀质化的态度,呈现出一种“去阶层化”的同质关系。换句话说,研究者传递出一种印象,即不同阶层理解和对待教育的方式似乎有着形式上的趋同性——无论出身,均高度重视教育。由此推论,东亚社会中教育期望的普遍性和扁平性可能对底层家庭的教育成就形成保护性缓冲,从而减轻社会经济地位(SES)劣势对教育结果的不利影响(Li and Xie 2020)。

然而,各阶层与学校教育的这种相对“扁平化”的关系往往是基于大样本的问卷调查法,通过比较的方法而发现的。由于方法上的局限,现有研究大多囿于对主观态度或外在行为的量化评估,很少深入到阶层的主观世界(subjectivities)去了解各自背后不同的动机、期望、感受和实践。在研究者将普罗大众对教育的态度或行为简化为一项数值或态度指标的同时,存在着一种不易察觉的风险:研究者仅仅获得了片段性的数值,而这些数值背后的语境——各阶层在教育实践中所处的结构位置、经验逻辑与情感结构却被悄然遮蔽了。换言之,问卷数据呈现出的“去阶层化”的家庭教育期望与投入,或许只是由于无法捕捉到那些难以量化测量的深层心态、行动路径与情感体验上的差异,而使得研究者只能得出“去阶层化”的浅表结论。

文化再生产理论为此提供了更深刻的解释框架。Bourdieu与Passeron (1977)认为,学校教育系统并非如主流教育政策话语所宣称的那样,是一个公平且基于择优原则的中立场域。在中立的表象之下,教育系统实

that of similar families in Western countries. Some scholars attribute this widespread “education fever” to the acculturation of East Asian cultural traditions (Hawkins, 2012; Stevenson & Stigler, 1994). Li and Xie (2020) argue that East Asian cultural tradition endows education with a highly positive meaning, leading to a universal recognition of its value among urban and rural families of all classes. Hawkins (2012) points out that the historical legacy of Confucianism and the imperial examination system has shaped a national consensus that “education changes one’s destiny.” High academic achievement has profound social meaning in East Asia, often seen as an important path to achieving personal success, family glory, and practicing filial piety, and is universally recognized by all classes. Andrew Kipnis (2019), in his fieldwork in Shandong, China, also glimpsed this collective educational desire, noting it as a cultural consensus transcending individual rationality, co-created by Confucian ethics, public policy, and market forces. Correspondingly, empirical research has also found that the influence of family socioeconomic background on Chinese students’ academic achievement is relatively more minor than in Western countries (Lyu, Li, and Xie 2019) and is even found to be not significantly correlated with family wealth (Liu & Xie, 2015).

From this perspective, the above studies seem to collectively suggest that there is a relatively universal, homogeneous attitude towards education among the Chinese public, presenting a “de-classed” or homogenized relationship. In other words, researchers convey an impression that the ways different classes understand and treat education seem to have a formal convergence—a high value is placed on education, regardless of origin. It can be inferred from this that the universality and flatness of educational expectations in East Asian societies may form a protective buffer for the educational achievements of lower-class families, thereby mitigating the adverse effects of socioeconomic status (SES) disadvantages on educational outcomes (Li & Xie, 2020).

However, this relatively “flattened” relationship between various classes and school education is often based on large-sample survey methods and discovered through comparative means. Due to methodological limitations, existing research is mostly confined to quantitative assessments of subjective attitudes or external behaviors, rarely delving into the subjectivities of different classes to understand their underlying motivations, expectations, feelings, and practices. As researchers simplify the attitudes or behaviors of the general populace towards education into a numerical value or an attitudinal indicator, there is a subtle risk: researchers only obtain fragmented numerical values, while the context behind these values—the structural positions, experiential logics, and emotional structures of each class in their educational practices—is quietly obscured. In other words, the “de-classed” family educational expectations and investments presented by survey data may only be a superficial conclusion of “de-classing” because of the inability to capture those differences in deep-seated

实际上隐性地实施着对精英文化的合法化,从而系统性地维护着精英阶层的文化优势和社会地位(Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990)。这种“象征暴力”(symbolic violence)通过课程设计、教学方法、考试评估标准等具体教育实践,悄然将精英阶层的偏好与规范转化为对所有人的期待和要求,从而排斥或边缘化底层阶级的文化经验与实践(Bourdieu 1977; Lareau 2011; Reay 2017)。基于观察和访谈方法的研究发现,中产阶级更可能主动调动制度资源、与教师互动并塑造有利局势,而工人阶级家庭往往保持顺从与距离,缺乏文化资本所带来的制度行动能力(Calarco 2011; Calarco 2014; Lareau 2015)。这种差异并非源自个体态度或意识形态,而是嵌入于社会位置与文化经验之中。Reay & Lucey (2003)也指出,教育市场的“平等表象”往往掩盖了深层的阶层化体验,学生在看似相同的教育轨道中(比如进入同一所低声誉学校)展现出完全不同的主观理解和自我感受:中产阶级儿童倾向于将低声誉学校视为“他者”,并试图通过转学或心理疏离来避免身份的污名化;而工人阶级儿童却需要直面“病理化的他者(demonized other)”与“像我这样的人”只能相等而产生的身份冲突。

因此,表面上的教育期望或高投入并不能等同于阶层之间对教育的认同或参与是不平等的。要理解其背后隐藏的社会机制与差异性逻辑,需要从各阶层的主观世界或主体性(subjectivity)出发,深入分析他们在教育过程中的感受、理解、判断与应对方式。换句话说,我们要问:“上学”这件事对不同阶层的国人来说,究竟意味着什么?本文基于过去十年来持续进行的名校大学生访谈和一项正在进行的西部县中民族志所收集的数据,对比分析了非优势阶层与城市中产在参与学校教育时展现出的系统性差异,并指出这些差异在精英高等教育和县域中等教育两个教育场域中具有的通性,及其跨时间的延续性。

## 二、阶级、教育系统与人的主观世界

阶级与主体性的互动关系深刻揭示了教育系统作为社会分层机制的核心作用。主体性(subjectivity)指个体在社会结构中形成的自我认知、情感体验和行动逻辑,既受结构性因素制约,又蕴涵着个体的能动性(Reay 2001; Sayer 2005)。在西方世界的教育社会学研究中,主体性的阶层差异

mentalities, action pathways, and emotional experiences that are difficult to quantify.

Cultural reproduction theory offers a more profound explanatory framework for this. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) argue that the school education system is not, as mainstream educational policy discourse claims, a fair and merit-based neutral ground. Beneath its neutral appearance, the education system actually implicitly legitimizes elite culture, thereby systematically maintaining the cultural advantages and social status of the elite class (Bourdieu & Passeron, 1990). This “symbolic violence,” through specific educational practices such as curriculum design, teaching methods, and examination standards, quietly transforms the preferences and norms of the elite class into expectations and requirements for everyone, thus excluding or marginalizing the cultural experiences and practices of the lower classes (Bourdieu, 1977; Lareau, 2011; Reay, 2017). Studies based on observation and interviews have found that the middle class is more likely to actively mobilize institutional resources, interact with teachers, and shape favorable situations, while working-class families tend to remain submissive and distant, lacking the institutional agency that cultural capital provides (Calarco, 2011; Calarco, 2014; Lareau, 2015). This difference does not stem from individual attitudes or ideologies but is embedded in social position and cultural experience. Reay & Lucey (2003) also point out that the “appearance of equality” in the education market often conceals profound class-based experiences. Students on seemingly identical educational tracks (such as attending the same low-reputation school) exhibit completely different subjective understandings and self-perceptions: middle-class children tend to view the low-reputation school as an “other” and try to avoid the stigma of association through transferring schools or psychological distancing; whereas working-class children have to confront the identity conflict that arises when the “demonized other” becomes equated with “people like me.”

Therefore, superficial educational expectations or high investment cannot be equated with an equal recognition of or participation in education among classes. To understand the hidden social mechanisms and differential logics behind them, it is necessary to start from the subjective world or subjectivity of each class, and deeply analyze their feelings, understandings, judgments, and coping strategies during the educational process. In other words, we must ask: What does “going to school” actually mean for Chinese people of different classes? Based on data collected from ongoing interviews with university students at elite institutions over the past decade and an ongoing ethnography in a western county-level high school, this article comparatively analyzes the systematic differences exhibited by non-advantaged classes and the urban middle class in their participation in school education. It points out that these differences are common to both elite higher education and county-level secondary education, and that they persist over time.

常常被描绘为“中产阶级作为‘规划者’-工人阶级作为‘幸存者’”的二元框架:在教育市场中,中产阶级凭借其丰富的经济资本、文化资本和社会网络资源,能够采取积极主动的“规划者”策略,通过精细的教育投资(如学区房购置、课外辅导班选择、国际学校申请等)为子女建构竞争优势(Ball et al., 2002)。这种主体性表现为对“学校教育系统如何运转”的“文化性知识”(cultural knowledge)的深度理解和娴熟运用,从而有助于获取教育优势和机会(Lareau, 2015)。而通过获得教育系统的制度性认可(如学历文凭和表彰奖励),中产阶级强化了自信心和自我价值。相比之下,工人阶级家庭由于资源受限,其教育参与往往呈现出以短期生存为导向的“幸存者”逻辑。父母更倾向于采用粗放的方式养育孩子,孩子也自然更容易在学校里遭遇“游戏规则”的贬低和排斥(Lareau, 2011)。他们或是被迫接受低质量教育并内化“能力不足”的标签(Sayer, 2005),或是索性发展出亚文化来反抗学校的权威(Willis, 1977)。他们倾向于选择“社区感强”的非精英大学,而其教育成功则常常以失去阶级身份认同为代价(Reay 2001; Reay, Crozier and Clayton, 2009)。这种分化被教育市场化浪潮进一步放大,中产阶级通过购房择校、课外补习等策略巩固优势,而工人阶级则被挤压到教育资源链的末端(Ball, 2003)。

这种阶级化的主体性不仅体现在行为策略层面,更深刻地反映在情感结构和道德认知维度。Sayer(2005)认为,主体性并非抽象的“自我意识”,而是阶级位置在情感和道德层面的具身化(embodiment):当中产阶级受益于自身的一系列资本、规划和策略,对自身的成功感到理所当然,偶尔或许也伴随着对自身特权的某种道德焦虑;而工人阶级的教育体验则常伴随着尊严与羞辱的张力,对系统性排斥的愤怒与对自我价值的怀疑(Reay 2001; 2015)。特别对于进入精英大学的工人阶级学生而言,这种阶层流动杂糅着包括骄傲、自卑、羞耻、恐惧等情绪的复杂情感体验,还伴随着担忧自己资质不佳的“冒名顶替综合症”(imposter syndrome),更面临着阶级背叛焦虑和身份认同的分裂(Lehmann 2007; 2009; Reay, Crozier and Clayton 2010; 程猛 2018; 廖青 2019)。

在中国语境下,这一框架需结合城乡差异、应试文化等本土现实进行重新审视。毕竟,我国坚持走中国特色社会主义道路,建立起了以公立学校为主导的学费低廉的教育系统。我国的地位分配制度也具有鲜明的自身特征——体制内的编制岗位几乎“逢进必考”,至少实现了形式上的公平性。

## II. Class, the Education System, and Human Subjectivity

The interplay between class and subjectivity profoundly reveals the core role of the education system as a mechanism of social stratification. Subjectivity refers to the self-perception, emotional experience, and logic of action that an individual forms within a social structure, which is both constrained by structural factors and embodies individual agency (Reay, 2001; Sayer, 2005). In Western sociology of education research, class differences in subjectivity are often depicted within a binary framework of “middle class as ‘planners’ vs. working class as ‘survivors’.” In the education market, the middle class, with their abundant economic capital, cultural capital, and social network resources, can adopt proactive “planner” strategies. They construct competitive advantages for their children through meticulous educational investments (such as purchasing property in good school districts, selecting after-school tutoring, applying to international schools, etc.) (Ball et al., 2002). This subjectivity is manifested in a deep understanding and skillful application of “cultural knowledge” about “how the school system works,” which helps in obtaining educational advantages and opportunities (Lareau, 2015). By gaining institutional recognition from the education system (such as diplomas and awards), the middle class reinforces its self-confidence and self-worth.

In contrast, the educational participation of working-class families, due to resource constraints, often presents a “survivor” logic oriented towards short-term existence. Parents tend to raise their children less intensively, and children are naturally more likely to encounter devaluation and exclusion by the “rules of the game” at school (Lareau, 2011). They are either forced to accept low-quality education and internalize the label of “incompetence” (Sayer, 2005) or they develop subcultures to resist school authority (Willis, 1977). They tend to choose non-elite universities with a strong “sense of community,” and their educational success often comes at the cost of losing their class identity (Reay, 2001; Reay, Crozier, and Clayton, 2009). This differentiation is further amplified by the wave of educational marketization, where the middle class consolidates its advantages through strategies like choosing schools via property purchase and private tutoring. In contrast, the working class is squeezed to the bottom of the educational resource chain (Ball, 2003).

This classed subjectivity is not only reflected at the level of behavioral strategies but is more profoundly manifested in the dimensions of emotional structure and moral cognition. Sayer (2005) argues that subjectivity is not an abstract “self-awareness” but the embodiment of class position at the emotional and moral levels. The middle class, benefiting from their array of capital, planning, and strategies, feels entitled to their

在这样一个以共同富裕为目标、公立学校为基石的社会中，不同阶层成员与学校教育系统之间的关系又如何呢？

### 三、数据与方法

本文援引了笔者在过去十年来在国内三所“双一流”高校收集的95个毕业班学生的深度访谈资料，以及目前正在两所西部县域普通高中进行的民族志观察资料。访谈资料收集的时间跨度和地域跨度较大：首先于2015-2016年在位于北京和上海的两所高校（以下简称“北方大学”和“南方大学”）访谈了38位毕业班学生，后于2017年在南方大学追加访谈了25人，又于疫情期间（2020-2022年）在南方大学追加访谈了13人，并将数据搜集范围扩展至位于西部某省会城市的一所“双一流”高校（以下简称“西部大学”）访谈了19人。访谈对象多通过“滚雪球”方法收集，并注意平衡学业成绩、学科、和家庭社会经济背景的多样性。在95个被访者当中：52人为农村籍学生，均为家庭第一代大学生，父母职业以务工务农人员、个体户和服务业员工为主；43人为城市学生，其中28人为非一代大学生，父母职业以专业技术人员、政府公职人员和企业管理人员为主。访谈的目的是为了解不同家庭背景的学生就读精英大学的经历，以及其毕业去向获得的来龙去脉。之所以在不同的高校收集数据，是因为考虑到我国幅员辽阔而地域特征明显、发展水平差异巨大，跨高校的对比可以帮助研究者在地域差异中把握家庭背景对学生影响之通性。访谈均由本人主持，大多数为一对一面对面访谈（疫情期间有5人为线上访谈）。访谈平均持续3小时左右，采用“渐进式聚焦法”逐步深入话题（杨善华、孙飞宇2005）。通常以被访者的家庭环境与童年回忆开始，继而邀请他/她回溯整个学校教育经历，然后深入讨论高等教育阶段的经历及其毕业选择的决策情况。在访谈过程中，我力求使被访者感到倾听者的诚意，尽力达到对被访者的共情，以及对其思想感受和行动逻辑的理解。在获得受访者同意后，访谈均进行了录音，并转录为文稿。

考虑到进入“双一流”高校的学生实际上在人口中占比极低，在顶尖学府的高墙外，笔者还将目光投向了西部欠发达地区的县域高中。从2025年3月中旬以来，笔者开始在西部两所县级高中进行田野观察。两所高中均属于区县高中，同属一市管辖，均系该省认定的“省级示范性高中”，办学质

success, perhaps occasionally accompanied by a particular moral anxiety about their privileges. In contrast, the educational experience of the working class is often accompanied by a tension between dignity and humiliation, anger at systemic exclusion, and doubt about their self-worth (Reay, 2001; 2015). Especially for working-class students entering elite universities, this class mobility is intertwined with complex emotional experiences, including pride, inferiority, shame, and fear. It is also accompanied by an “imposter syndrome” stemming from worries about their own capabilities, and they face the anxiety of class betrayal and a fractured identity (Lehmann, 2007; 2009; Reay, Crozier, and Clayton, 2010; Cheng Meng, 2018; Liao Qing, 2019).

In the Chinese context, this framework needs to be re-examined in conjunction with local realities such as the urban-rural divide and the exam-oriented culture. After all, China adheres to a path of socialism with Chinese characteristics and has established an education system dominated by public schools with low tuition fees. China’s status allocation system also has its own distinct features—positions within the state system almost always require an examination for entry, achieving at least formal fairness. In such a society, which aims for shared prosperity and is built on the foundation of public schools, what is the relationship between members of different classes and the school education system?

### III. Data and Methods

This article draws on in-depth interview data from 95 graduating students collected over the past decade at three “Double First-Class” universities in China, as well as ethnographic observation data from an ongoing study at two ordinary county-level high schools in western China. The interview data span a considerable period and geographical range: first, 38 graduating students were interviewed in 2015–2016 at two universities in Beijing and Shanghai (hereafter “Northern University” and “Southern University”). This was followed by an additional 25 interviews at Southern University in 2017. During the pandemic (2020–2022), 13 more students were interviewed at Southern University, and the data collection was expanded to a “Double First-Class” university in a western provincial capital (hereafter “Western University”), where 19 students were interviewed. The interviewees mainly were recruited through the “snowball” method, with care taken to balance diversity in academic achievement, discipline, and family socioeconomic background. Among the 95 interviewees, 52 were from rural backgrounds, all first-generation university students, with parents primarily engaged in farming, migrant work, self-employment, or service industries; 43 were from urban

量位于全市前列。不同的是,其中一所位于农业为支柱的县城,是该县唯一一所普通高级中学,在校生规模超过7000人,而其中农村籍学生多达八成(以下简称“县一中”);而另一所位于市府所在县区,为辖区的四所普通高中之一,在校生规模维持在3800人左右,其中农村籍约占三成,学生的家庭经济条件整体略优于县一中(以下简称“区一中”)。我在两所学校的身份是班主任助理,在高一年级某个班级进行参与式观察,保持着每周平均2天的观察频率,在年级组办公室和班级里观察班级教师的日常工作,并不时和学生与校领导保持交流。我在现场用手写方式记录所见所闻,并在有感时撰写札记。

对涉世未深的我而言,收集数据的过程也是一个对阶层差异产生实感的过程。在目睹了县中的日常现实之后,回想在精英大学做过的访谈,我越发领悟到不同群体与学校教育的关系有着深刻的差异,这种差异超越了学段、地域和学校层级对人的分化,稳定地存在于阶层地位相似的群体当中。在下文中,我论述了我所感悟到的这种系统性的差异。鉴于数据的庞杂,我重点援引了那些相当具有群体内普遍性和典型性的案例。

backgrounds, of whom 28 were not first-generation university students, with parents working as professionals, government officials, or business managers. The purpose of the interviews was to understand the experiences of students from different family backgrounds attending elite universities and the context of their post-graduation destinations. Data was collected from different universities to grasp the common effects of family background on students amidst China's vast regional characteristics and developmental disparities. All interviews were conducted by me, mostly one-on-one and face-to-face (5 were conducted online during the pandemic). Interviews lasted an average of about 3 hours and used the “progressive focusing method” to gradually delve

into topics (Yang Shanhua & Sun Feiyu, 2005). They typically began with the interviewee's family environment and childhood memories, then moved to their entire school experience, followed by an in-depth discussion of their higher education journey and graduation choices. Throughout the interviews, I strove to convey my sincerity as a listener, to achieve empathy with the interviewees, and to understand their thoughts, feelings, and logic of action. With the consent of the interviewees, all interviews were recorded and transcribed.

Considering that students who enter “Double First-Class” universities represent a tiny fraction of the population, I also turned my gaze beyond the walls of top institutions to county-level high schools in underdeveloped western regions. Since mid-March 2025 [Note: The original text states 2025, which is likely a typo for 2023 or 2024. The translation retains the original year. I began fieldwork at two county-level high schools in the west. Both schools are located in county-level districts under the same municipal jurisdiction and are designated “Provincial Model High Schools,” with their quality ranking at the forefront of the city. The difference is that one is in a county where agriculture is the pillar industry and is the only ordinary senior high school in the county, with over 7,000 students, 80% of whom are from rural backgrounds (hereafter “County No. 1 High School”). The other is in the county-level district where the municipal government is located and is one of four ordinary high schools in the jurisdiction, with a student body of around 3,800, about 30% of whom are from rural backgrounds, and whose families are on average slightly better off than those at County No. 1 High School (hereafter “District No. 1 High School”). My role in both schools was as an assistant to the head teacher (*ban zhu ren*), conducting participatory observation in a first-year high school class at an average frequency of 2 days per week. I observed the daily work of teachers in the grade-level office and classroom, and maintained communication with students and school leaders. I recorded my observations by hand and wrote field notes when inspired.

For me, still new to the world, the process of data collection was also a process of gaining a real sense of class differences. After witnessing the daily reality of the county high schools and reflecting on the interviews conducted at elite universities, I increasingly understood that the relationship between different groups and school education has profound differences. These differences transcend the divisions imposed by educational stages, regions, and school tiers, and exist stably among groups of similar class status. In the following, I elaborate on the systematic differences I perceived. Given the vastness of the data, I focus on cases that are common and typical within their respective groups.

#### 四、“掌控者”与“依附者”

在我访谈的家庭条件较好的学生中,并没有极富阶层或顶级权贵的孩子。这些孩子与姜以琳在《学神》一书(Chiang, 2022)中跟踪的精英孩子有所不同,她观察的群体往往以国际名校为本科阶段的目标,通过海外夏校、国际竞赛和私人定制化辅导来培养“全球公民”身份,为参与全球精英竞争做好准备。相比之下,我在国内名校访谈到的家境优越者更像是普通的城市中产和新富阶层。他们的父母大多接受过良好的高等教育,从事企业管理、机关干部、私营企业主、教师、医生或大学教师等工作,他们从小就读的学校多是被优选过的当地优质资源。这些学生有一个共同点:他们从小就被教师和父母给予了空间,习惯于自主安排自己的学习和生活,并倾向于有清晰的目标意识。他们积极投入竞争,动员经济、文化与社会资本为自己获取优势,从好成绩中获得了自信心与配得感,并自然而然地形成了一种掌控性的自我——将自己理解为“教育服务购买者”或“人力资本投资者”,致力于通过教育进行自我价值的提升,并将为自己做出最优选择视为对自己负有的道德责任。这与Stephen Ball近年对全球新自由主义教育政策所培养出的“企业家式的学习者”(“entrepreneurial learners”)的观察异曲同工(Ball, 2021)。Ball认为,对教育的新自由主义治理将教育成功的责任从国家转移到个人,同时掩盖结构性不平等——“企业家式学习者”正是这一“责任个体化”过程的产物。

从被访者叙述的亲子关系和父母角色来看,会更明白这种“掌控性自我”是如何形成的。他们的父母往往对孩子的教育相当上心,但这种“上心”却是通过一种对孩子不露痕迹的方式。他们会确保孩子去了好学校,必要时给他们报补习班,却很少直接操刀管理孩子的学习,而是将自我管理权和一定程度的决策自由下放给孩子。西部大学的浩文生长于西部省会城市,父亲和不少亲属都在银行系统担任要职。在他的认知中,许多家长都会给孩子做选择的自由:

我爸爸比较支持我所喜欢做的事,他觉得这样我会开心。他属于是这种比较在乎我喜不喜欢一件事情的家长。他不会添加很多的他的意志在我的身上,但是具体执行的过程中,他会要求我认真做好。而且,其实他会把控一个“大方向”。但是在一些具体选择上,他会让我自己选择。现如今的很多家长都是这样,特别是很多受过好的教育的家长会这样。

#### IV. “Controllers” and “Dependents”

Among the students I interviewed from well-off families, there were no children from the super-rich or top-level elite. These students are different from the elite children tracked by Yi-Lin Chiang in her book *Study Gods* (2022), whose cohort often aims for top international universities for their undergraduate studies, cultivating a “global citizen” identity through overseas summer schools, international competitions, and personalized tutoring to prepare for global elite competition. In contrast, the well-off students I interviewed at domestic elite universities were more like the ordinary urban middle and newly wealthy classes. Their parents mostly had a good higher education and worked in business management, government, private enterprise, or as teachers, doctors, or university professors. The schools they attended from a young age were often carefully selected, local, high-quality resources. These students share a common trait: from a young age, they were given space by teachers and parents, accustomed to arranging their own studies and lives, and tended to have a clear sense of purpose. They actively engaged in competition, mobilized economic, cultural, and social capital to gain advantages, derived confidence and a sense of entitlement from good grades, and naturally formed a controlling self—understanding themselves as “purchasers of educational services” or “investors in human capital,” dedicated to self-enhancement through education, and viewing making the best choices for themselves as a moral responsibility. This resonates with Stephen Ball’s recent observations of the “entrepreneurial learners” cultivated by global neoliberal education policies (Ball, 2021). Ball argues that the neoliberal governance of education shifts the responsibility for educational success from the state to the individual, while simultaneously masking structural inequalities—the “entrepreneurial learner” is the product of this “individualization of responsibility.”

Looking at the parent-child relationships and parental roles described by the interviewees, it becomes clearer how this “controlling self” is formed. Their parents are often very invested in their children’s education, but this investment is carried out in a way that is subtle to the child. They ensure their child attends a good school and enroll them in tutoring classes when necessary, but they rarely manage their child’s studies directly. Instead, they delegate self-management and a degree of decision-making freedom to the child. Hao Wen from Western University grew up in a western provincial capital; his father and many relatives hold senior positions in the banking system. In his view, many parents give their children the freedom to choose:

My dad is quite supportive of what I like to do; he feels it makes me happy. He is the type of parent who cares more about whether I like something. He does not impose much of his will on me, but in the actual execution, he requires me to do it

但实际上，他的“大方向”总有人帮忙掌舵。他从小上的中小学校都是当地名列前茅的。他的父母所起的作用，是确保孩子在独自面对竞争和决策的时候已经做好了准备。南方大学的宁轩来自东部一线城市，父母都是硕士学历，在民企和外企做管理工作。在他的印象中，父母工作忙，不怎么过问他的学习，但他每个阶段都其实已经有了“内置优势”：

宁轩：我爸妈他们很忙，不怎么管我。不过我也挺自觉的。

雅君：是从小就成绩特好吗？

宁轩：不能这么说，我是基本上待了两三年之后才晋升到才越到头部梯队。因为需要一段时间来熟悉新的环境。但毕竟我父母也给我在小学，哦不，从幼儿园开始给我上课外补习班。

雅君：还记得在补习班学的啥吗？

宁轩：有印象的是学乘法两位数。幼儿园主要学数学。小学的时候学英语，补学科英语。我的小学还是素质教育试点，作业偏少、娱乐偏多的。所以说我在上外面上了一些补习班，就可以考到很好的成绩。

雅君：你对你的高中有啥印象？周围都是什么样的同学？

宁轩：留意一下不少人也成了大学同学（笑）。初中上去都是平行班，初中考进去的，到了高中会分比较优秀的“科创班”和平行班。然后我是进科创班的，我在高一和高二做了两个“课题”，这个课题就是做研究，我做的是两个生物相关的，其实感觉和大学里的课程比较接近。去查文献，然后去做实验，写报告。

当他在高中就熟悉了科研人的基本培养模式，到了大学他自然很容易就完成了转换，用他的话说就是“预期之内的满意，只是寄宿生活需要适应一下”。这种满意其实是父母多年培养的结果。对宁轩来说，上大学从来不是一种“追求”，而是将会发生的必然，问题只在于选择哪所罢了。当年他需要做选择的时候，父母也通过分享自己的见识，将对未来市场的判断解释给他：

他们自己的人生经验，告诉我这个时代，学理工科的话就业肯定不会是有什么问题的。他们也稍微预见到了，就是经济金融的风头

seriously. Moreover, actually, he controls the “general direction.”  
However, in specific choices, he lets me choose for myself.  
Many parents today are like this, especially those who are  
well-educated.

However, in reality, his “general direction” was always guided by someone. The primary and secondary schools he attended were all top-ranked in the area. The role his parents played was to ensure that he was already prepared when he had to face competition and decisions alone. Ning Xuan from Southern University is from a first-tier city in the east. Both his parents have master’s degrees and work in management in private and foreign companies. In his memory, his parents were busy with work and did not ask much about his studies, but he actually had a “built-in advantage” at every stage:

Ning Xuan: My parents are very busy; they do not manage me  
much. However, I am also quite self-disciplined.

Yajun: Were your grades excellent from a young age?

Ning Xuan: Not exactly, it usually took me two or three years to  
get to the top tier. I needed some time to adjust to the new en-  
vironment, but my parents had been sending me to after-school  
tutoring classes since kindergarten.

Yajun: Do you remember what you learned in tutoring?

Ning Xuan: I remember learning two-digit multiplication. In kin-  
dergarten, it was mainly math. In elementary school, I learned  
English, supplemented by subject-specific English. My elemen-  
tary school was also a pilot for quality-oriented education, with  
less homework and more entertainment. By attending some  
tutoring classes outside, I could achieve excellent grades.

Yajun: What is your impression of your high school? What were  
your classmates like?

Ning Xuan: I have noticed many of them became my university  
classmates (laughs). In junior high, everyone was in parallel  
classes after entering, but in high school, we were divided into  
more outstanding “science and technology innovation classes”  
and parallel classes. I was in an innovation class. In my first  
and second years of high school, I did two “projects,” which  
were research projects. I did two related to biology, which felt

可能宣告一段落了,学经济和金融管理这方面的本科生可能在就业上竞争会有一定的下降,这个市场可能有一定的饱和,所以说他们是推荐我学理工科。当时我觉得南方大学计算机比较有优势,我也有兴趣去做,所以就报了。

当父母多年来通过“抓大放小、给足空间”的方式来操练孩子的自主性,逐渐培养起了自我管理的能力和信心,孩子自然更容易在学校和职场的竞争中脱颖而出——因为自主选择 and 主动准备正是当前的大学与就业市场暗中要求的(郑雅君, 2023)。这种对生活 and 学习的自主控制和规划,正是顺应了教育市场化潮流中应运而生的一种“新自由主义自我”:自信、自主、独立、主动、目标明确、善于自我管理和规划(Vassallo 2020)。许多人在讨论到自己的好成绩的时候,都带着一种淡泊的口吻,因为好成绩本身是没有意义的,除非能服务于一个什么“用处”:

我小时候就并没有觉得成绩好有多厉害。只是觉得考得不好的话,会在和那些小伙伴玩的过程中感觉特别没有话语权。如果考得好的话,皆大欢喜,麻烦少一点。但实际上我一直觉得,生活要有意义是更重要的。不能一直过一种过于工具理性的生活,就是说你一直干这个事情,但是你不知道干他有什么用。成绩最终成为你干这个事情的目的,那就特别诡异了。  
(守志,北方大学,非一代大学生,父亲为高校教授)

相比之下,以农村学生为代表的非优势阶层与学校教育则完全是另一种关系模式。如果说城市中产家庭在教育面前是“消费者”和“掌控者”,农民和劳工家庭则更多扮演着“追求者”和“依附者”的角色。我所访谈的名校农村学生,实际上是同龄人当中的凤毛麟角,仔细了解他们的基础教育经历就会发现,他们的成功是在一系列外在于家庭的小概率事件下被托举起来的,譬如幼年早慧而获得老师有意栽培、成绩一骑绝尘被校长发现是“读书的料”而获得额外关照,被任课老师赏识而享受免费补课、辍学打工之后又被亲戚力挺回来读书,又或是被省里的重点中学额外录取等等。

对他们的社区来说,好学校站在上位,是外在的、需要去追求的对象。“上大学”寄托着他们对改善生活的渴盼,而“考上大学”则意味着“被选中”的狂喜和进一步被“组织”选中的期待。那些天赋异常、考入名校的孩子固然稀少,但十里八乡但凡出现一个,其事迹就广为流传,作为那些后继的“读书的料”效法的榜样,也刺激着人们都期待自己祖荫庇佑,也生出这

quite similar to university courses. We reviewed the literature, conducted experiments, and wrote reports.

Having become familiar with the basic training model for researchers in high school, he naturally found the transition to university easy. In his words, it was “satisfaction as expected, just needed to adapt to residential life.” This satisfaction was actually the result of years of cultivation by his parents. For Ning Xuan, going to university was never a “pursuit” but an inevitable event; the only question was which one to choose. When he needed to make a choice, his parents also shared their insights, explaining their judgment of the future market to him:

They had their life experiences, telling me that in this era, studying science and engineering would definitely not be a problem for employment. They also foresaw that the boom in economics and finance might be coming to an end, and undergraduates in these fields might see a decline in their competitiveness in the job market, as the market might be saturated. So they recommended that I study science and engineering. At that time, I felt Southern University had an advantage in computer science, which interested me, so I applied.

When parents have trained their child’s autonomy for years by “grasping the big picture while letting go of the details and giving enough space,” gradually cultivating self-management skills and confidence, the child is naturally more likely to excel in the competition of school and the workplace—because autonomous choice and proactive preparation are what the current university and job markets implicitly demand (Zheng Yajun, 2023). This autonomous control and planning of life and study aligns with the “neoliberal self” that has emerged in the tide of educational marketization: confident, autonomous, independent, proactive, with clear goals, and good at self-management and planning (Vassallo, 2020). Many, when discussing their good grades, spoke with a tone of indifference, because good grades themselves are meaningless unless they serve some “use”:

When I was a child, I did not think having good grades was that amazing. If I did not do well, I would not have a say when playing with my friends. If I did well, everyone was happy, and there was less trouble. However, actually, I have always felt that it is more important for life to have meaning. You cannot live a life that is too instrumentally rational, meaning you keep doing something, but you do not know what it is for. When grades become the purpose of doing something, that is particularly

样的好孩子。不少我的被访者，在当地都是有名的“人物”，成绩带来的已经远不止升学机会，而是蕴涵着光宗耀祖、为家门“争气”甚至为学校 and 家乡争荣誉等深远的社会意义。

对“读书改变命运”的期盼的确是普遍存在的。但与城市中产对学校的工具化态度不同，对农村家庭来说，学校教育是彰显自我价值的平台，成绩则是自我价值的明证。而更重要的是，只要被顺利选中，进入了一个优秀的平台，自我发展的责任也就一并交付给了学校——或者说只能交给学校。尖子生的成绩之上，负载着全家、全校甚至全县的期望，因而成绩本身自然成了学习的目的。许多被访者在被大学录取的时候就觉得自己已经成功了——赢得了高考，成功地被选中了，却未曾察觉到名校如今其实并不会自动为自己的前途铺路。他们将自己对未来的指望紧紧地依附在庞大的教育系统中，放弃了对人生的掌控——或者说从未获得过，而将希望寄托在学校和专业上。这样的案例俯拾即是，例如出身于中部农村地区的森清，父母常年务工，自幼留守，但从学龄前就展现出了鹤立鸡群的天赋，提前进入小学就读，并在小升初考试中名列全镇第一，这个成绩为她的家庭换来了不菲的经济收益和巨大的心理满足：

我当时很开心，然后我父母很骄傲，我爷奶奶我全家人都很开心。然后后面我也得到了一个私立学校非常好的入学条件，就是我整个初中三年免除一切费用，我家里也得到了一笔经济上的补偿，多少钱我不记得了。整个初中三年我都过着一个比较舒适的生活，老师、校长、同学都对你另眼相看。这个也是我最早对于“读书可以为我带来一些好处”有概念的时候。小学以前我可能从来都是漫无目的的那种正常读书学习考试，然后经过小升初这一次，我可能会觉得读书可以为我带来什么，给我家里人带来什么。

到了初升高的关头，她又作为“尖子生”被一个待遇优厚的私立重点高中招走了。学校不仅不收任何费用，还给了她家三万元的“奖金”，并提供了免费的住房可供她妈妈进城陪读。她笑称：“可能从我读书的阶段是没怎么花过家里的钱的，还挣了一点。”但她后来回忆，高中极大的竞争强度和压力，很快让她意识到自己担负的是怎样的重任——直击清北。这是一个校领导、老师和学生“齐抓共管”的工程，给她带来了沉重的心理负担，以至于开始厌学：

我们考试特别多，月月每个礼拜都要考试。有一次我印象特别深刻，

strange. (Shouzhi, Northern University, not a first-generation student, father is a university professor)

In contrast, non-advantaged classes, represented by rural students, have a completely different relational model with school education. If urban middle-class families are “consumers” and “controllers” in the face of education, farming, and laboring families are more often “pursuers” and “dependents.” The rural students I interviewed at elite universities are actually the cream of the crop among their peers. A closer look at their basic education experience reveals that their success was propped up by a series of low-probability events external to their families, such as being precocious and receiving special cultivation from a teacher, having their exceptional grades discovered by a principal who deemed them “material for studying” and gave them extra attention, being appreciated by a teacher and receiving free tutoring, dropping out to work and then being strongly supported by relatives to return to school, or being exceptionally admitted to a provincial key high school.

For their communities, a good school stands in a superior position; it is an external object to be pursued. “Going to university” embodies their hope for a better life, and “getting into university” means the ecstasy of “being chosen” and the expectation of being further selected by “the organization.” Children with exceptional talent who get into elite universities are rare. However, when one emerges in the area, their story spreads far and wide, serving as a model for subsequent “material for studying” and stimulating others to hope for ancestral blessings to have such a good child. Many of my interviewees were famous “figures” in their local areas. Their academic achievements brought far more than just opportunities for further education; they were imbued with profound social meanings like bringing glory to their ancestors, “earning face” for their family, and even winning honor for their school and hometown.

The hope that “studying can change one’s destiny” is indeed widespread. However, unlike the instrumental attitude of the urban middle class towards schools, for rural families, school education is a platform to demonstrate self-worth, and grades are the proof of that self-worth. More importantly, as long as one is successfully selected and enters an excellent platform, the responsibility for self-development is also handed over to the school, or rather, can only be handed over to the school. The academic performance of top students carries the expectations of the entire family, school, and even the entire county, so grades naturally become the purpose of learning. Many interviewees felt they had already succeeded upon being admitted to university—they had won the *gaokao*, been successfully selected, yet they failed to realize that elite universities today do not automatically pave the way for their future. They tightly attached their hopes for the future to the vast education system, surrendering control

当时月考我考了二三十名的样子，我们校长在考后要开成绩分析会。校长会把我们高一(13)班的任课老师、几个比较重点的学生，然后还有学生家长，请到一起吃顿饭。然后就是在饭桌上来分析这个成绩。比如说某某某这次考得比较好，前进多少名；某某某这次考得不好，后退了多少。然后我当时考的不是很好，吃饭的时候我就一直哭。因为我觉得很内疚，不仅是我不好意思，我还让我妈妈丢脸那种感觉。……从高中我就厌学情绪特别严重，就是我感觉我不是自己要去学习的，我是被别人逼着去学习，去做这样一件事情。我已经完全没有自由了那种，我必须考上清北，有时候是会被感觉被压迫的喘不过气来那种情绪。

那时她还不明白，她和学校已经成了绑定的利益共同体。清北是学校交给她的任务，而讽刺的是，她自己却从未(有机会)去为她自己选择目标。她的高考分数排全校12名，然而只有前5才能稳妥进清北。但学校想出清北的愿望实在太强烈，于是她还是填报了提前批的贫困县专项，第一志愿报了北大护理系，最终被南方大学的护理系录取。她告诉我，那时候对报志愿其实根本不了解，基本上就是听老师的，而老师的意见却夹杂着利益的考量：

老师他们更看重的是你的学校好不好。因为他们可能打横幅的时候会，某某同学考上了某某大学，不会说你的专业。因为可能你比如说考进北大、清华，学校会给这些老师多少奖金，考进10大名牌学校会给他多少奖金这种，是这么算的。所以其实我觉得志愿可能报的不是很好。我当时就随便填了一下提前批，结果就进去了……我家人还是很开心的，毕竟在我们整个镇上我都是第一个考上这种名牌大学的。但进去之后就发现，很多人都不想来护理学院，想转专业的同学太多，后来学校干脆不让转了……

被考试绑架的她，总算在进入大学后拥有了自己做主的自由。然而久居牢笼之后，她却不愿意再燃起求知的欲望，也没有意愿去掌控自己的人生。对大学的适应也很不容易，她很难找到一种归属感。她也不像身边很多想拼命逃离护理学院的同学，她随遇而安，按部就班的应付学业，绩点排在中游。她确定自己对医学没有任何兴趣，毕业时选择了加入“西部计划”，在贫困地区支教一年后接着读研。她设想未来也许能通过选调生的途径进入政府部门工作，但体验之后又觉得无聊：

淼清：我从来没有做过人生规划或者是给自己定过什么人生目标。我

over their lives—or rather, never having had it—and placing their hopes in the school and their major. Such cases are abundant. For example, Miao Qing, from a rural area in central China, whose parents were migrant workers and she was a left-behind child, showed outstanding talent from preschool. She entered primary school early and ranked first in her town in the junior high school entrance exam. This achievement brought her family significant financial benefits and immense psychological satisfaction:

I was thrilled then, and my parents, my grandparents, and my whole family were very proud. Later, I also received an excellent admission offer from a private school, which included waiving all three years of junior high expenses and providing my family with a sum of financial compensation; I do not remember the exact amount. For all three years of junior high, I lived a relatively comfortable life. Teachers, the principal, and classmates all looked at me differently. This was also the first time I realized that “studying can bring me some benefits.” Before primary school, I was probably studying and taking exams aimlessly like a normal person. After this junior high entrance exam, I began to consider what studying could bring me and my family.

When it was time to move from junior to senior high, she was again recruited by a private key high school with generous terms as a “top student.” The school not only waived all fees but also gave her family a “bonus” of 30,000 yuan and provided free housing for her mother to accompany her in the city. She joked, “I probably did not spend much of my family’s money during my studies; I even earned a little.” However, she later recalled that the intense competition and pressure in high school quickly made her realize what a heavy responsibility she was carrying—to aim for Tsinghua or Peking University. This was a project “jointly managed” by school leaders, teachers, and students, which brought her a heavy psychological burden to the point that she began to loathe studying:

We had so many exams, weekly and monthly. I remember one time very clearly. I ranked around 20th or 30th in a monthly exam. After the exam, our principal would hold a results analysis meeting. The principal would invite the teachers of our class (13) in the first year, a few key students, and their parents to have a meal together. Moreover, it was at the dinner table that the results were analyzed. For example, so-and-so did well this time, improved by so many ranks; so-and-so did poorly, fell back by so many. I did not do well that time, and I cried.

也没想着转专业，来都来了，我就按照学校和专业要求来学习呗。我可能每天想的最多的，比如说现在已经下午了，我可能想的最远的事情就是晚上要吃什么。我可能不会太在意第二天甚至很长远以后的事情，我觉得人生的不确定性实在是太大了，而且我对物质也没有很高的要求啊。反正无论是你过得有钱还是没钱，每个人最后最终的终点都是一抔黄土嘛！

雅君：那你会向往什么样的生活呢？

淼清：我从小到大只有一个愿望，我是说一直想要去过的一种生活，就是一个米虫的生活。那种在大米里面，你会经常看到一种虫子，它每天生活在很多米的包围之中，他们想吃的时候就醒过来啃几口，不吃的时候就在那睡觉，就这种。我希望我未来生活可能没有很多去让我思考、让我烦恼的事情，可以不用很费力，让我自由自在的，不要逼我去做什么事情。所以其实对体制内的工作我还是很满意的，就是太无聊了。

从对“米虫”的向往里，我感受到高中升学指标对淼清人生目标的绑架所孳生出的反叛情绪犹存。她在最需要为自己做主的关头全然没有自我掌控的能力和权力，而当行路已远，能掌控的东西渐渐变少、选择的成本却越来越大了。从依附成绩到依附学校，再到依附体制内的单位，是许多背景相似的被访者的共同路径。

throughout the meal. Because I felt so guilty, not just embarrassed for myself, but I felt like I had made my mother lose face.... From high school, my aversion to studying became very severe. I felt like I was not studying for myself, but was being forced by others to do this. I had utterly lost my freedom; I had to get into Tsinghua or Peking, and sometimes I felt oppressed to the point of suffocation.

At that time, she did not realize that she and the school had formed a community of shared interests. Getting into Tsinghua or Peking was the task the school had given her, and ironically, she herself had never had the opportunity to choose a goal for herself. Her gaokao score ranked 12th in the school, but only the top 5 could secure a spot at Tsinghua or Peking. However, the school's desire to produce Tsinghua/Peking students was so strong that she still applied for the special program for impoverished counties in the early admission round, with Peking University's nursing department as her first choice. She was admitted to the nursing department at Southern University. She told me that she knew nothing about filling out applications back then and basically just listened to her teachers, whose advice was mixed with their own interests:

The teachers cared more about whether your university was good. When they hang banners, they will say, "So-and-so student got into such-and-such university," without mentioning your major. For instance, if you are accepted into Peking or Tsinghua, the school rewards its teachers with a bonus. Similarly, if you are accepted into one of the top 10 universities, you will receive another bonus. That is how the calculation works. So my application might not have been filled out very well. I just casually filled in the early admission round, and then I got in... My family was still pleased, after all, in our entire town, I was the first to get into such a prestigious university. However, upon arrival, I discovered that many students were hesitant to join the nursing school. The high number of students seeking to transfer majors led the school to stop accepting transfers altogether.

Hijacked by exams, she finally had the freedom to make her own decisions after entering university. However, after being caged for so long, she was no longer willing to ignite her desire for knowledge, nor did she have the will to take control of her own life. Adapting to university was also not easy; she found it hard to find a sense of belonging. Unlike many of her classmates who desperately wanted to escape the nursing school, she was content to drift, dealing with her studies perfunctorily, with her GPA

in the middle range. She was sure she had no interest in medicine and chose to join the “Go West” program upon graduation, teaching in an impoverished area for a year before pursuing a master’s degree. She imagined she might be able to enter a government department through the targeted recruitment program for graduates, but after experiencing it, she found it boring:

Miao Qing: I have never made a life plan or set any life goals for myself. I never thought about changing my major. Since I am here, I’ll study according to the school and major’s requirements. For instance, now that it is afternoon, the furthest I think ahead is what I am going to eat for dinner. I probably do not care much about tomorrow or even the distant future. I think life’s uncertainty is too great, and I do not have high material demands. Anyway, whether you live a rich or a poor life, everyone’s final destination is a pile of dust!

Yajun: Then what kind of life do you aspire to?

Miao Qing: I have only had one wish since I was a child, a kind of life I have always wanted to live, which is the life of a “rice

worm” (*míchóng*). You often see these insects in rice; they live surrounded by much rice every day. They wake up and nibble a few bites when they want to eat, and sleep when they do not—that kind of life. I hope my future life will not be filled with many things that make me think or worry, that it will not require much effort, and that I can be free and not be forced to do anything. So I am actually quite satisfied with a job in the state system, it is just too dull.

From her longing for a “rice worm” life, I could feel the lingering rebellious sentiment bred by the high school’s college admission targets hijacking her life goals. At the most critical juncture when she needed to make her own decisions, she had neither the ability nor the power to control herself. Moreover, as the journey has gone on, the things she can control have gradually diminished, while the cost of making choices has grown ever larger. From depending on grades to depending on the school, and then to depending on a unit within the state system, this is a common path for many interviewees from similar backgrounds.

如果说名校生的范围内只能折射出一小部分“被选中者”的阶层差异,尚不能代表多数人,那么县域高中则是能显示出大多数普通人阶层差异的空间。在还未走进现场的时候,考虑到欠发达地区县域的经济发展水平较低,我曾狐疑这样小的地方恐怕观察不到明显的阶层差异。但观察到的事实证明,我的想象是错误的,阶层在县中是如此鲜明的主题,以至于老师们聊起学生和学校根本三句话绕不开家庭背景。

比如,校领导、年级主任以及两个学校老师都在与我交流的不同场合提到了一个他们的“常识”:学校的办学质量很大程度上取决于高学业水平的生源,学生的学业能力主要取决于学生的“脑子”(聪明程度),而“聪明程度”却和家庭背景密切相关,也与班主任的工作难度密切相关。一个背景信息是,在两所学校中,这些学校普遍存在根据学习能力分层设班的情况,而从上年起,全省普通高中录取比率从之前的50%提高到了85%,导致两所学校的门槛分数线大幅度下降——很多原本考不上高中的学生因为此次扩招而进来了。特别是县一中,因为是全县唯一的普通高中,只能照单全收。学校自从去年得知这一扩招的信息就开始严阵以待,担忧这些“多收”的差生会拖累学校的教学和管理,一直在讨论究竟要将他们独立分层还是“打散稀释”。最终,考虑到独立分层的“差班”管理难度太大,教师考核也难,两个学校都采取了“打散稀释”:将绩优的学生选拔出去组成六个重点班,其余的若干个平行班平均吸纳这些尾部的学生,平行班和重点班隔离开来,不在同个楼上课。这就意味着,此次扩招对重点班毫无影响,而底层的平行班生源的平均“聪明程度”大幅降低了。教数学的年级主任有天坐在工位上感慨:“唉,愁的不是上课,愁的是上课你讲了半天但是他还是不会啊!”另一个老师应声答道:“你也不想想你教的是些什么玩意儿?以前招上30%,我们全部给送到大学里了;后来招上50%,我们也全部给送到大学里了;现在招上85%,明年还要招95%,还叫我们都往大学里送去吗?”

在县一中,我所观察的正是这样的平行班,整个教师办公室的老师们都是平行班的授课老师。办公室烟雾缭绕,是许多男老师吸烟所致,其他老师们似乎也对此习以为常。在课间和自习时间等非上课时段,总有不少学生被老师“召唤”进来,耳提面命,而学生被“传唤”的缘由则大部分是由于违反了纪律,被值日老师查到扣了分,比如头发过长、午休时段聊天说话、

Suppose the scope of elite university students can only reflect the class differences of a small portion of “the chosen,” and may not represent the majority. In that case, the county-level high school is a space that can reveal the class differences of most ordinary people. Before I entered the field, considering the lower level of economic development in underdeveloped county areas, I had wondered if I would observe significant class differences in such a small place. However, the observed facts proved my assumptions wrong. Class is such a prominent theme in the county high school that teachers cannot talk about students and the school for three sentences without bringing up family background.

For instance, school leaders, grade-level directors, and teachers from both schools mentioned in different conversations with me a piece of their “common knowledge”: the quality of a school’s education depends largely on the supply of high-achieving students; students’ academic ability mainly depends on their “brains” (intelligence); and “intelligence” is closely related to family background, which is also closely related to the difficulty of a head teacher’s work. A piece of background information is that in both schools, it is common practice to group students into classes based on their academic ability. Starting from the previous year, the admission rate for ordinary senior high schools in the province was raised from the previous 50% to 85%, leading to a sharp drop in the admission scores for both schools. Many students who previously could not get into high school were admitted due to this expansion. This was especially true for County No. 1 High School, as it is the only ordinary high school in the county and had to accept all qualified students. The school had been on high alert since learning of this expansion last year, worried that these “extra” underperforming students would drag down the school’s teaching and management. They had been discussing whether to group them into separate classes or “disperse and dilute” them. In the end, considering that managing a separate “underperforming class” would be too tricky and teacher assessment would also be problematic, both schools adopted the “disperse and dilute” approach: the top-performing students were selected to form six key classes, and the remaining parallel classes absorbed these bottom-tier students evenly. The parallel and key classes were kept separate, not having classes in the same building. This meant that the expansion had no impact on the key classes, while the average “intelligence” of the students in the lower-tier parallel classes was significantly reduced. The grade-level director who taught math sighed one day at his desk: “Sigh, what worries me is not teaching, but that you teach for half a day and he still doesn’t get it!” Another teacher responded, “Don’t you know what kind of bunch you’re teaching? Previously, we admitted 30% and sent them all to university. Later,

看课外书、抽烟等等。遇到班主任认为情节恶劣的，则将家长一并请来，当面让家长知晓孩子在学校的劣迹，以引起家长足够的重视，也对孩子产生一定的惩戒作用。坐在我隔壁桌的班主任是一位严厉的男老师，从早到晚“传唤”学生几乎不停，间隙间常能听到他叹气，猛吸一口烟之后感慨道：“这些总现在越来越收拾不住了！”然后继续接着忙下一轮“传唤”。维持班级纪律、加强管理以保证不“出事”似乎是这些班主任老师最花时间和精力做的事情。

说起平行班的学生为啥会这么差，老师们最常提及的因素就是家庭背景。老师们经过常年观察总结道，能够进入重点班的，往往是县政府、老师、医生等机关事业单位职工的孩子；而家庭条件差的农村孩子则集中在平行班。“城上的娃子首先小学初中里的基本功就比乡里的娃子好，再一个城上有正式工作的家长观念上就更重视，从幼儿园里就知道巴结老师叫老师多关注，咋能一样哩？”——这是老师们的“常识”。另外一个老师们经常归因的要素在于家庭关系和家庭结构：平行班里特殊家庭（父母残疾、离异、孤儿、父母常年外出打工）的孩子比例远高于重点班的学生，“这些学生就是直接没人管，而且更容易出事（出现心理危机和自伤行为）”。老师们普遍对此感到无能为力，不觉得这是靠自己努力教学就能改观的。区一中高一年级主任的话也再次印证了这一点：

我们年级分为三个层次，依次是科创班、英才班、培优班。基本上科创班的学生不存在纪律问题，他们需要的是提高自主学习的能力。但是（班级层次）越往下走，学生的问题越来越多，情况越来越复杂。后头的班不消说经济上变差，更重要的是家庭结构也变得复杂。组合家庭、单亲家庭、留守儿童、由爷爷奶奶抚养的，各种情况都有，好多娃儿根本没办法从家里得到需要的支持。有些娃你要找他的父母你都找不着，好像娃就包给你老师了，你不要给我添乱。实际上对后面的这些班里的娃子，学校就是“救火队长”，社会和家庭所有的复杂性最后都凝聚到这个娃子的身上，学校最后就是担惊受怕，疲于应付。

在这里，家庭背景成了一个更为复杂的概念，包含了家庭结构是否完整、家庭关系是否融洽、是否有能力提供心理支持、是否有亲属犯罪等等。不仅限于社会经济地位，但又与社会经济地位紧密相连。老师们明显更愿意和受过教育的、明事理、容易沟通的家长打交道，因为这些家长会更容易

we increased this to 50%, and we continued to send them all to university. Now, we are admitting 85%, and next year, it will be 95%. Are we still supposed to send them all to university?"

At County No. 1 High School, the class I observed was one of these parallel classes, and all the teachers in the office taught parallel classes. The office was filled with smoke, caused by many male teachers smoking, and the other teachers seemed accustomed to it. During breaks and self-study periods, many students were "summoned" by teachers for reprimands. The reasons for being "summoned" were mostly for disciplinary violations caught by the teacher on duty, such as hair being too long, talking during the lunch break, reading non-textbook books, smoking, etc. If the head teacher considered the infraction serious, the parents would be called in to be informed of their child's misbehavior at school, in order to get the parents' attention and also to punish the child. The head teacher at the desk next to mine was a strict male teacher who "summoned" students almost non-stop from morning to night. In the pauses, I could often hear him sigh, take a deep drag from his cigarette, and lament, "These kids are getting harder and harder to manage!" Then he would continue with the next round of "summons." Maintaining class discipline and strengthening management to ensure "no incidents" seemed to be what these head teachers spent the most time and energy on.

When discussing the reasons for the poor performance of students in the parallel classes, the teachers most frequently cited family background as the primary factor. Through years of observation, the teachers concluded that those who could enter the key classes were often the children of county government employees, teachers, doctors, and other public sector workers.

In contrast, rural children from low-income families were concentrated in the parallel classes. "The kids from the city have better foundational skills from primary and junior high than the kids from the countryside, for one. Moreover, for another, parents with official jobs in the city are more conscious of its importance. They know how to curry favor with teachers since kindergarten to get more attention. How can they be the same?" — this was the teachers' "common knowledge." Another factor the teachers often attributed it to was family relations and structure: the proportion of children from special families (parents with disabilities, divorced, orphans, or parents working away from home year-round) in the parallel classes was much higher than in the key classes. "These students are simply not managed by anyone, and are more likely to have problems (psychological crises and self-harm)." The teachers generally felt helpless about this, not believing it was something they could change through their own teaching efforts. The words of the first-year grade director at District No. 1 High School also confirmed this:

和老师达成一种配合的关系，不仅不给老师添乱，还会帮老师分担一些责任（例如组织家委会、给孩子提供所需要的条件而不依靠老师）。而没文化的家长则相反：他们往往全然将培养的责任推卸给学校，指望着老师把自己孩子送进大学，同时又不十分信任学校，但实际上又只能将孩子托付给学校。底层家庭对学校的强烈依附性在家长和学校的博弈关系当中彰显的淋漓尽致。

根据我的观察，没文化的家长在这样纠结的博弈心态下通常表现出两类做法，其根源却都在于依附性：一类是对老师唯唯诺诺，巴结讨好，表示孩子的事全由老师做主，并借此完全把教育孩子的责任交待给老师。这类家长多年来一直存在，他们有一句烂熟的话常被老师们拿出来吐槽：“老师，你就放心给我（把孩子）往死里打！”老师们却对此往往持一种轻蔑的态度，“我给你往死里打，我头吃大了（闲的）吗？”在老师们看来，这句话表面上看是将管教的权利完全交给了老师，实则是推卸责任，仿佛意思是说：“我可把孩子交给你了，教不好是你的事”。县一中的老师们以勤恳负责任著称，有时为了管教打骂几下也属家常便饭，但对于这些家长的孩子，老师们却留着心眼儿。教历史的班主任张老师论及此事说道：“我要打你的娃儿，我把力气花上，我还得担责任，我闲的很吗？”也因此，老师们把责打学生看作是老师用心、负责的一种表现，这个责不是对什么样的人愿意负的。与老师的强势形成鲜明对比的是家长的服帖，在我观察到的老师处理违纪学生的案例里，老师常常会以“停学反省”为杀手锏来震慑学生和家——“再这样下去我的班上你就别来了，送回家反省去”。家长听了后往往慨然变色，表示万万不能，“娃娃撒到家里没人管咋行呢？”接着请求老师网开一面，再给一次改过的机会。梅老师的班里就有一个男生因为顶撞辱骂老师被班主任勒令停学在家，家长按耐不住来校求情，先是母亲来上演了一出校门口下跪求情的戏码，第二天父亲又来找梅老师求情。梅老师表示，这个学生原本就是怕了上一个班主任才转来他班上的，他当时勉强答应，哪知是个如此不服管教的浑球。他对学生的认错态度不满意，对家长也很不客气：“上课不能吃东西连幼儿园的娃都知道，你的儿子坐在课堂上吃东西，老师一批评还用脏话骂老师，叫你写个检讨书就写这么几个字？这是啥娃子？哪有这样的学生？”僵持了一上午，最后以一封任课老师签字见证的保证书做结：“我XXX如果再触犯校纪校规，就自行回到原班级，特此保证。”我听说，有的学生犯了错，老师不仅送回家，甚至连考试资格都一并取消，

Our grade is divided into three levels: science and technology innovation classes, elite classes, and enrichment classes. Students in the innovation classes have no discipline problems; what they need is to improve their self-directed learning skills. However, the further down you go (in class level), the more problems the students have, and the more complex the situations become. The classes at the bottom, not to mention being economically worse off, more importantly, have more complex family structures—blended families, single-parent families, left-behind children, those raised by grandparents, all kinds of situations. Many kids cannot get the support they need from home. For some kids, you cannot even find their parents; it is like the kid has been handed over to you, the teacher, and you are just not supposed to cause them any trouble. In fact, for the kids in these bottom classes, the school is just a “fire brigade.” All the complexities of society and family are finally concentrated in this kid, leaving the school scared and exhausted as it tries to cope.

Here, family background becomes a more complex concept, encompassing factors such as the family structure's integrity, the harmony of family relations, the ability to provide psychological support, and the presence of relatives with criminal records. It is not limited to socioeconomic status, but is closely linked to it. Teachers were clearly more willing to deal with educated, reasonable, and easy-to-communicate-with parents, because these parents were more likely to cooperate with the teachers, not only not causing trouble for the teachers, but also helping to share some responsibilities (such as organizing parent committees, providing the necessary conditions for their children without relying on the teachers). Uneducated parents were the opposite: they often completely shifted the responsibility of education to the school, expecting the teachers to send their children to university, while at the same time not fully trusting the school, yet in reality having no choice but to entrust their children to the school. The strong dependence of lower-class families on the school was vividly demonstrated in the game between parents and the school.

According to my observations, uneducated parents, under this tangled and conflicting mentality, usually exhibit two types of behavior, both rooted in dependence. One type involves being obsequious and fawning towards teachers, stating that the child's affairs are entirely the teacher's responsibility, thereby completely handing over the child's education to the teacher. This type of parent has existed for many years, and they have a classic line that teachers often mock: “Teacher, you can just beat him to

这样还能少拖累平均分。

另一类家长则是被老师们称之为“刁民”的。他们会找各种老师的“碴”（比如以体罚、辱骂、歧视为由），利用官方渠道投诉学校，或者以孩子自身的人身安全为筹码威胁学校，迫使学校满足他们的诉求，而这些诉求无非是孩子严重违纪之后不要被开除，或者是被停学反省之后要求重返学校。这类家长在区一中更常见，因为区一中被监管的强度比在县里更大。区一中的一位年级主任告诉我：

家长嘴上说‘你就放心打’，实际上你打一个试试？别说老师打了，现在就算是学校没有任何不合规的行为，学生确凿违反了校纪校规，学校在给处分之前还得前后做大量工作，确保人家能接受，不然人家就可能用生命威胁你，你说学校咋办？一般我们就先给上处分吓唬一下，到毕业之前就把记录给拿掉了。

家长为了确保能依附成功，不惜采取威胁甚至构陷的手段逼迫学校。在县一中，“刁民”投诉也时有发生，但因为全县仅有这一所高中，刁民告状的代价是巨大的——惹恼了学校和老师之后，孩子由谁来负责呢？所以“刁民”不像区一中那样猖獗。有一次，我和老师们交流：“你们打了学生之后，会不会担心被告？”老师们自有说法。一位说，“我用的这个白纸卷卷打，打到身上留不下印子。”另一位说：“他的娃子要是不想念了他就告去，我就以后再不管你的娃。”可见，老师之所以敢打，也是因为家长别无选择的依附。

death for me!” Teachers, however, often hold a contemptuous attitude towards this. “Beat your kid to death for you? Am I crazy?” In the teachers’ view, this sentence, while on the surface handing over all disciplinary power to the teacher, is actually a shirking of responsibility, as if to say, “I’ve handed the child over to you; if he’s not taught well, it’s your fault.” The teachers at County No. 1 High School are known for their diligence and responsibility.

Sometimes, a few scoldings or beatings are commonplace, but for the children of these parents, the teachers are more cautious. Mr. Zhang, a history teacher and head teacher, said on this matter: “If I’m going to hit your kid, I have to spend my energy, and I also have to bear the responsibility. Do you think I have nothing better to do?” Therefore, teachers see hitting students as a sign of their dedication and responsibility, a responsibility they are not willing to take on for just anyone. In stark contrast to the teachers’ assertiveness is the parents’ submissiveness. In the cases I observed of teachers dealing with disciplined students, teachers would often use “suspension for reflection” as a trump card to intimidate students and parents—“If you keep this up, do not come to my class anymore, go home and reflect.” Parents, upon hearing this, would often turn pale and say that it is absolutely not an option: “What will happen if the kid is left at home with no one to watch him?” Then they would beg the teacher to be lenient and give them another chance.

In Mr. Mei’s class, a boy was ordered to be suspended for talking back and insulting a teacher. The parents, unable to bear it, came to the school to plead. First, the mother came and staged a scene of kneeling at the school gate, and the next day, the father came to plead with Mr. Mei. Mr. Mei said that this student had transferred initially to his class because he was afraid of his previous head teacher. He had reluctantly agreed at the time, but who knew he would be such an unruly brat. He was not satisfied with the student’s apology and was very impolite to the parent: “Even a kindergarten kid knows you cannot eat in class. Your son was eating in class, and when the teacher criticized him, he cursed the teacher with foul language. And when asked to write a self-criticism, he wrote only these few words? What kind of kid is this? Where do you find such a student?” After a stalemate for the whole morning, it ended with a written guarantee signed and witnessed by the subject teacher: “I, XXX, if I ever violate school rules and regulations again, will voluntarily return to my original class. I hereby guarantee.” I heard that for some students who made mistakes, the teacher would not only send them home but also cancel their eligibility to take exams, which would also help prevent the class average from being negatively impacted.

The other type of parent is what the teachers call “unruly parents” (*dīāomín*). They would find all sorts of “faults” with the teachers (such as on the grounds of corporal

punishment, verbal abuse, or discrimination), use official channels to complain about the school, or use the child's own personal safety as a bargaining chip to threaten the school, forcing the school to meet their demands. These demands essentially meant not being expelled for serious disciplinary violations, or being allowed to return to school after suspension for reflection. This type of parent is more common in District No. 1 High School because it is more heavily regulated than the school in the county seat. A grade-level director at District No. 1 told me:

The parents say, 'You can just go ahead and hit him,' but in reality, would you try hitting one? Let alone the teacher hitting them, even now, if the school has done nothing non-compliant, and the student has clearly violated school rules, the school has to do much work beforehand to ensure the family can accept the punishment. Otherwise, they might threaten you with their

life. What can the school do? Usually, we give them a demerit to scare them, and then remove the record before graduation.

In order to ensure their successful dependence, parents do not hesitate to use threats or even framing to coerce the school. At County No. 1 High School, complaints from “unruly parents” also happen from time to time, but because there is only one high school in the entire county, the cost of a parent complaining is huge—after angering the school and teachers, who will be responsible for the child? So the “unruly parents” are not as rampant as in District No. 1. Once, I asked the teachers: “After you hit a student, do you worry about being reported?” The teachers had their own logic. One said, “I use this roll of white paper to hit them, it does not leave marks on the body.” Another said, “If his kid doesn’t want to study anymore, let him go and report it. I will just never manage your kid again.” The reason teachers dare to hit students is also because of the parents’ dependence, as they have no other choice.

本文试图对近年来研究者中盛行的东亚社会“教育心态扁平化”论点提出商榷,后者多源于量化研究对家庭教育态度的调查结果。这类研究通常发现不同社会阶层在对教育的重视程度上并无显著差异,因而得出“教育观念趋同”或“教育态度去阶层化”的结论(Li and Xie 2020; Liu and Xie 2015; Lyu, Li and Xie 2019)。然而,本文通过对来自名校与县中、具有不同社会背景的学生进行深入访谈与现场观察,尝试从个体的主观感受与日常实践出发,重新考察社会阶级与学校教育系统之间的关系。研究发现:虽然形式上都表现为“重视教育”,但在这共同的表象之下,不同阶层学生与教育系统之间的关系逻辑却呈现出本质性的差异,正所谓“形似而神异”。测量指标或许无法捕捉这些态度的来龙去脉,却在被访者的口述和田野的现场里清晰可辨。因而,这种“扁平化”教育态度的量化分析可能掩盖了学校教育系统与不同社会阶层之间更深层、更微妙却颇具稳健性的差异。

本文主张,正如前文述及的西方研究所揭示的,社会阶层与学校教育系统并非保持着一种等距或匀质的结构性关系。不过,与这些研究所勾勒出的“规划者/幸存者”之差异有所不同的是,我国的社会阶层差异更表现为一种“消费者/依附者”的差别。尽管我国的考试升学制度决定了非优势阶层也在很大程度上是教育竞赛的“幸存者”,但其更本质的特征在于对学校教育体制、乃至更广义的国家权力体制的深度依赖和交托。于中上层的学生而言,学校教育是可供调配的工具,是属于自己的、可供选择的服务商品。他们是善于自我掌控的学习者,以一种消费者式甚至企业家式的心态自主设定目标、调动资源,以实现对自己优势的再生产、兑现自身的教育需求。与此形成鲜明对比的是,对于工农阶层的学生而言,教育更像是一个“他者”的系统——它是外在的、稀缺的,需要通过层层竞争脱颖而出才能换来的机会,获得好学校录取本身就被视作一种成就甚至恩惠。这种关系不产生配得感(sense of entitlement),反而激发出一种近乎“程门立雪”式的虔诚姿态,即对学校的依附与感恩,对“被体制选中”的深层渴望,以及对个人命运的深度交托。这种高度依赖所展现的“臣属式能动性”(subordinate agency),与“企业家式能动性”(entrepreneurial agency)形成了鲜明的对照。下表总结了精英阶层与工农阶层学生在教育

This article attempts to challenge the prevailing argument among researchers in recent years about the “flattening of educational attitudes” in East Asian societies, which largely stems from the survey results of quantitative research on family educational attitudes. Such research typically finds no significant difference in the importance placed on education across different social classes, thus concluding a “convergence of educational concepts” or a “de-classing of educational attitudes” (Li & Xie, 2020; Liu & Xie, 2015; Lyu, Li, and Xie, 2019). However, through in-depth interviews and field observations of students from different social backgrounds at elite universities and county-level high schools, this paper re-examines the relationship between social class and the school education system from the starting point of individual subjective feelings and daily practices. The study finds that although there is a formal expression of “valuing education,” beneath this common appearance, the relational logic between students of different classes and the education system presents a fundamental difference—as the saying goes, “alike in form, but different in spirit.” Measurement indicators may not capture the origins and contexts of these attitudes, but they are clearly discernible in the interviewees’ narratives and in the field. Therefore, this quantitative analysis of “flattened” educational attitudes may obscure the deeper, more subtle, yet quite robust differences between the school education system and different social classes.

This article argues that, as revealed by the aforementioned Western research, social class and the school education system do not maintain an equidistant or homogeneous structural relationship.

However, unlike the “planner/survivor” difference outlined in those studies, the social class difference in our country is more manifested as a difference between “consumers/dependents.” However, our exam-based promotion system means that non-advantaged classes are also to a large extent “survivors” of the educational competition; their more essential characteristic lies in their deep dependence on and entrustment to the school education system, and even to the broader state power system. For students from the middle and upper classes, school education is a tool that can be deployed, a commodity of service that belongs to them and is available for their choice. They are learners adept at self-control, adopting a consumer-style or even entrepreneurial mentality to autonomously set goals and mobilize resources to reproduce their advantages and realize their educational needs. In stark contrast, for students from working and farming classes, education is more like an “other” system—it is external, scarce, and an opportunity that can only be obtained by excelling in layers of competition. Being admitted to a good school is itself seen as an achievement, even a favor. This relationship does not generate a sense of entitlement, but instead inspires an

系统中的主体性的典型特征差异,可作为后续研究者理解不同社会群体教育经验差异的分析框架:

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维度 Dimension

中上阶层学生 Middle/Upper-Class Students

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与教育系统的关系  
Relationship with Education System

内在化、亲近感强  
Internalized, strong sense of affinity

教育的属性认知  
Perception of Education's Nature

自己拥有的资源、可自由调配的商品  
A resource one owns, a commodity to be freely deployed.

学习者身份  
Learner Identity

“消费者式/企业家式学习者”, 主动掌控  
“Consumer-style/Entrepreneurial learner,” active controller

能动性表现  
Manifestation of Agency

主动选择和调配教育资源, 强化自身优势, 渴望“我有选择”  
Proactively chooses and deploys educational resources to strengthen advantages, desires “I have a choice”

教育的功能理解  
Understanding of Education's Function

优势的延续工具  
A tool for continuing advantage

情感态度与心态  
Emotional Attitude & Mentality

自信、掌控、策略性强  
Confident, controlling, highly strategic

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almost pious “standing in the snow at Cheng’s door” attitude, that is, a dependence on and gratitude towards the school, a deep desire to be “chosen by the system,” and a profound entrustment of one’s personal destiny. This high degree of dependence demonstrates a “subordinate agency,” which stands in sharp contrast to “entrepreneurial agency.” The following table summarizes the typical differences in the subjectivity of elite and working/farming class students within the education system, which can serve as an analytical framework for future researchers to understand the educational experience differences of different social groups:

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工农阶层学生 Working/Farming-Class Students

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外在化、距离感强  
Externalized, strong sense of distance

稀缺的机会、需用力争取的恩惠  
A scarce opportunity, a favor to be striven for

“虔诚学徒式学习者”，被动依附  
“Pious apprentice-style learner,” passive dependent

高度依赖教育系统，较少自我主导，渴望“我被选中”  
Highly dependent on the education system, less self-directed, desires “I am chosen”

阶层跃升通道  
A channel for upward mobility

虔诚、感恩、自我牺牲  
Pious, grateful, self-sacrificing

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Fig. 1 - Differences in perceptions of education amongst Middle/Upper-class and Working/Farming-Class Students

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本研究的发现,深化了学界对非资本主义社会中学校教育与阶级关系的理论讨论。虽然中国教育制度表面上以“共同富裕”与“机会平等”为价值目标,但现实中中学校所扮演的角色却体现出一种阶层化的象征互动结构。这种结构不仅存在于老师对不同阶层学生及其家长的态度中,更体现在学生对学校的感知、姿态与实践方式中——即教育的阶层化主体性(classed subjectivities)。这一视角与西方学者在不同国家教育场域中的发现形成对话(e.g., Reay et al., 2009; Lehmann, 2007; Archer, Hutchings, Ross, 2002),也回应了早期文化马克思主义理论家对教育系统象征性暴力功能的批判(Bernstein 1962; Bourdieu and Passeron 1977)。一位县中老师掏心掏肺地对我感慨道:“城里的娃光看脸就能看出是城里的,他们的眼里是有光的。农村的学生眼里就没光。”阶层实际上深刻地塑造了在学校里发生的社会互动,也塑造了学生对自己、对世界的情感态度。对那些只能请求依附于学校的孩子,老师们既无奈,又鄙夷。而对于孩子自身而言,他们感受到的,或许更多是一种自尊严感的匮乏——当家庭与学校相互推卸责任,生命个体的真实需要却在这种别无选择的依附中无从伸张、被人遗忘。

通过对阶层差异性教育经验的深入描绘,本文不仅为理解中国教育场域中社会不平等的形成机制提供了一条建基于主体性的新路径,也有助于为政策实践提供更具现实感的社会心理基础。以“双减”政策为例,政策目标原意在于阻止补习产业扩张、减轻学生学业压力、缩小教育差距,然而在具体实践中却产生了“政策漂移”:城市中产家庭迅速转向“地下化”或个性化私教服务,以维持其竞争优势,而普通工农家庭因缺乏可替代资源,反而失去了参与竞争的机会(Ball 2021; Jin and Sun 2022; 潘云华 2024)。又如近年持续推行的“新高考”改革,政策的原意本是通过增加考试的灵活性和自由度来赋能学生,鼓励学生根据自身才能走上多元化发展路线。然而落地之后,新高考的目标在东部发达省市迅速被学生功利化的选科策略所架空——学生为了取得优势,会趋易避难,选择相对容易的科目,而避开物理、化学等难度较大但对未来专业学习和国家产业发展重要的科目;而在中西部地区,新高考则因资源不足等原因流于形式化,选科走班实际上被简化为多个固定班级,应试策略也并无实质改观(徐东波、庞颖 2024)。正如本文所展示的,如果忽视教育主体性的阶层差异,任何政策都可能在“普惠”的表象下重现不平等的逻辑。倘若政策制定者对城市中产和非优势

The findings of this study deepen the theoretical discussion in academia about the relationship between school education and class in non-capitalist societies. Although the Chinese education system on the surface aims for “common prosperity” and “equal opportunity,” in reality, the role played by schools reflects a classed structure of symbolic interaction. This structure exists not only in teachers’ attitudes towards students and parents of different classes. However, it is more embodied in the students’ perceptions, postures, and practices towards the school—that is, the classed subjectivities of education. This perspective engages in a dialogue with the findings of Western scholars in different national educational fields (e.g., Reay et al., 2009; Lehmann, 2007; Archer, Hutchings, Ross, 2002), and also responds to the critiques of early cultural Marxist theorists on the symbolic violence function of the education system (Bernstein, 1962; Bourdieu & Passeron, 1977). A teacher at a county high school lamented to me with heartfelt emotion: “You can tell the city kids are from the city just by looking at their faces. There is a light in their eyes. The rural students do not have that light in their eyes.” Class, in fact, profoundly shapes the social interactions that occur in school and also shapes students’ emotional attitudes towards themselves and the world. For those children who can only plead for dependence on the school, the teachers are both helpless and contemptuous. Moreover, for the children themselves, what they feel is perhaps more of a lack of self-dignity. When the family and the school shirk responsibility from each other, the real needs of the individual life are left unarticulated and forgotten in this choiceless dependence.

By deeply depicting the class-differentiated educational experiences, this article not only provides a new path based on subjectivity for understanding the formation mechanism of social inequality in China’s educational field but also helps to provide a more realistic socio-psychological basis for policy practice. Taking the “Double Reduction” policy as an example, the original intention was to curb the expansion of the tutoring industry, reduce students’ academic pressure, and narrow the education gap. However, in practice, it has produced a “policy drift”: urban middle-class families quickly shifted to “underground” or personalized private tutoring services to maintain their competitive advantage, while ordinary working and farming families, due to a lack of alternative resources, lost their opportunity to participate in the competition (Ball, 2021; Jin & Sun, 2022; Pan Yunhua, 2024). Another example is the continuously promoted “New Gaokao” reform in recent years. The original intention of the policy was to empower students by increasing the flexibility and freedom of examinations, encouraging students to follow diversified development paths according to their own talents. However, after implementation, the goals of the New Gaokao were quickly subverted by students’ utilitarian subject selection strategies in developed eastern provinces—in order to gain an advantage, students would choose easier subjects and avoid more difficult ones like physics and chemistry, which are important for future profession-

阶层的教育主体性特征有所把握,就会发现这些非预期的政策结果其实是  
可以预见的:自我掌控的城市中产不管政策如何改变,都会想法设法主动  
调动资源来维持自身优势,自由度的增加对他们“及时雨”;而强烈依附  
于学校系统的非优势群体则从一开始就习惯于依赖学校的统一安排,以至  
于当自由被平等地分配到自己头上的时候,反而变成了一种驾驭不了的、  
多余的负担,加剧了他们获得优势的难度。

因此,理解并纳入阶层化主体性的视角,是任何以促进教育公平为目  
标的政策得以真正生效的前提。教育的平等,不仅是资源的再分配问题,更  
是主观世界的再理解问题。这不仅是对制度的挑战,更是对我们理解“何为  
学习者”的再提问。

al studies and national industrial development. In the central and western regions, the New Gaokao has become a formality due to insufficient resources, with subject selection and course-based classes being simplified into several fixed classes, and exam-taking strategies have not substantially changed (Xu Dongbo & Pang Ying, 2024). As Xu & Pang show, if the class differences in educational subjectivity are ignored, any policy may reproduce the logic of inequality under the guise of “universal benefit.” If policymakers had a grasp of the educational subjectivity characteristics of the urban middle class and non-advantaged groups, they would find that these unintended policy outcomes were actually predictable: the self-controlling urban middle class will find ways to actively mobilize resources to maintain their advantages regardless of policy changes, and the increase in freedom is a “timely rain” for them; whereas the non-advantaged groups, who are strongly dependent on the school system, are accustomed to relying on the school’s unified arrangements from the beginning, so that when freedom is equally distributed to them, it becomes an unmanageable, superfluous burden, exacerbating the difficulty for them to gain an advantage.

Therefore, understanding and incorporating the perspective of classed subjectivity is a prerequisite for any policy aimed at promoting educational equity to be genuinely effective. Educational equality is not only a matter of resource redistribution but also a matter of re-understanding the subjective world. This is not only a challenge to the system but also a re-questioning of our understanding of “what it means to be a learner.”

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# 脆弱不安的青春： 一所县域中学的 情动政治

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Insecure and  
Fragile Youth:  
The Affective  
Politics of  
a County-Level  
High School

本文结合在中国湖南省一所县域高中的民族志材料,探讨了当代中国青少年脆弱不安的内心世界。文章从校园内连续发生的意外事件出发,思考为什么教育系统在向青少年承诺幸福未来的同时也在造成生命力损耗。与过往的青少年研究不同,本文试图从日常情感的维度切入,考察作为“情动主体”的青少年,将情感体验视为一种道德反应,并纳入伦理论域的一部分,考察青少年如何与外部世界进行互动,同时建构起自身的主体意识。本文试图进一步指出,这种情动经验在当下的教育空间成为了治理的对象,青少年在这样的力量关系中缺少特定的情绪出口,并形成了一种心理内向化的倾向,我认为,其背后反映的是青少年被压抑、但仍不断涌现的强烈自我意识,这恰恰揭示了青少年主体经验中的最大张力:正是这种强烈的自我意识在加剧他们内心的脆弱与痛苦。

# 摘要

# ABSTRACT

Drawing on ethnographic material from a county-level high school in Hunan Province, China, this article explores the fragile and insecure inner world of contemporary Chinese adolescents. Beginning with a series of unexpected incidents on campus, the article considers why the education system, while promising a happy future, is also causing a depletion of life force. Diverging from previous youth studies, this paper attempts to approach the issue from the dimension of everyday emotions, examining adolescents as “affective subjects.” It treats emotional experience as a moral response and part of the ethical domain, investigating how adolescents interact with the external world while constructing their own subjectivity. This article further argues that this affective experience has become an object of governance in today’s educational spaces. Within these power relations, adolescents lack specific emotional outlets, leading to a tendency toward psychological introversion. I contend that this reflects a repressed yet constantly emerging strong sense of self-awareness among adolescents, which reveals the greatest tension in their subjective experience: it is precisely this strong self-awareness that exacerbates their inner fragility and pain.

抵达陵水县<sup>[1]</sup>的第一天，我就听说了“三连跳”这个有些耸人的传闻。那是2024年底，我以支教志愿者的身份来到陵水县第一中学（下文简称陵水一中），正准备开始为期半年的驻校田野调查，尤其关注青少年的心理状况及问题，这样的事件很快引起了我的注意。这是怎么回事？我向遇到的学生提问。他们激动地围住我，掰着手指，你一言我一语地讲述起对此的记忆。

具体而言，“三连跳”指的是陵水一中在短时间内连续发生了三起学生意外死亡事件，相邻很近，就发生在一个月里。比较多人提及的是去年发生在教学楼的一起坠楼事件，一个男生积极地挤到我面前说，尽管没有亲眼目睹，但那天他经过时救护车刚开走，现场已经围了很多人，“我看见地上那一滩血”。死去的是一位高三女生，从五楼的天桥跳下，有人说她刚分手伤心过度，有人说是因为跟父母吵架，也有人认为是月考没考好。一位女生向我讲述了一个更戏剧性的场景：

“天桥在高三和高一的教学楼之间，高一(9)班在教学楼最北面，紧邻高三的教学楼。那天正在上数学课，忽然全班都往窗外看，那个女生正坐在栏杆上，数学老师看见后，赶忙跑出教室，但被天桥的门拦住——为了防止高一学生去打搅高三，学校通常会把高一这侧的门锁上。他站在门前，喊那个女生不要跳，但她转头看向老师，笑了一下，然后跳了下去。”

这让我想起曾读到的一篇报道，一位重点高中副校长讲述了一起类似的校园坠楼事件：

事发在一次月考当天，班主任巡查早读时，发现有名学生用MP3看网络小说。这在学校是不允许的，班主任就走过去跟学生说，7点半要考试了，建议先把MP3交给老师保管。那位班主任平时为人温和，也没有批评学生，说完这么一句话，学生也没有讲什么，交了MP3，就安安静静在那里等待考试。

刚好学校新建了教学楼，走廊上的监控设施都很完备。我们后来从监控视频里看到，早读结束之后，那名学生和同学说说笑笑，走到了5楼考场。他们先在走廊上站了一会儿，但等同学进了教室，他毫不犹豫地纵身跳了

1. 本文出现的具体地名与人名均已照惯例作模糊处理。

1. All specific place names and personal names in this article have been anonymized according to standard practice.

## I. The Three Consecutive Jumps

On my first day in Lingshui County, [1] I heard the somewhat sensational rumor of the “three consecutive jumps.” It was late 2024, and I had arrived at Lingshui County No. 1 High School (hereafter Lingshui No. 1 High School) as a volunteer teacher, preparing to begin a six-month residential fieldwork study with a particular focus on the psychological state and problems of adolescents. Such an event quickly caught my attention. What happened? I asked the students I met. They excitedly gathered around me, counting on their fingers, each chiming in to recount their memories of it.

Specifically, the “three consecutive jumps” referred to three successive student deaths that occurred at Lingshui No. 1 High School in a short period, all within a single month. The most frequently mentioned was a fall from a building that happened last year. A boy eagerly pushed his way to the front and told me that although he didn’t witness it himself, the ambulance had just left when he passed by, and a large crowd had already gathered. “I saw that pool of blood on the ground.” The deceased was a final-year (Grade 12) female student who had jumped from the fifth-floor sky bridge. Some said she was heartbroken after a recent breakup, others said it was because of a fight with her parents, and still others believed it was due to a poor monthly exam result. One female student described a more dramatic scene to me:

“The sky bridge is between the buildings for the final-year and first-year students. Class 1-9 is at the northernmost end of the building, right next to the final-year building. We were in math class when suddenly the whole class started looking out the window. That girl was sitting on the railing. When our math teacher saw her, he rushed out of the classroom but was blocked by the sky bridge door—the school usually locks the door on the first-year side to prevent them from disturbing the final-year students. He stood at the door, shouting at her not to jump, but she turned to look at the teacher, smiled, and then jumped.”

This reminded me of a report I had read, in which the vice-principal of a key high school recounted a similar campus fall:

It happened on the day of a monthly exam. During the morning reading session, the head teacher on patrol found a student using an MP3 player to read an online novel. This was not allowed in the school, so the teacher went over and said to the student that the exam would start at 7:30 and suggested he hand over

下去。在场同学一下子都惊呆了,有的同学甚至才刚刚转身离开他,完全无法理解那一瞬间发生了什么。[2]

这些描述带给我强烈的震撼,我惊讶于生命的脆弱与无常,这样的生死瞬间就发生在极为日常、平静、无人察觉的情境里,而这一切的目击者、承受者,都只是未成年的学生。在这里,我引用亲历者的表述并不是为了提供某种“事实”或“真相”,而是试图指出这些事件是如何在当下被记忆和叙述的,这往往反映了更广泛的心理结构与困境。

日后,我从陵水一中心理中心的谢老师处得知了“三连跳”的具体始末。她拿出手机,从微信记录里翻出清晰的时间线:4月14日,一名男生在宿舍里猝死,警方排除自杀和他杀;4月16日,一名高三女生跳楼;4月28日,又一起坠楼事件。短短半个月时间。谢老师回忆,就在第一起意外发生的几天前,她已经有所察觉,“我感到不对劲,当时学校的气氛已经很压抑了。”有很多学生来做咨询,“过程中表达的都是愤怒,对老师,对学校,”她说,“我觉得这不正常。”

种种现象共同揭示出当代中国青少年脆弱不安的内心世界。据国家卫健委发布的《中国卫生统计年鉴》,全国城市居民中15-19岁人群的自杀率从2018年的1.8/10万人上升至2021年的3.34/10万人。2023年发布的《国民抑郁症蓝皮书》显示,全国50%的抑郁症患者为在校学生,18岁以下占比30.28%,即2850万人。如《娇惯的心灵》一书所写,年轻人如今正承受着巨大的压力,他们不仅要在学业上表现优异,还要充实课外成绩的冗长清单,与此同时,他们在社交媒体空间里也面临着前所未有的骚扰、侮辱和社会竞争,于是,他们渐渐形成了一种脆弱的自我人设(卢金诺夫,海特,2020)。人们不禁发问:当代青年为什么越来越“不高兴”? [3] 它也进一步关联到项飙新近对于“生命力捕获” [4] 的讨论,他指出,当下的教育系统正在造成青少年生命力的消耗,年轻人感到生命力萎缩、崩塌、干枯,这指向一种更普遍的生命形式(form of life)。

这似乎将问题指向了当代中国教育最常被提及、又最难以言说的问题:高压应试教学模式给学生带来的身心伤害。这种状况在当下的县域教育场景尤为突出,并与特定的地方政治经济处境相关联。以陵水县为例,它位于湖南省西北部,曾为国家级贫困县,2020年正式脱贫摘帽。但与此相反的是,作为陵水县内最好的高中,陵水一中每年高考的本科升学率能达

2. “一所重点高中的心理自救”, 人物, 2024-10-12, <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/E-55wY-mB-woStE8yn8lxkQ>

3. “当代青年为什么越来越‘不高兴’?”, 探索与争鸣, 2020-11-10, <https://user.guancha.cn/main/content?id=410036>

4. “对谈项飙:教育系统正在批量生产炮灰”, 青年志Youthology, 2024-11-6, <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/HJohU8oEhJpiNqHd-kqjihvQ>

2. “The Psychological Self-Rescue of a Key High School,” *Renwu* (人物), October 12, 2024, <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/E-55wY-mB-woStE8yn8lxkQ>

the MP3 player for safekeeping. That teacher was usually gentle and didn't criticize the student. After saying that, the student said nothing, handed over the MP3, and quietly waited for the exam.

The school had just built a new teaching block, and the surveillance system in the corridors was very comprehensive. We later saw from the surveillance video that after the morning reading session ended, that student was talking and laughing with his classmates as he walked to the 5th-floor exam room. They stood in the corridor for a while, but as soon as his classmates entered the classroom, he jumped without a moment's hesitation. The students present were stunned. Some had just turned away from him a moment before and couldn't comprehend what had happened in that instant. [2]

These descriptions struck me with great force. I was astonished by the fragility and impermanence of life, with such life-and-death moments occurring in extremely ordinary, calm, and unnoticed situations. And the witnesses, the ones bearing all of this, were just underage students. My purpose in quoting the firsthand accounts here is not to provide a certain “fact” or “truth,” but to show how these events are remembered and narrated in the present, which often reflects a broader psychological structure and predicament.

Later, I learned the full story of the “three consecutive jumps” from Ms. Xie at the Lingshui No. 1 High School Psychological Counseling Center. She took out her phone and found a clear timeline from her WeChat records: April 14, a male student died suddenly in his dormitory, with police ruling out suicide and homicide; April 16, a final-year female student jumped from a building; April 28, another fall from a building. All in just half a month. Ms. Xie recalled that a few days before the first incident, she had already sensed something. “I felt something was wrong; the atmosphere in the school was already very oppressive.” Many students came for counseling. “What they expressed during the sessions was all anger—at the teachers, at the school,” she said. “I felt this was not normal.”

These phenomena collectively reveal the fragile and insecure inner world of contemporary Chinese adolescents. According to the *China Health Statistical Yearbook* released by the National Health Commission, the suicide rate for the 15-19 age group in urban areas nationwide rose from 1.8 per 100,000 in 2018 to 3.34 per 100,000 in 2021. The *National Blue Book of Depression* released in 2023 showed that 50% of depression patients nationwide are students, with those under 18 accounting for 30.28%, or 28.5 million people. As written in *The Coddling of the American Mind*, young people today are under enormous pressure. They not only have to excel academically but also fill a

到90%以上,在全市名列前茅,对于学生而言,进入一中几乎就意味着得到大学本科的录取凭证。在陵水一中,成绩好一点的学生都会想出湖南,去到发达地区,至少也要去长沙,不论学生个体还是行政机构,都将此视为美好未来的象征,校园里挂着一句形象的标语:“登岳麓,跨长江,过黄河,进北京”。类似的话语在当下的县域教育场景十分普遍(林小英, 2023),在过去很长一段时间,“贫穷”与“高升学率”是不少县域中学的常见标签,这进一步形成了一种争相模仿的办学思路——实行高强度的教学模式,推广“状元县”,并将优异的高考成绩作为当地政府向中央寻求扶助的筹码,这些话共同反映出地方空间时至今日仍然强大的教育欲望(Kipnis, 2011)。

为了实现这样的目标,陵水一中采取了极为严苛的管理制度。学校实行每月三天的月假制,平日仅有周六下午的半天假期。校园时刻处在紧张的节奏里,每幢楼前都有一块电子屏,上面是一行红色的字体:“2024年高考/学考/期末联考倒计时,xx天xx小时xx分xx秒”,数字一直在走,提醒每个年级临近大考的时间。填充其间的是接续进行的随堂考、周考、月考。在具体的教学安排上,学校实施每学期流动的“快慢班”分层教学,这一模式已经在全国各地的中学得到广泛运用(Howlett, 2021: 77-131),它一方面以制造更多区隔的方式给学生带去教育不平等的感知,另一方面又在最日常、微观的层面向学生传递了依靠个人努力不断晋升、改变命运的希望。

随后的半年时间里,我与多位学生、教师进行了长期的相处、交流与访谈,也亲身参与了学校组织的部分活动。在很多场合里,我发现学生们常常展现出一种抱怨的姿态:抱怨落后、封闭的县城,抱怨压抑的校园生活,抱怨写不完的作业,抱怨对自己不公正的规章制度,也抱怨冲突频发的人际关系,这种愤怒有时又会转变为戏谑、自嘲,又或是对自身处境的麻木。

这些现象促使我们思考,为什么教育系统在向青少年承诺幸福未来的同时也在造成生命力损耗?是什么样的文化结构导致了这种处境?它如何具体表现在日常生活中,并由哪些力量主导?青少年如何理解这一处境,并建立起自身的主体性?本文将结合具体的民族志材料,试图回应这样的问题。具体思路,我将结合情感与情动理论,从一个新的视角深入考察当代青少年的主体性经验,以及地方性语境中围绕这一主体展开的一系列力量关系,并反思这些关系如何反过来影响乃至塑造青少年的自我意识。

3. “Why Are Contemporary Youth Increasingly ‘Unhappy’?”, *Tansuo yu Zhengming* (探索与争鸣), November 10, 2020, <https://user.guancha.cn/main/content?id=410036>

4. “A Conversation with Xiang Biao: The Education System is Mass-Producing Cannon Fodder,” *Youthology*, November 6, 2024, <https://mp.weixin.qq.com/s/HJohU8oEhJ-piNqHdkqihvQ>

long list of extracurricular achievements. At the same time, they face unprecedented harassment, insults, and social competition in the social media space, and thus they have gradually formed a fragile self-persona (Lukianoff & Haidt, 2020). One cannot help but ask: why are contemporary youth increasingly “unhappy”? [3] This is also related to Xiang Biao’s recent discussion of the “capture of life force,” [4] in which he points out that the current education system is causing a depletion of adolescents’ vitality; young people feel their life force is shrinking, collapsing, and withering, which points to a more general form of life.

This seems to point the problem towards the most frequently mentioned, yet most unspeakable, issue in contemporary Chinese education: the physical and mental harm caused to students by the high-pressure, exam-oriented teaching model. This situation is particularly prominent in the current county-level education scene and is related to specific local political and economic circumstances. Take Lingshui County for example. Located in the northwest of Hunan Province, it was once a national-level poverty-stricken county and officially lifted itself out of poverty in 2020. In contrast, as the best high school in Lingshui County, Lingshui No. 1 High School achieves a university undergraduate admission rate of over 90% each year in the gaokao, ranking among the top in the city. For students, entering this school almost means receiving an admission ticket to a university. At Lingshui No. 1, students with slightly better grades all want to test out of Hunan, go to developed regions, or at least to Changsha. This is seen as a symbol of a bright future by both individual students and administrative bodies. A vivid slogan hangs on campus: “Ascend Mount Yuelu, cross the Yangtze River, pass the Yellow River, enter Beijing.” Similar discourse is very common in the county-level education scene today (Lin Xiaoying, 2023). For a long time, “poverty” and “high university admission rates” were common labels for many county-level high schools. This further formed a competitive and emulative educational approach—implementing high-intensity teaching models, promoting the “county of gaokao champions,” and using excellent gaokao results as a bargaining chip for local governments to seek assistance from the central government. This discourse collectively reflects the still-powerful educational desire in local spaces today (Kipnis, 2011).

To achieve this goal, Lingshui No. 1 High School has adopted an extremely strict management system. The school operates on a monthly holiday system of three days, with only Saturday afternoon off on weekdays. The campus is always in a state of tension. In front of each building is an electronic screen displaying a line of red text: “Countdown to the 2024 Gaokao/Academic Proficiency Test/Final Joint Exam, xx days xx hours xx minutes xx seconds.” The numbers are constantly ticking, reminding each grade of the approaching major exams. This is filled in with continuous in-class tests, weekly tests, and monthly tests. In terms of teaching arrangements, the school

implements a “fast/slow class” tracking system that is fluid each semester. This model has been widely adopted in high schools across the country (Howlett, 2021: 77-131). On the one hand, it creates a sense of educational inequality for students by creating more divisions. On the other hand, it conveys the hope of continuous promotion and changing one’s destiny through personal effort at the most everyday, micro level.

Over the following six months, I spent a long time interacting with and interviewing multiple students and teachers, and personally participated in some school-organized activities. On many occasions, I found that students often displayed a complaining attitude: complaining about the backward, closed-off county town, the oppressive campus life, the endless homework, the unfair rules and regulations, and the frequent interpersonal conflicts. This anger would sometimes turn into jesting, self-mockery, or

numbness towards their own situation.

These phenomena compel us to think: why does the education system cause a depletion of life force while promising a happy future to adolescents? What kind of cultural structure leads to this situation? How does it manifest specifically in daily life, and by which forces is it dominated? How do adolescents understand this situation and establish their own subjectivity? This article will attempt to respond to these questions by combining specific ethnographic materials. My approach will be to integrate theories of emotion and affect, to deeply examine the subjective experience of contemporary adolescents from a new perspective, as well as the series of power relations surrounding this subjectivity in the local context, and to reflect on how these relations, in turn, influence and even shape the self-awareness of adolescents.

在传统的青少年研究中,青春期往往被视为通往成年的人类发展阶段,青少年要通过学习以应对未来的挑战,而非独立生成文化的主体,换言之,青少年的文化能动性被低估了,他们更多被视为“不完全的成年人”(incomplete adults),只是“部分文化的”(partially cultural)。近年来,越来越多人对此提出批评,并开始主张将青少年视为新的族群,认为其身份不再局限于静止、本质化的族群类别,而是混合的、在地的,其中揭示了丰富的社会过程(Bucholtz, 2002)。也有研究者将青少年视为积极的能动者,认为只有通过“文化”这一概念的批判性思考,才能看见青少年作为能动主体对于自身社会生活和意义世界的介入,进而理解其主体的复杂性(Wulff, 2022; Caputo, 2022)。

在陵水一中,学生们时常向我诉说自己的烦恼,并流露出复杂的情感——比如愤怒、怨恨、悲伤、恐惧、嫉妒等,这些情感吸引了我的注意,如玛莎·努斯鲍姆(Martha Nussbaum, 1990)所说,日常生活中的情感体验具有双重意义:它是一种反应方式,也是一种感知方式。在情感人类学的理论传统中,情感被认为是社会建构的文化脚本,作为一种“自我的语言”,情感是关乎意图、行为和社会关系的声明,应该被解释为“在社会生活之中、并且关乎社会生活,而非对内状态的直观反映”(Lutz & Abu-Lughod, 1990:11)。例如莉拉·阿布-卢赫德(Lila Abu-Lughod, 1986)在对贝都因女性诗歌艺术的研究中发现,贝都因女性会通过吟诵诗歌片段来宣泄因听从长辈命令带来的伤痛,而这背后反映的是她们对个体独立性的追求,她们渴望成为能够创造性地掌握多种强烈情感的个体。

与此同时,近年来随着情动理论的引入,更多人开始超越情感由社会文化建构这一假定,反思情感经验与身体的关系。与指涉情绪状态或表达的“情感”(emotion)不同,“情动”(affect)更强调一种情感之力的连续变化过程,其本身是流变的、动态的,既包括内在情感的变化,更指向身体强度的变化,在这一理论的代表人物吉尔·德勒兹(Gilles Deleuze)看来,情动是“一种穿过人体的强度,但不一定从人体中产生”(转引自Nava-ro-Yashin, 2009)。由此,情感和主体性的发展开始被视为一个生理-社会心理过程(bio-psychosocial process, Ozawa-de Silva, 2021: 16),它不仅涉及个体的文化认知,也关系到这些情感如何存在于身体内部并通过

## II. Becoming Affective Subjects

In traditional youth studies, adolescence is often seen as a developmental stage on the way to adulthood, where adolescents must learn to cope with future challenges, rather than being subjects who independently generate culture. In other words, the cultural agency of adolescents is underestimated; they are more often seen as “incomplete adults,” only “partially cultural.” In recent years, more and more people have criticized this view and begun to advocate for seeing adolescents as a new ethnic group, whose identity is no longer confined to static, essentialized ethnic categories, but is hybrid and localized, revealing a rich social process (Bucholtz, 2002). Some researchers also view adolescents as active agents, arguing that only through a critical examination of the concept of “culture” can we see how adolescents, as agentive subjects, intervene in their own social lives and worlds of meaning, and thus understand the complexity of their subjectivity (Wulff, 2022; Caputo, 2022).

At Lingshui No. 1 High School, students often told me about their troubles, expressing complex emotions—such as anger, resentment, sadness, fear, jealousy, etc. These emotions caught my attention. As Martha Nussbaum (1990) has said, emotional experience in daily life has a dual meaning: it is a way of reacting and a way of perceiving. In the theoretical tradition of the anthropology of emotion, emotion is considered a socially constructed cultural script. As a “language of the self,” emotion is a statement about intentions, actions, and social relationships, and should be interpreted as being “in and about social life, rather than as a direct reflection of an inner state” (Lutz & Abu-Lughod, 1990:11). For example, in her study of the poetic art of Bedouin women, Lila Abu-Lughod (1986) found that Bedouin women would recite fragments of poetry to vent the pain brought by obeying the commands of their elders, which reflected their pursuit of individual independence and their desire to become individuals who could creatively master a variety of strong emotions.

Meanwhile, with the recent introduction of affect theory, more people have begun to move beyond the assumption that emotion is socially and culturally constructed, and to reflect on the relationship between emotional experience and the body. Unlike “emotion,” which refers to an emotional state or expression, “affect” emphasizes a continuous process of change in the force of emotion. It is fluid and dynamic, including not only changes in inner feelings but also, more importantly, changes in bodily intensity. For Gilles Deleuze, a key figure in this theory, affect is “an intensity that passes through the body, but does not necessarily originate from the body” (cited in Navaro-Yashin, 2009). Thus, the development of emotion and subjectivity has come to be seen as a bio-psychosocial process (Ozawa-de Silva, 2021: 16). It involves not only the individual’s cultural cognition but also how these emotions exist within and are felt

身体被感受到,并涌现为一种敏感性(susceptibility)——即打动他人和被打动的能力。这为个体的日常互动提供了动力,它使日常生活具有一种在关系、场景和偶然事件中持续运动的能力(Stewart, 2007)。通过分析情动,我们能够更好地对那些弥散的、表达粗略的、难以归入任何情感类别的欲望和经验进行理论化,在一些民族志叙述中,情动并不是理论框架,而是作为一种描述,但这些描述蕴含着重新解读(re-reading)情感的丰富意义(Kuan, 2023)。

如何在青少年的日常生活中考察这些情感与情动,以及由此牵引出主体性经验?以下将以学生在“三连跳”发生后的日常互动为例,展开具体说明和讨论。

在持续的相处中,我发现“三连跳”在学生之间构成了一种漫长的余震,让我惊讶的是,这种影响并不只是想象中的恐惧与悲伤,跳楼有时也会成为一种玩笑的媒介。某天午饭时,一个高一女生问另一个高三男生,今年你们高三怎么没人跳?我说,你怎么还盼着别人跳?她说,跳了我们就放三天假。边上有人抢着说,“去年就没放,还把我们关在教室里不让出来。”高三男生告诉我,现在学校已经不敢太严厉地管高三学生。我问为什么,他们露出会心的笑容说,因为有“空对地导弹”——就是跳楼。过去有关青少年暴力的研究中,不少研究者试图指出,暴力语境中的情感不只有人们通常认为的恐惧、震惊、悲伤和哀痛,也可能有玩笑式的一面(Das, 2008)。有一次,我看见两个女生在聊天时开玩笑说,“你去跳楼”,“我可以跳啊,我有医院的证明,我可以跳。”在对话中,跳楼好像是一个危险的隐喻,用他们流行的话说,是一种“口嗨”,或是讲八卦的语气和态度,仿佛跳下的人对他们并没有构成什么情感或观念上的冲击。

另一次,我亲眼目睹了一位女生情绪失控的情形。她叫胜男,是一位高二女生,曾确诊双向情感障碍<sup>[5]</sup>。那天傍晚她披着头发走进办公室,当时我正坐着跟高二男生李阳聊天,她走到李阳身边,问他:“怎么样可以在学校里制造意外死亡事件?”李阳回她说:“去教学楼五楼。”我察觉到胜男的状态不对,她的眼眶湿湿的,我试图用手轻轻拍她的右肩,她迅速挥动右手,“滚开!”李阳面不改色地说:“你又犯病了是吧?”她坐到一旁的椅子上,背对着我们。我试着走近,看到她开始流泪。我没敢接近问她,就回去跟李阳说话。过了一会儿她走到我的座位前,问我,“能借我一把刀吗?”——实

5. 根据世界卫生组织介绍,双向情感障碍(bipolar disorder)是一种精神健康疾患,其特点是躁狂(或轻躁狂)和抑郁发作,使情绪从一个极端波动到另一个极端,在躁狂发作期间,患者情绪极度亢奋,精力充沛,相反,在抑郁发作期间,患者会经历抑郁情绪,详见<https://www.who.int/zh/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/bipolar-disorder>

5. According to the World Health Organization, bipolar disorder is a mental health condition characterized by manic (or hypomanic) and depressive episodes, causing moods to swing from one extreme to the other. During a manic episode, the person experiences elevated mood and increased energy, whereas during a depressive episode, the person experiences a depressed mood. For details, see <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/bipolar-disorder>

through the body, emerging as a susceptibility—the ability to affect others and to be affected. This provides the impetus for daily interactions, giving everyday life a capacity for continuous movement in relationships, scenes, and contingent events (Stewart, 2007). By analyzing affect, we can better theorize those diffuse, roughly expressed desires and experiences that are difficult to categorize into any emotional category. In some ethnographic narratives, affect is not a theoretical framework but a form of description, yet these descriptions contain rich meanings for re-reading emotion (Kuan, 2023).

How can we examine these emotions and affects in the daily lives of adolescents, and the subjective experiences they entail? The following will use the daily interactions of students after the “three consecutive jumps” as an example for specific explanation and discussion.

Through continuous interaction, I found that the “three consecutive jumps” created a long-lasting aftershock among the students. What surprised me was that this impact was not just the expected fear and sadness; jumping from a building sometimes also became a medium for jokes. One day at lunch, a first-year girl asked a final-year boy, “How come no one from your year has jumped yet?” I said, “Why are you hoping for someone to jump?” She replied, “If someone jumps, we get a three-day holiday.” Someone next to her quickly interjected, “We didn’t get one last year. They just locked us in the classrooms and wouldn’t let us out.” The final-year boy told me that the school no longer dares to manage the final-year students too strictly. I asked why. They smiled knowingly and said, “Because of the ‘air-to-ground missiles’—that is, jumping.” In past research on youth violence, many researchers have tried to point out that the emotions in the context of violence are not only the commonly assumed fear, shock, sadness, and grief, but can also have a jocular side (Das, 2008). On another occasion, I saw two girls joking while chatting, “You go jump off a building.” “I can jump, you know. I have a certificate from the hospital, I’m allowed to jump.” In their conversation, jumping seemed to be a dangerous metaphor, or in their popular slang, a form of “trash talk” (*kōuhāi*), or a gossipy tone and attitude, as if the person who jumped had not made any emotional or conceptual impact on them.

Another time, I witnessed a girl lose control of her emotions. Her name was Sheng Nan, a second-year (Grade 11) student who had been diagnosed with bipolar disorder. [5] That evening, she walked into the office with her hair down. I was sitting and chatting with a second-year boy, Li Yang. She walked up to Li Yang and asked him, “How can I create an accidental death at school?” Li Yang replied, “Go to the fifth floor of the teaching building.” I noticed something was wrong with Sheng Nan’s state; her eyes were wet. I tried to gently pat her on the right shoulder, but she quickly swatted my hand away, “Get lost!” Li Yang, unfazed, said, “You’re having an episode again, aren’t

际桌上的纸盒里就有剪刀,但她选择问我而不是自己直接去拿。我说,不能给你。她气冲冲地走了出去。我向李阳表达了担忧,他仍然一脸平静地告诉我,这很常见,他自己有时候也会这样。

这些现象揭示出一种复杂的个体处境。一方面,类似“三连跳”的危机一直潜伏于学生之间,表现为普遍存在的脆弱、不稳定的心理状态,但另一方面,作为旁观者的学生又时常对此表现出一种冷漠或玩笑式的态度,好像这并不是什么悲伤或残酷的事情。我试图指出,不论是存在心理危机的人,还是旁观者、谈笑者,他们都共享着这一处境。它促使我们反思移情(empathy)这一人类经验,在克尔凯郭尔(Kierkegaard)的论述中,它指的是感知他人的悲伤,并将别人的现实理解为自身的可能性,即一种交互的共情体验(Davies, 2016)。列维纳斯在对于“面孔”的论述中同样指出了移情的重要性,即“面孔”作为一种“他者”,是存在于一系列的移情置换(displacements)之中,并体现为对他者脆弱性的感知(巴特勒, 2016: 206-232),这种感知有时并非意识层面的推己及人,而是更接近一种超越语言的、无意识的情动。

因此,在学生们有关“三连跳”的隐喻和反应中,我看到的并不是疏离和漠不关心,恰恰相反,我认为这反映的是对同辈命运的移情,它更像是一种“沉默的关怀”,换言之,在这些极端事件当中,他们看到的是自己的潜在命运,所以他们选择用幽默或冷淡的方式来缓和冲击,并掩盖内心的脆弱不安。在我看来,这在他们的生活中变得很寻常,也很重要,像是一种脱离现状的手段。

在这里,我们看到的是一种“情动主体”(affective subject),它展现了情动理论对主体这一概念的再阐释,不同于传统视角下理性、自主、稳定的主体想象,情动转向倡导的是一种关怀的道德行为者,它“热情参与行动领域而非冷漠疏离、脆弱而非理性自控”(Kuan, 2023)。我认为,青少年对于“三连跳”的情感反应展现的正是这一新的主体想象,这一视角在当代青春经验中十分重要,它促使我们思考青少年在日常生活中的敏感性——如何感知自我生存处境的不安,又如何能够或不能感知他人的不安定,并采取行动(Allison, 2013: 14-15)。此时,情感体验显然被视为一种道德反应,并被纳入伦理论域的一部分。换言之,这些日常生活中的情感,乃至所谓的崩溃时刻,其实也是主体性时刻,我们可以由此看到青少年如何

you?” She sat down in a nearby chair with her back to us. I tried to approach her and saw she had started to cry. I didn’t dare to get close and ask her anything, so I went back to talking with Li Yang. After a while, she walked up to my desk and asked, “Can I borrow a knife?”—there were actually scissors in a paper box on the table, but she chose to ask me instead of just taking them herself. I said, “I can’t give you one.” She stormed out angrily. I expressed my concern to Li Yang, but he, still with a calm face, told me that this was very common, and that he himself sometimes felt that way.

These phenomena reveal a complex individual situation. On the one hand, crises like the “three consecutive jumps” are always lurking among the students, manifested as a widespread fragile and unstable psychological state. But on the other hand, the students who are bystanders often show a cold or jocular attitude, as if it were not something sad or cruel. I want to argue that whether it’s the person in psychological crisis, the bystander, or the one making jokes, they all share this situation. It prompts us to reflect on empathy as a human experience. In Kierkegaard’s discourse, it refers to perceiving the sorrow of others and understanding their reality as a possibility for oneself, a kind of interactive, empathic experience (Davies, 2016). Levinas also pointed out the importance of empathy in his discussion of the “face,” where the “face” as an “other” exists in a series of empathic displacements and is manifested in the perception of the other’s vulnerability (Butler, 2016: 206-232). This perception is sometimes not a conscious act of putting oneself in another’s shoes, but closer to a non-linguistic, unconscious affect.

Therefore, in the students’ metaphors and reactions concerning the “three consecutive jumps,” what I see is not alienation or indifference. On the contrary, I believe it reflects an empathy for the fate of their peers. It is more like a “silent care.” In other words, in these extreme events, they see their own potential destiny, so they choose to use humor or indifference to soften the impact and conceal their inner fragility and insecurity. In my view, this has become very common and important in their lives, like a means of escaping the current situation.

Here, we see an “affective subject.” It demonstrates how affect theory reinterprets the concept of the subject. Unlike the traditional view of a rational, autonomous, and stable subject, the affective turn advocates for a caring moral agent that is “passionately engaged in the field of action rather than coolly detached, and vulnerable rather than rationally self-possessed” (Kuan, 2023). I believe that the emotional response of adolescents to the “three consecutive jumps” demonstrates precisely this new imagination of the subject. This perspective is very important in the contemporary experience of adolescence. It prompts us to think about the susceptibility of adolescents in their daily lives—how they perceive the insecurity of their own existence, and how they

与外部世界进行互动,同时建构起自身的主体意识。

这进一步延伸向社会维度,任柯安(Andrew Kipnis, 2012)曾指出,中国社会的个体化并不是纯粹的社会事实,而更应该被视作一种心理问题化(psychological problematic),个体心灵成为了社会矛盾显现的场所,各种话语、情感和冲动共同构成了一种感觉结构(structures of feeling)。与之相对的是,个体心灵也由此成为了治理行为的重要对象,特别是在地方空间中,我们可以看到围绕心灵和情感发生的一系列力量关系。

### 三、治理情动

在《治理教育欲望》(*Governing Educational Desire*)一书中,任柯安试图论证,福柯理论传统中的治理可以用来探究中国教育治理的文化特征:重点在于治理如何发生,而不是明确地指谁来治理(Kipnis, 2011: 5)。我想进一步指出的是,任柯安更多聚焦于对个体行为规范与伦理观念的治理,而忽略了福柯理论的另一个核心面向——身体,以及由身体活动所引起的情动经验。这一点的重要性不断被强调,不少学者指出,身体正在教育空间中扮演着重要角色,使物理、社会和精神文化这三个层面在其中相互交织(Cook & Hemming, 2011)。

情动如何在当下的教育空间被治理?在这一节,我将围绕这一问题展开讨论,并结合发生在校园内的不同事件与活动,考察青少年的身体与情动能量如何在这些活动中被唤起或压抑。受启发于萨拉·艾哈迈德(Sara Ahmed)的论述(2004: 72),我试图指出这种治理背后复杂的力量关系:情感政治不只是治理工具或症候,还与身体相关联,指向情感的强化(intensification),这不仅实现了治理这一行为,也创造出个体之间的认知差异。

进入陵水一中的第一天,我就见到了传说中的跑操。十点零五下课铃一响,广播便响起运动员进行曲,学生从各幢教学楼陆续走出,每人手里都拿着一本书,有的是课本,有的是口袋本大小的单词册。所有学生按照班级找到各自的位置,在校园的道路上排成一条环线。广播开始讲话,“队伍最后一排的同学要盯紧前排,如果有空位就往前补,这样队伍才整齐好看,外

are able or unable to perceive the instability of others and take action (Allison, 2013: 14-15). At this point, emotional experience is clearly seen as a moral response and is incorporated into the domain of ethics. In other words, these everyday emotions, even the so-called breakdown moments, are also moments of subjectivity. From them, we can see how adolescents interact with the external world while constructing their own sense of self.

This extends further to the social dimension. Andrew Kipnis (2012) once pointed out that individualization in Chinese society is not purely a social fact but should be seen more as a psychological problematic. The individual psyche becomes the site where social contradictions manifest, and various discourses, emotions, and impulses together constitute a structure of feeling. Correspondingly, the individual psyche has thus become an important object of governance, especially in local spaces, where we can see a series of power relations occurring around the mind and emotions.

### III. Governing Affect

In *Governing Educational Desire*, Andrew Kipnis seeks to demonstrate that the Foucauldian tradition of governance can be used to explore the cultural characteristics of educational governance in China: the focus is on how governance happens, rather than explicitly who governs (Kipnis, 2011: 5). I want to further point out that Kipnis focuses more on the governance of individual behavior norms and ethical concepts, while neglecting another core aspect of Foucault's theory—the body, and the affective experience caused by bodily activities. The importance of this has been increasingly emphasized, with many scholars pointing out that the body is playing an important role in educational spaces, where the physical, social, and spiritual-cultural levels are intertwined (Cook & Hemming, 2011).

How is affect governed in today's educational spaces? In this section, I will discuss this issue, and combining different events and activities on campus, examine how the bodily and affective energy of adolescents is evoked or suppressed in these activities. Inspired by Sara Ahmed's discourse (2004: 72), I attempt to point out the complex power relations behind this governance: affective politics is not just a tool or symptom of governance, but is also related to the body, pointing to the intensification of emotion. This not only accomplishes the act of governance but also creates cognitive differences among individuals.

On my first day at Lingshui No. 1 High School, I witnessed the legendary group run

面来的人都会说我们跑得好。”“立正——向右看齐!”数千人的队伍并不是那么容易指挥,视线所及,学生多数都低着头翻看手中的书本,并没有参与整队,班主任也站在一旁默许。随后跑操开始,广播重复播放着“一二一”的口令,数千人的队伍运动起来。班主任也跟在队伍边上跑,时刻关注着队伍的情况。学生们边跑边喊口号,由队伍的排头或是队中某个嗓门大的人领头,为了队列整齐,整体跑得并不快,也有人仍在边跑边看书,队伍保持着一定间距,但跑着跑着便挤到了一起。大约十五分钟后,音乐结束,队伍停下来,广播里开始依次播报今天跑得好和差的班级,分别点名表扬和批评。

跑操已经成为当下中国高中必备的一项活动,尤其是衡水中学的办学模式引发大量讨论与推广以来 [6],不少中学都以跑操文化作为校园建设的一部分。这体现了当下中国校园的生命政治,跑操一方面是为了培植身体素质,养成更强壮、健康的青少年——这背后是过去几十年中国素质教育的重要意识形态(Greenhalgh, 2010);但在这里,跑操背后的文化意涵更为复杂,它不仅是对规则与集体性的训练(跑出整齐的队形),对一种时间伦理的强调(在等候间隙读书,甚至边跑边读书,不浪费片刻学习时间),更是对生命活力——葛苏珊(Susan Greenhalgh)称之为“活力政治”(vital politics)——的强调。关宜馨(Teresa Kuan, 2015)在讨论中国青少年养育中的“人力资本”(human capital)时指出,青少年的动力、情感和智力在当下总是会被作为养育投资的内容,在这个意义上,生命活力成为了一种可以被治理的有限资源。对于跑操的实践告诉我们,中国需要的不仅是成绩优异、身体健康的青少年,同时还希望青少年能拥有积极向上的精神面貌,例如跑操时高昂的口号,换言之,学校试图通过跑操这一活动重新调动起青少年在繁重课业压抑下的生命能量,不论是主动或是被动的,这也可以进一步被理解作为一种道德情感,即个体需要学习调动自己的身体能量与情绪,融入到更大的集体情感之中,并将这些能量投入到更漫长的日常学习之中。

这种治理也指向心理层面,尤其是面对当下青少年越发脆弱不安的心灵。“三连跳”发生后,陵水一中的校方开始对学生的心理状况极为敏感:立刻请第三方进入校园辅导,开展筛查,并组织人手对高危学生进行关注和干预;校领导也安排心理老师参加全校班主任的定期例会,并在会上对班主任做培训。然而,学生视角的讲述与此有所不同。在他们看来,这些措施更像是一种监管。有学生回忆,坠楼事件发生后的一段时间里,年级组会

6. “高考在那儿,衡水二中就是性价比问题”,三联生活周刊,2015年第18期。

6. “With the Gaokao There, Hengshui No. 2 High School is a Matter of Cost-Effectiveness,” *Sanlian Life Weekly*, 2015, Issue 18.

(*pǎocāo*). As soon as the bell rang at 10:05, the “Athletes’ March” began to play over the broadcast. Students emerged from the various teaching buildings, each holding a book—some were textbooks, others were pocket-sized vocabulary booklets. All students found their respective places by class, forming a circular line on the campus roads. The broadcast began to speak, “Students in the last row of the line, keep a close eye on the row in front. If there’s a gap, fill it. This way the line will be neat and look good. Visitors will say we run well.” “Attention—eyes right!” A line of several thousand people is not so easy to command. As far as the eye could see, most students had their heads down, flipping through their books, not participating in the formation. The head teachers also stood by, tacitly approving. Then the run began. The broadcast repeated the command “One-two-one,” and the line of several thousand people started moving. The head teachers also ran alongside the line, constantly monitoring the situation. The students shouted slogans as they ran, led by someone at the front of the line or someone with a loud voice in the middle. To keep the formation neat, the overall pace was not fast. Some were still reading as they ran. The line maintained a certain distance, but as they ran, they began to bunch up. About fifteen minutes later, the music ended, the line stopped, and the broadcast began to announce, one by one, the classes that ran well and poorly today, giving praise and criticism respectively.

The group run has become a mandatory activity in high schools across China today, especially since the educational model of Hengshui High School sparked extensive discussion and promotion. [6] Many high schools have made the group run culture a part of their campus construction. This reflects the biopolitics of contemporary Chinese campuses. On the one hand, the run is to cultivate physical fitness and develop stronger, healthier adolescents—this is behind the important ideology of quality-oriented education in China over the past few decades (Greenhalgh, 2010). But here, the cultural meaning behind the run is more complex. It is not only a training of rules and collectivity (running in neat formations), an emphasis on a certain time ethic (reading during waiting periods, even while running, not wasting a moment of study time), but also an emphasis on vitality—what Susan Greenhalgh calls “vital politics.” Teresa Kuan (2015), in her discussion of “human capital” in Chinese youth upbringing, points out that the motivation, emotions, and intellect of adolescents are now always considered content for parental investment. In this sense, vitality has become a finite resource that can be governed. The practice of the group run tells us that China needs not only academically excellent and physically healthy adolescents, but also hopes that adolescents can have a positive and upward spiritual outlook, such as the loud slogans during the run. In other words, the school attempts to re-mobilize the life energy of adolescents, suppressed by heavy academic pressure, through the activity of the group run. Whether active or passive, this can also be further understood as a moral emotion, where the individual needs to learn to mobilize their own bodily energy

让每个班长下课以后去看监控，记录有没有人趴在门口的走廊，或是有其他异常状况。这有时会变成敏感过度，一位女生说，班主任把她的校牌都给收走了——怕她用校牌的别针自残，她有一次被学校书记抓住，问她怎么没戴校牌，还好边上有同学帮她解释，不然又要被批评扣分。这揭示了学校两种不同的治理维度：一方面仍在实施严格的日常治理，比如对课堂纪律和学生言行的管理，另一方面又不希望“三连跳”这样的事情再次发生，所以试图从“根源”断绝学生发生意外事件的可能性。两者在某种意义上遵循着同样的逻辑，却也在学生的生活中发生着剧烈的摩擦。

胜男向我讲述另一次经历：“那天下午第一节课，我忽然情绪失控了，在教室里大哭，把试卷什么的都撕掉，同学们吓了一跳，当时是历史课，我哭了一节课，历史老师知道我的情况，就当作什么状况也没发生，正常在那上课。”这个场景让我感到惊讶，它似乎是难以想象的，当一个人在课堂上爆发出如此强烈的情感，甚至存在危险行为，这种强大的能量触及了班内的其他人，但老师什么也没有做，她克制了自己的情感回应，只是继续上课。因为在课堂环境下，前述的两种治理逻辑存在冲突，而维持课堂纪律和授课进度在这时是唯一具有合法性的事情，从集体主义的框架来看也是如此，个人情感并不应该左右集体进程，换句话说，这揭示了两种治理之间的力量关系，在那个时刻的力量斗争里，个体的忧郁情动被抑制了。

以上状况似乎都印证了关宜馨的观察，即在中国，针对青少年心理病痛的反应更多是教育性的，而不是医疗性的(Kuan, 2015: 5)。这呼应了有关当代中国社会“心理热”(Psycho-boom)的讨论：校方强调的问题层面，恰恰是可以采取行动的那一部分，当教育系统的压力和结构暂时无法改变——尽管它很可能是导致青少年痛苦的重要原因——只好去处理那些可以解决的问题，即改变青少年的接受和调整能力。

学期中的一个周六上午，学校按计划操场举行高二年级的家长会。不同的是，这次家长会的形式是一次“家庭教育励志报告会”，由校外请来的专家主持。在活动现场，学生和家長两两并排，几乎坐满了三分之二个操场。开场由校长致辞，他指出，这次励志报告会有三项目的：第一，共商发展大计，共谋成长蓝图，大家即将进入一轮复习，届时就是准高三学生了；第二，感恩父母、感恩老师、感恩学校、感恩国家；第三，高考是没有硝烟的战争，要统一思想，他最后大声说道：“成功不能等待，孝心不能等待，感恩不能等待！”

and emotions, integrate into a larger collective emotion, and invest this energy into the longer-term daily study.

This governance also points to the psychological level, especially in the face of the increasingly fragile and insecure minds of today's adolescents. After the "three consecutive jumps," the school authorities at Lingshui No. 1 became extremely sensitive to the students' psychological state: they immediately invited a third party to provide campus counseling, conducted screenings, and organized staff to monitor and intervene with high-risk students. The school leadership also arranged for psychology teachers to attend the regular meetings of all head teachers and to provide training for them at these meetings. However, the students' perspective tells a different story. In their view, these measures are more like a form of surveillance. Some students recalled that for a period after the fall incident, the grade-level management would have each class monitor watch the surveillance footage after class to record whether anyone was loitering in the corridor by the door or showing other abnormal behavior. This sometimes turned into oversensitivity. One girl said her head teacher even confiscated her school ID card—afraid she would use the pin on it to self-harm. She was once caught by the school's party secretary, who asked her why she wasn't wearing her ID. Fortunately, a classmate nearby helped explain, otherwise she would have been criticized and had points deducted again. This reveals two different dimensions of governance in the school: on the one hand, it still implements strict daily governance, such as managing classroom discipline and student behavior; on the other hand, it does not want things like the "three consecutive jumps" to happen again, so it tries to eliminate the possibility of such incidents from the "root." The two, in a sense, follow the same logic, yet they also create intense friction in the students' lives.

Sheng Nan told me about another experience: "In the first class that afternoon, I suddenly lost control of my emotions. I was crying loudly in the classroom, tearing up my test papers and everything. My classmates were startled. It was history class. I cried for the whole period. The history teacher knew my situation, so she acted as if nothing had happened and just continued teaching normally." This scene surprised me. It seemed unimaginable. When someone has such a strong emotional outburst in a classroom, even with potentially dangerous behavior, this powerful energy affects everyone else in the class, but the teacher does nothing. She restrains her emotional response and just continues the lesson. Because in the classroom environment, the two aforementioned governance logics are in conflict, and maintaining classroom discipline and teaching progress is the only legitimate thing to do at that moment. From a collectivist framework, this is also the case; personal emotions should not interfere with the collective process. In other words, this reveals the power relations between the two types of governance. In the power struggle of that moment, the individual's

接着便是本次的主讲人刘教授出场,在一系列引入环节过后,刘教授请所有班主任走到班级队伍前,对学生们说:“老师平时的辛苦,在教室窗外看,都是为了你们好,现在听我指挥,用你们最大的声音说,老师您辛苦了,十遍,来!”操场上空响起学生的声音,喊完后,刘教授接着说:“下面,向老师鞠躬,九十度,等我说好了才可以起来。同学们,虽然我们的头低下,但我们的灵魂高尚了起来!”学生们又齐刷刷地弯下腰。随后活动进入高潮,刘教授先后请学生和家長自愿上台,学生感恩父母,后者则发表“优秀父母宣言”,在煽情的音乐里,不论长幼,上台的学生和家長都流着泪激动地高喊“爸爸妈妈我爱你”、“孩子我爱你”。

我坐在台下,以“刘教授,励志报告会”为关键词在手机里检索,发现这类活动在湖南当地极为普遍,几乎每所重点中学都会举办,从通稿的内容来看,流程也几乎相同。这一集体行动可以被纳入前述的治理手段来讨论:学校试图通过这样的活动,让学生产生所谓的“感恩意识”——它有时表现为对老师和家長的忍让与服从——从而化解在学校和家庭中的种种矛盾和不满。具体而言,这样的活动通过一系列极具煽动性的环节唤起了学生与家長的强烈情动,并将这种情动能转化为报答恩情、努力学习的话语,它从亲属关系出发,在某种程度上构成了一种欲望生产模式:成为好孩子,成为好家長,而这一切的最终目的仍是让学生以更好的精神状态投入到高考的“备战”中。

本节展示的种种活动让我们看到,当下中国教育场景中的不同力量如何实现对青少年情动的治理,沿着情动理论对身体的考察,这种治理进一步指向个体的心理状况和生命活力。在开篇所引述对于当下中国学生“生命力捕获”的观察中,项飙有意强调自己的论述并不是生命政治,他认为,生命力是不可以对象化的,外界权力难以直接触及,因此并不指向具体的统治形态。作为回应,我在这里并不想具体区分青少年是主动还是被动陷入这种状态,而是试图回到朱迪斯·巴特勒(Judith Butler)对于身体和操演性(performativity)的论述来指出权力对生命力的触及。在《身体之重》(*Bodies That Matter*)中,巴特勒(2011)指出,权力的建构并不只是话语的产物,它也是物质性的,并由此在当代语言中被无意中重复,权力塑造身体的过程,正是所谓“物质化”的过程,在巴特勒的理论中,个体的能动性随着身体化(bodily)而暴露于风险中,当身体变得可渗透、相互依存和脆弱不安,就潜在地将自身从能动性的剧场转向了暴力的剧场(Zaharijević,

melancholic affect was suppressed.

The situations above all seem to confirm Teresa Kuan's observation that in China, the response to adolescent psychological distress is more educational than medical (Kuan, 2015: 5). This echoes the discussion of the "Psycho-boom" in contemporary Chinese society: the level of the problem emphasized by the school is precisely the part where action can be taken. When the pressures and structures of the education system cannot be changed for the time being—although they are very likely a major cause of adolescent suffering—the only option is to deal with the problems that can be solved, namely, changing the adolescents' ability to accept and adjust.

On a Saturday morning during the semester, the school held a parents' meeting for the second-year students on the sports field as planned. What was different was that this parents' meeting took the form of a "Family Education Inspirational Report Meeting," hosted by an expert invited from outside the school. At the event, students and parents sat in pairs, filling nearly two-thirds of the sports field. The event began with a speech from the principal. He pointed out that this inspirational report had three goals: first, to jointly discuss development plans and map out a blueprint for growth, as everyone was about to enter the first round of review and would soon be quasi-final-year students; second, to be grateful to parents, teachers, the school, and the country; third, the *gaokao* is a war without smoke, and everyone must be of one mind. He ended by shouting, "Success cannot wait! Filial piety cannot wait! Gratitude cannot wait!"

Next, the main speaker, Professor Liu, took the stage. After a series of introductory segments, Professor Liu asked all the head teachers to walk to the front of their class lines and said to the students, "The hard work of your teachers, watching you from the classroom windows, is all for your own good. Now, listen to my command, and with your loudest voice, say, 'Teacher, you've worked hard!' ten times, go!" The students' voices echoed across the sports field. After shouting, Professor Liu continued, "Now, bow to your teachers, ninety degrees, and don't get up until I say so. Classmates, although our heads are bowed, our souls have been uplifted!" The students all bent down in unison. Then the event reached its climax. Professor Liu invited students and parents to voluntarily come on stage. Students expressed gratitude to their parents, who in turn delivered a "Declaration of Excellent Parents." To the sound of sentimental music, both young and old, the students and parents who went on stage were in tears, excitedly shouting, "Dad, Mom, I love you!" and "My child, I love you!"

I sat in the audience and searched on my phone with the keywords "Professor Liu, inspirational report meeting." I found that such events are extremely common in the local area of Hunan; almost every key high school holds them, and judging from the content of the press releases, the procedure is almost identical. This collective action

2021)。在这个意义上,身体成为了情动、生命力与治理行为之间的桥梁,使整个过程得以完成。

另一方面,以上论述仍然离不开对主体的考察和观照。即使我并没有指出这种治理过程是由某个特定的主体来实施,但主体性问题仍然存在,即青少年主体在这样的力量关系中是如何自处的,这些情动力量的变化和斗争如何影响乃至塑造他们的自我意识?这是下一节将讨论的问题。

can be discussed as part of the aforementioned governance methods: the school attempts to use such activities to make students develop a so-called “sense of gratitude”—which sometimes manifests as tolerance and obedience towards teachers and parents—in order to resolve various conflicts and dissatisfactions at school and at home. Specifically, such an activity evokes strong affect in students and parents through a series of highly inflammatory segments and transforms this affective energy into the discourse of repaying kindness and studying hard. It starts from kinship relations and, to some extent, constitutes a mode of desire production: to be a good child, to be a good parent. And the ultimate goal of all this is still to get students to enter the “battle preparation” for the *gaokao* in a better mental state.

The various activities presented in this section show us how different forces in the current Chinese educational scene achieve the governance of adolescent affect. Following the examination of the body in affect theory, this governance further points to the individual’s psychological state and vitality. In the observation of the “capture of life force” among Chinese students cited at the beginning, Xiang Biao intentionally emphasizes that his discourse is not about biopolitics. He believes that vitality cannot be objectified, and external power can hardly touch it directly, so it does not point to a specific form of domination. In response, I do not want to specifically distinguish whether adolescents are actively or passively caught in this state here. Instead, I want to return to Judith Butler’s discourse on the body and performativity to point out how power touches upon vitality. In *Bodies That Matter*, Butler (2011) points out that the construction of power is not just a product of discourse; it is also material, and is thus unintentionally repeated in contemporary language. The process by which power shapes the body is precisely the so-called process of “materialization.” In Butler’s theory, the agency of the individual is exposed to risk with bodily-ness. When the body becomes permeable, interdependent, and vulnerable, it potentially shifts itself from the theater of agency to the theater of violence (Zaharijević, 2021). In this sense, the body becomes the bridge between affect, vitality, and the act of governance, allowing the entire process to be completed.

On the other hand, the above discussion still cannot be separated from the examination and consideration of the subject. Even if I have not pointed out that this process of governance is carried out by a specific subject, the problem of subjectivity still exists, namely, how do adolescent subjects position themselves within these power relations, and how do the changes and struggles of these affective forces influence and even shape their self-awareness? This is the question that the next section will discuss.

一次聊天时，谢老师向我描述她在心理咨询时的观察，比如咨询前后学生的肢体、表情和情绪状态，有的学生来到心理中心就在哭，有的会讲着讲着开始流泪，他们会说：“我从来没有讲过这么多”、“我从来没有向别人讲过这些”。种种现象表明，当下的青少年似乎普遍缺少一种情绪出口，这是为什么？前述时空关系里唤起、积累的情动能量最后去了哪里？

我在本节指出的是，部分青少年选择将这些外部压力不断内收至自己的心里，试图通过自己的力量来解决。我将这种心理结构和动态称为“心理内向化”——很多时候它既是结果，也是原因。

一方面，这一趋势是由缺乏情绪出口的现状导致的。面对日常生活的矛盾和烦恼，学生们其实并没有什么可靠的倾诉对象，谢老师向我分析，学校老师可能并不了解具体情况，跟同学说也会有各种顾虑，“高中生的关系并没有我们想象的持久、稳固，那些看起来关系很好的学生，可能也就是一起吃饭，打球，聊聊天，但他们并不敢在朋友面前暴露自己的真心和脆弱。”为什么？按理说同龄人是最了解彼此的啊。她说，他们担心朋友不愿意听，会引来嘲笑、同情、怜悯，害怕失去朋友，而且，很多时候同龄人也没有能力去接住他们的问题，小问题或许可以，但一些大问题，像是父母离异或是家暴，就很难解决了。但另一方面，这些烦恼又恰恰来自心理内向化。谢老师认为，来咨询的很多学生倾诉的人际烦恼，很多问题在于“藏在心里不说”，导致双方都不知道矛盾究竟在哪里。在家庭中也是这样，很多学生不愿意跟家长讲自己的想法，或是讲完之后觉得自己不被理解，久而久之就放弃沟通。

这种心理内向化的倾向进一步形成了一种道德观，并影响着学生日常生活的许多判断。例如遇到欺凌事件时，在相对高压的学习环境下，很多学生会将关系中的被孤立归因于自己，或是将其重要性置后，认为不能影响到自己备考，就算了。一位女生曾向我举过很形象的比喻：你的手里有一碗水，你正在爬山，想等到了山顶再喝，那你这一路上只能小心地拿碗，不要让水洒出来。这种观念在当地十分流行，我参加过一次学校举行的高考誓师大会，在会上师生都喜欢说这样的话：真正的英雄是认清现实后依然热爱生活；我们吃了这么多苦，我们都是英雄。一系列的“吃苦”叙事在陵

#### IV. Psychological Introversion

During a chat, Ms. Xie described her observations from psychological counseling sessions, such as the students' body language, facial expressions, and emotional states before and after counseling. Some students cry as soon as they arrive at the counseling center; others start to cry as they talk. They would say, "I've never talked this much before," or "I've never told anyone these things." These phenomena suggest that contemporary adolescents generally seem to lack an emotional outlet. Why is this? Where does the affective energy evoked and accumulated in the aforementioned time-space relations end up?

What I am pointing out in this section is that some adolescents choose to continuously internalize these external pressures, trying to solve them through their own strength. I call this psychological structure and dynamic "psychological introversion"—in many cases, it is both the result and the cause.

On the one hand, this trend is caused by the lack of emotional outlets. When facing conflicts and troubles in daily life, students do not really have any reliable person to confide in. Ms. Xie analyzed that school teachers may not understand the specific situation, and there are various concerns about telling classmates. "The relationships of high school students are not as lasting and stable as we imagine. Those students who seem to have a good relationship might just eat together, play ball, and chat, but they don't dare to show their true feelings and vulnerability in front of their friends." Why? Logically, peers should understand each other best. She said they worry their friends won't want to listen, that it will invite ridicule, sympathy, or pity, and they are afraid of losing friends. Moreover, in many cases, peers do not have the ability to handle their problems. Small problems might be okay, but some big problems, like parents' divorce or domestic violence, are very difficult to solve. But on the other hand, these troubles are precisely caused by psychological introversion. Ms. Xie believes that many of the interpersonal troubles that students complain about in counseling are due to "keeping it inside and not saying anything," which leads to both parties not knowing where the conflict actually lies. It's the same in the family. Many students are unwilling to tell their parents their thoughts, or after telling them, feel they are not understood, and over time they give up on communication.

This tendency toward psychological introversion further forms a moral view and affects many judgments in students' daily lives. For example, when encountering bullying, in a relatively high-pressure learning environment, many students will attribute being isolated in relationships to themselves, or will postpone its importance, believing it should not affect their preparation for exams, so they just let it go. One girl once

水一中被视作一种值得追求的哲学价值——即使规则可能不合理,但你仍然能通过自我努力去克服这些不公平。这不仅指代残酷的高考制度,也包括校园内的种种规则,以及地方政治经济弱势。这些力量之间也在相互强化:在他们眼中,正因为陵水落后的政治经济地位,才更需要努力摆脱它,而眼下最现实、也几乎是唯一的方式,就是在高考中取得好成绩,考去经济发达地区。

为什么会产生这样的倾向?我在这里试图提出的观点是,透过这些表述,我们可以看到青少年群体涌现的强烈自我意识,这种自我意识的形成过程很复杂,不仅来自个体的成长经验和校园环境,也与更大的地方权力关系乃至流行文化有关,但与此同时,这种自我在当下、在地方空间中时常是被压抑的,二者之间持续发生着张力。

在一次交谈中,心理中心的另一位老师,金老师向我分析学生涌现的自我意识。她说,当下的学生们似乎迫切想要获得更多的掌控感,掌控自己的学习,掌控自己的生活,但他们在这个年龄或许还不具备这样的能力,于是他们理解的自由和独立就变得相对简单:“好像独立就是不听老师的话,不听家长的话,不听别人的话,那样我就保持了一个独立的思想”,当他们抱着这样的一种态度去与人相处,关系很难深入,所以他们之间的关系就很脆弱、容易破裂。

在与学生的相处中,我发现这种自我意识并非简单的追寻独立,或是成年人眼中的“叛逆”,而是存在更复杂的文化语境。流行文化在其中扮演着重要角色,我时常惊讶于日本二次元文化对这一代青少年的影响,他们几乎每个人都看动漫,并能熟练讲出某段情节或台词。这背后反映了一种共享的现实动态,宇野常宽(2024: 44-57)在分析日本九〇年代社会心理时指出了一种“家里蹲/心理主义”的倾向,他发现,当时代表性的文化作品传递的观念是:出问题的时候,不要改变世界,而要说服自己,不要指望凭借自己的力量将这个“无聊的世界”变得有趣。有人对此提出过两种替代方案,分别是药物和自杀,宇野常宽认为,这两者只是比喻要解决心理层面的问题,即当世界愈发无聊时,人们不通过改变世界而通过改变自己的内心去克服。这与我在校园里看到的青少年心理存在着相似性,尤其是在枯燥、重复的应试训练中,世界对他们来说更显得无聊,动漫提供了出口,但这一出口反过来也在以一种文化话语强化他们对现实的认知。

gave me a very vivid metaphor: You have a bowl of water in your hand, and you are climbing a mountain. You want to drink it when you reach the top, so you can only hold the bowl carefully all the way, so that the water doesn't spill. This concept is very popular in the local area. I once participated in a *gaokao* oath-taking rally held by the school, where teachers and students all liked to say things like: "A true hero is one who still loves life after recognizing reality; we have suffered so much, we are all heroes." This series of "enduring hardship" narratives is regarded as a philosophical value worth pursuing at Lingshui No. 1 High School—even if the rules may be unreasonable, you can still overcome these injustices through your own efforts. This refers not only to the cruel *gaokao* system but also to the various rules on campus, as well as the local political and economic disadvantages. These forces also reinforce each other: in their eyes, it is precisely because of Lingshui's backward political and economic status that they need to work harder to escape it, and the most realistic, and almost the only, way at present is to achieve good results in the *gaokao* and get into a university in an economically developed region.

Why does such a tendency arise? The point I am trying to make here is that through these expressions, we can see the strong sense of self-awareness emerging in the adolescent group. The formation of this self-awareness is very complex, stemming not only from individual growth experiences and the campus environment but also from broader local power relations and even popular culture. But at the same time, this self is often suppressed in the present, in the local space, and there is a continuous tension between the two.

In one conversation, another teacher at the psychological center, Ms. Jin, analyzed the emerging self-awareness of the students. She said that current students seem eager to gain more control—control over their studies, control over their lives—but at their age, they may not yet have this ability. So their understanding of freedom and independence becomes relatively simple: "It seems that independence means not listening to teachers, not listening to parents, not listening to others, so that I maintain an independent mind." When they interact with people with this attitude, their relationships can hardly be deep, so their relationships are very fragile and easy to break.

In my interactions with the students, I found that this self-awareness is not simply a pursuit of independence or what adults see as "rebellion," but exists in a more complex cultural context. Popular culture plays an important role. I was often surprised by the influence of Japanese ACGN culture on this generation of adolescents. Almost every one of them watches anime and can fluently recite a certain plot or line. This reflects a shared reality. Uno Tsunehiro (2024: 44-57), in his analysis of the social psychology of 1990s Japan, pointed out a tendency toward "hikikomori/psycholo-

在学期中,我举办了一次写作活动,由学生自愿参与,书写关于自己生命经验的不同主题。我发现,不少人都在文本中表达出一种对掌控自己命运的渴望,例如“我就是我”、“我是天选”、“我是独一无二的”这样的表述,但与此同时,他们往往又意识到,当下的自己是受压抑的,被外部世界限制的,这其中既包括考试制度,也包括社会阶层,这时他们会选择将自我暂时向内收,并期待通过努力,在未来实现自我。但与此同时,这种写作本身也是自我的出口。高一女生陈依依是写作活动的踊跃参与者,她每次都会写满满数页,她说,自己经常在写作时自问自答,思考一些平时感兴趣的问题,天马行空的什么都写,有时候老师看向她,她就把头抬起来看老师,手上不停接着写,有时甚至是无意识的。

这些日常书写呈现出更复杂的主体处境。我渐渐发现,与内向化趋势相对的是,学生也会在写作中主动夸大自己的不幸遭遇。在某种程度上,他们都很期待、需要被他人关注,所以他们很容易把某件事的程度或情感夸大,比如与朋友的某次矛盾,或是在学校受到的不公正对待。金老师在一次聊天时向我抱怨,“不能相信学生的一面之词,他们真的能把黑的说成白的。”我在这里并不是想讨论个体表述的真实与否,而是试图指出这种夸大本身作为一种行为动作也有特定意涵,可能是为了获取关注,而这反映出,尽管不断被压抑,学生的个体性仍然在其中涌现。

学生的抱怨行为在日常生活中十分普遍。实际上,在平日的相处中,很多时候我都在扮演那个倾听抱怨的角色——当你被认为是愿意倾听抱怨的人,就会有越来越多的人来向你抱怨。我想指出的是,抱怨在这里不仅是青少年在日常生活中的情感反应,也构成了巴特勒(Butler, 2005)所说的,一种对自身的说明(giving an account of oneself):当一个人努力去展示、抱怨,意味着这部分经验已经属于你,它对于你可以做什么、你可以成为谁,都很重要。艾哈迈德(Ahmed, 2024)对此提出了进一步反思,她强调自我说明是一个从自我(out of)到他人(to)的过程,因此它不只关乎自我,更是一种关系性的伦理联结。所以,这样的抱怨也意味着脆弱性,它不仅是一种本体论层面的易感性,同时也反映了人类处境的不平等,以及人与人之间的相互依存关系:我们在表述中将自我叙述,并在这个过程中看见彼此。这进一步回到我们对主体性的认识,如克拉拉·韩(Clara Han, 2012: 143)所说,主体性并不是主体的初始属性,而是一种关系的独特编织。也就是说,从青少年的日常表述中,我们不仅能看到他们涌现的自我意

gism.” He found that the representative cultural works of that time conveyed the idea that when problems arise, one should not change the world but convince oneself; one should not expect to make this “boring world” interesting through one’s own efforts. Some have proposed two alternative solutions: drugs and suicide. Uno argues that these are just metaphors for solving problems at the psychological level, that is, when the world becomes increasingly boring, people overcome it not by changing the world but by changing their own minds. This has similarities with the psychology of the adolescents I saw on campus, especially in the tedious, repetitive exam-oriented training, where the world seems even more boring to them. Anime provides an outlet, but this outlet, in turn, reinforces their perception of reality with a cultural discourse.

During the semester, I held a writing activity where students voluntarily participated, writing about different themes from their life experiences. I found that many people expressed a desire to control their own destiny in their texts, with expressions like “I am who I am,” “I am the chosen one,” “I am unique.” But at the same time, they were often aware that their current self is suppressed, limited by the external world, which includes both the examination system and social class. At this point, they would choose to temporarily turn their self inward and hope to realize their self in the future through effort. But at the same time, this writing itself is also an outlet for the self. Chen Yiyi, a first-year girl, was an enthusiastic participant in the writing activity. She would write several pages each time. She said she often asked and answered her own questions while writing, thinking about whatever interested her, writing about anything and everything. Sometimes the teacher would look at her, and she would lift her head to look at the teacher, but her hand would keep writing, sometimes even unconsciously.

These daily writings present a more complex subjective situation. I gradually discovered that, in contrast to the trend of introversion, students would also actively exaggerate their unfortunate experiences in their writing. To some extent, they are all eager for and in need of attention from others, so they easily exaggerate the degree or emotion of a certain event, such as a conflict with a friend or an unfair treatment at school. Ms. Jin once complained to me during a chat, “You can’t believe a student’s one-sided story; they can really turn black into white.” I am not trying to discuss the truthfulness of individual expressions here, but to point out that this exaggeration itself, as an act, also has a specific meaning, possibly to gain attention, which reflects that despite being constantly suppressed, the individuality of the students is still emerging.

The act of complaining is very common in the daily lives of students. In fact, in my daily interactions, I often played the role of the one who listens to complaints—when you are considered someone willing to listen to complaints, more and more people will come to complain to you. I want to point out that complaining here is not only an

识,也能看到影响、塑造这一自我的社会关系,这呼应了前文对于青少年同辈关系和治理力量的讨论。

另一方面,这些写作中还存在一种倾向,就是回避直接书写个人的具体生活故事和经验,而是用大量的比喻,将自己抽象出来进行表述,这里的书写依然关于个人感受,但会存在一种书写上的距离。这促使我们反思青少年主体性的另一个面向:对于自身脆弱性的隐藏在某种程度上构成了一种自我保护。近年来出现了许多有关自我关怀(self-care)的讨论(Rosenbaum & Talmor, 2024),其中有研究者指出拒绝作为自我关怀的意义,即一种“需要被看见,但又拒绝被看透”的心理,这与青少年在写作中的拒绝自我表露存在着相似性。对此的一类批评是,有人会将这些日常实践解释为新自由主义的后果:个体没有得到足够的保障,只好试着自我关怀。换言之,这里的“自我”仍然是一种承诺,是被问题化的。这引出了进一步的问题:心理内化有没有改变青少年的脆弱处境?或者说,他们理想中的美好生活是否真的能够实现?

## 五、残酷的乐观主义

2025年初,广西百色一名女学生被老师性侵后自杀的事件在网络引发热议,人们找到女孩的更多文字,发现除了这段遭遇,她还经历了更漫长、更复杂的纠纷与创伤,比如父母离异,家庭的经济压力,她后来考入名校,但最终退学。女孩的一篇知乎回答 [7] 让我印象深刻,她这样写道:

现在的感觉是觉得生活很充实幸福,充满光与爱。每天上班八个小时,上班时没事干闲的时候也可以拿出书来学习,还可以在店里放自己喜欢的歌,下班之后就继续学习自己喜欢的东西,练习画画。虽然一个月只有两千多,但我觉得很好很好啦,我没有很强的物质欲,对衣服化妆品等都没有很感兴趣,以后也不会结婚不会生孩子,需要用钱的地方只是想挣学费学习新的东西。可能也只是我现在年龄尚浅,还没有太多养老方面的负担,但现在先过好当下就好啦。现在也不想着伤害自己了,我活一世就是为了完成我的人生课题,走向更高的灵性觉醒的道路,物质层面的所有东西生不带来,死不带去,无须在意。我也相信当自己的能量频率提高了,丰盛

7. 知乎问题“辍学的00后都在做什么?”下的回答, <https://www.zhihu.com/question/527366558/answer/3329411730>

7. An answer to the Zhihu question “What are the post-2000s dropouts doing?”, <https://www.zhihu.com/question/527366558/answer/3329411730>

emotional response of adolescents in their daily lives but also constitutes what Butler (2005) calls “giving an account of oneself.” When a person strives to present, to complain, it means that this part of the experience already belongs to you; it is important for what you can do and who you can become. Ahmed (2024) offers a further reflection on this, emphasizing that giving an account of oneself is a process from the self (out of) to the other (to), so it is not just about the self but is a relational, ethical connection. Therefore, such complaining also implies vulnerability. It is not only an ontological susceptibility but also reflects the inequality of the human condition and the interdependence between people: we narrate ourselves in our expressions, and in this process, we see each other. This further brings us back to our understanding of subjectivity. As Clara Han (2012: 143) says, subjectivity is not an initial attribute of the subject but a unique weaving of relationships. That is to say, from the daily expressions of adolescents, we can not only see their emerging self-awareness but also the social relations that influence and shape this self, which echoes the previous discussion of adolescent peer relations and the forces of governance.

On the other hand, there is another tendency in these writings, which is to avoid directly writing about personal, concrete life stories and experiences, and instead to use a large number of metaphors to abstract oneself for expression. The writing is still about personal feelings, but there is a certain distance in the writing. This prompts us to reflect on another aspect of adolescent subjectivity: hiding one’s own vulnerability, to some extent, constitutes a form of self-protection. In recent years, there have been many discussions about self-care (Rosenbaum & Talmor, 2024), among which some researchers have pointed out the meaning of refusal as self-care, that is, a psychological state of “needing to be seen, but refusing to be seen through.” This has similarities with the refusal of self-disclosure in the writing of adolescents. One criticism of this is that some people will interpret these daily practices as a consequence of neoliberalism: the individual is not sufficiently protected, so they have to try to care for themselves. In other words, the “self” here is still a promise, one that is problematized. This raises a further question: has psychological introversion changed the fragile situation of adolescents? Or rather, can their ideal of a good life really be realized?

## V. Cruel Optimism

In early 2025, the case of a female student in Baise, Guangxi, who committed suicide after being sexually assaulted by a teacher, sparked heated debate online. People found more of the girl’s writings and discovered that besides this incident, she

美好的事物就会越容易吸引与显化。

她的许多表述都让我想起田野中遇到的学生，尽管经历了这么多残酷、伤痛的时刻，她们仍然以一种沉静、轻盈的口吻讲述着自己向往的美好生活，从中我们能看到对生活的信心。这里的美好生活不一定指的是升学，也指向伦理上的好生活，比如追求公正待遇，维护自己的尊严和敏感性，及时回应朋友的情感需求，以及在持续的动荡中尽力守护自己的内心。但现实又一次次告诉我们，这种状态是如此脆弱，随时可能崩塌，百色的那位女孩就已经永远离开了这个世界。

过去二十年里，学界曾出现过所谓的“幸福转向”(the happiness turn)，其中以积极心理学为代表，围绕如何使人变得更幸福而进行了大量知识生产，但另一方面，如萨拉·艾哈迈德(Ahmed, 2010: 6-7)所说，这些美好生活的概念本身也是矛盾的场所，它既包括困惑，也包括区分好与坏的感受，于是理解幸福也就意味着理解这一矛盾的语法。幸福的危机不只是幸福理想的失败，也是试图追随这一理想的行为本身的失败。它指向当代伦理人类学围绕脆弱性展开的核心议题——人要如何在自己无法掌控的环境中良好地生活。这促使我们再次反思“残酷的乐观主义”的意义。劳伦·贝兰特(Lauren Berlant)指出，所有的依恋都是乐观主义的，当我们谈论欲望的对象时，我们实际上是在谈论某人或某事对我们做出和实现的一系列承诺，这使我们看到依恋中那些不连贯的、难以理解的东西，并引出核心的问题：我们为何忍耐我们依恋的对象(贝兰特, 2023: 33)。

贝兰特指出了一种“忍耐的技术”，即当代人常常通过一种“以后”的概念悬置对此刻的残酷性的质问，这意味着仍然相信他们习以为常的依恋系统，保持在一种互惠、和解或顺从的关系中，这可能伴随着麻木。在学校里，我经常能听到学生们转述自己与家长、老师的对话，其中有一种很常见的回答：“等你考上大学，随便你怎么玩。”我认为这句话十分精准地传递了教育系统对青少年的承诺，它承载了应试教育与个体愿望之间的强烈张力，即使当下的流行文化和社会心理都开始强调多元选择，但高考仍然在县域教育系统中占据了绝对压倒性的力量优势，因此，青少年对于多元、自主生活的想象仍然被寄托于考试系统。在这种情况下，考试既是青少年压力与痛苦的来源，也是他们对未来生活的希望。

本文试图指出的是，这种乐观主义仍是弱而残酷的。当青少年选择了

had experienced a longer, more complex series of disputes and traumas, such as her parents' divorce and the family's financial pressure. She was later admitted to a prestigious university but eventually dropped out. One of the girl's answers on Zhihu [a Chinese Q&A platform] [7] left a deep impression on me. She wrote:

The feeling now is that life is very fulfilling and happy, full of light and love. I work eight hours a day, and when I have nothing to do at work, I can take out a book to study. I can also play my favorite songs in the shop. After work, I continue to study what I like and practice drawing. Although I only earn a little over two thousand a month, I think it's very, very good. I don't have strong material desires, I'm not very interested in clothes or cosmetics, and I won't get married or have children in the future. The only place I need money is to earn tuition to learn new things. Maybe it's just that I'm still young and don't have too many burdens of caring for the elderly, but for now, it's enough to live well in the present. I don't think about hurting myself anymore. I live this life to complete my life's lessons and walk the path of higher spiritual awakening. All material things, you can't bring them with you when you're born, and you can't take them with you when you die, so there's no need to care. I also believe that when my own energy frequency increases, abundant and beautiful things will be more easily attracted and manifested.

Many of her expressions reminded me of the students I met in the field. Despite having experienced so many cruel and painful moments, they still spoke of the good life they longed for in a calm, light tone. From this, we can see their confidence in life. The good life here does not necessarily refer to getting into a better school, but also points to an ethical good life, such as pursuing fair treatment, maintaining one's dignity and sensitivity, responding to the emotional needs of friends in a timely manner, and trying one's best to protect one's inner self amidst constant turmoil. But reality has told us time and again that this state is so fragile and can collapse at any time. The girl from Baise has already left this world forever.

Over the past two decades, there has been a "happiness turn" in academia, represented by positive psychology, which has produced a large amount of knowledge about how to make people happier. But on the other hand, as Sara Ahmed (2010: 6-7) says, the concept of a good life is itself a site of contradiction. It includes both confusion and the feeling of distinguishing between good and bad. Thus, understanding happiness also means understanding the grammar of this contradiction. The crisis of happi-

用内向化的方式消化自身的脆弱不安,并寄希望于自己难以适应的系统本身,反过来也会被这种依恋反复折磨。听他们讲述种种痛苦处境时,我总是会想起贝兰特所提到的“磨损”这个词——人们的幻想和共同期待的美好生活正在被消耗磨损。如她所说:“在残酷的乐观主义运作的情况下,正是欲望对象/场景后发性和赋予生命力的潜质,反过来带来了对这种生命力的磨损和消耗,而这种生命力正是一开始这种依恋关系所承诺的。”(贝兰特, 2023: 34)

更进一步,这种残酷不仅存在于激烈的考试系统,那些退出考试系统的青少年也面临着同样的处境。不少学生告诉我,他们不在乎自己能不能考上重点大学,能上本科就好,读专科也可以,至少拿到高中文凭,也有人像那位百色女孩一样,打算直接退学。但这并没有消除他们的痛苦,对于留下的人而言,你需要跟上班级的学习节奏,跟上学校的管理节奏,而这一系列行为的目的,仍然是前面所谈到的,追求高考的成功;像百色女孩那样离开的人,也会陷入更深的追问,当下这个社会对于没有文凭的个体能够包容到什么程度?人生的意义又是什么呢?在这个维度上,或许没有真正的退出可言,反而是那些试图退出的人,他们可能需要经历更多的落差。

我认为这一切所揭示的问题是,教育系统在某种程度上其实在代替更大的社会经济结构来对青少年施加影响,而后者同样没有兑现所谓的许诺,这也可以引申向更大的背景,阿兰·埃伦伯格(Alain Ehrenberg)曾指出现代个体陷入抑郁与内在冲突背后的重要张力:无限可能的想法对抗着无法掌握的现实(2025: 295),现代社会对于自由和能动性的强调实际上也侵蚀了稳定和确定性,人们被许诺了个体解放的愿景,却在现实中缺乏真正实现它的能力,于是,种种病症提醒我们,做自己的主人并非意味着一切皆有可能。这揭示了青少年主体性经验中的最大张力:正是这种强烈的自我意识在加剧他们内心的脆弱与痛苦。这是现代性留给我们的难题。

ness is not just the failure of the ideal of happiness, but also the failure of the very act of trying to follow this ideal. It points to the core issue in contemporary ethical anthropology surrounding vulnerability—how can a person live well in an environment they cannot control? This prompts us to reflect again on the meaning of “cruel optimism.” Lauren Berlant points out that all attachments are optimistic. When we talk about an object of desire, we are actually talking about a series of promises that someone or something makes and fulfills for us. This allows us to see the incoherent, incomprehensible things in an attachment and leads to the core question: why do we endure the objects of our attachment? (Berlant, 2023: 33)

Berlant points out a “technology of endurance,” where contemporary people often suspend their questioning of the cruelty of the present moment with a concept of “later.” This means still believing in the attachment systems they are accustomed to, remaining in a relationship of reciprocity, reconciliation, or submission, which may be accompanied by numbness. In school, I often hear students relay their conversations with their parents and teachers, and there is a very common response: “Once you get into university, you can play however you want.” I think this sentence very accurately conveys the promise that the education system makes to adolescents. It carries the intense tension between the exam-oriented education and individual desires. Even though current popular culture and social psychology are beginning to emphasize diverse choices, the *gaokao* still holds an absolutely overwhelming power advantage in the county-level education system. Therefore, the adolescent imagination of a diverse, autonomous life is still pinned on the examination system. In this situation, the exam is both the source of adolescent pressure and pain and their hope for a future life.

What this article seeks to point out is that this optimism is still fragile and cruel. When adolescents choose to digest their own fragility and insecurity through introversion and place their hopes in the very system they can hardly adapt to, they will, in turn, be repeatedly tormented by this attachment. Listening to them talk about their various painful situations, I am always reminded of the word “attrition” that Berlant mentions—people’s fantasies and the shared expectation of a good life are being worn down. As she says: “In the state of cruel optimism, it is the aspirational and life-giving potential of the object/scene of desire that, in turn, brings about the attrition of that vitality, the very vitality that this attachment relationship initially promised.” (Berlant, 2023: 34, translation adapted)

Furthermore, this cruelty exists not only in the intense examination system; those adolescents who withdraw from the examination system also face the same situation. Many students told me they don’t care if they can get into a key university; it’s fine as long as they can get into an undergraduate program. Vocational college is also an op-

本研究试图提出或者连接这样一种新的理论视角:当我们从情感与情动的维度重新考察当代中国青少年的青春期经验,会看到过往青少年研究中常被忽视的视野,它指向的是一种具有能动性,又脆弱、松动、易受影响的主体性经验。这种经验无疑来自个体所处的生活之网和权力关系,当情动这样一种动态的生命经验也被纳入治理范畴,它进一步促使我们反思当代中国教育对青少年个体的想象和塑造。本研究想要提醒的是,这里反思的对象不仅包括教育系统自身的承诺和实践,更需要指向青少年的内心,因为这些个体在对此的回应中承受着所有的责任和重量。

tion, as long as they get a high school diploma. Some, like the girl from Baise, plan to drop out directly. But this has not eliminated their pain. For those who stay, you need to keep up with the learning pace of the class, the management rhythm of the school, and the purpose of all these actions is still, as discussed earlier, the pursuit of success in the *gaokao*. For those who leave, like the Baise girl, they will fall into deeper questioning. To what extent can this society tolerate an individual without a diploma? What is the meaning of life? In this dimension, there may be no real exit. On the contrary, those who try to exit may have to experience an even greater gap.

I believe the problem all this reveals is that the education system, to some extent, is actually acting on behalf of the larger socio-economic structure to influence adolescents, and the latter has also failed to deliver on its promises. This can also be extended to a larger context. Alain Ehrenberg once pointed out the important tension behind the depression and internal conflicts of the modern individual: the idea of infinite possibilities versus the reality that cannot be mastered (2025: 295). The emphasis on freedom and agency in modern society has actually eroded stability and certainty. People are promised the vision of individual liberation but lack the real ability to achieve it in reality. Thus, various ailments remind us that being the master of oneself does not mean that everything is possible. This reveals the greatest tension in the subjective experience of adolescents: it is precisely this strong self-awareness that is exacerbating their inner fragility and pain. This is the problem that modernity has left us.

## Conclusion

This study attempts to propose or connect to a new theoretical perspective: when we re-examine the adolescent experience of contemporary Chinese youth from the dimension of emotion and affect, we see a perspective often overlooked in past youth studies. It points to a subjective experience that is agentive, yet fragile, fluid, and susceptible to influence. This experience undoubtedly comes from the web of life and power relations in which the individual is situated. When affect, as a dynamic life experience, is also brought into the scope of governance, it further prompts us to reflect on the imagination and shaping of the adolescent individual in contemporary Chinese education. What this study wants to remind us is that the object of reflection here includes not only the promises and practices of the education system itself but also needs to point to the inner world of the adolescents, because it is these individuals who bear all the responsibility and weight in their response to it.

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# 高等教育 与人的繁盛：<sup>[1]</sup> 中国案例

1. Human Flourishing 目前还没有统一的中文翻译。在2023年夏在哈佛大学召开的一个以此为主题的会议中，与会中国学者们提出“人类繁盛”的译法，尽管“人类繁荣”，“人类幸福”，“蓬勃生命”，“欣盛”，“心盛”等译法也在中国大陆和台湾等被使用。本文交替使用“人类繁盛”“人的繁盛”或者“人的生命繁盛”，其中“人类繁盛”指群体层面的美善状态，而“人的繁盛”更倾向于指个体层面蓬勃生长的美好状态。

1. There is currently no unified Chinese translation for “Human Flourishing.” At a conference on this topic held at Harvard University in the summer of 2023, participating Chinese scholars proposed the translation “人类繁盛” (rénlèi fánshèng). However, other translations such as “人类繁荣” (human prosperity), “人类幸福” (human happiness), “蓬勃生命” (thriving life), “欣盛” (xīn shèng, joyous flourishing), and “心盛” (xīn shèng, flourishing of the heart/mind) are also used in mainland China and Taiwan. This article uses “人类繁盛” (human flourishing), “人的繁盛” (flourishing of persons), or “人的生命繁盛” (flourishing of human life) interchangeably. Here, “人类繁盛” refers to the state of well-being at the group level, while “人的繁盛” is more inclined to refer to the beautiful state of thriving growth at the individual level.

# Higher Education and Human Flourishing:<sup>[1]</sup> The Case of China

在初步梳理中国大学在人才培养所面对各种挑战基础上, 本文通过人类繁盛概念并回顾英国教育家约翰·亨利·纽曼的大学使命及博雅教育理念, 提出大学应该回归以人的繁盛为核心目标。最后, 本文提出大学与人的繁盛之间, 即我们和我们的大学在多大程度上促进或限制了人的繁盛?

# 摘要

# ABSTRACT

Based on a preliminary review of the various challenges faced by Chinese universities in talent cultivation, this article proposes that universities should return to the core goal of fostering human flourishing. It first dives deep into the concept of human flourishing and a look back at the university mission and liberal education philosophy of the British educator John Henry Newman, after which it poses the central question of the university and flourishing of individual: To what extent do we and our universities promote or limit the flourishing of the individual?

“教育对各年龄段的人都至关重要。那么，教育的目的何在？当我们评估教育系统是否履行其承诺之前，必须提出一个根本性问题：教育的目标应该是促进人的生命繁盛还是满足‘经济人’需求？”

——联合国教科文组织 (UNESCO, 2022)

## 引言

过去二三十年，中国高等教育经历了前所未有的增长。2024年中国各类大学在校生总规模达到4846万，高等教育毛入学率达60.8%(中国教育部, 2025)。目前，全球每六个大学生中就有一个属于中国制造(Li, et al, 2023)。然而，中国高校包括精英高校的人才培养却面对各种批评和质疑。这些批评和质疑大概可以分为三类。第一类是带有情绪的批评。比如，中国人民大学教授张鸣在接受媒体采访时曾多次指出，“中国大学和中国足球相比，中国足球更有希望”。第二类是一些知名人士对中国大学的观察与疑问。这些观察和疑问，从“钱学森之问”，“钱理群之忧”到“空心病”之说，似乎颇有权威，毋庸置疑。第三类是一些方法严谨的关于大学生发展的研究。比如，近年有发表于顶尖学术刊物的研究揭示，中国大学生包括精英大学的学生，经过四年大学教育，批判性思考能力不升反降，理科学术能力停滞不前(Loyalka, et al. 2021)。对于第一类批评，人们似乎只是一笑了之。对第二类质疑，人们纷纷进行解释、澄清，甚至提出破解方案，其中不乏知名学者、院士及大学行政领导(钱颖一, 2018; 潘建伟, 2013, 施一公, 2023; 林建华 [2], 2017)。至于第三类研究，各种媒体大肆传播，似乎可以被当作投向中国高等教育的“匕首”。我们当如何理解这样的批评与质疑呢？笔者认为，这些批评与质疑虽然看上去“负面”，却体现了大家，包括从批判者、质疑者和研究者，对中国大学的爱与期待，体现了实事求是的科学精神。我们可否从这些批评、质疑和令人不快的研究中找到某种内在一致性？或者，我们是否可以尝试找到一些合适的概念框架，来透视中国高等教育人才培养的问题？事实上，中国大学人才培养所面对的种种挑战，也是全球高等教育人才培养面临挑战的一部分 [3]，尽管中国大学问题有独特的历史背景、政治、经济和社会文化因素。

2. 北京大学时任校长林建华曾在2017年本科毕业致辞中表达，他不认同北大培养“精致的利己主义者”。

3. 比如，美国的大学包括哈佛大学也被批评为“失去灵魂的卓越”。[美] 哈瑞·刘易斯·失去灵魂的卓越哈佛是如何忘记教育宗旨的：侯定凯[译] 上海：华东师范大学出版社，2012。除了最近美国大学与联邦政府的剧烈冲突外，美国精英大学也受到各种批判，一个例子见 “How the Ivy League broke America” by David Brooks, *The Atlantic*, Nov 14, 2024.

2. Lin Jianhua, then president of Peking University, expressed in his 2017 undergraduate commencement speech that he did not agree that Peking University was cultivating “exquisite egoists.”

“Education is of vital importance to people of all ages. So, what is the purpose of education? Before we can assess whether education systems are fulfilling their promise, we must ask a fundamental question: Should the goal of education be to promote the flourishing of human life or to meet the needs of ‘homo economicus’?”

—United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO, 2022)

## Introduction

Over the past two to three decades, Chinese higher education has experienced unprecedented growth. In 2024, the total number of students enrolled in various types of universities in China reached 48.46 million, with a gross enrollment rate in higher education of 60.8% (Ministry of Education of China, 2025). Currently, one in every six university students worldwide is “made in China” (Li, et al., 2023). However, the cultivation of talent in Chinese universities, including elite ones, has come under criticism and doubt. These can be roughly divided into three categories. The first is criticism laden with emotion. For example, Zhang Ming, a professor at Renmin University of China, has repeatedly stated in media interviews that “even Chinese football has more hopeful prospects than Chinese universities.” The second category consists of observations and questions from well-known figures. From “Qian Xuesen’s Question” and “Qian Liqun’s Worry” to the concept of “hollow-heart disease,” these voices seem to carry considerable authority and are rarely contested. The third category includes methodologically rigorous studies on the intellectual development of university students. For instance, a recent study published in a top academic journal revealed that after four years of university education, the critical thinking skills of Chinese university students, including those at elite universities, not only failed to improve but actually declined, while their academic abilities in the sciences stagnated (Loyalka, et al., 2021).

The first type of criticism is often laughed off. The second type has prompted numerous explanations, clarifications, and even proposed solutions involving well-known scholars, academicians, and university administrators (Qian Yingyi, 2018; Pan Jianwei, 2013; Shi Yigong, 2023; Lin Jianhua<sup>[2]</sup>, 2017). As for the third type of research, it has been widely disseminated by various media, seemingly serving as a “dagger” aimed at Chinese higher education. How should we understand such criticisms and doubts? This author believes that although these criticisms and doubts may appear “negative,” they reflect the love and expectations that everyone, including the critics, skeptics, and researchers, has for Chinese universities, and embody a scientific spirit of seeking truth from facts. Can we identify some internal consistency in these criticisms, doubts,

过去三十余年间,人类繁盛(Human Flourishing)作为一个古老的哲学伦理概念,在心理学、政治学、经济学、法学、健康科学、公共政策、医学、甚至脑神经科学等众多领域引起广泛关注(Cebral-Loureda, et al, 2022; Alexander, 2019; VanderWeele, 2017; Seligman, 2012)。大量以人类繁盛为主题的研究、实践、政策倡导应运而生(Cebral-Loureda, et al, 2022.; VanderWeele & Johnson, 2025)。世界知名大学纷纷设立和人类繁盛相关的中心或研究所或实验室。比如,哈佛大学自2016年成立人类繁盛研究中心,近年来发表大量关于人类繁盛的高水平实证研究成果。2025年贝勒大学成立全球人类繁荣研究所 [4]。宾西法尼亚大学2000年设立积极心理学研究中心;2014年成立的人文科学与人类繁盛(Humanities and Human Flourishing)项目组。

人类繁盛概念 [5] 焕发生机,不仅给不同跨学科领域的学者带来如何看待人之为人中的一个新视角,而且使人们对教育哲学的根本问题进行反思。比如,教育的本质是什么?什么是教育的目的?什么是好的教育?在某些学者那里,人类繁盛和古希腊哲学家亚里士多德的Eudaimonia“至善幸福”几乎是同义词。因此,在教育哲学领域,有很多欧洲学者提出,促进人的繁盛应该作为教育的目的,“根本目的”,或者“核心目的”(Kristjánsson,2017; De Ruyter, et al., 2022; Materla, 2024; Curren et al. 2024);联合国教科文组织近年组织出版系列“为人类繁盛的教育”专刊文章(UNESCO, 2022)。在英国出版的《教育哲学杂志》2025年第一期专门发表了一组5篇文章,从不同角度阐述以人的繁盛作为教育目的观点(Olimpio, & De Ruyter, 2025)。在高等教育领域里,目前学者们也开始讨论把人的繁盛与大学使命相关联的可能性。比如,哈佛大学人类繁盛中心主任VanderWeele教授和他和合作者提出大学学术繁荣与大学生发展,并提出测量框架(VanderWeele & Case, 2025)。荷兰教育哲学家提出以人的繁盛为大学的目的(De Ruyter, 2025)。

把人的繁盛作为教育目的观念,很大程度出于对人力资本理论的反思。过去六七十年来,人力资本理论作为看待教育尤其是高等教育的默认框架:教育作为人力资本投入,是国家经济增长和个体收入影响因素的最重要来源。在这个框架中,人被作为工具和手段而非目的。该理论从来不缺批判,已经有很多学者对此提出批评(王蓉, 2020; Tan, 2014; Easterlin, 1974)。比如,北大王蓉教授指出传统人力资本理论没有考虑制度的

5. 人类繁盛有多个层次,比如个体繁盛、社区繁盛、机构繁盛,民族繁盛、国家繁盛等。本文主要讨论个体层面的繁盛,因此使用人的繁盛。

3. For example, American universities, including Harvard, have been criticized for their “excellence without a soul.” See [USA] Harry R. Lewis, *Excellence Without a Soul: How a Great University Forgot Education*, trans. Hou Dingkai (Shanghai: East China Normal University Press, 2012). In addition to recent intense conflicts between American universities and the federal government, elite American universities have also faced various criticisms. For an example, see “How the Ivy League broke America” by David Brooks, *The Atlantic*, Nov 14, 2024.

4. Baylor University Launches Institute for Global Human Flourishing, 2025.4.30.

5. Human flourishing has multiple levels, such as individual flourishing, community flourishing, institutional flourishing, ethnic flourishing, and national flourishing. This article mainly discusses flourishing at the individual level, hence the use of “flourishing of persons” (人的繁盛).

and unpleasant research findings? Or, can we try to find some suitable conceptual frameworks with which to understand the problems of talent cultivation in Chinese higher education? In fact, the various challenges faced by Chinese universities in talent cultivation are also part of the challenges faced by higher education globally<sup>[3]</sup>, although the former are marked by unique historical, political, economic, and socio-cultural factors.

Over the past thirty years, human flourishing, an ancient philosophical and ethical concept, has garnered widespread attention in numerous fields, including psychology, political science, economics, law, health sciences, public policy, medicine, and even neuroscience (Cebral-Loureda, et al., 2022; Alexander, 2019; VanderWeele, 2017; Seligman, 2012). A large number of studies, practices, and policy initiatives themed around human flourishing have emerged (Cebral-Loureda, et al., 2022; VanderWeele & Johnson, 2025). World-renowned universities have established centers, institutes, or laboratories related to human flourishing. For example, Harvard University established a Human Flourishing Program in 2016 and has since published a large volume of high-level empirical research on the topic. In 2025, Baylor University launched the Institute for Global Human Flourishing<sup>[4]</sup>. The University of Pennsylvania established a Positive Psychology Center in 2000 and the Humanities and Human Flourishing project in 2014.

The revitalization of the concept of human flourishing<sup>[5]</sup> not only brings a new perspective on what it means to be human to scholars in different interdisciplinary fields, but also prompts us to reflect on the fundamental questions of the philosophy of education. For example, what is the nature of education? What is the purpose of education? What is good education? For some scholars, human flourishing is almost synonymous with the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle's concept of Eudaimonia, "the highest good." Therefore, in the field of philosophy of education, many European scholars have proposed that promoting human flourishing should be the purpose, "the fundamental purpose," or "the core purpose" of education (Kristjánsson, 2017; De Ruyter, et al., 2022; Materla, 2024; Curren et al., 2024). UNESCO has recently organized the publication of a series of special issues on "Education for Human Flourishing" (UNESCO, 2022). The first issue of the *Journal of Philosophy of Education* in 2025 published a special section of five articles, elaborating on the view of human flourishing as the aim of education from different perspectives (Olimpio & De Ruyter, 2025). In the field of higher education, scholars have also begun to discuss the possibility of linking human flourishing with the mission of the university. For example, Professor VanderWeele, the director of the Human Flourishing Program at Harvard, and his collaborators have proposed concepts of academic flourishing and student development, along with a measurement framework (VanderWeele & Case, 2025). A Dutch philosopher of education

内生性, 并提出分配性人力资本和生产性人力资本概念。事实上, 无论是分配性人力资本还是生产性人力资本, 都还是把人作为工具和资本来投资。尽管有很多的批评, 目前似乎还缺少从人的繁盛角度思考教育目的的深入反思。

近年来, 中国学者在积极心理学或大学生主观幸福感方面有实践和研究。比如清华大学的彭凯平教授在公众中大力推动积极心理学或者幸福心理学实践; 北京大学文东茅教授基于儒家圣贤思想, 尤其是王阳明“心学”, 提出“向上向善心安幸福教育论”(文东茅, 2023)。同时, 已有关于大学生主观幸福感的实证研究(Zhou, et al, 2025), 但几乎没有学者 [6] 从人类繁盛角度来看中国大学所面对的各种挑战。因此, 本文梳理中国大学在育人方面的各种挑战, 通过人类繁盛概念及回顾英国教育家约翰·亨利·纽曼的大学使命及博雅教育理念, 提出大学使命应该以人的繁盛为核心目标。以中国为案例, 笔者提出大学与人类繁盛之间, 即, 我们的大学在多大程度上促进或限制了人的繁盛?

本文分为五个部分。第一部分是列举近年来中国大学在人才培养方面所面对的质疑和挑战。第二部分简要介绍人的繁盛概念、特点及影响因素。第三部分回顾纽曼的大学使命及其博雅教育思想, 并指出他的大学博雅教育愿景指向繁盛人生。第四部分检视中国案例中的大学生发展挑战, 并提出大学育人使命当以促进人的繁盛为目标, 在人工智能时代的教育更应该以繁盛为目标。第五部分总结和讨论。

6. 堪萨斯大学的赵勇教授及其合作者 (Zhao, Y. & Zhong, R. (2025) 批判了绩优主义 (Meritocracy), 提出在AI时代应该以人类相互依存性 (Human Interdependency Paradigm) 重新定义教育目的。他们的人类依存性概念不同于人类繁盛概念, 尽管部分重叠之处。

6. Professor Yong Zhao of the University of Kansas and his collaborator (Zhao, Y. & Zhong, R., 2025) criticized meritocracy and proposed redefining the purpose of education in the AI era with a "Human Interdependency Paradigm." Their concept of human interdependency is different from the concept of human flourishing, although there are some overlaps.

has proposed human flourishing as the purpose of the university (De Ruyter, 2025).

The idea of human flourishing as the aim of education largely stems from a reflection on human capital theory. For the past sixty to seventy years, human capital theory has been the default framework for viewing education, especially higher education: education as an investment in human capital is the most important source of national

economic growth and individual income. In this framework, people are treated as tools and means rather than ends. This theory has never been without critics, and many scholars have critiqued it (Wang Rong, 2020; Tan, 2014; Easterlin, 1974). For example, Professor Wang Rong of Peking University pointed out that traditional human capital theory does not consider the endogeneity of institutions, and proposed the concepts of distributive and productive human capital. In fact, both distributive and productive human capital still treat people as tools and capital to be invested in. Despite much criticism, there seems to be a lack of in-depth reflection on the purpose of education from the perspective of human flourishing.

In recent years, Chinese scholars have engaged in practices and research in positive psychology and the subjective well-being of university students. For example, Professor Peng Kaiping of Tsinghua University has vigorously promoted the practice of positive psychology or happiness psychology among the public. Professor Wen Dongmao of Peking University, based on the thought of Confucian sages, especially Wang Yangming's "School of the Mind," has proposed the "Education Theory of Upward, Good-ward, Heart-at-Ease, and Happiness" (Wen Dongmao, 2023). At the same time, there have been empirical studies on the subjective well-being of university students (Zhou, et al., 2025), but almost no scholar has examined the various challenges faced by Chinese universities from the perspective of human flourishing. Therefore, this article reviews the various challenges in cultivating talent in Chinese universities and, through the concept of human flourishing and a look back at the university mission and liberal education philosophy of the British educator John Henry Newman, proposes that the mission of the university should be centered on the flourishing of the person. Using China as a case study, the author poses the central question of the university and human flourishing: To what extent do our universities promote or limit the flourishing of the person?

This article is divided into five parts. The first part outlines the doubts and challenges faced by Chinese universities in talent cultivation in recent years. The second part briefly introduces the concept of human flourishing, its characteristics, and influencing factors. The third part reviews Newman's university mission and his ideas on liberal education, pointing out that his vision for a liberal university education is directed towards a flourishing life. The fourth part examines the challenges of student development in China and proposes that the mission of university education should be to promote human flourishing, and that in the age of artificial intelligence, it is even more imperative that education be oriented towards flourishing. The fifth part provides a conclusion and discussion.

## 一、中国大学教育, 面临挑战

中国高等教育高速发展, 规模空前, 从精英高等教育阶段达到高等教育大众化阶段。然而, 近年来, 中国高等教育在培养人才成效方面, 面对各种质疑, 其中最著名的有“钱学森之问”、“钱理群之忧”、“空心病”之说。同时, 有实证研究发现, 中国大学生评判性思维能力, 经过大学四年, 不升反降。此外, 还有大量研究表明, 中国大学生心理疾病(比如抑郁症)查出率较高, 有过自杀意念、计划和尝试比例不低, 值得关注。

### 1. “钱学森之问”

“钱学森之问”, 简单说来, 就是中国著名科学家钱学森先生晚年对中国教育体系提出的一个大哉问: 中国大学为什么老是培养不出杰出创新人才? 2005年, 温家宝总理看望钱学森时, 钱先生提出“现在中国没有完全发展起来, 一个重要的原因是没有一所大学能够按照培养科技技术发明创造人才的模式去办学, 没有自己独特的创新的东西, 老是冒不出杰出人才。这是一个很大的问题。”这就是所谓“钱学森之问”。该问题引起了教育界、科技界及社会各界的广泛讨论。不少知名学者也纷纷参与, 提出如何破解“钱学森之问”, 比如清华大学经管学院院长钱颖一 [7], 中国科技大学教授潘建伟 [8], 西湖大学校长施一公 [9] 等。毫不夸张地说, 关于“钱学森之问”及其破解, 已经成为中国教育领域里的一个流行而热门的重要课题。

### 2. “钱理群之忧”

北大中文系教授钱理群先生自2008年开始多次发表对当代精英大学生的观察。他指出: 我们现在的精英大学教育正在培养出一批“绝对的精致的利己主义者”。这位研究鲁迅的学者在多次座谈会、接受采访、公开发表文章发表类似观点 [10]。以下文字摘自《北大读本》中钱先生的文章《大学要培养什么样的人才尖子?》。

……我现在恰好对这些尖子学生非常担心——当然不是全体——但是相当一部分尖子学生, 也包括北大的尖子, 让我感到忧虑。在我看来, 真

7. 钱颖一. 中国如何破解“钱学森之问”. 2018年8月. 《清华大学教育研究》第39卷第4期

8. “潘建伟院士: ‘钱学森之问’ 症结在文化土壤”. 科技日报, 2013.3.9.

9. 施一公. “试答钱学森之问”, 《自我突围》2023, 中信出版集团.

10. 请参见 钱理群. 寻找失去的“大学精神”——北大110周年民间纪念会上的讲话. 钱理群. 《重建家园——我的退思录》. 南宁: 广西师范大学出版社, 2012; 钱理群. “大学教育究竟要培养什么人尖子”. 余世存编《北大读本》, 四川人民出版社2018年; 谢湘. 为改革而生的理想主义者永远不老. 中国青年报, 2012-5-03 (3) .

7. Qian Yingyi, “How China Can Solve the ‘Qian Xuesen Question’,” *Tsinghua Journal of Education*, Vol. 39, No. 4, August 2018.

8. “Academician Pan Jianwei: The Crux of the ‘Qian Xuesen Question’ Lies in the Cultural Soil,” *Science and Technology Daily*, March 9, 2013.

9. Shi Yigong, “An Attempt to Answer the Qian Xuesen Question,” in *Self-Breakthrough* (CITIC Press Group, 2023).

## I. Challenges Facing Chinese University Education

Chinese higher education has developed rapidly and on an unprecedented scale, moving from the elite sphere to mass accessibility. However, in recent years, the effectiveness of talent cultivation in Chinese higher education has come under question in various ways, the most famous of which are “Qian Xuesen’s Question,” “Qian Liqun’s Worry,” and the concept of “hollow-heart disease.” At the same time, empirical research has found that the critical thinking skills of Chinese university students, after four years of university, not only fail to improve but actually decline. In addition, a large body of research shows that the detection rate of psychological disorders (such as depression) among Chinese university students is relatively high, and the proportion of those who have experienced suicidal ideation, plans, and attempts is not insignificant and warrants attention.

### 1. “Qian Xuesen’s Question”

“Qian Xuesen’s Question,” in simple terms, is a profound question posed by the renowned Chinese scientist Qian Xuesen in his later years to the Chinese education system: Why can’t Chinese universities consistently cultivate outstanding innovative talent? In 2005, when Premier Wen Jiabao visited Qian Xuesen, Mr. Qian stated, “China has not fully developed yet. This is largely due to the fact that there isn’t a single university structurally set up to cultivate inventors and creative minds in science and technology. They lack their own unique, innovative ways of thinking, and outstanding talent is just not emerging. This is a very big problem.” This has come to be known as “Qian Xuesen’s Question.” It has sparked widespread discussion in the education and science and technology communities, as well as society at large. Many well-known scholars have also joined the discussion, proposing ways to solve “Qian Xuesen’s Question,” such as Qian Yingyi<sup>[7]</sup>, the dean of the School of Economics and Management at Tsinghua University; Pan Jianwei<sup>[8]</sup>, a professor at the University of Science and Technology of China; and Shi Yigong<sup>[9]</sup>, the president of Westlake University. It is no exaggeration to say that “Qian Xuesen’s Question” and how to solve it have become a popular and important topic in the field of Chinese education.

### 2. “Qian Liqun’s Worry”

Mr. Qian Liqun, a professor in the Chinese Department at Peking University, has shared his observations of contemporary elite university students on multiple occa-

正的精英应该有独立自由创造精神，也是上次我在北大中文系演讲时所提出的，要有自我的承担，要有对自己职业的承担，要有对国家、民族、社会、人类的承担。这是我所理解和期待的精英。但是我觉得我们现在的教育，特别是我刚才说的，实用主义、实利主义，虚无主义的教育，正在培养出一批我所概括的“绝对的、精致的利己主义者”，所谓“绝对”，是指一己利益成为他们言行的唯一的绝对的直接驱动力，为他人做事，全部是一种投资。所谓“精致”指什么呢？他们有很高的智商，很高的教养，所做的一切都合理合法无可挑剔，他们惊人地世故、老到、老成，故意做出忠诚姿态，很懂得配合、表演，很懂得利用体制的力量来达成自己的目的。”

“我们的一些大学，包括北京大学，都正在培养一些‘精致的利己主义者’，他们高智商，世俗，老到，善于表演，懂得配合，更善于利用体制达到自己的目的。这种人一旦掌握权力，比一般的贪官污吏危害更大。”

钱理群先生描述他担忧的精英大学中为数不少的尖子学生培养中的品格问题，可以称为“钱理群之忧”。他所观察和忧虑的大学生“自我中心”品格问题应该有相当的代表性。

### 3. “空心病”之说

“北大学生中有接近四成的学生有‘空心病’！”这是徐凯文博士，一位精神科医生，在2016年一次演讲中的一个论断。徐先生拥有临床心理学博士，曾经在北大心理咨询中心服务超过12年。根据多年在北大对学生心理咨询和危机干预服务中的经验和观察，他指出北大学生中存在这种“空心病”现象。他指出，

“空心病，这个词是比喻，但它确实是一种病，你可以称它为微笑抑郁。它和行为举止异常的严重精神病不一样，好像情绪上没什么大的问题，没有情绪低落、思维变迟缓或者睡眠障碍，各方面表现都正常。但严重的情况下，社会功能会严重丧失，使一个人失去了生活的方向，甚至陷入抑郁自杀的程度。空心病涉及到以往心理学研究的一个无人区，就是人有没有精神世界。当一个人理想信念价值观缺失的时候，他的精神生活可能是崩塌的，不知道人生的价值和意义是什么，所以它也是个终极问题。”

10. See Qian Liqun, “Searching for the Lost ‘University Spirit’—Speech at the Unofficial Commemoration of Peking University’s 110th Anniversary”; Qian Liqun, *Rebuilding Our Home—My Reflections in Retirement* (Nanning: Guangxi Normal University Press, 2012); Qian Liqun, “What Kind of Top Talents Should University Education Cultivate?” in *Peking University Reader*, ed. Yu Shicun (Sichuan People’s Publishing House, 2018); Xie Xiang, “Idealists Born for Reform Never Grow Old,” *China Youth Daily*, May 3, 2012 (3).

sions since 2008. He has said: “Elite university education today is cultivating a batch of ‘absolute and refined egoists.’” A scholar of Lu Xun, Mr. Qian has expressed similar views in numerous seminars, interviews, and public articles.<sup>[10]</sup> The following is an excerpt from Mr. Qian’s article “What Kind of Top Talent Should Universities Cultivate?” in the *Peking University Reader*.

...I am currently very worried about these top students—not all of them, of course—but a considerable number of top students, including those at Peking University, make me feel concerned. In my view, true elites should have an independent, free, and creative spirit, as I proposed in my last speech at the Peking University Chinese Department. They should have a sense of self-responsibility, a responsibility toward their profession, and a responsibility toward the country, the nation, society, and humanity. This is the kind of elite I understand and expect. But I feel that our current education system, especially the pragmatic, utilitarian, and nihilistic model of education I just mentioned, is cultivating a batch of what I call “absolute and refined egoists.” “Absolute” means that their own interests are the sole, absolute, and direct driving force of their words and actions; doing things for others is all a form of investment. What does “refined” mean? They have very high IQs, very good manners, and everything they do is reasonable, legal, and without flaw. They are astonishingly worldly, sophisticated, and mature. They deliberately adopt a loyal posture, are very good at cooperating and performing, and are very adept at using the power of the system to achieve their own goals.

“Some of our universities, including Peking University, are cultivating some ‘refined egoists.’ They are highly intelligent, secular, sophisticated, good at performing, adept at cooperating, and even better at using the system to achieve their own goals. Once such people gain power, they are more harmful than ordinary corrupt officials.”

These are the character problems Mr. Qian believes permeate the cultivation of a considerable number of top students in elite universities, which have come to be called “Qian Liqun’s Worry.” His observation of “self-centeredness” in university students is widely shared among the populace.

徐博士所说的这种“空心病”，可能不只在北大存在。

#### 4. 心理健康堪忧

如果说徐凯文博士指出的“空心病”现象只是一种个人观察，那么文献中大量研究发现大学生心理健康状况堪忧，也许可以作为某种印证。一项研究发现中国大学生中抑郁症患病率高达23.8% (95% CI: 19.9%-28.5%, n=32694)，该研究使用元分析方法对1997-2015的39个研究进行分析，得出这个发现(Lei et al. 2016)。另一项发表在《自然》(Nature)杂志副刊《科学报告》(Scientific Report)的研究(Gao et al. 2022)发现，中国大学生中抑郁症发病率28.4% (95%CI : 25.7 to 31.2%, n=185,787)。该研究也是使用元分析方法，综合分析113个研究。最近的一项研究发现，在新冠疫情期间，中国大学生中的抑郁症发病率超过三分之一(34.1%) (Huang et al. 2023)。这几项研究所揭示的中国大学生抑郁症发病率都在四分之一到三分之一之间。这是一个可怕的数据，意味着三到四个中国大学生中，就有一个有抑郁症或者抑郁倾向<sup>[11]</sup>。

此外，还有研究显示，中国大学生中自杀念头的学生比例不低。比如，一项研究(Li, et al, 2014)萃取分析了2004-2013的41项研究，发现中国大学生有过自杀意念学生的检出率为10.92%(95%置信区间: 8.41% to 13.28%, n=160,339)。这就是说大概十分之一学生有过自杀念头。另一项使用元分析方法的研究29个研究进行分析(n=88,225)发现，过去12个月之内尝试过自杀的比例高达2.9%(95%置信区间:2.0%-3.8%)。(Yang, et al. 2015)；一个在上海某综合大学的问卷调查(n=6836)显示(Wu, et al. 2021)发现18%有过自杀意念，18.8%有自杀计划，1%尝试过自杀；有自杀念头学生中，超过六成(61.4%)觉得生命没价值。当然，这些研究的样本量很大，但不一定有全国代表性。

#### 5. 批判性思维力下降

近年来有两篇关于中国大学生批判性思考力发展的学术文章令人关注(Loyalka, et al. 2021; Zheng, et al. 2023)。第一篇发现中国大学生评判性思考力显著下降，而是STEM领域的学术技能几乎没有增长。第二

11. 抑郁症需要严格的临床心理学筛查，而这些心理学研究，大多使用关于抑郁症量表，在大学生中自我填报，结果可能有一定出入。

### 3. “Hollow-Heart Disease”

In a 2016 speech, psychiatrist Dr. Xu Kaiwan claimed, “Nearly forty percent of Peking University students have ‘hollow-heart disease!’” Dr. Xu holds a Ph.D. in clinical psychology and served at the Peking University Counseling Center for over 12 years. Based on his years of experience and observation in providing psychological counseling and crisis intervention services to students at Peking University, he pointed out the existence of this “hollow-heart disease” phenomenon among students. He noted,

“‘Hollow-heart disease’ is a metaphor, but it is indeed an illness. You could call it smiling depression. It’s different from severe mental illnesses that are accompanied by abnormal behavior. Emotionally, there don’t seem to be any major problems; there’s no low mood, slowed thinking, or sleep disorders, and all aspects of the students’ performance are normal. But in severe cases, social functioning can be severely impaired, causing a person to lose their direction in life and even fall into depression and suicide. Hollow-heart disease touches upon a no-man’s-land in previous psychological research, which is whether a person has a spiritual life. When a person lacks ideals, beliefs, and values, their spiritual life may collapse. They don’t know the value and meaning of life, so this is also an ultimate question.”

This “hollow-heart disease” described by Dr. Xu may not only exist at Peking University.

### 4. Precarious Mental Health

If Dr. Xu Kaiwen’s “hollow-heart disease” is just a personal observation, then the large body of research in the literature finding that the mental health of university students is precarious may serve as some form of corroboration. One study found the prevalence of depression among Chinese university students to be as high as 23.8% (95% CI: 19.9%-28.5%, n=32,694). This study used a meta-analysis of 39 studies from 1997-2015 to arrive at this figure (Lei et al., 2016). Another study published in the Nature sub-journal Scientific Reports (Gao et al., 2022) placed the figure at 28.4% (95% CI: 25.7% to 31.2%, n=185,787). This study also used a meta-analysis, synthesizing 113 studies. A recent study found that during the COVID-19 pandemic, the figure rose even higher, exceeding one-third (34.1%) (Huang et al., 2023). The prevalence of depression among Chinese university students revealed by these studies is thus between one-quarter and one-third. This is a frightening statistic, meaning that one in every three to four Chinese

篇发现中国大学生批评性思考能力有增值,但精英高校并没有显著优势。

2021年发表于《自然》杂志副刊《人类行为》的一篇研究引起广泛关注(Loyalka, et al. 2021)。这是一个由来自美国、中国、俄罗斯和印度近20位研究者超过4年的跨国跟踪比较研究。该研究发现,在大学一年级时候,中国和美国大学生的批评思考能力水平处于类似水平,但随着在大学中时间增长,相对于美国,中国大学生在大学后两年的批评性思考能力显著下降,学术能力基本没有显著提高。

该研究团队比较了大学不同阶段,四个国家大学生批评思考能力的变化。中国的大一学生在批判性思维技能与美国大一学生水平相当,但远高于印度大一学生,也明显高于俄罗斯大一学生。大学二年级结束时,中国学生的批判性思维技能仍显著高于印度学生,略高于俄罗斯学生,与美国学生相当;然而,在四年级结束时,中国学生的得分仍显著高于印度学生,但与俄罗斯学生无显著差异,且远低于美国四年级学生。大学毕业时批判性思维技能的差距主要源于各国在大学后两年技能增长的差异。相比之下,中国精英高校的学生在前两年在批判性思维、数学和物理技能方面没有任何增长,而非精英高校的学生在批判性思维技能方面则出现了显著下降。中国精英和非精英高校学生学术能力的大幅下降——与印度和俄罗斯的增长形成鲜明对比——这令人震惊。研究者给出一个可能的解释是,中国学生很少因成绩不佳被迫退课或退学,因此学习动力较低。另一个可能的原因是,中国大学教师布置的课外作业和阅读量较少,这也可能限制了学生的学习成果。与此相反,印度和俄罗斯的学生可能因为面临定期评估和不及格的风险而更有学习动力。

南方科技大学沈红教授团队的文章(Zheng et al, 2023)发现,超过50%的样本高校学生批判性思考能力有增值,但这个研究发现,来自重点高校(985、211高校)的学生的批评性思考增值似乎并比普通院校显著。

## 6. 劳动力市场表现与学业无关

大量实证研究显示,中国大学教育收入回报率相当高,平均来说,受一年大学教育的受教育者的工资收入会提高至少10%。斯坦福大学的李宏彬教授等人近期一项研究(Li, et al, 2023)发现,中国大学毕业生在劳

11. Depression requires strict clinical psychological screening. Most of these psychological studies use self-reported depression scales among university students, so the results may have certain discrepancies.

university students has depression or a tendency toward depression.[11]

In addition, research shows that the proportion of Chinese university students with suicidal ideation is not insignificant. For example, one study (Li, et al., 2014) which extracted and analyzed 41 studies from 2004–2013 found the detection rate of suicidal ideation among Chinese university students to be 10.92% (95% CI: 8.41% to 13.28%, n=160,339). This means that about one in ten students has had suicidal thoughts. A separate meta-analysis of 29 studies (n=88,225) found that the proportion of those who had attempted suicide in the past 12 months was as high as 2.9% (95% CI: 2.0%–3.8%) (Yang, et al., 2015). A survey at a comprehensive university in Shanghai (n=6,836) showed (Wu, et al., 2021) that 18% had experienced suicidal ideation, 18.8% had made a suicide plan, and 1% had attempted suicide. Among students with suicidal ideation, over 60% (61.4%) felt that life had no value. It is worth noting that while the sample sizes of these studies are large, they are not necessarily nationally representative.

## 5. Decline in Critical Thinking Skills

In recent years, two academic articles on the development of critical thinking skills among Chinese university students have drawn attention (Loyalka, et al., 2021; Zhang, et al., 2023). The first found a significant decline in the critical thinking skills of Chinese university students, while academic skills in STEM fields showed almost no growth. The second found that there was an increase in the critical thinking skills of Chinese university students, but elite universities did not have a significant advantage.

A study published in 2021 in the Nature sub-journal *Nature Human Behaviour* attracted widespread attention (Loyalka, et al., 2021). This was a cross-national, longitudinal comparative study of over four years involving nearly 20 researchers from the United States, China, Russia, and India. The study found that in the first year of university, the critical thinking skills of Chinese and American university students were at a similar level. However, as they progressed through university, the critical thinking skills of Chinese students declined significantly in the last two years compared to their American counterparts, while their academic skills showed almost no significant improvement.

The research team compared the changes in critical thinking skills of university students from the four countries at different stages of their university education. First-year Chinese students' critical thinking skills were comparable to those of first-year American students, but significantly higher than first-year Indian students and also noticeably higher than first-year Russian students. By the end of the second year, Chinese students' critical thinking skills were still significantly higher than Indian students,

动力市场上的工资收入差异,似乎主要由是否党员身份以及是否毕业于精英高校这样的变量解释,而和大学期间学业成绩(GPA)、是否参与实习等因素没有显著关系。该研究提示似乎信号筛选理论和社交网络理论比人力资本理论更能解释中国的大学毕业生的劳动力市场表现。

## 7. 亟需一个理解框架

我们当如何理解这些中国大学尤其是中国大学生发展的挑战?这些挑战有什么共同特征或者内在逻辑?钱学森先生关注我国拔尖创新人才培养问题,是关心“国家队”队员,似乎和其余绝大多数普通大学生的发展无关;钱理群先生指出精英大学生中的“精致的利己主义”现象是一个品格问题;徐凯文先生揭示北大学生中“空心病”是一种精神层面问题-----主要是大学生缺少目的和意义的现象;大学生中的较高精神心理疾病发病率 and 自杀意念查出率 [12] 也和生命意义缺少有关;大学生批判性思考能力下降,或者即使有增值但精英大学影响并不显著。

12. 关于大学生自杀现象,理论上本可以收集到可靠数据,但由于众所周知的原因,该领域的研究成了一个空白。文献中只能关于大学生自杀意念方面的研究,作为替代。

12. Regarding the phenomenon of suicide among university students, reliable data could theoretically be collected, but for well-known reasons, research in this area has become a blank space. The literature can only offer research on suicidal ideation among university students as a substitute.

slightly higher than Russian students, and comparable to American students. However, by the end of the fourth year, while Chinese students' scores were still significantly higher than Indian students, they were not significantly different from Russian students, and far below fourth-year American students. The gap in critical thinking skills at graduation was mainly due to the differences in skill growth in the last two years of university among the four countries. In contrast, students at elite Chinese universities showed no growth in critical thinking, math, or physics skills in the first two years, while students at non-elite universities showed a significant decline in critical thinking skills. The sharp decline in the academic skills of students at both elite and non-elite Chinese universities—in stark contrast to the growth in India and Russia—is shocking. The researchers offer a possible explanation that Chinese students are rarely forced to drop out of courses or withdraw from school due to poor grades, and thus have lower motivation to learn. Another possible reason is that Chinese university professors assign less out-of-class homework and reading, which may also limit student learning

outcomes. In contrast, students in India and Russia may be more motivated to learn because they face regular assessments and the risk of failing.

An article by Professor Shen Hong's team at Southern University of Science and Technology (Zhang et al., 2023) found that over 50% of the sampled university students showed an increase in critical thinking skills. However, this study also found that the increase in critical thinking skills for students from key universities (985, 211 universities) was not significantly better than that of students from ordinary universities.

## 6. Labor Market Performance Unrelated to Academic Performance

A large body of empirical research shows that the rate of return on investment in university education in China is quite high. On average, one year of university education increases wage income by at least 10%. A recent study by Professor Li Hongbin of Stanford University and others (Li, et al., 2023) found that the wage income differences of Chinese university graduates in the labor market seem to be mainly explained by variables such as whether they are a member of the Communist Party and whether they graduated from an elite university, and are not significantly related to factors such as academic performance during university (GPA) or participation in internships. This study suggests that signaling theory and social network theory may be better able to explain the labor market performance of university graduates than human capital theory.

## 7. An Urgent Need for an Interpretive Framework

How should we understand these challenges in Chinese universities, especially in the development of Chinese university students? What are the common features or internal logic of these challenges? Mr. Qian Xuesen's concern about the cultivation of top innovative talent in our country seems to focus on the "national-level players" while ignoring the vast majority of ordinary university students. The phenomenon of "refined egoism," coined by Mr. Qian Liqun, is a character issue among elite university students. Mr. Xu Kaiwen's revelation of "hollow-heart disease" among Peking University students is a spiritual problem—mainly the phenomenon of university students lacking purpose and meaning. The high prevalence of mental and psychological disorders and the detection rate of suicidal ideation<sup>[12]</sup> among university students are also related to a lack of meaning in life. The decline in students' critical thinking skills, coupled with the lack of advantage elite universities grant their students in this aspect of education, is a dimension of the cognitive development of university students.

### 1. 人类繁盛:一个古老概念的复兴

人类繁盛是指人类个体一种全面、积极和充满意义、潜能得以充分实现的生命状态,指向个体生命各个方面在其环境中处于相对好的状态。从词源上看,Flourish源自拉丁语 florere,意为“开花”,带有与环境和谐共处,从环境中获得滋养的含义。它不仅仅是指个体“过得好”或“成功”,而且也暗示环境本身也处于良好状态,这是指一种全面而深层次的生命状态。在这种状态中,个体与其环境之间存在着和谐、成长与充满意义的互动。

人的繁盛首先是一个伦理学概念,可以追溯到古希腊哲学家亚里士多德(公元前384-322年)提出的Eudaimonia,指一种幸福至善的生命状态,强调通过理性培养美德和发展个人潜能来实现幸福人生。事实上,人的繁盛概念的古老程度远超过这位古希腊哲学家<sup>[13]</sup>。在犹太希伯来经典中,人的繁盛概念随处可见。比如,在《诗篇》中,就提到两种人生。一种是蒙福的人生,“他要像一棵树,栽在溪水边,按时候结果子,叶子也不枯干”;另一种是肤浅不蒙福的人生,“乃像糠秕,被风吹散”,在公义审判中“站立不住”。这样的人生“却必灭亡”。此外,犹太人见面的问候语Shalom“平安”,也有蒙福繁盛之意。

过去三十多年来,人的繁盛这个古老概念又焕发生机。起初这个概念只是在哲学伦理学领域引起讨论。英国哲学家安斯康姆(1919-2001)批判了现代道德哲学误入歧途,提出伦理学应该回归亚里士多德的德性伦理,关注人的繁盛(Anscombe, 1958)。加拿大哲学家Meynell认为人的繁盛的核心在于德性与理性,尤其是神圣理性的结合(Meynell, H. 1969; 1980)。最近20-30年来,该概念已经进入心理学,尤其推动了积极心理学的诞生与繁荣。不仅如此,该概念进入公共健康、经济学、法学、生态学、环境科学、政治学、教育学、公共政策甚至进入脑科学与认知神经科学等学科领域(De Ruyter, et al. 2022),已经成为这些学科的重要概念。

人的繁盛概念之所以在众多学科领域迅速流行,可能是因为它提供了一种积极整合、关注个体及社群发展的新视角,回应了当代社会、教育、

13. 很多重要的犹太希伯来经典,比如《摩西五经》《诗篇》成书年代远远早于亚里斯多德(公元前384-322)所在的时代。

13. Many important Judeo-Hebrew classics, such as the Pentateuch (Five Books of Moses) and the Psalms, were written long before the time of Aristotle (384-322 BCE).

## II. Human Flourishing, a New Perspective

### 1. Human Flourishing: The Revival of an Ancient Concept

Human flourishing refers to a holistic, positive, and meaningful state of life in which an individual's potential is fully realized, and all aspects of an individual's life are relatively good within the context of their environment. Etymologically, "flourish" comes from the Latin *florere*, meaning "to flower," which gives a sense of living in harmony with one's environment and receiving nourishment from it. It does not only mean that an individual is "doing well" or is "successful," but also implies that the environment itself is in a good state. This refers to a holistic, and profound state of life, where there is a harmonious, growing, and meaningful interaction between the individual and their environment.

Human flourishing is first and foremost an ethical concept, which is commonly traced back to the ancient Greek philosopher Aristotle (384-322 BCE), who proposed *Eudaimonia*, a state of supreme happiness that emphasizes the achievement of a happy life through the rational cultivation of virtue and the development of personal potential. In fact, the concept of human flourishing is much older than this ancient Greek philosopher.<sup>[13]</sup> In the Hebrew scriptures, the concept of human flourishing is found everywhere. For example, in the book of Psalms, two kinds of lives are compared with each other. One is a blessed life: "He is like a tree planted by streams of water, which yields its fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither." The other is a shallow, unblessed life: "like chaff that the wind blows away," which "will not stand" in the righteous judgment. Such a life "will perish." In addition, the Jewish greeting *Shalom*, "peace," also connotes a state of blessedness and flourishing.

Over the past three decades, this ancient concept of human flourishing has been revitalized. Initially, the concept was only discussed in the field of philosophical ethics. The British philosopher G.E.M. Anscombe (1919-2001) criticized modern moral philosophy for going astray and proposed that ethics should return to Aristotle's virtue ethics, focusing on human flourishing (Anscombe, 1958). The Canadian philosopher Hugo Meynell argued that the core of human flourishing lies in the combination of virtue and reason, especially divine reason (Meynell, 1969; 1980). In the last 20-30 years, the concept has entered the field of psychology, in particular promoting the emergence and popularization of positive psychology. Beyond that, the concept has also entered disciplines such as public health, economics, law, ecology, environmental science, political science, education, public policy, and even brain science and cognitive neuroscience (De Ruyter, et al., 2022) and has established itself as an

心理与公共政策等领域的深层需求。首先,人的繁盛提供了一个认识人之所以为人的新视角。这个概念使人们对人的认识从问题导向转向潜能导向。传统学科往往关注人类生活问题的一面,如疾病、贫困、失败,而人的繁盛则强调人类生活的潜能和健康的一面。人的繁盛概念促使各学科的作者关注一些重要的基本问题。比如,人的繁盛意味着什么?什么让人活得更好?如何实现人的潜能?如何构建有意义的生活?人类繁盛概念从带来的问题导向到潜能导向的转变,使之成为多个学科领域的新焦点。

其次,人类繁盛概念试图回应后现代化社会的深层焦虑。在全球化、技术化、竞争化背景下,个体面临各种心理健康危机,价值迷失,社交孤立,人们需要对“成功”与“幸福”等概念重新思考。而人类繁盛似乎正好提供了一个积极有希望导向的生命愿景;它帮助人们重新追问人生意义,希望重新建立深刻的人际连接。

再次,人类繁盛的跨学科整合力强。人类繁盛是一个高度包容的概念,它可以在不同学科中找到共鸣。比如,在心理学中,关注幸福感、意义感、积极情绪,积极心理学的迅速发展就与人类繁盛概念高度有关;在教育学中,关注全人发展、品格教育和学生的内在动机;在公共卫生中,关注个人和社群的身心全面健康,而非仅是无病状态;在经济学中,不少经济学家提出从关注国民经济发展GDP的测量,到关注幸福经济学和人们个体层面的生活质量(Sen, 2008)。

然而,人类繁盛至今没有一个统一的定义。它和幸福(Happiness),和福祉(Well-being),健康(Wellness)等概念都相关,但又超越这些概念。“幸福”倾向于一种主观快乐享受的短暂状态;Well-Being是指一种主观感受很好的存在状况(Lomas & VanderWeele, 2023)。

## 2. 人类繁盛的特点

尽管人们对人类繁盛有很多不同定义,但大多数学者都认同这个概念的如下特点,包括人类繁盛的多维性与整体性;动态性与过程性;个体繁盛与环境依赖性;主观性与客观性的结合;主体性与能动性;地方性与普世性;目的性和意义感。

important concept in these fields.

The reason the concept of human flourishing has rapidly gained popularity in so many disciplines may be because it provides a new perspective that is positively integrative and focuses on the development of individuals and communities, responding to the deep needs of contemporary society, education, psychology, and public policy. First, human flourishing provides a new perspective on what it means to be human. This concept shifts people's understanding of humanity from being problem-oriented to potential-oriented. Traditional disciplines often focus on the problematic side of human life, such as disease, poverty, and failure, while human flourishing emphasizes the potential and healthy side of human life. The concept of human flourishing prompts scholars in various disciplines to focus on some important basic questions. For example, what does human flourishing mean? What makes people live better? How can human potential be realized? How can one build a meaningful life? The shift from a problem-oriented to a potential-oriented approach has made human flourishing a new focus in multiple disciplinary fields.

Second, the concept of human flourishing attempts to respond to the deep anxieties of post-modern society. In the context of globalization, technologization, and heightened competition, individuals face various mental health crises, loss of values, and social isolation. People need to rethink concepts like "success" and "happiness." And human flourishing seems to provide a positive and hopeful vision of life; it helps people to reexamine the meaning of life and hope to reestablish deep interpersonal connections.

Third, human flourishing is interdisciplinary and integrative in nature. Human flourishing is a highly inclusive concept that can find resonance in many different disciplines. For example, in psychology, it focuses on well-being, a sense of meaning, and positive emotions, and the rapid development of positive psychology is closely tied to the concept of human flourishing. In education, it focuses on holistic development, character education, and the intrinsic motivation of students. In public health, it focuses on the holistic physical and mental health of individuals and communities, not just the absence of disease. In economics, many economists have proposed shifting the focus from measuring GDP as the primary indicator of national economic development to the economics of happiness and the quality of life of individuals (Sen, 2008).

However, there is still no unified definition of human flourishing. It is related to concepts like happiness, well-being, and wellness, but it also transcends them. "Happiness" tends to be a subjective, pleasant, and transient state; "well-being" refers to a state of being where one subjectively feels good (Lomas & VanderWeele, 2023).

(1) 多维性与整体性。人的繁盛多维性是指繁盛是由人的多个方面都处于相对好的状态,而不只是某单一向度发展得好。人的认知、身体、心理、情感、社交、灵性等多方面的健康与平衡都是繁盛人生的不同方面。比如,哈佛大学人类繁盛中心提出的繁盛人生框架及其影响环境,包括五个维度<sup>[14]</sup>:幸福与生活满意度、身体与心理健康、意义与目的、品格与美德、紧密的社交关系(VanderWeele, 2017)。积极心理学之父马丁·塞里格曼教授提出了繁盛的五个维度“PERMA”(Seligman, 2011),包括积极情绪(Positive Emotions)、心流投入(Engagement)、积极关系(Relationships)、人生意义(Meaning)和成就感(Accomplishment)。不同框架之间有一些差异,也有相当一致性。比如,都有对人生意义与目的的维度、人际社交关系的维度。近年也有学者提出人类繁盛三维度模型(Briggs, A. & Reiss, M.,J. 2021),其三维度包括:物质性、关系性和超越性维度。物质性维度包括身体健康(身体机能、营养、睡眠、寿命等)、财务稳健(安全的住所、收入)等方面;关系性维度包括与人的各种关系(社交、亲子关系、夫妻关系、友谊等),人与自然和环境的的关系;超越性维度主要指人的精神层面,包人和永恒的关系,比如,人在文学、艺术作品中所体味到的永恒,在自然美景前所经历到的敬畏;超越苦难和死亡的信仰等。他们认为繁荣的核心在于追求永恒真理、有意义的目标和价值。

整体性是指繁盛生命的不同维度之间并非完全孤立毫不相干,而是彼此链接,相互影响。正如一个树的不同枝干,看似没有联系,但使树木得以生长的营养水分的运输与传送,都与根部相连接。很显然,一个只是学业成绩好,却没有良好品格的大学生,算不得繁盛的人生。

(2) 动态性与过程性。从时间尺度上讲,繁盛是指一生之久的动态过程而不是某些短暂时刻的成就。在不同人生季节,人有不同的主要角色和责任需要去承担。比如,“金榜题名”——考上清华北大复旦交大这样的顶尖学府——是大多数中国学生梦寐以求的事情,可谓人生高光时刻,但只是一个静止状态,不能代表繁盛;毕业时手握多份高薪体面的工作机会,是大学生长期努力和家庭期待的结果,但这也是一个静止状态,并不一定意味着人生繁盛;“洞房花烛夜”——进入婚姻殿堂——也并不一定意味婚姻成功,家庭幸福。以最近发生在加州湾区“谷歌工程师杀妻案”悲剧为例,可以很好理解繁盛概念的动态性和连续性。这个案件中夫妻双方当年都以极其优异的成绩考入清华大学,毕业后到海外留学,获得谷歌担任工程

14. 在这个框架中,有时候,财务稳健也作为一个维度纳入该框架。

14. In this framework, financial stability is sometimes included as a dimension.

## 2. “Qian Liqun’s Worry”

Although there are many different definitions of human prosperity, most scholars agree on the following characteristics of the concept: the multidimensionality and holism of human prosperity; dynamism and process; individual prosperity and environmental dependence; the combination of subjectivity and objectivity; subjectivity and initiative; locality and universality; purpose and sense of meaning.

(1) Multidimensionality and Holism. The multidimensionality of human flourishing means that flourishing consists of multiple aspects of a person being in a relatively good state, not only one single dimension. The health and balance of a person’s cognitive, physical, psychological, emotional, social, and spiritual life are all different aspects of a flourishing life. For example, the Human Flourishing Program at Harvard University has proposed a framework for a flourishing life and its environmental influences, which includes five dimensions<sup>[14]</sup>: happiness and life satisfaction, physical and mental health, meaning and purpose, character and virtue, and close social relationships (VanderWeele, 2017). The father of positive psychology, Professor Martin Seligman, proposed the five dimensions of flourishing, “PERMA” (Seligman, 2011), which include Positive Emotions, Engagement, Relationships, Meaning, and Accomplishment. There are some differences between these frameworks, but there is also considerable consistency. For example, they all carry a dimension of meaning and purpose in life and emphasize the importance of interpersonal social relationships. In recent years, some scholars have also proposed a three-dimensional model of human flourishing (Briggs & Reiss, 2021): the material, the relational, and the transcendent. The material dimension includes physical health (bodily functions, nutrition, sleep, lifespan, etc.) and financial stability (secure housing, income), etc. The relational dimension includes various relationships with other people (social, parent-child, spousal, friendship, etc.), as well as the relationship between people and nature and the environment. The transcendent dimension mainly refers to one’s spiritual life, including the relationship between a person and eternity—for example, the sense of sublime one may experience through literary and artistic works, the awe one may feel in the face of natural beauty, and faith that transcends suffering and death. They believe that the core of flourishing lies in the pursuit of eternal truth, meaningful goals, and values.

Holism means that the different dimensions of a flourishing life are not completely isolated and unrelated, but are interconnected and influence each other. Just like the different branches of a tree, they may seem unrelated, but the transport and delivery of nutrients and water that allow the tree to grow are all connected to the roots. It is obvious that a university student who only performs well academically but lacks good character cannot be said to have a flourishing life.

师的职位，目前已经在湾区购置价值数百万美金的房产。然而，当婚姻出现问题，双方不能处理好其中的危机，丈夫以拳头打死自己的妻子时，我们似乎很难说这对年轻人拥有繁盛的生命。

(3) 个体繁盛与环境依赖性。个人繁盛受到所在环境的深刻影响。物质、社会、文化、制度等方面的环境对个体繁盛极其重要。人的繁盛依赖于环境，也有可能超越环境。正如干旱缺水之沙漠不利于大多数植物生长，严酷的政治社会文化环境下，人很难茁壮繁盛。北大中文系校友郭力女士曾任职于北大出版社，近来整理北大校史。她的整理发现，北大物理系1953-1956年被划为右的师生164名，其中教师9名。这些全国选拔出来的精英大学生，经过反右斗争和文革，多人死于非命，包括被枪毙、饿死狱中、饿死劳改农场、自杀；多人偷渡入狱，多人患精神疾病，多人抑郁而终。除了一位受益于李政道先生的中美联合招考物理研究生项目，进入哥伦比亚大学博士毕业，在美国取得卓越成就之外，大多凋零 [15]。因此，个人层面的繁盛与其所处社区及环境高度相关。一个人在严酷或者腐朽的环境中可以有所突破和发展，但真正的繁盛也需要考虑社会和环境因素的影响。

(4) 主观性与客观性的结合。人的繁盛不只是一种积极正面的心理感受，而是包括主观感受和客观两个方面的状态(De Ruyter, 2004)。一方面包括主观部分，比如自我满足感、幸福感以及相关的积极情绪。另一方面，人的繁盛也有客观部分，比如身体健康水平，认知水平，有意义的工作，密切的人际关系等。

(5) 主体性与能动性。人的繁盛一个重要的特征体现在积极心理特质和能力的展现与运用。主体性表现为自我决定，掌控自己生活的感觉；积极的心理品质，比如坚韧性或心理弹性(Resilience)，在逆境和挫折中力量复原的品质；坚毅(Grit)，想着目标不言放弃的意志。最近不少实用随机试验方法的经济学研究发现心理品质的积极影响 [16]。人类历史和当今现实中有很多这样的例子。比如，尼克·胡哲(Nick Vujicic)，1982年出生在澳大利亚，是一个生来没有四肢的人。他小时候差点因为自己的身体残障觉得自己无用而自杀，但经过坚强的意志和不懈努力，他掌握了踢足球、游泳、跳水、冲浪等高难度运动；他上大学获得会计和财务规划双学士学位；不仅如此，他还成为世界著名的演讲大师，出版多本励志的书籍，在用自己的故事鼓励人们，生命是一个奇迹，永不言败 [17]。

15. 郭力，钱学森之问与北大物理系精英的毁灭。新三届(微信公号)，郭力专列，2025.6.17。

16. 关于坚毅Grit (Alan, et al. 2019);关于耐心(Alan. S., & Ertac. S. 2018).

17. 力克·胡哲(Nick Vujicic)出版的书籍包括《人生不设限》，湖北教育出版社，2015；《永不止步》，天津社会科学院出版社，2012。

15. Guo Li, "The Qian Xuesen Question and the Destruction of Peking University's Physics Department Elites," *Xin San Jie* (WeChat Public Account), Guo Li Special Column, June 17, 2025.

(2) Dynamism and Process-Orientation. In terms of time scale, flourishing refers to a lifelong dynamic process rather than achievements at certain points in time. In different seasons of life, a person has different main roles and responsibilities to undertake. For example, “passing the imperial examination with distinction”—getting into a top university like Tsinghua, Peking, Fudan, or Jiaotong—is what most Chinese students dream of, a highlight of life, but it is a static state and does not indicate flourishing. Receiving multiple well-paying and decent job offers upon graduation is the result of long-term effort by the student and family expectations, but this is also a static state and does not necessarily entail a flourishing life. The “wedding night”—entering the hall of marriage—also does not necessarily mean a successful marriage and a happy family. The recent tragedy of the “Google engineer who killed his wife” in the California Bay Area can serve as a cautionary tale to understand the dynamic and continuous nature of the concept of flourishing. In this case, both the husband and wife had been admitted to Tsinghua University with outstanding results. After graduation, they went abroad to study and got jobs as engineers at Google. They had already purchased a multi-million dollar property in the Bay Area. However, when problems arose in their marriage and they could not handle the crisis, the husband beat his wife to death with his fists. We can hardly say that this young couple had a flourishing life.

(3) Dependence of Individual Flourishing on the Environment. Individual flourishing is profoundly influenced by the environment in which one is situated. The material, social, cultural, and institutional aspects of the environment are extremely important for individual flourishing. The flourishing of a person depends on the environment, but it is also possible to transcend the environment. Just as a dry desert is not conducive to the growth of most plants, in a harsh political, social, and cultural environment, it is difficult for a person to thrive and flourish. Ms. Guo Li, an alumna of the Chinese Department at Peking University who once worked at Peking University Press, recently compiled the history of the university. Her compilation revealed that from 1953 to 1956, 164 faculty members and students from the Physics Department at Peking University were classified as rightists, including 9 faculty members. After the Anti-Rightist Campaign and the Cultural Revolution, many of these elite university students, selected from all over the country, died unnatural deaths, including being executed, starving to death in prison or on labor reform farms, and committing suicide. Many attempted to flee the country and were imprisoned. Many suffered from mental illness, and many died of depression. One notable exception was a man who benefited from the Sino-American Physics Examination and Application program initiated by Mr. Tsung-Dao Lee; he was able to enter Columbia University for his Ph.D., and achieved outstanding success in the United States. Aside from him, most others withered away.<sup>[15]</sup> Therefore, individual flourishing is highly related to the community and environment in which one is situated. In rare cases a person can still make breakthroughs and develop their

(6) 特殊性与普世性。不同文化对人的繁盛有不同的理解。尽管如此, 人类繁盛的某些重要维度理解也有超越文化差异的普适性(Höltge, et al. 2023; VanderWeele, et al., 2023; Dahlsgaard, et al. 2005)。比如, 几乎所有文化都认同品格和美德维度, 包括信实、慈爱、智慧、节制、勇敢、公义、怜悯等等, 而美德是人的繁盛非常核心的维度。繁盛的人生也是通过美德祝福他人和世界的生命。

(7) 目的性和意义感。繁盛生命的核心在于拥有追求对个人有目的性和意义感的目标。这样的人生有方向、有目的、有价值感。真理基础、目的性和意义感被称为繁盛人生的三个根基(Briggs, A. & Reiss, M.,J. 2021)。

总结来说, 繁盛生命是一种具有多维度、动态性, 有环境依赖性又有主体性和能动性特征, 通过展现美德、寻求富有目的和意义感, 并有主观感受和客观基础的美好生命状态, 也就是在合适的环境, 有时候哪怕是逆境中展现出潜能的积极的生命状态。

### 3. 通往人类繁盛之路

什么因素影响和决定人的繁盛? 有学者提出良好的家庭生活、有意义的工作、教育水平和参与信仰社区活动都是影响繁盛的因素(VanderWeele, 2017)。如图所示, 上述四个因素分别都和繁盛人生的五个维度相关联 [18]。很明显, 在这里教育是影响人的繁盛的一个重要因素, 但不是唯一的因素。此外, 大量研究表明, 认知干预(表达感恩, 想象最好的自己)、操练美德(忍耐)、行为改变(向陌生人展现友善)、积极的社区参与(志愿者服务), 良好的婚姻关系等等都是影响繁盛生命的因素(VanderWeele, 2020)。也有学者给出人的繁盛-幸福方程式: 家庭(Family), 朋友(Friends), Faith (信仰) 和有意义的工作(Work)(Brooks & Winfrey, 2023)。

18. 信仰社区的英文是 Religious Communities.

16. Regarding grit (Alan, et al., 2019); regarding patience (Alan, S., & Ertac, S., 2018).

17. Books published by Nick Vujicic include *Life Without Limits* (Hubei Education Press, 2015) and *Unstoppable* (Tianjin Academy of Social Sciences Press, 2012).

18. The English for “信仰社区” is “Religious Communities.”

potential in a harsh or corrupt environment, but true flourishing must also consider the influence of social and environmental factors.

(4) Combination of Subjectivity and Objectivity. Human flourishing is not just a positive psychological feeling, but a state that includes both subjective feelings and objective aspects (De Ruyter, 2004). On the one hand, it includes subjective factors such as self-satisfaction, happiness, and other positive emotions. On the other hand, human flourishing is also rooted in objectivity, namely one's physical health, cognitive level, ability to find meaningful work, and close interpersonal relationships.

(5) Autonomy and Agency. An important characteristic of human flourishing is manifested in the display and practice of positive psychological traits and abilities. Autonomy is expressed as self-determination, the feeling of being in control of one's own life. Positive psychological qualities, such as resilience, the ability to recover strength in the face of adversity and setbacks; and grit, the will not to give up on one's goals. Recently, many economics studies using randomized controlled trials have found the positive effects of psychological traits.<sup>[16]</sup> There are many such examples in human history and in our current age. For example, Nick Vujicic, born in Australia in 1982, was born without limbs. As a child, he almost committed suicide because he felt useless due to his physical disability, but through his strong will and unremitting effort, he mastered difficult sports such as football, swimming, diving, and surfing. He went to university and obtained a double bachelor's degree in accounting and financial planning. He also became a world-renowned motivational speaker, published several inspirational books, and uses his own story to persuade people that life is a miracle and to never give up.<sup>[17]</sup>

(6) Specificity and Universality. Different cultures have different understandings of human flourishing. Nevertheless, some important dimensions of human flourishing also have a universality that transcends cultural differences (Höltge, et al., 2023; VanderWeele, et al., 2023; Dahlsgaard, et al., 2005). For example, almost all cultures agree on the importance of character and virtue, including faithfulness, love, wisdom, temperance, courage, justice, compassion, etc., and that virtue is a core dimension of human flourishing. A flourishing life is also a life that blesses others and the world through virtue.

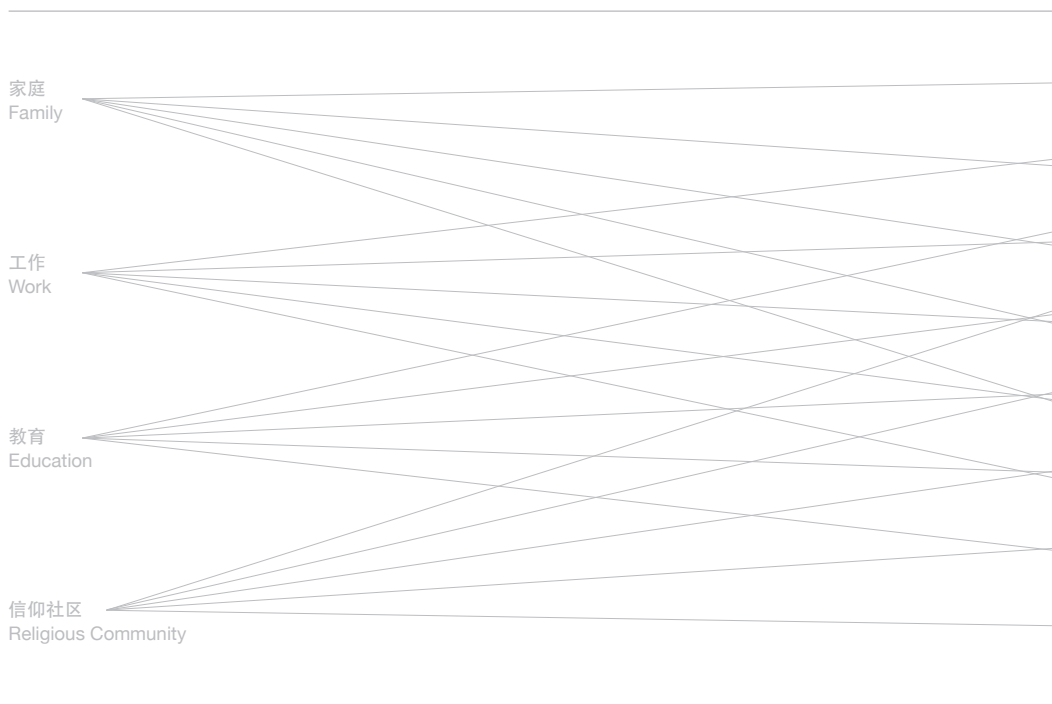
(7) Purpose and Meaning. The core of a flourishing life lies in having goals that are purposeful and meaningful to the individual. Such a life has direction, purpose, and a sense of value. A foundation in truth, purpose, and a sense of meaning are called the three foundations of a flourishing life (Briggs & Reiss, 2021).

In summary, a flourishing life is a beautiful state of life that is multidimensional, dynamic, dependent on the environment yet possessing autonomy and agency, and charac-

terized by the display of virtue, the pursuit of purpose and meaning, and having both subjective feelings and objective foundations. That is, it is a positive state of life that demonstrates potential in a suitable environment, and sometimes even in adversity.

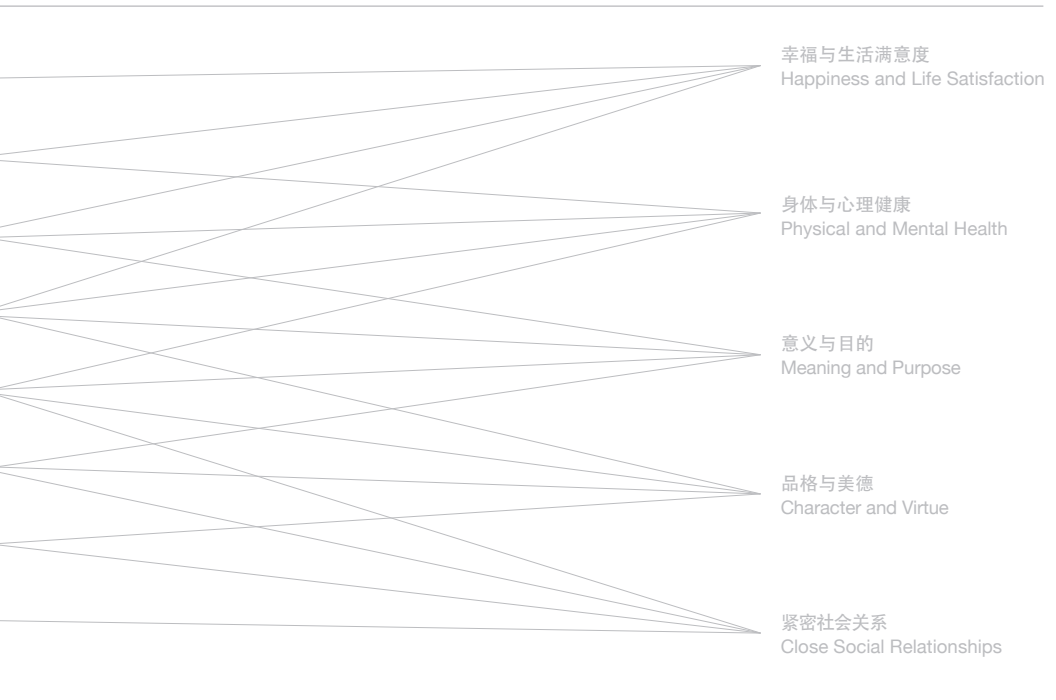
### 3. Human Flourishing: The Revival of an Ancient Concept

What factors influence and determine human flourishing? Some scholars have proposed that a good family life, meaningful work, a good level of education, and participation in faith community activities are all factors that influence flourishing (Van-



和繁盛人生相关的路径图  
A Roadmap Related to a Flourishing Life

derWeele, 2017). As shown in the figure, the four factors mentioned above are each related to the five dimensions of a flourishing life.<sup>[18]</sup> While education is obviously an important factor affecting human flourishing, it is not the only one. In addition, a large body of research shows that cognitive interventions (expressing gratitude, imagining one's best self), practicing virtues (patience), behavioral changes (showing kindness to strangers), positive community involvement (volunteering), a good marital relationship, etc., are all factors that influence a flourishing life (VanderWeele, 2020). Some scholars have also offered a flourishing-happiness equation: Family, Friends, Faith, and Meaningful Work (Brooks & Winfrey, 2023).



说明：本图由笔者根据 (VanderWeele, T. J., 2017) Fig 1 改编  
Note: This figure was adapted by the author from Figure 1 of (VanderWeele, T. J., 2017)

大学作为人类最古老的组织之一,其使命不断变迁演变。人类现代意义的大学起源于意大利的博洛尼亚大学(创立于1088年)和法国巴黎大学(约1150-1170年),其主要使命是培养人才,包括法律、医学和神学人才,其功能是人才培养、传递知识和文明的传承。19世纪初到20世纪初,科学研究作为大学重要使命被提出并强化,创造和发现知识成为大学并重的两个功能和使命。原德国柏林大学校长威廉·冯·洪堡(1767-1835)是现代研究型大学鼻祖,他强调科学研究是大学的重要使命,他提出教学与科研的统一。英国著名教育家约翰·亨利·纽曼(1801-1890)所在时代,就面临大学育人使命被不断扩展的挑战。曾任加州大学校长的克拉克·科尔(1911-2003)在上个世纪60年代提出多元化巨型大学概念,他认为大学至少具有三个基本功能:科学研究、人才培养和社会服务。尽管大学的育人使命不断被大学增长的其他新功能和使命所挤压,但培养人这一使命,始终应该是大学最核心的使命。

回顾纽曼关于大学的理念尤其是博雅教育的论述意义重大。纽曼生活在后启蒙时代,他先知性地注意到“时代新潮流”——世俗主义、功利主义、科学主义和职业主义——对大学的破坏性影响。他认为大学的核心使命是通过博雅教育帮助学生走向人的繁盛之路(Shrimpton, 2022; Ungurean, J.C., 2025)。他强调普遍知识本身即目的,其目地在于训练年轻人的心智、品格和思维习惯。他认为大学通过伟大而平凡的方法来达到伟大而平凡的目的:大学的目的不应承诺培养所谓“杰出创新人才”,而在于通过培育有繁盛特征的人——良善的社会成员——以服务和改进社会。

#### 1. 大学的核心使命培养学生走向繁盛生命

在纽曼看来,大学的使命是通过博雅教育使学生的生命通向人的繁盛。

“大学不仅仅是一个传授知识的地方,更是一个育人成才的地方。因为传授知识,是传递信息的过程;而育人成才,则是塑造人的心灵(mind)和品格的过程。”“对学生的教育被称为博雅的(liberal)。这就可以形成一种终生受益的心智习惯,属于这种习惯的特点是有自由、公平、冷静、温

### III. Newman's Idea of a Liberal Education and Human Flourishing

The mission of the university, one of the oldest institutions in human history, is constantly changing and evolving. The modern university originated with the University of Bologna in Italy (founded in 1088) and the University of Paris in France (c. 1150-1170). Their main mission was to cultivate talent across the legal, medical, and theological fields. Their function was talent cultivation, the transmission of knowledge, and the preservation of civilization. From the early 19th to the early 20th century, scientific research was introduced as an important mission of the university, and the creation and discovery of knowledge became two equally important functions and missions of the university. Wilhelm von Humboldt (1767-1835), the former president of the University of Berlin in Germany, is the originator of the modern research university. He emphasized that scientific research is an important mission of the university and proposed the unity of teaching and research. The famous British educator John Henry Newman (1801-1890), in his time, faced the challenge of the constantly expanding mission of the university. Clark Kerr (1911-2003), the former president of the University of California, proposed the concept of the multiversity in the 1960s. He believed that the university has at least three basic functions: scientific research, talent cultivation, and social service. Although the educational mission of the university has been constantly squeezed by the growth of other new functions and missions, the mission of cultivating people should always be the central mission of the university.

It is meaningful to review Newman's ideas about the university, especially his discourse on liberal education. Newman lived in the post-Enlightenment era and prophetically noted the destructive effects of the "new trends of the times"—secularism, utilitarianism, scientism, and professionalism—on the university. He believed that the core mission of the university is to help students on the path to human flourishing through a liberal education (Shrimpton, 2022; Ungurean, 2025). He emphasized that universal knowledge is an end in itself, and its purpose is to train the minds, character, and habits of thought of young people. He believed that the university achieves a great but ordinary end through a great ordinary means: its purpose should not be a commitment to cultivate so-called "outstanding innovative talent," but to serve and improve society by cultivating people who lead lives of flourishing—good members of society.

#### 1. The Core Mission of the University is to Cultivate Students Towards a Flourishing Life

In Newman's view, the mission of the university is to lead students towards lives of human flourishing through a liberal education.

学生学习是追求以知识本身为目的的知识，不在于其任何外在的实用价值，比如说职业准备，或者是所谓通过“追求科学和知识而造福社会”，这些都不能促进学生真正被知识吸引的内在动机。<sup>[20]</sup>

他指出，大学博雅教育是培养全人的教育。他们有良好的自我觉察能力，清晰的头脑、卓越的表达能力、有真诚的态度和热切的力量。纽曼以优美的文笔，描写他理想中的博雅教育培养出来的人才特征。

“这种教育，使人能够清晰自觉地审视己见与判断，在阐发观点时秉持真诚，在表达观点时展现雄辩，在倡导观点时凝聚力量。它教导能明察事物的本质，直指问题的核心，理清纷繁的思绪，识破诡辩的陷阱，摒弃无关的枝节”。<sup>[21]</sup>

在纽曼的大学愿景中，博雅教育培养出来的是全面发展的人。他们不是狭隘的专业人才，他们有很强的职业转换能力；他们与人交往形成融洽的人际关系，有很好的社会情感能力；他们富有同理心，有宽容心。

“它使人能胜任任何职位而赢得信誉，精通任何学科而游刃有余。它教会人：如何与人融洽相处，如何体察他人心境，如何表达自身立场，如何施加积极影响，如何达成相互理解，如何保有宽容之心。他能在任何场合应对自如，与各个阶层皆有共同语言；懂得何时畅所欲言，何时缄默倾听；既善于交谈，也乐于倾听；即使无高见可陈，也能适时提问，虚心获益；他时刻准备着，却从不得事；他是令人愉悦的伙伴，也是值得信赖的同伴；他懂得何时该庄重，何时可打趣，并拥有一种可靠的机敏，使他的风趣不失优雅，庄重更具力量。”<sup>[22]</sup>

大学博雅教育培养出来的人能够处理好内在自我与外在世界的关系，能找到真正的内在幸福与满足，能处理好财富与成功的关系，即使在人生的失败与失望中，依然能不失风度。在这个意义上，大学教育的目标，也非常实用。

他的心灵安详自持——既积极入世，又保有内在充盈；纵使足不出户，也有自得其乐的源泉。他拥有一种秉赋：在公众场合助其施展，在退隐之时予以支撑。没有这种素养，万贯家财不过也流于平庸；具备这种素养，失败与

19. [英]约翰·亨利·纽曼：大学的理念·高师宁，何克勇，何可人，何光沪译。北京：北京大学出版社，2016。第五讲“自为目的的知识”第1节，P91。

20. 同上，第五讲“自为目的的知识”第2节，P94。

21. 同上，第七讲“从与专业技能的关系看待知识”第10节，P151。

22. 同上，P152。

19. [UK] John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, trans. Gao Shining, He Keyong, He Keren, He Guanghu (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016), Lecture 5, “Knowledge Its Own End,” Section 1, p. 91.

20. *Ibid.*, Lecture 5, “Knowledge Its Own End,” Section 2, p. 91.

21. *Ibid.*, Lecture 7, “Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Professional Skill,” Section 10, p. 151.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

“A University is a place of teaching universal knowledge. This implies that its object is, on the one hand, intellectual, not moral; and, on the other, that it is the diffusion and extension of knowledge rather than the advancement. If its object were scientific and philosophical discovery, I do not see why a University should have students.” “The education of the student is called liberal. This can form a habit of mind which is its own end, and is characterized by freedom, equitableness, calmness, moderation, and wisdom.” [19]

Students learn for the sake of knowledge itself, not for any external practical value, such as career preparation, or the so-called “benefiting society by pursuing science and knowledge.” These cannot inspire any genuine intrinsic motivation to pursue knowledge.[20]

He pointed out that a liberal university education is an education of the whole person. Such a person possesses good self-awareness, a clear mind, an excellent ability to articulate himself, a sincere attitude, and great fortitude. Newman, with his elegant prose, described the characteristics of a person cultivated by his ideal of a liberal education:

“That training of the intellect, which is best for the individual himself, best enables him to discharge his duties to society. The Philosopher, indeed, and the man of the world differ in their very notion, but the methods, by which they are respectively formed, are nevertheless akin, and illustrate and benefit each other. The Philosopher has the same command of matters in general, which the true citizen and gentleman has of matters in detail. If then a practical end must be assigned to a University course, I say it is that of training good members of society.”[21]

In Newman’s vision of the university, a liberal education cultivates well-rounded people. They are not narrow specialists; they are able to switch careers with ease. They form harmonious interpersonal relationships and have strong social and emotional skills. They are empathetic and tolerant.

“It is the education which gives a man a clear conscious view of his own opinions and judgments, a truth in developing them, an eloquence in expressing them, and a force in urging them. It teaches him to see things as they are, to go right to the point, to disentangle a skein of thought, to detect what is sophistical, and to discard what is irrelevant.” [22]

失望也富有魅力。旨在成就一个人如此境界的大学教育,其所追求的目标,如同追求财富或健康的技艺一样实用,尽管其成效更不易被精确衡量。[23]

## 2. 大学伟大而平凡的现实目标

纽曼尽管出身精英,但反对精英主义。他毕业于牛津大学,学习数学和古典学,在牛津大学学习和生活超过30年。他认为大学教育的使命就是要实现“一个伟大而平凡的目标”。这个伟大的目标就是为社会培养良好的成员。这个平凡的目标就是反对以培养“杰出人才”为大学目标。他写道:

“大学并不是诗人或不朽作家、学校创始人、殖民领袖或国家征服者的摇篮;它并不承诺培养出新一代的亚里士多德、牛顿、拿破仑、华盛顿、拉斐尔莎士比亚——尽管此类旷世奇才确曾在其殿堂中出现。”[24]

纽曼认为,大学的目的是不要追求所谓“杰出创新人才”,因为天才和英雄的产生都不循常规,都不受任何规矩约束。

关于大学的伟大目标,纽曼认为,就是大学通过对个人发展和成长最有益的心智训练,也使人胜任社会职责。大学教育不仅培育有繁荣特征的人,而且也培养不与社会脱节,能很好服务社会的成员。他在《大学的理念》中写道:

“如果一定要为大学教育设定一个现实目标,那么,我认为那就是培养良善的社会成员。这种技艺就是社会生活的艺术,其宗旨在于使人适应这个世界。它既不将视野局限于特定职业,也不以塑造英雄或激发天才为己任。”[25]

“大学教育是以一种伟大而平凡的方法达成一个伟大而平凡的目标。它的目标旨在提升社会的心智境界,培育公众的心智,净化民族的品味,为大众的热忱提供真确的原则,为大众的愿望确立坚定的目标,拓展时代的视野并使之稳健,促进政治权力的明智行使,精炼私人生活的交往艺术。”[26]

他认为大学的使命也不只培养一些有实用技能的工匠。

“它也不能满足于仅仅培养批评家、实验家、经济学家或工程师——尽管这样的专业之才也在其培养范围之内。”

23. 同上, P152.

24. [英]约翰·亨利·纽曼·大学的理念·高师宁,何克勇,何可人,何光沪译。北京:北京大学出版社,2016.151.

25. 同上,第七讲“从与专业技能的关系看待知识”第10节, P151.

26. 同上,第七讲“从与专业技能的关系看待知识”第10节, P151.

23. Ibid., p. 152.

24. [UK] John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, trans. Gao Shining, He Keyong, He Keren, He Guanghu (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016), p. 151.

People cultivated by a liberal university education can handle the relationship between their inner self and the outer world, find true inner happiness and satisfaction, and manage the relationship between wealth and success. Even in the failures and disappointments of life, they remain resilient. In this sense, the goal of a university education is also very practical.

“He is at home in any society, he has common ground with every class; he knows when to speak and when to be silent; he is able to converse, he is able to listen; he can ask a question pertinently, and gain a lesson seasonably, when he has nothing to impart himself; he is ever ready, yet never in the way; he is a pleasant companion, and a comrade you can depend upon; he knows when to be serious and when to trifle, and he has a sure tact which enables him to trifle with gracefulness and to be serious with effect.” [23]

## 2. The Great and Ordinary Practical End of the University

Although Newman was from an elite background, he opposed elitism. He graduated from Oxford University, where he studied mathematics and classics, and continued to study and reside at Oxford for over 30 years. He believed that the mission of university education is to achieve “a great but ordinary end.” This great end is to cultivate good members of society. This ordinary end is to refute the concept of cultivating “outstanding talent” as the university’s purpose. He wrote,

“It is not the business of a University to make poets or immortal authors, founders of schools, leaders of colonies, or conquerors of nations. It does not promise to make Aristotles or Newtons, Napoleons or Washingtons, Raphaels or Shakespeares, though such miracles of nature it has before now contained within its precincts.” [24]

Newman believed that the purpose of the university is not to pursue so-called “outstanding innovative talent,” because geniuses and heroes are not produced by conventional means and are not bound by any rules.

Newman believed that the great end of the university is to make a person competent for his social duties through the intellectual training that is most beneficial to their individual development and growth. A university education not only cultivates people who lead lives of flourishing but also people who serve society well instead of remaining detached from it. He wrote in *The Idea of a University*,

### 3. 生命影响生命的博雅教育模式

如何实现大学博雅教育的培育理念? 纽曼不仅是一个教育理论家, 同时也是一个实践者。作为爱尔兰都柏林天主教大学的创校校长, 基于自己在牛津大学30多年的经验, 他不仅设计了即将创办的一所新大学的方方面面, 而且亲自承担一个在寄宿制书院的负责人, 其中安排12个左右的学生和2个授课老师(Shrimpton, 2022); 同时, 他自己亲自出任校牧和导师(Tutor)陪伴和牧养学生成长。在他看来, 博雅教育在人与人之间的深入交往中发生, 是一种生命对生命的影响 [27]。这种生命对生命的影响, 通过和学生生活在一起的导师传递。

他不仅看重博雅教育核心要素, 寄宿制、导师制、跨学科知识学习, 而且他更看重学生之间的非正式学习。在他看来, 大学教育不仅仅通过教授给学生上课以及考试, 比这更重要的是学生之间的互动和彼此学习。在正式课堂之外的各种非正式活动中, 比如音乐、辩论、体育等各种社团活动。他多次提到,

“如果你们硬要我在以下两种所谓大学中做出选择, ……一种大学拥有宿舍和导师监督制度, 给每一个通过很多科目考试的人授予学位, 而另一种大学没有教授也没有考试, 只是把许多年轻人汇集在一起3到4年, 然后打发他们离开……那么, 我会毫不犹豫地先把票投入那种无所作为的大学。” [28]

他认为, 这种自由地生命互动的博雅教育更能成功地训练、塑造和扩展心智的人。

总之, 纽曼的大学教育愿景和使命, 旨在于通过对看似无用的普遍知识本身的追求, 以教育本身为目的, 而不以实用的专业教育和职业教育为重点, 让学生心智和品格得以发展, 从而把人引向追求真理和美德的生命繁盛之路。这样的大学教育, 可以整体提升社会整体文化水平。

27. 参见加拿大麦吉尔大学纽曼研究学者Paul Shrimpton 教授的文章(Shrimpton, 2022)。

28. 同上, 第六讲, 从与学习的关系看待知识, P127。

25. Ibid., Lecture 7, “Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Professional Skill,” Section 10, p. 151.

26. Ibid., Lecture 7, “Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Professional Skill,” Section 10, p. 151.

27. See the article by Professor Paul Shrimpton, a Newman scholar at McGill University, Canada (Shrimpton, 2022).

28. Ibid., Lecture 6, “Knowledge Viewed in Relation to Learning,” p. 127.

“If then a practical end must be assigned to a University course, I say it is that of training good members of society. This art is the art of social life, and its end is fitness for the world. It neither confines its views to particular professions on the one hand, nor creates heroes or inspires genius on the other.” [25]

“It is the education which aims at raising the intellectual tone of society, at cultivating the public mind, at purifying the national taste, at supplying true principles to popular enthusiasm and fixed aims to popular aspiration, at giving enlargement and sobriety to the ideas of the age, at facilitating the exercise of political power, and refining the intercourse of private life.” [26]

He believed that the mission of the university is not just to cultivate craftsmen with practical skills.

“Nor is it content on the other hand with forming the critic or the experimentalist, the economist or the engineer, though such professions, of course, it includes in its activity.”

### 3. A Liberal Education Model of Life Influencing Life

How to realize the idea of a liberal university education that cultivates people? Newman was not only an educational theorist but also a practitioner. As the founding rector of the Catholic University of Ireland in Dublin, drawing upon his more than 30 years of experience at Oxford, he not only designed all aspects of the new university but also personally took on the role of head of a residential college, where he oversaw 12 students and 2 teaching fellows (Shrimpton, 2022). At the same time, he served as the university chaplain and tutor to accompany and shepherd students' growth. In his view, a liberal education happens in the deep interactions between people; it is the influence of one life on another.[27] This influence of life on life is transmitted through tutors who live alongside the students.

He not only valued the core elements of a liberal education—the residential system, the mentorship system, and interdisciplinary knowledge—but valued informal learning among students even more. In his estimation, a university education is not just about professors teaching students and giving exams; more important are the interaction and mutual learning among students. This happens in informal settings outside the classroom, such as music, debate, sports, and various club activities. He mentioned multiple times,

. “If I had to choose between a so-called university which ... gave its degrees to any person who passed an examination in a wide range of subjects, and a university which had no professors or examinations at all, but merely brought a number of young men together for three or four years, and then sent them away ... I have no hesitation in giving the preference to that University which did nothing.”<sup>[28]</sup>

He believed that this kind of liberal education of free interaction among individuals is more successful in training, shaping, and expanding the minds of young people.

In short, Newman's vision and mission for university education aim to lead people on the path to a flourishing life of pursuing truth and virtue by pursuing universal knowledge for its own sake, regardless if some might regard this as impractical. It holds education itself as its end, rather than focusing on practical professional and vocational education, so that the minds and character of students can reach their full potential. Such a university education can enrich the overall culture of a society as a whole.

通过对人的繁盛概念的介绍和纽曼的大学使命的回顾,笔者由此提出大学教育当以人的繁盛为目标的观点。这是因为,人的繁盛概论给我们提供了一面检视当今大学教育已经严重偏离以人的发展为核心目的镜子。长期以来,以人力资本理论为代表的教育价值观导致教育特别是高等教育的工具化。在高等教育普及化和大众化的时代,在人工智能高速发展的时代,重新回归纽曼先知性的大学使命显得尤为重要。中国大学育人的种种挑战,其实也是全球大学教育迷失目标的一个案例。

##### 1. 以人的繁盛来透视中国大学育人挑战

在本文第一部分,笔者初步梳理中国大学在人才培养方面的中国问题和挑战,如果以人的繁盛概念和纽曼的大学使命来看,我们的大学最核心的问题是工具主义和实用主义。换言之,就把教育对象当作工具,把教育本身当作工具,而不是把人的繁盛作为教育的目的。比如,关于“钱学森之问”本身就带有工具性,这是一个把所谓“拔尖创新人才培养”作为实用性目,是精英人才培养工具化的体现。这事实上和170多年前纽曼的大学使命相去甚远。“钱理群之忧”所体现的是精英大学中的相当多学生没有体现出美德和品格,而展现美德正是繁盛人生的核心维度(VanderWeele, 2017)。亚里士多德的繁盛或幸福的人生(Eudaimonia)是指有德性的人生;钱老指出我们精英大学生身上体现出来的把他人作为工具以实现自我目标的实用主义。徐凯文先生指出的“空心病”以及大量研究所揭示令人震惊比例的大学生心理健康问题及自杀问题,一个最重要的原因就是大学生人生意义和目的性丧失。大学生失去目的和意义感是因为他们精神层面没有根基。当大学教育逐渐放弃对生命意义的追问,转而聚焦于技能培训和职业成功时,大学生可能获得专业知识,可能一时能获得高薪的工作,却无法回答“为何而活”的根本问题。

大学生心理健康出现问题的另一个根源是没有发展出健康的关系连接。学生之间常常是激烈的竞争关系而不是彼此祝福和造就。为了GPA,为了奖学金、为了入选学生会/团委,学生之间关系不正常。此外,很多学生很少参加服务社区和他人的志愿者活动。笔者曾被邀请给大学生讲“大学生

## IV. University Education Aimed at Human Flourishing

Through the introduction of the concept of human flourishing and the review of Newman's university mission, the author hereby proposes the view that university education should be aimed at human flourishing. The concept of human flourishing provides us with a mirror to examine how far today's university education has deviated from the core end of human development. For a long time, the educational values put forth by human capital theory have treated education, especially higher education, as merely a tool. In the era of the popularization and mass accessibility of higher education, and as artificial intelligence rapidly develops, it is particularly important to return to Newman's prophetic university mission. The various challenges in cultivating people in Chinese universities are, in fact, representative of how university education globally has lost its way.

### 1. Viewing the Challenges of Cultivating People in Chinese Universities Through the Lens of Human Flourishing

In the first part of this article, the author reviewed the problems and challenges in talent cultivation in Chinese universities. If we approach them from the perspective of the concept of human flourishing and Newman's university mission, the central problem our universities face is instrumentalism and utilitarianism. In other words, universities treat the end of education as a means, and education itself as a means, rather than making human flourishing the end of education. For example, "Qian Xuesen's Question" carries a mindset of instrumentalism. It makes so-called "cultivation of top innovative talent" a practical goal, which is a manifestation of the instrumentalization of elite talent cultivation. This is, in fact, far removed from the university mission advocated by Newman more than 170 years ago. "Qian Liquan's Worry" observes that a considerable number of students in elite universities do not demonstrate virtue and character, and that possessing virtue is a core dimension of a flourishing life (VanderWeele, 2017). Aristotle's idea of flourishing or a happy life (*Eudaimonia*) refers to a virtuous life. Mr. Qian pointed out the utilitarianism manifested in our elite university students who use others as tools to achieve their own goals. Mr. Xu Kaiwen explores a "hollow-heart disease" that plagues campuses, and the shockingly high proportion of mental health problems and suicidal ideation revealed by a large number of studies among university students. He points to the loss of meaning and purpose among students as a major driving force behind these phenomena. He believes that students lose their sense of purpose and meaning because they lack a spiritual foundation. When university education gradually abandons any inquiry into the meaning of life and instead focuses on skills training and professional success, university students may

参加社会公益”作为思想品德课的一部分,发现参加过志愿服务的学生微乎其微。大学生中的实用主义和功利主义导致他们自我中心,从而失去与社会的健康连接。

中国大学生批判性思考能力下降或者没有显著增值,表面上认知维度发展不足问题,但本质也和教育的工具性和实用性有关。他们没有发展出提问能力,他们可能知识丰富,知道很多“事情”(What),但不会问“为什么”(Why);他们失去了对知识本身自为目的的追问和乐趣;他们失去对世界的好奇心。更重要的是,功利性地学习也是难以形成批判性思维能力的重要原因(钱颖一, 2018)。

实证研究揭示中国大学生劳动力市场表现(收入)和他们的大学学业成绩关系不大,而和他们的身份(是否党员)和学校类型(是否来自精英985或211)有关,这背后是宏观社会结构性和市场问题。这说明政治身份和进入精英大学有很高的经济回报。这种物质和经济方面的收益驱动了学生的个人选择。研究表明,经济水平与人的繁盛并不直接相关(VanderWeele & Johnson, 2025; Easterlin, 1974)。

## 2. 走出人力资本理论的负面影响

人力资本理论背后的底层逻辑,本质上就是只重视高等教育的工具性价值。在国家层面,高等教育的使命在于发展科技,增强国力,国际竞争,在于反“卡脖子”,使国家和民族立于世界强国之林……。在家庭和个体层面,接受大学教育的目的是寻求经济回报,在于获得社会地位。政府和社会在宏观层面对高等教育的期待与个人和家庭在微观层面的期待又存在张力(Chan, R. Y., 2016)。

在人力资本理论框架下,无论是政策制定者、研究者、各级教育行政官员、还是家长和学生都以此为默认假设,没有深入追问其合理性。比如,所谓“钱学森之问”以及当前教育界政策制定者们关心的“拔尖创新人才培养问题,本质上是看重人作为“生产性人力资本”的工具性,其背后的价值观其实是功利主义和实用主义的。正如花重金“选苗子”打造“国家队”试图“冲出亚洲走向世界”的足球发展策略的背后逻辑非常相似,这种功利主义和实用主义价值观和纽曼所倡导的大学博雅教育理念相去甚远。纽

gain professional knowledge and acquire a high-paying job for a while, but they cannot answer the fundamental question of “what am I living for.”

Another root cause of mental health problems among university students is the failure to develop healthy relationships. Students are often in a fierce competitive relationship with each other rather than blessing and building each other up. For the sake of GPA, scholarships, and being selected into the student union or youth league committee, relationships among students have become abnormal. In addition, many students rarely participate in volunteer activities to serve the community and others. The author was once invited to give a lecture to university students on “University Students’ Participation in Social Welfare” as part of a moral education course and found that very few students had participated in volunteer services. A utilitarian and pragmatic mindset leads students to become self-centered and lose a healthy connection with society.

The decline or lack of significant increase in the critical thinking skills of Chinese university students is, on the surface, a problem of insufficient cognitive development, but in essence, it is rooted in the instrumental and utilitarian nature of education. They have not developed the ability to ask the right questions. They may be knowledgeable and know a lot of “what,” but they don’t ask “why.” They have lost the pursuit and pleasure of knowledge for its own sake. They have lost their curiosity about the world. More importantly, learning for utilitarian ends is also an important reason why it is difficult to form critical thinking skills (Qian Yingyi, 2018).

Empirical research reveals that the labor market performance (income) of Chinese university students is not strongly correlated to their academic performance during university, but rather to their identity (whether they are a Communist Party member) and school type (whether they are from an elite 985 or 211 university). Behind this are macro-level social structural and market problems. This shows that political identity and entering an elite university yield high economic returns. This material and economic gain drives the personal choices of students. Research shows that the economic level is not directly related to human flourishing (VanderWeele & Johnson, 2025; Easterlin, 1974).

## 2. Moving Beyond the Negative Influence of Human Capital Theory

The underlying logic behind human capital theory is, in essence, sees only the instrumental value of higher education. At the national level, the mission of higher education is to develop science and technology, enhance the nation’s power, become more competitive internationally, and counter “stranglehold” problems, so that the country and the nation can stand among the world’s great powers. At the family and individ-

曼先生的大学博雅教育“平凡而伟大”的育人目标,根本上反对功利主义和使用主义。在目标上,不承诺大学将培养“拔尖创新人才”,在方法上,强调“无用知识”的重要性,反对过度为学生职业作准备的专业教育。

在教育经济学、劳动经济学以及发展经济学领域,研究者所开展的大量实证研究的核心因变量大多与人的繁盛无关,而是与人的工具性价值有关。经济增长,教育年限、就业情况、工资收入、学业成绩,是否进入大学以及进入何种类型的大学(“985”还是“211”)等等都是最常见的因变量,这些就是人力资本理论最关注的变量。以笔者过去十多年所参与的大量实证研究为例,我们关心的核心变量主要都是考试分数<sup>[29]</sup>(中小学数学或者阅读,高考成绩)、进入高中、进入大学、进入“好”大学等等。我们的研究背后有一个默认假设:学生在学业考试中多一分是好的,接受更多教育是好的,进入“更好”的大学是好的。我们很少去追问一个问题,这些教育是否促进了人的繁盛?同时,这些实证研究在非常好的学术刊物发表,产生一定的学术影响(体现在一定的引用率),但这些研究对学生的生命影响,似乎显得微乎其微。

事实上,我们作为在大学工作的教育经济学研究者所关心的这些产出变量和学生家长们所关心的几乎没有差异。对家长来说,尽管表面上,在孩子出生时,他们希望自己的孩子健康幸福就好。但是在进入学校之后,学习成绩好,进入好的小学、初中、高中,然后就是好的大学(最好是清华北大或者哈佛耶鲁这样的名校)似乎就是最重要的目标。

### 3. 大学当以人的繁盛为核心目标

人类繁盛概念的复兴与倡导背景下,大学教育更应促进大学生个体生命的全面发展。借用犹太经典的一个象征性叙述,人类繁盛,就是一个人要象一棵栽在溪水边的树,“按时候结果子,叶子也不枯干”(诗篇第1篇3节)。就是每个人类个体,如果能扎根于合适的环境中,被水土、空气、阳光滋润,就能照其潜能,美好生长。大学教育的最高价值在于使学生愿意追求永恒真理,愿意回归到生命的活水源头。大学教育的真正使命就是让学生能在身体、认知、情绪、关系等方面全面发展,使他们灵魂苏醒,发展其生命潜能,发现其生命呼召,发挥其生命影响。良好的教育促进人类繁盛,使拥有幸福的人可以成为家庭、社区、社会和世界之祝福。

29. 比如,我们研究高考期间气温对学生高考成绩的影响(Graff Zivin, et al. 2020);通过随机试验研究给农村初中生提供资助承诺以及生涯规划和不同教育阶段的收益率信息对他们学业成绩和升入高中的影响(Yi, et al. 2014; Loyalka, et al. 2013);给农村县城高中学生提供大学资助政策信息对他们填报大学志愿的影响。

29. For example, we studied the impact of temperature during the Gaokao (National College Entrance Examination) on students' scores (Graff Zivin, et al., 2020); used randomized trials to study the impact of providing financial aid commitments, career planning, and information on rates of return to different educational stages on the academic performance and high school enrollment of rural junior high students (Yi, et al., 2014; Loyalka, et al., 2013); and studied the impact of providing university financial aid policy information to high school students in rural counties on their university application choices.

ual level, the purpose of receiving a university education is to seek economic returns and to obtain higher social status. There is a tension between the expectations of the government and society for higher education at the macro level and the expectations of individuals and families at the micro level (Chan, 2016).

Under the framework of human capital theory, policymakers, researchers, educational administrators at all levels, as well as parents and students, all accept this theory as a default assumption, without deeply questioning its rationality. For example, “Qian Xuesen’s Question” and the current concern of education policymakers about the cultivation of “top innovative talent” essentially treat people as merely “productive human capital.” The values behind this are actually utilitarianism and pragmatism. One might compare this to how China has tried to build up its national football program by investing heavily in “select seedlings” in the hopes that China’s football team will become more competitive in the global arena. This utilitarian and pragmatic worldview is far from the idea of a liberal university education advocated by Newman. Mr. Newman’s “ordinary and great” educational goal for a liberal university education is fundamentally opposed to utilitarianism and pragmatism. In terms of goals, it does not promise that the university will cultivate “top innovative talent.” In terms of methods, it emphasizes the importance of so-called “useless knowledge” and opposes excessive professional education in preparing students for a career.

In the fields of economics of education, labor economics, and development economics, the core dependent variables in the large number of empirical studies conducted are mostly unrelated to human flourishing but are instead tied to the instrumental value of people. Economic growth, years of education, employment status, wage income, academic performance, whether one enters university and what type of university one enters (“985” or “211”), etc., are the most common dependent variables. These are the variables that human capital theory is most concerned about. Taking the large number of empirical studies that the author has participated in over the past decade as an example, the core variables of these studies are mainly test scores<sup>[29]</sup> (primary and secondary school math or reading, *gaokao* scores), and rates of entering high school, university, and “good” universities, etc. Behind our research are these default assumptions: it is good for students to score one more point on an academic exam, it is good to receive more education, and it is good to enter a “better” university. We rarely ask the question, does this education promote human flourishing? At the same time, these empirical studies are published in highly regarded academic journals and bear influence in the academic world (reflected in a certain citation rate), but their impact on the lives of students seems to be minimal.

In fact, the output variables that we, as researchers in the economics of education

#### 4. AI时代对大学以人的繁盛为目标的呼唤

目前人类已经处于通用人工智能(General Artificial Intelligence, GAI)革命前夕,这场革命毫无疑问将大大改变人类生产、生活以及教育方式。一方面GAI将大大提高人类生产力,人类在物质方面获得的富足程度将会超出我们的想象力;物质极大丰富到一个程度,以致于经济学核心概念“资源稀缺性”都会改变。另一方面,人类现有的大量工作类型会被AI取代,社会对人的生产性人力资本需要大大降低,人可能有更多闲暇;人的平均寿命也有可能有所延长;“AI时代,何以为人”成为重要议题;人作为脆弱和必死的动物,人可能更多需要追问意义:人为什么活?如何活得有价值 and 意义?人与人之间的关系可能会更加疏远而不是更为亲近;人跟人与人之间的认知能力差距(不平等性)可能更加扩大……都将发生巨大变化,我们的想象力总是有限。在教育方面,大量的知识传授的工作,AI的效率和质量可能比现有的最博学的教师都好,但是在关于人的心智和品格发展,好奇心、敬畏感、在复杂情景下的伦理是非选择,提出重要有趣问题的能力……等等,AI永远不能代替教师。换言之,就是以生命影响生命的博雅教育,显得更加重要而迫切。

working in universities, focus on are almost no different from those that parents are concerned with. When their children are young, most parents hope they will go on to lead healthy and happy lives, but once they enter school, their priorities change. Good academic performance, entering a good primary school, junior high, high school, and then a good university (preferably a famous one like Tsinghua, Peking, Harvard, or Yale) seem to be the most important goals.

#### 3. Universities Should Aim for Human Flourishing as their Core Goal

With the revival and advocacy of the concept of human flourishing, university education should do more to promote the comprehensive development of the individual lives

of university students. To borrow a symbolic narrative from the Hebrew scriptures, human flourishing is for a person to be like a tree planted by streams of water, which “yields its fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither” (Psalm 1:3). That is, every human individual, if they can be rooted in a suitable environment and nourished by the soil, water, air, and sunlight, can grow beautifully according to their potential. The highest value of a university education lies in guiding students to pursue eternal truth and to return to the living source of life. The true mission of a university education is to allow students to develop holistically in their physical, cognitive, emotional, and relational capacity, to awaken their souls, develop their life potential, discover their life’s calling, and make a positive impact on the world around them. A good education promotes human flourishing, so that those who have happiness can become a blessing to their families, communities, society, and the world.

#### 4. The Call for a University Aimed at Human Flourishing in the AI Era

Humanity is currently on the cusp of a General Artificial Intelligence (GAI) revolution. This revolution will undoubtedly greatly change the way humans work, live, and educate. On the one hand, GAI will greatly increase human productivity, and the degree of material abundance that humans will achieve will exceed our imagination. Material wealth will be so great that the core concept of economics, “resource scarcity,” will change. On the other hand, a large number of existing job types will be replaced by AI, and society’s need for human productive capital will be greatly reduced. People may have more leisure time. The average human lifespan may also be extended. “What it means to be human in the AI era” will become an important issue. As fragile and mortal animals, humans may need to ask more about meaning: why do I live? How can I live a valuable and meaningful life? People may grow more distant from their fellow humans instead of drawing closer in relationship. The gap in cognitive ability between people with more education and those with less may widen even further... Every area of human life will undergo huge changes beyond what we can imagine. In education, where teachers have traditionally been the vehicle to impart large amounts of knowledge to students, AI’s efficiency and quality of information may surpass the most knowledgeable teachers today. But in terms of the development of the human mind and character, curiosity, a sense of awe, ethical choices in complex situations, the ability to ask important and interesting questions, etc., AI can never replace the teacher. In other words, a liberal education of life influencing life will become even more important and urgent.

中国高等教育已经成为世界规模最大的教育体系,然而在人才培养方面却面对各种挑战,其中包括:我们的大学为什么难有拔尖创新杰出人才出现? (“钱学森之问”),精英大学培养了相当多“绝对的精致的利己主义者” (“钱理群之忧”),相当大比例的大学生因没有目标和意义感出现“空心病”以及心理健康危机,大学生批判性思考力在大学期间没有增长,以及大学毕业生的劳动力市场表现似乎与大学期间学业成绩没有直接关系等等。为了理解这些挑战,本文基于人的繁盛概念和纽曼的博雅大学教育理念,揭示了大学教育以人为生产性工具和生存性工具的现状;因此,本文提出大学教育应该回归到以人的繁盛为目标。本文呼吁人们走出人力资本理论框架的隐形枷锁,尤其在人工智能将全面重塑人类生产、生活、人际关系甚至“何以为人”的时代,这样的回归和转向显得尤为重要。

### 一些可能的质疑或反对观点

已经有不少学者反对将人类繁盛作为教育目的,比如,(1)这个概念混杂,不够清晰(Carr, 2021);(2)影响人类繁盛的因素很多,社会、政治、文化,环境等等,教育只是其中一个因素。(3)这个概念不好操作,对于什么是好的教育似乎指导性不强。(4)强调品格教育似乎存在强加价值观之嫌。关于这些反对的观点,已经有学者予以回应(Curren, R. et al. 2024; VanderWeele; et al., 2023)。除此之外,可能还有很多对高等教育回归以人的繁盛为目标的观点的质疑或反对:

1. 纽曼的大学博雅教育思想已经过时,170多年前的理念在当时影响有限,在这个时代依然不会更有影响,——可以称为“过时论”;

2. 大学教育的实用主义、功利主义、工具主义趋势是已然现实,该潮流不可逆转,提出以人的繁盛为目标的大学教育这个观念很难扭转这个历史潮流——可以称为“已然论”;

3. 大学博雅教育太奢侈,一般家庭无力支付如此昂贵的教育投入,如果大学毕业学生不能就业,大学博雅教育将无法实现个人和家庭的大学教育回报期望——可以称为“价格论”;

Chinese higher education has become the largest education system in the world, yet it faces various challenges in talent cultivation, including: Why is it difficult for our universities to produce top innovative and outstanding talent? (“Qian Xuesen’s Question”); Elite universities are cultivating a considerable number of “absolute and refined egoists” (“Qian Liqun’s Worry”); A considerable proportion of university students suffer from “hollow-heart disease” and mental health crises due to a lack of purpose and meaning; The critical thinking skills of university students do not grow during their time at university; and the labor market performance of university graduates seems to have no direct relationship with their academic performance during university, etc. To understand these challenges, this article, based on the concept of human flourishing and Newman’s idea of a liberal university education, examines how university education currently treats people as productive machines and tools of survival. Therefore, this article proposes that university education should return to the goal of human flourishing. This article calls on people to break free from the invisible shackles of the human capital theory framework. Especially in an era when artificial intelligence will comprehensively reshape work, life, interpersonal relationships, and even “what it means to be human,” such a return and shift is particularly important.

### Some Possible Objections or Counterarguments

Many scholars have already opposed making human flourishing the aim of education, with arguments such as: (1) the concept is ill-defined and insufficiently clear (Carr, 2021); (2) many factors affect human flourishing, such as society, politics, culture, and the environment, and education is only one of them; (3) the concept is not easy to operationalize and does not seem to provide strong guidance on what constitutes good education; (4) emphasizing character education seems to risk imposing a certain set of moral values over others. Some scholars have already responded to these objections (Curren et al., 2024; VanderWeele, et al., 2023). Other doubts or objections may include:

1. Newman’s idea of a liberal university education is outdated. His ideas from more than 170 years ago had limited influence then and will not gain more traction in this era—we can call this the “outdated theory.”
2. The trend of utilitarianism, pragmatism, and instrumentalism in university education is an established reality. This trend is irreversible, and it is too late to propose the idea of a university education aimed at human flourishing—this can be called the “reality theory.”

4. 基础教育阶段也许更适合提以人的繁盛为目标,而不是大学阶段

——可以称为“阶段论”;

5. 影响人的繁盛的因素不仅是大学教育,还有很多大学不能控制的因素,比如政治、经济、文化、历史等时代环境因素——可以称为“环境论”;

6. 人力资本理论框架已经成为经济学、公共政策领域里影响和主导人们观念和行为的默认假设,人的繁盛概念不太可能替代这已经成为主流的理论——可以称为“主流论”。

必须承认,这些质疑和论点都各有其合理性,笔者谨在此略作回应。

关于“过时论”,也许引用纽曼在170多年前对亚里士多德哲学价值的讨论本身就是一个很好的回应。他写道:

“请不要以为,我像这样求助于古人,好像在把世界抛回到两千年前去,好像在用异教的推理来束缚哲学。事实上,只要这个世界存在,亚里士多德关于这些问题的学说就会一直有效,因为他是自然的贤者,真理的贤者。只要我们还是人,我们在很大程度上就不能不是亚里士多德主义者。因为这位伟大的导师的确分析了人类的思想、情感、观点与见解。早在你我出生以前,他已经道出了我们自身言语和观念的含义。在很多的问题上,要正确的思考,就要像亚里士多德那样思考。不管我们愿不愿意,甚至不管我们有没有意识到,我们其实都是他的门徒。” [30]

同样,纽曼的大学博雅教育理念不过时。因为他对大学使命的思考指向人类繁盛,这个概念不仅包含在亚里士多德关于人类终极幸福的思考,而且也包含在比这位古希腊先贤更为古老的希伯文明关于人之所为人观念里。在这个意义上,我们都是纽曼的门徒。

关于“已然论”,即全球范围内大学教育体系的实用主义、功利主义及工具主义趋势,似乎势不可挡,固若金汤,笔者的回应是,我们相信概念的力量、观念的力量和话语的力量。其实,人力资本理论在经济学领域扎根根基也就60-70年;当然以人的繁盛观念来替代,有非常大的难度。正如1989年,当美国总统里根先生访问西德时,当时柏林墙还固若金汤,他还是凭着信念和勇气,发表了演讲《推倒这堵墙吧!》。当时,没有人相信柏林墙

30. [英]约翰·亨利·纽曼·大学的理念·高师宁,何克勇,何可人,何光沪译。北京:北京大学出版社,2016。第五讲“自为目的的知识”第1节, P97-98。

30. [UK] John Henry Newman, *The Idea of a University*, trans. Gao Shining, He Keyong, He Keren, He Guanghu (Beijing: Peking University Press, 2016), Lecture 5, “Knowledge Its Own End,” Section 1, pp. 97-98.

3. A liberal university education is too much of a luxury. Ordinary families cannot afford such an expensive educational investment. If university graduates cannot find employment, a liberal university education will not be able to meet the expectations of individuals and families for a return on their university education—this can be called the “price theory.”

4. It may be more suitable to focus on human flourishing as a goal for students in younger grades, before they reach university—this can be called the “stage theory.”

5. The factors affecting human flourishing are not only university education but also many that the university cannot control, such as the political, economic, cultural, and historical factors of the era—this can be called the “environment theory.”

6. The human capital theory framework has become the default assumption that influences and dominates people’s thinking and behaviors in the fields of economics and public policy. The concept of human flourishing is unlikely to replace this mainstream theory—this can be called the “mainstream theory.”

These doubts and arguments are rational to different extents. The author would like to offer a brief response here.

Regarding the “outdated theory,” perhaps quoting Newman’s discussion of the value of Aristotle’s philosophy more than 170 years ago is a good response in itself. He wrote,

“Do not suppose, that in thus appealing to the ancients, I am throwing back the world two thousand years, and fettering Philosophy with the reasonings of paganism. The dicta of entwicklung of that philosopher, in spite of the feverish activity of science and the protest of faith, were still recognized as the gospel of the intellect. The utterer of that prayer was the Stagyrite. What he has been to the world, he will be to the end of it; for he is the philosopher of nature, and the master of truth. And, as long as we are men, we cannot be otherwise than, in a great measure, Aristotelians; for the great Master does but analyze the thoughts, feelings, views, and opinions of human kind. He has told us the meaning of our own words and ideas, before we were born. In many matters, to think correctly, is to think like Aristotle; and we are his disciples whether we will or no, though we may not know it.”<sup>[30]</sup>

Similarly, Newman’s idea of a liberal university education is not outdated. His thinking

会倒塌!当然,这样的比方似乎并不恰当。要改变全球性高等教育的功利主义、实用主义和工具主义的现实惰性,可能比堆到柏林墙更难。

关于“价格论”听上去似乎相当有道理,但事实上,这是一个实证研究问题。已经有不少实证研究显示,博雅教育有很好的长远收入回报率(Hill & Pisacreta, 2019)。比如,哈佛大学知名经济学家David Deming就发表研究证明和博雅教育相关的社交技能(比如团队合作精神)有很好的收入回报(Deming, 2017)。他和来自起来领域的研究者一起阐释大学博雅教育的真正价值<sup>[31]</sup>。

关于“阶段论”和“环境论”毫无疑问是非常好的论点。关于大学使命与人类繁盛的论点必须有限定在合理范围。在基础教育阶段,以人的生命繁盛为教育目标的理由已经被教育哲学领域的诸多学者很好建立(Kristjánsson, 2017; De Ruyter, et al., 2022; Materla, 2024; Curren et al., 2024)。关于大学教育对人的繁盛的重要性,我们承认这个论点也只是一次探索性的尝试,有一定实用范围(VanderWeele & Case, 2025)。事实上,教育家纽曼在170多年前就有些论证,我们又可以求助于他。在《大学的理念》前言中,他论述到:

“那些有充裕时间的……青年会继续他们的学业直到二十一二岁;因而他们将会会有一个充实的,有助于陶冶文化品性的人生。一个早在17岁就结束学业的年轻人,无法与一个一直求学到22岁的人相匹敌……。”<sup>[32]</sup>

关于高等教育与人的繁盛“环境论”反对论点极其重要,其实我们可以辩驳的余地有限。事实上,这已经超出本文范畴,也许值得专文论述。

人力资本理论的“主流”地位确实很难撼动,而人的繁盛概念若要在教育领域尤其是高等教育领域成为替代性理论,还需要在概念清晰和测量工具理论假设方面大大提升。

本文局限

毋庸置疑,本文还存在诸多局限。首先,本文只是揭示了高等教育工具化的事实,但没有解释为什么高等教育工具性会成为主流。其次,关于纽曼的大学博雅教育的内容,本文也没有展开讨论。比如在170多年前那

31. The true value of a liberal arts education — *Harvard Gazette*, 2024.10.9

32. 同上, P5.

31. “The true value of a liberal arts education,” *Harvard Gazette*, October 9, 2024.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 5.

about the mission of the university points to human flourishing, a concept that is not only contained in Aristotle's thinking about the ultimate happiness of humanity but also in the concept of what it means to be human in the Hebrew civilization, which predates Aristotle. In this sense, we are all Newman's disciples.

Regarding the "reality theory," that is, the seemingly unstoppable global trend of utilitarianism, pragmatism, and instrumentalism in the university education system, the author's response is that we believe in the power of concepts, the power of ideas, and the power of discourse. In fact, human capital theory has only been firmly established in the field of economics for 60-70 years. Of course, it is very difficult to replace it with the concept of human flourishing. Just as in 1989, when US President Reagan visited West Germany, the Berlin Wall was still impregnable. Yet he, with faith and courage, delivered an impassioned speech imploring his USSR counterpart to "Tear down this wall!" At that time, no one believed the Berlin Wall would fall! Of course, this analogy may not be fully applicable. To break the real inertia of utilitarianism, pragmatism, and instrumentalism in global higher education may be more difficult than tearing down the Berlin Wall.

Regarding the "price theory," it sounds quite reasonable, but in fact, this is an empirical research question. Many empirical studies have shown that a liberal education yields a good long-term rate of return on investment (Hill & Pisacreta, 2019). For example, the well-known economist David Deming of Harvard University has published research proving that the social skills stemming from a liberal education (such as teamwork) yield a good rate of return on investment (Deming, 2017). He and researchers from other fields have together explained the true value of a liberal university education.<sup>[31]</sup>

The "stage theory" and "environment theory" are undoubtedly very good arguments. The argument about the mission of the university and human flourishing must be limited to a reasonable scope. The reasons for making human flourishing the educational goal in pre-university education have been well established by many scholars in the field of philosophy of education (Kristjánsson, 2017; De Ruyter, et al., 2022; Materla, 2024; Curren et al., 2024). Regarding the importance of university education for human flourishing, we admit that this argument is also just an exploratory attempt with a certain practical scope (VanderWeele & Case, 2025). In fact, the educator Newman addressed this topic more than 170 years ago, and we can turn to him again. In the preface to *The Idea of a University*, he argued:

"Those who have plenty of time ... will continue their studies till twenty-one or twenty-two; and thus they will have a full and cultivated life. A young man who has finished his education at seventeen is no match for one who has been at it till twenty-two..." <sup>[32]</sup>

些他认为重要的知识内容,在今天还有哪些相关性?关于博雅教育如何帮助学生形成美德?再次,关于环境与个人繁盛的关系,本文也没有能够展开讨论。比如什么特征的大学更有可能促进学生的繁盛?同样,个人可以多大程度促进大学社区的繁盛。又次,对于生来就有残障的人,何以繁盛?比如,生来瞎眼的,生来瘸腿的,生来智障的,何以繁盛?其实,文献中对这样的问题其实已经有所讨论(Briggs, & Reiss, 2021),最后,本文也没有讨论如何(how)的问题。比如,如何实施推动以人的繁盛为目标的大学教育?在国际上有大学把人的繁盛写入使命宣言,有的大学开设人类繁盛研究中心,有的大学开设人类繁盛和幸福方面的选修课程,有的大学设立博雅教育项目等等,但这些项目的效果如何,我们不得而知;也许值得专门的研究。

### 提出新问题

笔者认为,关于高等教育与人的繁盛,不同于“钱学森之问”,我们应该问一系列问题,并期待不同的人可以探索这些问题的答案。比如,我自己在多大程度上限制或者促进了人的繁盛?我们的家庭多大程度促进或限制了孩子的繁盛?我们的大学在多大程度上促进或是限制了人的繁盛?我们的国家在多大程度上促进或者限制了人的繁盛?

The “environment theory” objection to higher education and human flourishing is extremely important, and in fact, we have limited room for rebuttal. In fact, this is beyond the scope of this article and may be worth a separate discussion.

The “mainstream” status of human capital theory is indeed difficult to shake, and if the concept of human flourishing is to become an alternative theory in the field of

education, especially in higher education, it needs to be greatly improved in terms of conceptual clarity and measurement tool theoretical assumptions.

### Limitations of This Article

Undoubtedly, this article still has many limitations. First, this article only explores the reality of the instrumentalization of higher education but does not explain why this reality has become mainstream. Second, this article does not go in depth into the content of Newman's liberal university education theory. For example, what is the relevance today of the knowledge that he considered important more than 170 years ago? How does a liberal education help students form virtues? Third, this article has not been able to discuss the relationship between the environment and individual flourishing. For example, what characteristics of a university are more likely to promote student flourishing? Similarly, to what extent can an individual promote the flourishing of the university community? Furthermore, for those born with disabilities, how can they flourish? For example, those born blind, or with physical or intellectual disabilities—how can they flourish? In fact, existing literature has already discussed such questions (Briggs & Reiss, 2021). Finally, this article has not discussed the question of “how.” For example, how might one implement a university education aimed at human flourishing? Internationally, some universities have written human flourishing into their mission statements, some have established centers for human flourishing research, some offer elective courses on human flourishing and happiness, and some have established liberal education programs, etc., but we do not know the effects of these programs; perhaps this is worth further research.

### Posing New Questions

Regarding higher education and human flourishing, the author believes we should take a different approach from “Qian Xuesen's Question.” We should ask a series of questions and hope that different people can explore the answers to them. For example, to what extent have I myself limited or promoted human flourishing? To what extent has our family promoted or limited the flourishing of our children? To what extent has our university promoted or limited human flourishing? To what extent has our country promoted or limited human flourishing?

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# 专题访谈

**FOCUS INTERVIEWS**

访谈者:郑雅君, 受访者:梁俊  
乌蒙山十年:一位支教者与乡村教育的回望与前行  
访谈者:徐颂赞, 受访者:傅国涌  
国语书塾:傅国涌与“童子六七人”的教育实验

Interviewer: Yajun Zheng & Interviewee: Jun Liang,  
Ten Years in Wumeng Mountains: A Volunteer Teacher's  
Reflection and Progress on Rural Education  
Interviewer: Songzan Xu & Interviewee: Guoyong Fu,  
The Guoyu Shushu: Fu Guoyong's Educational Experiment  
with "Six or Seven Boys"

# 乌蒙山十年： 一位支教者 与乡村教育 的回望与前行

DOI: 10.64053/CFEP3019

Interviewer

Yajun Zheng

Hailing from Zhangye, Gansu, Zheng Yajun graduated from the Department of Sociology and the Institute of Higher Education at Fudan University with a Bachelor of Laws and a Master of Education, respectively. She is a doctoral candidate at the Faculty of Education, The University of Hong Kong. Her main research interests are educational equity and student development from the perspective of cultural sociology. She is the author of *After the Gold List: The Puzzle of Diverging Paths for University Students*.

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Interviewee

Jun Liang

Once taught as a volunteer in the Wumeng Mountains. He set ancient poems to music with his guitar, teaching children to sing them, and compiled their writings into a collection titled *A Peach Blossom Spring in the Wumeng Mountains*. During the 2018 Spring Festival, he brought children from the mountains onto the CCTV program *Everlasting Classics*, where their performance of the song “Moss” moved the nation. For the past decade, he has continued to practice a poetic form of education, compiling and publishing a series of musical picture books including *Sing! Nursery Rhymes*, *Sing! Ancient Poems*, *Sing! Song Dynasty Poems*, *Sing! The Book of Songs*, and *Sing! Music Bureau Poems*. He also initiated the “Moss Fund” to deepen the exploration and practice of rural education.

曾在乌蒙山支教，用吉他谱曲，教孩子唱古诗，并将学生习作结集为《乌蒙山里的桃花源》。2018年春节，他带着山里的孩子登上央视《经典咏流传》，一曲《苔》感动全国。十年来，他持续实践诗性教育，编著出版《唱！童谣》《唱！古诗》《唱！宋词》《唱！诗经》《唱！乐府》系列音乐绘本，并发起“苔基金”，深耕乡村教育探索与实践。

梁俊

受访嘉宾

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甘肃张掖人。毕业于复旦大学社会学系、复旦大学高等教育研究所，分别获得法学学士、教育学硕士学位。香港大学教育学院博士研究生。主要研究方向为文化社会学视角下的教育公平与学生发展。著有《金榜题名之后——大学生出路分化之谜》。

郑雅君

访谈人

# Ten Years in the Wumeng Mountains: A Volunteer Teacher's Reflections and Progress in Rural Education

雅君:你在石门坎教书,那片土地在你心中,是怎样的一个地方?

**梁俊:**我曾在贵州威宁县石门乡的一所村小教书,从2012年到2015年,为期两年。石门乡旧称石门坎,地处滇黔交界的乌蒙山深处,海拔2200米,是典型的高寒凉山地区。

无论是官方文书,还是民间歌谣,都记录着乌蒙山的艰险与贫瘠:“羊肠小道,十倍蜀道”“三月方暖,九月飞雪”“种一坡来收一锅”。这些话不仅是石门坎生活的写照,也是我对那片土地的切身感受。

雅君:你当初去石门坎支教,带着怎样的目标和期望?

**梁俊:**去石门坎之前,我读了几本书:张坦的《窄门前的石门坎》,宣教士柏格里的日记《在未知的中国》,还有沈从文的孙女沈红写的《石门坎文化百年兴衰》等。这些书让我对石门坎的百年历史有了初步想象,也让我开始关注大花苗这个族群漫长又坎坷的迁徙与流亡史。慢慢地,我对石门坎和大花苗的好奇越来越强,不只是想去那里当一名老师,更是想看看,现在的石门坎是什么样?如今的大花苗,又过着怎样的生活?

虽然我的身份是老师,但我真正的兴趣,其实是石门坎与大花苗这个社区。我希望,我的教学不仅仅停留在课堂上,而是建立在对社区、对族群的理解与尊重之上。那时候,我想:如果可以的话,我愿意在这个村庄待上十年,陪伴这些孩子十年。因为我相信,人的成长需要时间的浸润,无论是学生,还是老师。

Yajun: You taught in Shimenkan. What are your personal impressions of that land?

**Liang Jun:** I taught at a village primary school in Shimen Township, Weining County, Guizhou, from 2012 to 2015, for a period of two years. Shimen Township, formerly known as Shimenkan, is located deep in the Wumeng Mountains on the border of Yunnan and Guizhou. At an altitude of 2,200 meters, it is a typical high-altitude, cold mountain region.

Whether in official documents or folk ballads, the perils and poverty of the Wumeng Mountains are well recorded: “The winding paths are ten times harder than the roads of Shu,” “It only warms in the third month, and snow flies in the ninth,” “Plant a whole slope, harvest just one pot.” These words are not only a portrayal of life in Shimenkan but also my own visceral experience of that land.

Yajun: When you first went to Shimenkan to volunteer, what goals and expectations did you have?

**Liang Jun:** Before going to Shimenkan, I read several books: Zhang Tan’s *Shimenkan Before the Narrow Gate*, the missionary Samuel Pollard’s diary *In Unknown China*, and *A Century of Rise and Fall of Shimenkan Culture* by Shen Hong, Shen Congwen’s granddaughter. These books gave me an initial picture of Shimenkan’s century-long history and also made me start paying attention to the long and arduous history of migration and exile of the Big Flowery Miao ethnic group. Gradually, my curiosity about Shimenkan and the Big Flowery Miao grew stronger. I didn’t just want to be a teacher there; I wanted to see what Shimenkan is like now. What kind of life do the Big Flowery Miao live today?

Although my role was that of a teacher, my real interest was the community of Shimenkan and the Big Flowery Miao people. I hoped that my teaching would not be confined to the classroom but would be built on an understanding of and respect for the community and its people. At that time, I thought: If possible, I would be willing to stay in this village for ten years, to walk alongside these children for ten years. Because I believe that human growth requires a deep investment of time, for both students and teachers.

雅君:你教的孩子们是谁?他们的处境如何?

**梁俊:**我当时任教的“新中小学”,是由民间团体与政府合作建立的学校,专门为乌蒙山深处的山顶苗族孩子而设。学生来自“新营”和“中寨”两个苗寨,属于苗族的大花苗支系。学生大部分是大花苗,还有一些彝族、汉族人。

大花苗的族群古歌里说,他们的祖先是蚩尤战败中原后的余部,千年流亡、迁徙,最终隐入乌蒙山,成为彝族人的佃农,寄居其地。支教那年,很多村民还住在茅草屋,以农耕为生。除了必要的生活,他们几乎不与外界接触。能说简单汉语的年轻人,开始外出打工,多数在城市的建筑工地上干最苦最危险的活,或者成为流水线上的一员。孩子们在入学前基本不讲汉语。大部分村民没念过书,小学已是高学历。

他们的困境,不只是“山高路远”这么简单,也不只是经济上的贫困,更深层的,是族群历史的流亡与社会边缘化造成的文化隔阂。这种困境,压在孩子的成长之路上,也横在教育者的面前。

雅君:你如何看待孩子们所面临的困境?教育能够回应这些挑战吗?

**梁俊:**一方面,乌蒙山的大花苗的确和生活在城市里的不一样。我们住在交通便利、网络畅通的城市,有更高的收入、更好的医疗和教育资源,这是实实在在的差距。但另一方面,我们的困境也真实存在。他们被困在大山里,我们困在钢筋水泥的城市。他们出不去,我们也被房贷、车贷、升学压力、职场焦虑压得透不过气来。他们难以改变命运,我们也常感身不由己。

表面上我们身处“现代社会”,但很多时候,只是活在另一种形式的“围困”中。他们的困境更多来自地理和历史的重压,我们的困境则藏在现实生活的焦虑和内心世界的闭塞中。我始终对教育是否真能回应这些困境,持保留态度。因为我知道,走出大山并不意味着真正走出困境。我自己就是从大山走进城市的人,深知城市未必就有答案。

所以我能做的,并不是去“解决”什么,而是回到大山,与大花苗社区一起,慢慢摸索一条可走出困境的路。在这条路上,我不是谁的“教导者”,而是一个同行的人。虽然我知道我无法回应所有困境,但在教育与陪伴上,我仍愿

## II. Rural Education is an Encounter Between People

### Yajun: Who were the children you taught? What were their circumstances?

**Liang Jun:** The “Xinzhong Primary School” where I taught was established through a collaboration between a non-governmental organization and the government, specifically for the Miao children living on the mountaintops deep in the Wumeng Mountains. The students came from two Miao villages, “Xinying” and “Zhongzhai,” belonging to the Big Flowery Miao branch of the Miao ethnic group. Most of the students were Big Flowery Miao, with some from the Yi and Han ethnic groups as well.

The ancient songs of the Big Flowery Miao say that their ancestors were the remnants of Chiyou’s forces, defeated in the Central Plains. After a thousand years of exile and migration, they eventually hid in the Wumeng Mountains, becoming tenant farmers for the Yi people and settling on their land. During the year I volunteered, many villagers still lived in thatched huts and subsisted on farming. Apart from essential needs, they had almost no contact with the outside world. The young people who could speak simple Mandarin began to leave for work, mostly doing the hardest and most dangerous jobs on urban construction sites or becoming workers on assembly lines. The children basically did not speak Mandarin before entering school. Most villagers had never attended school; an elementary school education was considered a high level of education.

Their predicament does not simply stem from inaccessibility due to “high mountains and distant roads,” nor from merely economic poverty. On a deeper level, it is the cultural alienation caused by their ethnic history of exile and social marginalization. This predicament weighs heavily on the path of the children’s growth and stands as a barrier before educators.

### Yajun: How do you view the difficulties faced by the children? Can education respond to these challenges?

**Liang Jun:** On the one hand, the Big Flowery Miao of the Wumeng Mountains are indeed different from those living in cities. We live in cities with convenient transportation and ubiquitous internet, with higher incomes, better medical care, and educational resources. This is a tangible gap. But on the other hand, our own predicaments are also real. They are trapped in the mountains; we are trapped in cities of steel and concrete. They can’t get out, and we are suffocated by mortgages, car loans, academic pres-

意回应一点、做一点。改变，总是从微小个体开始的，我愿意成为这个开始。这也是我离开城市，去往乡村支教的原因。

雅君：从村民的角度看，他们对孩子的教育有哪些期待？又对老师有什么期望？

**梁俊：**大多数村民的期望很朴素，他们希望孩子能学好普通话，有了语言能力意味着将来能走出大山，出去打工、挣钱，改善生活。有些受过小学教育的家长则盼望孩子多读书，在他们眼里，多读书意味着不再务农，能在城市里找到一份体面的工作。

至于对老师的期待，我有一次印象特别深刻。那次，我和几位老师步行四五个小时，雨夜中穿越峡谷，爬过崖壁，趟水翻山，去孩子们在云南彝良的老家家访。一路上我不禁想，为什么要吃这个苦？可当我们抵达那座从未有老师到访过的大花苗村庄时，一切都变得值得了。

整个村庄的村民都邀请我们到家里坐坐。一位学生的妈妈对我说：“我们家又脏又乱，但我孩子说你们对他很好，我们很想你们来坐坐。”她目不识丁，却道出了许多大花苗家长最朴素的期待：希望老师真心对待、关爱他们的孩子。而他们感受到“爱”的方式也很简单——只要老师愿意翻山越岭，到家里坐一坐，就是诚意，就是爱。

那两年，我们三天两头往寨子里跑，常常去老乡家——参加婚礼与葬礼，迎接新生命的诞生，用歌声送别逝去的灵魂，聆听长老口中的古老传说与歌谣，与孩子们在山间自由奔跑、放声歌唱。与村民、孩子交往过程中，我们彼此认识，彼此了解，彼此影响。这让我意识到，教育不是从讲台上开始的，而是从人与人之间的温暖往来中生长出来的。

sure, and workplace anxiety. They find it hard to change their destiny; we often feel that our lives are not our own.

On the surface, we live in a “modern society,” but much of the time, we are just living in another form of “siege.” Their difficulties come more from the weight of geography and history; our difficulties are hidden in the anxieties of real life and the confinement of our inner worlds. I have always remained reserved about whether education can truly respond to these predicaments. Because I know that leaving the mountains does not mean truly leaving a life of difficulty. I myself am someone who moved from the mountains into the city, and I know full well that the city does not necessarily hold the answers.

So what I could do was not to “solve” anything, but to return to the mountains and, together with the Big Flowery Miao community, slowly explore a path out of their predicament. On this path, I am not anyone’s “instructor,” but a fellow traveler. Although I knew I couldn’t respond to all their difficulties, in terms of education and companionship, I was still willing to respond a little, to do a little. Change always starts with small individuals, and I was willing to be that start. This is also why I left the city to volunteer as a teacher in the countryside.

Yajun: From the villagers’ perspective, what expectations do they have for their children’s education? And what do they expect from teachers?

**Liang Jun:** The expectations of most villagers are very simple. They hope their children can learn Mandarin well. Having language skills means they can leave the mountains in the future, go out to work, earn money, and improve their lives. Some parents with an elementary school education hope their children will study more. In their eyes, studying more means no longer having to farm and being able to find a decent job in the city.

As for their expectations of teachers, one experience left a particularly deep impression on me. That time, a few other teachers and I walked for four or five hours, crossing a valley in the rainy night, climbing over cliffs, and wading through water to visit the children’s old homes in Yiliang, Yunnan. Along the way, I couldn’t help but think, why are we enduring this hardship? But when we arrived at that Big Flowery Miao village, which no teacher had ever visited before, it all became worthwhile.

The entire village invited us into their homes. One student’s mother said to

雅君:乌蒙山的教学经历给你留下了怎样的体会?

梁俊:在乌蒙山当老师,让我放下了对知识的优越感与控制欲,也促使我学习如何在文化背景迥异的大花苗群体中,与他们并肩同行。在这个过程中,我必须深深的面对两个问题:“怎样成为一名老师?”“成为一名怎样的老师?”前者关乎专业能力——如何用合适的方法,将知识有效地传递出去;后者其实关乎一个人的温度——作为老师,我是一个怎样的人?我的世界观、想法、品格、行为,都会悄悄影响到和我接触的每一个孩子、每一位村民。我体会到,无论是专业能力的提升,还是作为“怎样的人”的自我成长,我意识到,我的每一点成长,都会悄悄带动孩子的成长。

雅君:现在很多老师说自己像“教学流水线上的工人”,教书不快乐,你有这样的感受吗?

梁俊:在乌蒙山深处教书,是我人生中最快乐的一段时光。那里大概是全国最自由的教学试验田——山高皇帝远,教育局鞭长莫及。我得以放手做教育实验,安心探索,尽情享受教学本身的乐趣。为师之乐,在于得享自由。

雅君:在你看来,乌蒙山是一片教育的自由之地。你在教学中享有哪些自由?具体做了哪些探索与实践?为什么教学自主权如此重要?

梁俊:乌蒙山是教师的桃花源,因为新中学校的老师真正拥有教育的自主权。

首先,我有权选择不教什么。以语文课为例,我删去教材中说教性强、不真实、无意义、不优美的篇目,去繁就简;也可以不上思想品德课,跳过那些空洞乏味的“五星教育”。

其次,我有权决定教什么。受交大附小丁慈矿老师的《小学对课》启发,我结合孩子的实际,自编诗教材料,用童谣、古诗、韵文、现代诗滋养童心,激发汉语语感。借鉴江浙名师顾舟群的经验,我开设“读写绘”课程——每周一本经典绘本,从阅读、写作到绘画,提升孩子的学习兴趣与审美能力。我们还设有戏剧课,每学期排演一场经典剧目,在全校巡回演出。苗族孩子天生爱唱,我便为古诗谱曲,用歌声打开他们的诗性感受力。

me, “Our home is dirty and messy, but my child says you are very good to him, and we really wanted you to come and sit for a while.” She was illiterate, yet she expressed the most simple expectation of many Big Flowery Miao parents: that the teachers would genuinely care for and love their children. And the way they felt this “love” was also very simple—as long as the teacher was willing to cross mountains and rivers to visit their home, that was sincerity, that was love.

During those two years, we went to the villages every few days, often visiting the homes of the local people—attending weddings and funerals, celebrating new births, sending off departed souls with songs, listening to ancient legends and ballads from the elders, and running freely and singing loudly with the children in the mountains. In our interactions with the villagers and children, we got to know each other, understand each other, and influence each other. This made me realize that education doesn’t begin at the teacher’s podium; it grows from the warm interactions between people.

### III. The Wumeng Mountains: An Experimental Field for Free Teaching

Yajun: What kind of insights did your teaching experience in the Wumeng Mountains leave you with?

**Liang Jun:** Being a teacher in the Wumeng Mountains allowed me to let go of my sense of superiority and control over knowledge, and it also prompted me to learn how to walk alongside the Big Flowery Miao people, who have a vastly different cultural background. In this process, I had to deeply confront two questions: “How do I become a teacher?” and “What kind of teacher should I become?” The former relates to professional ability—how to use appropriate methods to effectively transmit knowledge. The latter is actually about one’s personality—as a teacher, what kind of person am I? My worldview, thoughts, character, and behavior all quietly influence every child and every villager I come into contact with. I realized that whether it’s the improvement of my professional skills or my self-growth as “what kind of person,” every bit of my growth would quietly drive the growth of the children.

Yajun: Many teachers now say they feel like “workers on a teaching assembly line” and find no joy in teaching. Do you also have this feeling?

再者，在乌蒙山缺乏老师，我被迫成为全科教师，因此，我得以自由地重构课堂。

我可以用一个月快速扫读教材，把自编的诗教和“唱古诗”融入日常训练，随时朗读，随性歌唱；也可以停课两周，专注排戏、演出；可以随时走进山林，在树影下读诗，在白云下唱歌。我还可以每日带着孩子们，自由且真实的阅读和写作。临近统考，我再帮孩子们收心刷题，帮孩子理解考试逻辑，提高分数。

在城市，教育系统像一套精密的机器，教师往往只是其中的一个执行零件。太多束缚让教师难以自主，受限于制度、受困于评价体系，渐渐失去了作为“教育者”的主动权，成了工具人。而在山里，在这片远离制度、社区干预的土地上，我既能设计课程，也能真正陪伴孩子成长。也正因为这份教学自由，孩子们即使身处资源匮乏的环境，依然保有想象力、情感和创造力。

雅君：你提到孩子们在山里依然保持着想象力、情感和创造力，这具体体现在哪些方面？在教学过程中，有哪些成果让你印象深刻？保持想象力、情感和创造力，是否与应试成绩产生冲突？

**梁俊：**两年的教学积累，有三点可以看见的成果：

第一，我们整理并出版了孩子们的文集，名为《乌蒙山里的桃花源》。这些文字见证了孩子们的想象力、情感与创造力。

第二，那首在没有灯光的教室里反复吟唱的古诗《苔》，后来登上了中央电视台《经典咏流传》节目，感动了无数人。

第三，我任教的两年里，孩子们的语文成绩在全乡统考中持续领先，尽管我们的教学方式并不应试。

这些成果并非我最初的目标，但它们见证了孩子们真实的成长，也印证了一种可能：乡村教育扎根于对社区和族群的理解与尊重，在此基础上，老师拥有自由与权利，探索合适的教学与陪伴方法，土壤自由、滋养得当，即使在乌蒙山这样的高寒之地，孩子们也能发芽、生长、开花、结果。

**Liang Jun:** Teaching deep in the Wumeng Mountains was the happiest time of my life. That place was probably the freest experimental field for teaching in the entire country—“the mountains are high and the emperor is far away;” the central education bureau’s reach is limited. I was able to conduct educational experiments freely, explore with peace of mind, and fully enjoy the pleasure of teaching itself. The joy of being a teacher lies in enjoying freedom.

Yajun: In your view, the Wumeng Mountains were a land of educational freedom. What freedoms did you enjoy in your teaching? What specific explorations and practices did you undertake? Why is autonomy in teaching so important?

**Liang Jun:** The Wumeng Mountains were a Peach Blossom Spring for teachers because the teachers at Xinzhong Primary School truly had educational autonomy.

First, I had the right to choose what not to teach. In the Chinese language class, for example, I removed the preachy, unrealistic, meaningless, and unaesthetic texts from the textbook, thereby simplifying it. I could also skip the moral education class, bypassing those empty and boring “five-star education” lessons.

Second, I had the right to decide what to teach. Inspired by Teacher Ding Cikuang’s *Primary School Couplets* from Jiaotong University Affiliated Primary School, I compiled my own poetry teaching materials based on the children’s actual situation, nurturing their young hearts and stimulating their sense for the Chinese language with nursery rhymes, ancient poems, rhymed verses, and modern poetry. Drawing on the experience of the famous teacher Gu Zhouqun from Jiangsu and Zhejiang, I started a “read-write-draw” course—one classic picture book each week, covering reading, writing, and drawing to enhance the children’s interest in learning and their aesthetic ability. We also had a drama class, rehearsing one classic play each semester and touring it throughout the school. The Miao children have a natural love for singing, so I composed music for ancient poems, using song to open up their poetic sensibility.

Furthermore, due to the shortage of teachers in the Wumeng Mountains, I was forced to become an all-subject teacher. Therefore, I was able to freely reconstruct the classroom.

I could quickly go through the textbook in a month, integrating my

self-compiled poetry teaching and “singing ancient poems” into daily practice, reading aloud and singing as we pleased. I could also suspend classes for two weeks to focus on rehearsing and performing a play. I could walk into the mountains at any time, reading poetry in the shade of the trees and singing under the white clouds. I could also lead the children in free and authentic reading and writing every day. When the unified exams approached, I would help the children focus on drilling questions, helping them understand the logic of the exams and improve their scores.

In the city, the education system is like a precision machine, and teachers are often just one of many cogs within it. Too many constraints make it difficult for teachers to be autonomous. They are limited by the system, trapped by the evaluation system, and gradually lose their initiative as “educators,” becoming mere tools. But in the mountains, in this land far from the system and community intervention, I could both design the curriculum and truly encourage the children’s growth. And it is precisely because of this teaching freedom that the children, even in a resource-poor environment, still retained their imagination, emotions, and creativity.

Yajun: You mentioned that the children in the mountains still maintained their imagination, emotions, and creativity. In what specific ways was this apparent? In the teaching process, what achievements impressed you the most? Did maintaining imagi-

**Liang Jun:** After two years of teaching, there were three visible results:

First, we compiled and published a collection of the children's writings, titled *A Peach Blossom Spring in the Wumeng Mountains*. These words bear witness to the children's imagination, emotions, and creativity.

Second, the ancient poem "Moss," which we repeatedly sang in a classroom that lacked electricity, was later performed on the CCTV program *Everlasting Classics*, moving countless people.

Third, during my two years of teaching, the children's Chinese language scores consistently ranked at the top in the township's unified exams, even though our teaching methods were not exam-oriented.

These achievements were not my initial goals, but they bear witness to the children's real growth and also prove a possibility: when rural education is rooted in understanding and respect for the community and its people, and on this basis, teachers have the freedom and right to explore suitable methods of teaching and partnership, if the soil is free and the nourishment is appropriate, even in a high, cold place like the Wumeng Mountains, children can sprout, grow, blossom, and bear fruit.

雅君：你原本打算在乌蒙山坚持十年教育，为什么最后只做了两年？背后有什么原因吗？

**梁俊：**国家推动“撤点并校”政策，许多乡村教学点被并入乡里的中心学校，我们所在的新中小学也在被撤并的名单之中。另一方面，这所学校最初是由民间筹资创办的“私立学校”，虽然在教育局的监管下运行，但一直保有一定的自主权，比如可以自行招募老师、探索教学方式。但随着政府财政的增强、交通条件的改善，政策要求这类民办学校逐步转为公立。一旦公立化，我们将失去原本的教育自主权，很多教育实验也难以继续。在那样的制度环境下，留下也无法再做我们想做的教育，于是，我们只能选择离开。

雅君：你在乌蒙山的乡村教育刚有成效，却因客观原因被迫中止，这让你感到遗憾吗？回望这段经历，你有哪些感想？

**梁俊：**从教学的角度来说，我并不觉得遗憾。因为一旦失去了教学的自由，老师就像厨子没了刀、巧妇没了米、士兵没了枪——即便拼尽全力，也难以真正教好书。在石门坎，我们曾拥有那份自由，而当这种自由不再，离开就成了必然的选择。

真正让我割舍不下的，是那两年与大花苗社区之间建立起来的深厚情感。在教室里和孩子们谈笑，在操场上一起奔跑，在傍晚去老家串门聊天……这种人与人之间的真实连接，是我最留恋的部分。

此外，在乌蒙山教书，我获得了一种从未有过的价值感。我们这个社会常讲“学而优则仕”，鼓励人通过读书、工作、赚钱、在城市立足，来实现所谓的“个人价值”。但就我个人而言，从大山出来、在城市里努力生活的那些年，反而很少感受到内心的满足。拼搏带来的不是意义，而是持续的焦虑。

直到我放下实现个人价值的疯狂追求，进入乌蒙山，在那个几乎被忽视的族群中工作与生活，我才第一次强烈地感受到：原来我的学识和能力可以直接服务一个真实的社区，并在这个过程中释放出真正的能量。这种价值感，不是对成就的夸耀，而是对生命的滋养。这份体验，改变了我，也成为我后续人生的根基。

#### IV. Leaving and Lingered After Losing Freedom

Yajun: You originally planned to commit to ten years of education in the Wumeng Mountains. Why did you only stay for two? What were the reasons behind it?

**Liang Jun:** The state was promoting the “school consolidation” policy, and many rural teaching stations were being merged into the central schools in the townships. Our Xinzhong Primary School was on the list to be consolidated. On the other hand, this school was initially a “private school” founded with private funds. Although it operated under the supervision of the education bureau, it had always maintained a certain degree of autonomy, such as being able to recruit its own teachers and explore its own teaching methods. But with the strengthening of government finances and the improvement of transportation infrastructure, the policy required such private schools to gradually become public. Once it became public, we would lose our original educational autonomy, and many educational experiments could no longer continue. In that kind of institutional environment, staying meant we could no longer pursue the kind of teaching we wanted. So, we could only choose to leave.

Yajun: Your rural education work in the Wumeng Mountains was just beginning to show results, but it was forced to stop due to external factors. Do you feel regretful about this? Looking back on this experience, what are your thoughts?

**Liang Jun:** From a teaching perspective, I don’t feel any regret. Because once you lose the freedom to teach, a teacher is like a chef without his knife, a clever housewife without rice, a soldier without his gun—even with all your effort, you can’t truly teach well. In Shimenkan, we once had that freedom, and when that freedom was no longer there, leaving became the inevitable choice.

What I truly couldn’t let go of was the deep emotional connection established with the Big Flowery Miao community over those two years. Talking and laughing with the children in the classroom, running together on the playground, visiting the homes of the local people in the evening to chat... This kind of real connection between people is the part I miss the most.

Furthermore, teaching in the Wumeng Mountains gave me a sense of value I had never experienced before. Our society often talks about how “he who excels in study can become an official,” encouraging people to achieve

雅君：离开石门坎回到城市后，你在教育领域开展了哪些新的探索与实践？

梁俊：今年是我离开石门坎的第十年。过去十年里，我成了一个编书的人。我将当年保留下来的孩子们的课堂写作、绘画作品整理成册，出版了这本《乌蒙山里的桃花源》。这些来自大山深处的文字和图画，是一种真实的见证——苔花如米小，也学牡丹开。对我而言，这是教育给予我的盼望：最微小的个体，也有他独特的价值，也值得被看见。

在乌蒙山没有灯光的教室里，我和大花苗的孩子们一起唱古诗。那些唤醒他们诗性的旋律，没有被时间埋没。这十年里，我慢慢把当年唱过的诗，重新选编、作曲，整理成一套“和诗以歌”的诗性教育教材——《唱！童谣》《唱！古诗》《唱！宋词》《唱！诗经》《唱！乐府》。希望用轻松的方式歌唱，让汉语的美走进更多孩子心里。

卖书所得的一部分资金，我投入了“苔基金”，用这个平台来支持乡村教育。我也参与其中，走进城市和乡村的学校，带着老师和学生一起“和诗以歌”，用歌声缓解孩子们的学习压力，也让他们在诗里找到轻松与喜乐。

雅君：这十年间，你有没有重访过石门坎？当年教过的大花苗孩子们，如今生活如何？回望在乌蒙山的那些时光，你的教育实践对大花苗孩子产生了怎样的影响？又有哪些值得反思的地方？

梁俊：这十年，除了疫情期间，我每年都会回石门坎，回到新营和中寨，住在老乡家里。有时我一个人去，有时一家人去。去的多了，我的女儿、儿子和我的学生成为了朋友，和他们的孩子玩耍，友谊正在延续，同行并未停滞。

总体来说，孩子们学好了语言，拥有了和更广阔的社会接触能力。大部分上了初中，有一位今年刚考上大学，读的是师范专业，他说以后想当老师。这是这个社区多年来唯一的一位大学生。也有若干学生读了职业高中，但不少人反馈“什么都学不到”，觉得浪费了时间和学费，还不如早点进厂。更多人选择了进城务工。我做过调查，男性通常只有两种选择：一是在建筑工地搭高架，二是进沿海工厂上流水线，每天干十二个小时。受不了的，就干几个月挣点钱回村玩，没钱了再出去。能忍的，就在流水线上日复一日地重复

so-called “personal value” through studying, working, earning money, and establishing themselves in the city. But for me personally, during those years of striving in the city after coming from the mountains, I rarely felt inner satisfaction. The struggle brought not meaning, but continuous anxiety.

It wasn’t until I let go of the frantic pursuit of personal value and entered the Wumeng Mountains, working and living in that largely neglected ethnic community, that I had this strong realization: it turns out my knowledge and abilities can directly serve a real community, and in this process, generate true impact. This sense of value is not about boasting of achievements, but about nourishing life. This experience changed me and became the foundation for the rest of my life.

## V. Echoes of Volunteer Teaching: New Actions and Missions

Yajun: After leaving Shimenkan and returning to the city, what new explorations and practices have you undertaken in the field of education?

**Liang Jun:** This year marks the tenth year since I left Shimenkan. In the past decade, I have become a book creator. I compiled the classroom writings and drawings of the children that I had kept from those years into a book, publishing *A Peach Blossom Spring in the Wumeng Mountains*. These words and pictures from deep in the mountains are a true testament—moss flowers may be as small as grains of rice, but they too bloom like peonies. For me, this is the hope that education has given me: the smallest individual has his unique value and deserves to be seen.

In the unlit classrooms of the Wumeng Mountains, I sang ancient poems with the children of the Big Flowery Miao. Those melodies that awakened their poetic nature were not buried by time. Over these ten years, I have slowly re-selected, composed, and arranged the poems we sang back then into a set of poetic education materials for “setting poems to music”—*Sing! Nursery Rhymes, Sing! Ancient Poems, Sing! Song Dynasty Poems, Sing! The Book of Songs, and Sing! Music Bureau Poems*. I hope that by singing in a relaxed way, the beauty of the Chinese language can enter the hearts of more children.

A portion of the funds from selling the books I have invested in the “Moss

同一个动作。很多女孩则早早结婚，留在村里带孩子。

十年来，我与大花苗社区的互动涵盖教学与生活。十年过去，孩子们的现状引发我反思：大山里少数民族真正需要的教育是什么？孩子们的生活改善了，也出了大山，但很多人依旧被困着：困在职业高中，困在大学，困在风情苗寨小洋楼，困在工地和工厂，困在婚姻里。从这个角度看，我们当初的教育，对他们的影响甚微。走出大山的他们，或许陷入了更深的困境。

经过多年的思考与沉淀，今年我开启了新的乡村教育探索——与大山里的小农携手创业，以商业推动乡村教育。

雅君：你在大山里和小农一起创业，这与乡村教育有什么关系？

**梁俊：**因为支教，我与高山上的少数民族群结下了深厚情谊。这些年，除了乌蒙山，我还走访了云南西部的许多山村，结识更多朋友，了解他们的生活与社区。老乡常对我说：“梁老师，要是您能帮我们把农产品卖出去，我就不进城打工了，可以留在村里陪孩子。”这句话反复提醒我：如果有出路，谁愿意去工地、工厂？如果能在村里挣钱，孩子就能得到父母的陪伴——这，正是乡村教育的起点。

经过数年的社区考察，今年我在一个傣族村寨与村民共同创业。这里拥有优质的野生茶资源，能做出上乘红茶，但村民缺乏制茶技艺。我联合社区青年领袖和资深制茶师，在村里建立小型工坊，一边生产，一边培养青年掌握技艺，推动技艺在社区内部实现代际传承。

同时，我发起了“苔的发现”品牌，旨在打造一家兼具社会价值与可持续盈利的企业。我们的使命是提升小农生产能力，将深山中的生态、健康、真实农产品推向市场。这是我乡村教育的新使命：未来十年，和老乡们一起赚钱，让外出打工的家庭减少，团聚的家庭增加；也希望村里的好产品、好手艺，在山寨里薪火相传。这是一项以商业实践为核心、采用师徒制的乡村青年职业教育实践。

这是我与高山族群新的一次携手同行。同行，是一种相互成全的教育，也是盼望本身。

Fund,” using this platform to support rural education. I also participate myself, going into schools in both cities and the countryside, leading teachers and students to “set poems to music” together, using song to alleviate the children’s academic pressure and also to let them find ease and joy in poetry.

Yajun: In these ten years, have you revisited Shimenkan? How are the Big Flowery Miao children you once taught doing now? Looking back at your time in the Wumeng Mountains, what impact did your educational practice have on the children? And what is worth reflecting on?

**Liang Jun:** In these ten years, except during the pandemic, I have returned to Shimenkan every year, back to Xinying and Zhongzhai, staying in the homes of the local people. Sometimes I go alone, sometimes with my family. After going so many times, my daughter and son have become friends with my students, playing with their children. Our friendship continues ; our journey together has not ended.

Overall, the children have learned the language well and have the ability to interact with the wider society. Most of them went on to junior high school. One just got into university this year, studying to be a teacher. He says he wants to be a teacher in the future. He is the only student from this community to attend university in many years. Several others went to vocational high schools, but many reported that they “couldn’t learn anything,” feeling it was a waste of time and tuition, and that it would have been better to go to work in a factory earlier. More people chose to go to the city to work. I did a survey, and the men usually have only two choices: one is to erect scaffolding on construction sites, and the other is to work on an assembly line in a coastal factory, working twelve hours a day. Those who can’t stand it work for a few months, earn some money, and go back to the village to have fun, then go out again when they’re out of money. Those who can endure it repeat the same monotonous actions day after day on the assembly line. Many girls get married early and stay in the village to raise children.

Over the past decade, my interaction with the Big Flowery Miao community has spanned both teaching and life. Ten years later, the current situation of the children makes me reflect: what is the education that ethnic minorities in the mountains truly need? The children’s lives have improved, and they have left the mountains, but many are still trapped: trapped in vocational high schools, trapped in universities, trapped in small Western-style houses in scenic Miao villages, trapped on construction sites and in factories, trapped in marriages. From this perspective, our education back then had

a minimal impact on them. Having left the mountains, they may have fallen into a deeper predicament.

After years of thought and reflection, this year I have started exploring a new idea in rural education—starting a business with small farmers in the mountains to promote rural education through commerce.

Yajun: You're starting a business with small farmers in the mountains. What does this have to do with rural education?

**Liang Jun:** Because of my volunteer teaching, I formed a deep bond with the ethnic groups in the high mountains. Over the years, besides the Wumeng Mountains, I have also visited many mountain villages in western Yunnan, making more friends and learning about their lives and communities. The local people often say to me, “Teacher Liang, if you could help us sell our agricultural products, I wouldn’t have to go to the city to work, and I could stay in the village with my children.” This sentence constantly reminds me: if there were a way out, who would want to go to construction sites or factories? If they can earn money in the village, their children can have the companionship of their parents—this is precisely the starting point of rural education.

After several years of studying these communities, this year I started a

business with the villagers in a Lisu ethnic village. This place has high-quality wild tea resources and can produce excellent black tea, but the villagers lack the skills to grow and commercialize tea. I collaborated with community youth leaders and experienced tea masters to establish a small workshop in the village, both producing tea and training young people to master the skills, promoting the intergenerational transmission of these skills within the community.

At the same time, I launched the brand “Discovery of Moss,” aiming to create an enterprise that has both social value and sustainable profitability. Our mission is to enhance the production capacity of small farmers and bring ecological, healthy, and authentic agricultural products from the deep mountains to the market. This is my new mission in rural education: in the next ten years, to make money together with the local people, so that the number of families with migrant workers decreases and the number of reunited families increases. I also hope that the good products and craftsmanship of the village will be passed down in these mountainous regions from generation to generation. This is a rural youth vocational education practice that aims for sustainability by utilizing commercial practices as well as an apprenticeship system.

This is a new journey of walking together with the high-mountain ethnic groups. Walking together is a form of mutually fulfilling education, and it is hope itself.

# 国语书塾： 傅国涌 与“童子六七人” 的教育实验

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Interviewer

Songzan Xu

PhD candidate in Theology and Religious Studies at the University of Cambridge. From 2015 to 2017, he participated in Teacher Fu Guoyong's seminar on modern Chinese history, and from 2019 to 2020, he planned and produced Teacher Fu's audio program *A Youth's Daily Record of Knowledge*.

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Interviewee

Guoyong Fu

Historian and practitioner of children's mother-tongue education. His main research focuses on modern Chinese history, particularly the history of public opinion over the past century, the role of intellectuals, and educational traditions. In 2010, he was selected as one of the "100 People Who Have Influenced the Course of China's Era" by *Time Weekly*. In 2017, he founded the Guoyu Shushu (National Language Academy), dedicating himself to children's mother-tongue education. His published works include *Waves at the Tip of the Pen*, *The Moral Backbone of a Literatus*, *The Centenary of the 1911 Revolution: Private Records of Eyewitnesses*, *1949: Private Records of Chinese Intellectuals, From Gong Zizhen to John Leighton Stuart*, *A New Record of Learning: Eight Lectures on the Origins of Modern Chinese Education*, and *Seeking Another Possibility for Mother-Tongue Education: Fu Guoyong's Notes on Teaching Children*.

历史学者，儿童母语教育实践者。主要关注中国近代史，特别是百年言论史、知识分子问题和教育传统等。2010年入选《时代周报》“影响中国时代进程一百人”。2017年创办国语书塾，致力于儿童母语教育。著有《笔底波澜》《文人的底气》《百年辛亥：亲历者的私人记录》《1949年：中国知识分子的私人记录》《从龚自珍到司徒雷登》《新学记：中国现代教育起源八讲》《寻找母语教育的另一种可能性：傅国涌课董记》等。

傅国涌

受访嘉宾

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剑桥大学哲学博士候选人，主修神学与宗教研究，曾在2015至2017年参与傅国涌老师的近代中国史研修班，并在2019至2020年策划与发行傅老师《少年日知录》音频节目。

徐颂赞

访谈人

# The Guoyu Shushu: Fu Guoyong's Educational Experiment with "Six or Seven Boys"

2025年7月7日凌晨,傅国涌先生在杭州遽然去世,这是6月初完成这篇访谈时未曾预料到的。这篇访谈因而也成了我与傅老师的最后对话。斯人已去,但国语书塾还在,童子们还在,愿傅老师的精神和底气继续与他们、我们同在,以此为永远的怀念。

# 访谈手记

## INTERVIEWER'S NOTE

On the morning of July 7, 2025, Mr. Fu Guoyong passed away suddenly in Hangzhou, something I never anticipated when we completed this interview in early June. This interview has thus become my final conversation with Teacher Fu. The man himself is gone, but the Guoyu Shushu lives on, and the young boys whose lives he impacted live on. May Teacher Fu's spirit and integrity continue to be with them, and with us. This is in his eternal memory.

世人总是说“人往高处走”，我反其道而行之，选择了“人往低处走”，好“低”鹜远是我给自己的一个定位。作为一个低调理想主义者，我和儿童站在一起，其实也就是与未来站在一起，未来并不是从未来才开始的。

——傅国涌，2025年5月在《汉语学志》的访谈中如此说

一、国语书塾第八年：不是为了扭转乾坤，而是寻找教育的另一种可能

徐：2017年秋天，您创办国语书塾时，当时对中国教育问题的观察是什么？

**傅：**在国语书塾这个小小的教育实验刚开始时，我看到的中国教育就是以知识点为中心、不断刷题的应试教育，追求分数是压倒一切的目标。在这样的评价和考试制度之下，学生从小就被禁锢在一条既定的轨道上，没有自由阅读的时间，也没有独立思考的空间，整天围绕的就是重复性的知识操练，缺乏思想操练、心灵操练。这样一种教育模式，不关注人的创造性、情感、人格的培养。为了追求分数、升学，学生从小就被绑在考试的战车上，始终处于紧张的类似军备竞赛的状态。校外培训机构迎合这种需要而蔓延，很多学生的校外时间进了各种各样以提高分数为目标的培训班，美其名曰“刚需”。久而久之，孩子眼中的光渐渐暗淡，许多人得了“无兴趣病”，能指望这样的孩子长大后有想象力吗？

徐：这是中国教育的老问题了。现在已经过去八年，这些问题有没有“缓解”？

**傅：**相隔近八年，这些问题不仅没有缓解，反而越来越严重，要说变化也是有的，八年前孩子们主要在各种培训班之间疲于奔命，自从前些年打击教培行业、所谓“减负”以来，学校对孩子在时间上的压榨达到了前所未有的地步，孩子们光是完成学校的各种要求、应付各种作业，就已不堪重负，再加上校外的培训班，他们的时间被填得满满的，真正自主的课外阅读、遐想的时间越来越难得了。

徐：回看国语书塾自身，这八年来有没有什么转变？现在和最开始的情形有没有什么不同？

**傅：**国语书塾本身的定位并没有什么转变，还是以想象力为中心，而不是以

The world always says, “people strive to move upwards,” but I have gone against the current, choosing to “walk to low places.” “Aiming ‘low’ for the long term” is how I position myself. As a low-key idealist, standing with children is, in fact, standing with the future. The future does not begin in the future.

—Fu Guoyong, in a May 2025 interview with *Chinese Language Journal*

## I. The Eighth Year of the Guoyu Shushu: Not to Turn the Tide, But to Find Another Possibility for Education

Xu: In the autumn of 2017, when you founded the Guoyu Shushu, what were your observations of the problems in Chinese education at the time?

**Fu:** When this small educational experiment of the Guoyu Shushu had just begun, the Chinese education I observed was an exam-oriented system centered on memorizing facts and endless test-drilling. The pursuit of high test scores was the overwhelming goal. Under such an evaluation and examination system, students were confined to a predetermined track from a young age, with no time for free reading and no space for independent thinking. Their days revolved around repetitive knowledge drills, lacking exercises for the mind and for the soul. Such an educational model pays no attention to the cultivation of a person’s creativity, emotions, or character. In the pursuit of high scores and advancement, students are tied to the war chariot of examinations from childhood, constantly in a state of tension akin to an arms race. After-school tutoring institutions have sprung up to meet this need, and many students spend their out-of-school time in various training classes aimed at improving scores, euphemistically called a “must-have.” Over time, the light in the children’s eyes gradually dims, and many fall victim to the disease of apathy. Can we expect such children to grow up with any imagination?

Xu: This is an old problem in Chinese education. It has been eight years now. Have these problems been “alleviated”?

**Fu:** Nearly eight years later, not only have these problems not been alleviated, but they have become more and more serious. There have been some changes, of course. Eight years ago, children were mainly exhausted from rushing between various training classes. Since the crackdown on the tutoring industry and the so-called “burden reduction” a few years ago,

知识点为中心,致力于开阔每个孩子的视野,启发他们的想象力,培育他们的审美力,提升他们的思想力,也就是独立思考的能力。我设计的主要课程是“与世界对话”,虽然是以母语教育为支点,但不是通常意义上的语文课,而是人文课。我把国语书塾的教育实验概括为“三百千万”四个字,也就是在三年时间给孩子们上一百堂“与世界对话课”,让他们认识一千个古今中外的作者,并通过行万里路,在孩子们心中编织出属于自己的人文地图。我们的课堂不纠缠字词句,不在某个知识点上打转,而是从审美和想象入手,帮助孩子形成自己的思维方式和表述方式,而不仅是知识的累积。

要说现在和最开始的情况有什么不同,主要发生在孩子们身上,他们自己能支配的时间越来越少了。最早来国语书塾的孩子大部分是小学五年级,读了三年童子班,还继续读三年半的少年班,第二批、第三批孩子也能持续在国语书塾待五年。后面来的孩子课业压力、学校内卷愈演愈烈,到初中以后就很难抽出时间,课外阅读也几乎废弃了。这种变化一年比一年明显。这是整个刚性的大环境,很少有家庭能抵抗,孩子只能成为牺牲品。一句话,教育的军备竞赛比过去更为白热化,甚至有下延到小学阶段的趋势。

徐:那么对您个人而言,心境和问题意识有没有什么变化?

**傅:**个人心境倒没有特别的变化,我的初衷本来就不是扭转乾坤,并没有什么宏大理想,而是寻找母语教育或人文教育的另一种可能。今天这个小小的教育实验还在进行中,我在实践中的摸索和思考也在继续。

徐:我很好奇从国语书塾第一、二批毕业的孩子,现在都在做什么?或许从他们身上,能看到书塾的更多可能性。

**傅:**第一批毕业的孩子大部分是今年参加高考,正在最后的备考阶段,也有极少数几个已进入大学。付润石因为初中毕业前就被西安交通大学少年班录取,虽然考取了杭二中,但他放弃了。在西交大读了一年预科,又在物理系读了一年,他申请到了美国纽约大学石溪分校物理系,已经在那里读了一年。他在读物理的同时,没有放弃广泛的人文阅读,最近喜欢上了苏珊·桑塔格。去年初春,他和同学张禾的通信集《少年书简》在东京出版,让许多朋友惊讶的不是他们读的哪些书,而是他们思考问题的深度和广度、他们表达思想的方式。付润石选择的是物理学专业,但他有很好的人文素养,在物理公式与小说、诗歌、哲学著作之间切换自如,他到美国之后,感到一点

schools' exploitation of children's time has reached an unprecedented level. Children are already overwhelmed just completing the various requirements and assignments from school. Add to that the after-school training classes, and their time is completely filled, making truly autonomous extra-curricular reading and time for creative thought increasingly rare.

Xu: Looking back at the Guoyu Shushu itself, have there been any changes in these eight years? Is the situation now different from the very beginning?

**Fu:** The positioning of the Guoyu Shushu itself has not changed much. It is still centered on imagination, not on memorizing facts, and is committed to broadening each child's horizons, inspiring their imagination, cultivating their aesthetic sense, and enhancing their capacity for thought, that is, the ability to think independently. The main course I designed is "Dialogue with the World." Although it uses mother-tongue education as a fulcrum, it is not a language class in the usual sense, but a humanities class. I summarize the educational experiment of the Guoyu Shushu with the mnemonic "three-hundred-thousand-ten thousand": that is, over three years, to give the children one hundred "Dialogue with the World" classes, to introduce to them one thousand authors from China and abroad throughout the ages, and through traveling ten thousand *li*, to weave a humanistic map of their own in their hearts. Our classes do not get bogged down in words and sentences, nor do they fixate on a certain set of facts. Instead, we start from aesthetics and imagination to help children form their own ways of thinking and expression, not just an accumulation of knowledge.

If you ask what is different now from the beginning, the main change is in the children themselves; the time they can control has become less and less. Most of the first children who came to the Guoyu Shushu were in the fifth grade of primary school. They attended the "young boys' class" for three years and continued for another three and a half years in the "youth class." The second and third batches of children were also able to stay at the Guoyu Shushu for five years. The children who came later faced increasing academic pressure and internal competition at school. After entering junior high, it became very difficult for them to find time, and extra-curricular reading was almost completely abandoned. This change has become more obvious year by year. This is the rigid macro-environment that very few families can resist, and the children can only become its victims. In other words, the educational arms race has become more intense than in the past, and has even begun to extend down to the primary school level.

都不隔,东西方文明之间他能找到精神上的安顿,这和他在中国书塾所受的熏陶有很大的关系。从2017年10月他来中国书塾之初,我就一直强调要出入于古典与现代、东方与西方之间,他对但丁、莎士比亚、歌德、雨果、陀思妥耶夫斯基、斯宾诺莎、泰戈尔、胡适、鲁迅、爱默生、川端康成、爱因斯坦这些人的作品都不陌生,在他生命中早已有一种世界性的因素。

《少年书简》的另一位作者——张禾,目前还要应付高考,他有志于研究历史,对西南联大有特别的情结,他的理解力很好,往往能从别人看不到的地方看出问题来。第二批学生中,陈天悦目前就读于杭二中高一,叶悠然就读于苍南中学高一,袁子焯就读于华东师大附属中学,正常情况下他们将在两年后升入大学。他们离开中国书塾时都已能写出像样的文章。我有时候看他们在自办的《霞尖》小刊上的文章,有文采、有趣味,也有一定深度,繁重的课业压力没有压垮他们。我不知道他们将来能走多远,飞多高,我只是相信,他们童年、少年时奠定的人文底色总是会发生影响的。

Xu: So for you personally, have your state of mind and awareness of the problems changed?

**Fu:** My personal state of mind hasn't changed particularly. My original intention was never to turn the tide; I had no grand ideals, but rather to find another possibility for mother-tongue education or humanities education. Today, this small educational experiment is still ongoing, and my exploration and reflection in practice are also continuing.

Xu: I'm very curious about what the children from the first and second batches of the Guoyu Shushu are doing now. Perhaps from them, we can see more of the Shushu's potential.

**Fu:** Most of the children from the first batch are taking the *gaokao* this year and are in the final preparation stage. A very small number have already entered university. Fu Runshi was admitted to the junior class of Xi'an

Jiaotong University before graduating from junior high, so although he was accepted by Hangzhou No. 2 High School, he relinquished his spot in the latter. After a year of preparatory study at Xi'an Jiaotong University and another year in the physics department, he was admitted to the physics department at Stony Brook University in New York and has been studying there for a year. While studying physics, he has not given up on extensive reading in the humanities; recently, he has taken a liking to Susan Sontag. In the early spring of last year, his collection of correspondence with his classmate Zhang He, *A Youth's Letters*, was published in Tokyo. What surprised many friends was not which books they read, but the depth and breadth of their thinking and the way they expressed their ideas. Fu Runshi chose physics as his major, but he has a very good foundation in humanities, switching freely between physics formulas and novels, poetry, and philosophical works. After arriving in the United States, he felt no sense of disconnect at all; he could find a spiritual anchor between Eastern and Western civilizations, which has a lot to do with the cultivation he received at the Guoyu Shushu. From the very beginning when he came to the Guoyu Shushu in October 2017, I have always emphasized the need to move between the classical and the modern, the East and the West. He is no stranger to the works of Dante, Shakespeare, Goethe, Hugo, Dostoevsky, Spinoza, Tagore, Hu Shih, Lu Xun, Emerson, Kawabata Yasunari, and Einstein. His life has long been marked by a global perspective.

The other author of *A Youth's Letters*—Zhang He—is still preparing for the *gaokao*. He aspires to study history and has a special affinity for the National Southwestern Associated University. His ability to grasp new ideas is excellent, and he can often see problems from perspectives that others miss. Among the second batch of students, Chen Tianyue is currently in the first year of high school at Hangzhou No. 2 High School, Ye Youran is in the first year at Cangnan High School, and Yuan Zixuan is at the high school affiliated with East China Normal University. If all goes well, they will enter university in two years. When they left the Guoyu Shushu, they could all write respectable articles. I sometimes read their articles in the small journal *Xiaguan*, which they run themselves. They are well-written, interesting, and have a certain depth. The heavy academic pressure has not crushed them. I don't know how far they will go or how high they will fly in the future. I just believe that the foundation of humanities education laid in their childhood and youth will always have an impact.

二、“儿童母语教育”只是支点，目的指向“人”

徐：刚才您也谈到，您在探索和实践的是强调想象力和思想力的“母语教育”，这是国语书塾一开始创办时就已有的理念。这种母语教育，在一个人的教育史、成长史中的角色和意义是什么？

**傅：**我所说的“儿童母语教育”其实只是个支点，目的是指向人，是探寻人之为人的价值，也就是人文价值。毫无疑问，一个人正是从母语开始，学习与世界对话。考虑到孩子们的接受能力，我的切入点是审美，因为一个人的审美力是精神成人的第一步。我喜欢席勒的一句话：“审美教育是人达到精神解放和人性完善的必需条件。”而母语是审美教育的起点，一个人在童年、少年时代接触到什么样的母语，就拥有一个什么样的审美起点。我强调从审美开始，因为相信儿童的世界是个图绘的世界，他们是从形象开始认识世界的，但终究要从形象走向观念。母语也是每个人的思想起点。一位德国诗人说：“语词破碎处，万物不复存。”捷克的哈维尔也说，言语是万物之始。言语是一个奇迹，因为它我们才成为人类。我和孩子们一起与世界对话——决不是不着边际的、空对空的对话，而是有一个实实在在的支点。这个支点就是我们的母语，以母语为支点，在与世界对话的过程中不断提升认知能力、理解能力、表达能力。这种能力进入一个人的生命，他就拥有了一个不可摧毁的支点。

徐：在您看来，“教育”的根本定义是什么？

**傅：**恐怕迄今还没有一个关于“教育”的根本定义，但古今中西的先哲对于“教育”有过许多不同的表述。教育是有限的人在有限的时间中求问确定不变之价值的管道，通过教育，让人更有可能超越自身的生物性限制，从而获得对人和人所在的这个世界更确切和实在的理解。简而言之，教育只是要让每个人成为“人中之人”，确认“人之为人”的价值。教育的本质是自由，通过教育获得生命的自我解放。

徐：那么，什么是“好”的、“繁盛的”人生？教育如何帮助通向这样的人生？

**傅：**我想起美国哲学家威尔·杜兰特的说法，他认为教育的三个目标，通过健康、性格、智慧和科技控制生活；通过友谊、自然、文学和艺术来享受生活；通过历史、科学、宗教和哲学理解生活。教育包含了两个过程，这两个过

II. “Children’s Mother-Tongue Education” is Just the Fulcrum; the Goal is the “Person”

Xu: You just mentioned that what you are exploring and practicing is a “mother-tongue education” that emphasizes imagination and the power of thought. This was a concept you had when you first started the Guoyu Shushu. What is the role and significance of this kind of mother-tongue education in a person’s educational and growth history?

**Fu:** The “children’s mother-tongue education” I have referred to is actually just a fulcrum. The goal is the person, the exploration of the value of being human, that is, humanistic value. Without a doubt, a person begins to learn to dialogue with the world through their mother tongue. Considering the receptive capacity of children, my entry point is aesthetics, because a person’s aesthetic sense is the first step towards spiritual adulthood. As Schiller said: “Aesthetic education is a necessary condition for man to achieve spiritual freedom and human perfection.” And the mother tongue is the starting point of aesthetic education. The kind of mother tongue a person is exposed to in their childhood and youth determines their aesthetic starting point. I emphasize starting with aesthetics because I believe that a child’s world is a world of pictures; they begin to understand the world through images, but must eventually move from images to concepts. The mother tongue is also the starting point of everyone’s thought life. A German poet once said, “Where words break, there all things cease to be.” The Czech intellectual Václav Havel also said that language is the beginning of all things. Language is a miracle; because of it, we become human. I engage in a dialogue with the world together with the children—by no means a vague, empty dialogue, but one with a solid fulcrum. This fulcrum is our mother tongue. With the mother tongue as the fulcrum, we continuously enhance our ability to think, comprehend, and express ourselves in the process of dialoguing with the world. Once a person gains this ability, he possesses an indestructible fulcrum.

Xu: In your view, what is the fundamental definition of “education”?

**Fu:** I’m afraid there is no fundamental definition of “education” to date, but the ancient and modern sages of both the East and the West have described “education” in many different ways. Education is the channel through which finite human beings, in their limited time on earth, inquire into certain and unchanging values. Through education, it becomes more possible for a person to transcend their own biological limitations and thus

程相辅相成。首先,在一个过程中,人类向成长中的个体传递了代代积累的丰富遗产,包括知识、技艺、道德和艺术;在另外一个过程中,个体将这些遗赠用来发展其自身的能力、丰富生活。教育是使生活日臻完善的过程,也就是用人类的遗产充实个人。如果这一传递和吸收的重要过程被中断半个世纪,那么文明就将消亡,我们的子孙将比野蛮人还要原始。我很喜欢威尔·杜兰特的这些说法。教育说到底就是帮助人更好地控制生活、享受生活、理解生活、丰富生活,也就是帮助人走向“好”的、“繁盛的”人生。

徐:但是对于没有受过好教育的人,是否也有其他可能性?

傅:没有机会接受这样的教育,也并不意味着没有机会享有这样的人生。每个生命的经历不同、遭遇不同,只要有机会进入人类文明的链条中,接受这样文明的遗赠,并以此来理解生活、丰富生活,也不是不可能的,只是要付出更大的努力,走更艰难的道路。

徐:《汉语学志》的编辑们还很关心一个问题,就是对于教育者自身来说,如何知道自己走在“正确”的路上?又如何知道我们应该知道却不知道的东西?

傅:一个教育者如何确定自己是否走在正确的路上,取决于对文明史的理解和把握,因为每一个人都是活在文明史的脉络中的,而不是孤零零地、前无古人地活着的。所谓“正确”这个词,如果不加限定也容易产生歧义,所以我不大愿意使用这个词。我只知道,从古希腊、印度、中国先秦以来,人类文明史已确立的基本价值。二十世纪初留学美国的梅光迪说过一句话:“我们必须理解并拥有通过时间考验的一切真、善、美的东西。”我特别欣赏,这是和进化论不一样的看法,人类自有一些更为恒久的不变价值,经受了时间的考验,东西方在不同背景下各自形成却不约而同的基本价值。教育者不是高高在上、俯视人间的存在,只是作为文明人类的一分子,在从事平凡而神奇的教育工作。在更严格的意义上说,老师与学生不是双方,而是站在一起与自然、与人、与世界对话。换言之,师生是站在一个方向,面对古今中外的作者们。作为老师,也不是以自己的知识总量来面对孩子,而是以自己的生命和孩子的生命对接,教育的过程也是生命与生命相遇的过程。从知识上说,无论到什么时候,老师总是有限的,其实不存在“我们应该知道却不知道”的问题,从始至终,我们应该都知道自己的有限,但这种知识上的有限并不妨碍老师将孩子带到人类文明的遗赠面前,刚才我说过师生站是同

obtain a more certain and real understanding of people and the world they inhabit. In short, education is simply to help everyone become “a person among people,” to affirm the value of “being human.” The essence of education is freedom, to achieve the self-liberation of life through education.

Xu: So, what is a “good,” “flourishing” life? How does education help lead to such a life?

**Fu:** I am reminded of the American philosopher Will Durant’s words. He believed that the three goals of education are: to control life through health, character, wisdom, and technology; to enjoy life through friendship, nature, literature, and art; and to understand life through history, science, religion, and philosophy. Education involves two processes, and these two processes are complementary. In one process, humanity passes on a rich heritage accumulated over generations to the growing individual, including knowledge, skills, morality, and art. In the other process, the individual uses this legacy to develop their own abilities and enrich their life. Education is the process of making life more perfect day by day, that is, enriching the individual with the heritage of humanity. If this important process of transmission and absorption is interrupted for half a century, then civilization will perish, and our children and grandchildren will be more primitive than barbarians. I am very fond of these ideas from Will Durant. Education, in the end, is about helping people to better control, enjoy, understand, and enrich life, which is to say, helping people move towards a “good,” “flourishing” life.

Xu: But for those who have not received a good education, are there other possibilities?

**Fu:** Not having the opportunity to receive such an education does not mean there is no opportunity to enjoy such a life. Every person’s life experience and encounters are different. As long as there is an opportunity to enter the chain of human civilization, to receive this civilizational legacy, and to use it to understand and enrich life, it is not impossible. It just requires greater effort and a more difficult path.

Xu: The editors of *Chinese Language Journal* are also very concerned about a certain question: for educators themselves, how do they know they are on the “right” path? And how do we know what we ought to know but do not know?

**Fu:** How an educator determines whether they are on the right path depends on their understanding and grasp of the history of civilization, because every person lives within the context of the history of civilization, not as an isolated being without precedent. The word “right,” if not qualified,

一方的,师生也是同行者。我曾经对人类的有限十分沮丧,直到有一天读到布罗茨基的一句话,才豁然开朗——“无限只能通过有限来领会。”

### 三、国语书塾的教材、导师、学习方式

徐:我想更深入国语书塾的一些细节。比如,在教材内容选择、教课方式、学生的学习方式上,如何体现你的教育理念?曾经有过怎样的考虑和调整?

**傅:**我设计的“与世界对话”一百课,目前已公开出版的有四辑十六课,第五辑的五课也已交给出版社,也就是二十一课成书了,一课一本小册子,每册包括课堂实录、阅读文本和孩子习作三个部分。我自编的“阅读文本”大约一、两百万字,就是我们的教材内容,上课的方式就是师生问对,不仅是师生之间的对话,也是师生一起与古今中外的作者们对话,课堂是对话,也是织网,围绕着一个主题,织出一张审美的网、想象的网、思想的网,孩子们的学习方式除了上课时提出问题、回答问题、做笔记,更多的时间其实是在课外阅读,除了每一课一两万字的阅读文本,还有指定的古诗文背诵篇目和推荐的选读书目。所以,一个孩子要进入状态,真正完成我构想的学习目标,主要依靠的是课外,如果课外投入的时间、精力不够,光是靠课堂,效果就会大打折扣。

徐:已过这些年,孩子们投入得怎么样?

**傅:**过去的七八年,我看到成长得好的孩子都是在课外有大量的投入。我的教育理念之一是让孩子们像一棵树一样——向下扎根,向上生长,这不能只靠课堂上有限的这一点时间。所以,我不断地强调“读”出来、“背”出来、“写”出来、“走”出来、“演”出来,都是想要激发他们的热情,唤醒他们内心的力量,我一次次在孩子们的身上看到了这种潜藏的力量,一旦被唤醒,他们就像换了一个人似的。戏剧表演、线下游学常常就是激发他们的时刻,因为平时我和他们在一起的时间太短了。许多孩子一开始接触戏剧,很害羞、胆怯,一旦进入角色,就会放开。在竞争角色的过程中,他们背后似乎有一种强大的推动力,让他们学会大胆地表达,把握人物的性格,也是绽放自己的个性。

can easily lead to ambiguity, so I am not very willing to use it. I only know that since the times of ancient Greece, India, and pre-Qin China, the history of human civilization has established certain fundamental values. Mei Guangdi, who studied in the United States in the early twentieth century, once said, “We must understand and possess all things true, good, and beautiful that have stood the test of time.” I particularly admire this. This is a different view from evolutionism; humanity does possess more deeply enduring, unchanging values that have stood the test of time, fundamental values that were formed independently in different contexts in the East and West but are coincidentally similar. An educator is not a being who looks down on the world from on high, but is just a member of civilized humanity engaged in the ordinary yet magical work of education. In a stricter sense, the teacher and the student are not two opposing sides, but stand together to dialogue with nature, with people, and with the world. In other words, the teacher and the student stand in the same direction, facing the authors of ancient and modern times, from China and abroad. As a teacher, one does not face the child with the total sum of one’s own knowledge, but connects one’s own life with the child’s life. The process of education is also a process of life meeting life. In terms of knowledge, no matter when, the teacher is always limited. In fact, the problem of “what we ought to know but do not know” does not exist. From beginning to end, we should all know our own limitations. But this limitation in knowledge does not prevent the teacher from bringing the child before the legacy of human civilization. As I said just now, the teacher and student stand on the same side; they are also fellow travelers. I was once very frustrated by human limitations, until one day I read a sentence by Brodsky and was suddenly enlightened — “Infinity can only be comprehended through the finite.”

### III. The Materials, Tutors, and Learning Methods of the Guoyu Shushu

Xu: I’d like to delve deeper into some of the details of the Guoyu Shushu. For example, in the selection of teaching materials, teaching methods, and the students’ learning methods, how are your educational philosophies reflected? What considerations and adjustments have you made?

**Fu:** Of the one hundred “Dialogue with the World” lessons I designed, four series of sixteen lessons have been published so far. The five lessons of

徐：记得您曾说过读书就要直接读第一流的汉语作品，而不是幼稚化、经过改编后的儿童读物。过程中效果如何？有没有不适应的孩子？

傅：我说要读第一流的作品，不限于母语的作品，也包括东西方其他民族、其他语言的作品，只要翻译成了我们的母语，都要早早地接触，这是开视野，培养阅读口味，也是人的世界化过程。我推荐的书目就考虑到这种因素，一个孩子早一点接触到荷马史诗、莎士比亚的戏剧，当然还有中国的古典作品和二十世纪最好的白话作品，有奇妙的效果。我一直说，一个人在童年、少年时代与什么样的书相遇，对他的一生将产生难以估量的影响。对许多孩子来说，浅薄、低幼化的儿童读物可能更有阅读快感，更有诱惑力，而有深度的好作品不一定能吸引他们，我也碰到过不少不适应的孩子，随着年龄增长，才慢慢抛弃低幼读物，开始进入真正像样的阅读状态，而有的孩子很快就被好书抓住，比如一个四年级的孩子第一次读梭罗的《瓦尔登湖》，就一口气能读下去。

徐：我还对国语书塾孩子们的戏剧表演，印象非常深刻，也见过其他几位导师，比如文学导师、哲学导师，您如何考虑和选择这些导师？

傅：国语书塾聘请过一些导师，我选择导师的标准当然是有学识、有成就，同时热爱孩子，愿意和孩子站在一起的朋友。先后给孩子们上过课的有南京大学的景凯旋教授，他是研究古典文学的专家，也是翻译和研究东欧文学、思想的学者，给孩子们开过古诗欣赏和东欧文学课；杭州师范大学的黄岳杰教授一辈子致力于在大学生中推广戏剧教育，创办的“流霞剧社”影响深远，被誉为“校园莎士比亚”，是学生心目中的“大胡子老黄”。他在国语书塾给孩子们开过多次的戏剧课和朗诵课，排练过《木兰诗》、梅特林克的《青鸟》节选、莎士比亚的《威尼斯商人》、埃斯库罗斯的《被缚的普罗米修斯》、沙叶新的《耶稣·孔子·披头士列侬》、李静的《大先生》、张晓风的《武陵人》等，还有他给孩子们开的朗诵课，包括《哈姆雷特》《浮士德》《桃花扇》《红楼梦》《楚辞》等。他的生命激情感染了很多孩子。

还有中国美术学院的闻中教授，致力于印度哲学的研究，也翻译过泰戈尔的诗集，他在国语书塾给孩子们开过中英文对读课，以泰戈尔的《飞鸟集》为例，也开过但丁的课。王小庆是一位英语教育的专家，编过一套非常好的英语读本，给孩子们开过一期英文朗诵课。这些导师出现国语书塾

the fifth series have also been submitted to the publisher, meaning twenty-one lessons are now in book form. Each lesson is a small booklet, and each booklet includes a transcript of the class, the reading texts, and the children's writings. The "reading texts" I compiled myself, about one to two million characters, are our teaching materials. The way we have class is through dialogue between teacher and students, and not only that, but all of us together dialoguing with the authors of ancient and modern times, from China and abroad. The classroom is a dialogue, and it is also a weaving of a web. Centered around a theme, we weave a web of aesthetics, a web of imagination, a web of thought. Besides asking and answering questions and taking notes in class, children learn mostly through extra-curricular reading. In addition to the ten to twenty thousand characters of reading texts for each lesson, there are also designated classical Chinese texts to memorize and recommended reading lists. So, for a child to get into the swing of things and truly achieve the learning goals I envision, it mainly relies on their work outside of class. If they cannot invest sufficient time and energy outside of class, what they learn in the classroom will have much less of an impact.

Xu: After all these years, how have the children invested themselves?

**Fu:** Over the past seven or eight years, I have seen that the children who have grown well are all those who have invested a great deal outside of class. One of my educational philosophies is to let the children be like a tree—rooting downwards and growing upwards. This cannot be achieved solely through their limited time in the classroom. Therefore, I constantly emphasize "reading it out," "memorizing it out," "writing it out," "walking it out," and "acting it out." All these are to stimulate their passion and awaken their inner strength. I have seen this hidden power in the children time and again. Once awakened, they are like completely different people. Drama performances and offline study tours are often the moments that inspire them, because the time I spend with them is usually too short. Many children are very shy and timid when they first encounter drama. Once they get into character, they let their inhibitions go. In the process of auditioning for roles, there seems to be a powerful driving force behind them, making them learn to express themselves boldly and grasp the character's personality, which is also a blossoming of their own individuality.

Xu: I remember you once said that one should read the great classic Chinese works directly, rather than the simplified versions adapted for children. How did that work

孩子的面前，让他们从小就有机会接触到这样的先生，在他们的生命中布下的线索，将来会发挥什么样的作用是今天还看不到的，但我相信“平常中的惊奇”。

徐：对于国语书塾的教育实践，看起来家长好像需要完全认同和投入才能行得通？这是否会相对限制国语书塾的“规模”？

**傅：**国语书塾从来都不追求规模，因为“手工作坊”，不是“工业化流水线”，不可能复制，所以只能是个小型、甚至是微型的实验。我从一开始就想，这只是我作为一个个体生命亲身接触这个时代的儿童，我的生命与他们的生命相连接，我能不能真正影响他们还要取决于许多因素。家长如果完全认同并投入虽不是决定性的条件，因为部分认同、部分投入，也可能送孩子跟我一起与世界对话，但认同与投入不足，注定了孩子的收获也不足。包括前面提到的付润石、张禾、陈天悦、叶悠然、袁子煊，还有赵馨悦、刘艺婷、金恬欣、冯彦臻等，都是因为家长的高度认同，孩子们才在精神上长出了日渐坚硬的翅膀，开始在人类文明史的天空下练习飞翔。

out? Were there any children who couldn't adapt?

**Fu:** I said one should read great works, not limited to works in the mother tongue, but also including works from other peoples and languages of the East and West. As long as they are translated into our mother tongue, they should be encountered early on. This is to broaden their horizons, cultivate their literary tastes, and develop a global perspective. The reading lists I recommend take this factor into account. A child who encounters the Homeric epics, Shakespeare's plays, and of course, Chinese classical works and the best vernacular works of the twentieth century early on will experience something truly special. I have always said that the books a person encounters in their childhood and youth will have an immeasurable impact on their entire life. For many children, shallow, juvenile children's books may be more pleasurable to read and more tempting, while good works with depth may not necessarily attract them. I have also encountered many children who could not adapt. As they grow older, they slowly abandon

juvenile books and mature into discerning readers. And some children are quickly captivated by good books. For example, a fourth-grade child read Thoreau's *Walden* for the first time and could read it in one go.

Xu: I was also very impressed by the drama performances of the Guoyu Shushu children. I've also met several other tutors, such as the literature tutor and the philosophy tutor. How do you consider and choose these tutors?

**Fu:** The Guoyu Shushu has hired several tutors. My standard for choosing tutors is, of course, that they are knowledgeable and accomplished, and at the same time, love children and are willing to stand alongside children. Those who have taught the children include Professor Jing Kaixuan from Nanjing University, who is an expert in classical literature and a scholar who translates and studies Eastern European literature and thought. He has taught classes on classical poetry appreciation and Eastern European literature for the children. Professor Huang Yuejie from Hangzhou Normal University has dedicated his life to promoting drama education among university students. The "Liuxia Drama Society" he founded has had a profound impact and he is known as the "campus Shakespeare," the "bearded old Huang" in the eyes of his students. He has taught many drama and recitation classes for the children at the Guoyu Shushu, rehearsing *The Ballad of Mulan*, excerpts from Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird*, Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*, Aeschylus's *Prometheus Bound*, Sha Yexin's *Jesus*, *Confucius*, *John Lennon*, Li Jing's *The Great Master*, and Zhang Xiaofeng's *The Man of Wuling*. He has also taught recitation classes for the children, including works from *Hamlet*, *Faust*, *The Peach Blossom Fan*, *Dream of the Red Chamber*, and *The Songs of Chu*. His passion for life has inspired many children.

There is also Professor Wen Zhong from the China Academy of Art, who is dedicated to the study of Indian philosophy and has translated Tagore's poetry collections. He has taught a Chinese-English bilingual reading class for the children at the Guoyu Shushu, using Tagore's *Stray Birds* as course material, and has also taught a class on Dante. Wang Xiaoqing is an expert in English education and has compiled a very good set of English readers. She has taught an English recitation class for the children. The involvement of all these tutors has given the children of the Guoyu Shushu the opportunity to meet such accomplished teachers from a young age. The threads they lay in their lives, what kind of role they will play in the future, is something we cannot see today, but I believe in the "surprise in the ordinary."

Xu: For the educational practice of the Guoyu Shushu, it seems that parents need to be fully aligned and invested for it to work. Does this relatively limit the “scale” of the Guoyu Shushu?

**Fu:** The Guoyu Shushu has never pursued scale, because it is a “hand-made workshop,” not an “industrial assembly line.” It cannot be replicated, so it can only be a small, or even micro, experiment. From the very beginning, I thought, this is just me and my one life, personally trying to help the children of this era. My life is connected to their lives. Whether I can truly influence them depends on many factors. Although it is not a deci-

sive condition for parents to be fully aligned and invested—because with partial alignment and partial investment, they may also send their children to dialogue with the world with me—insufficient agreement and investment will inevitably lead to lackluster fruit for their children. This includes the aforementioned Fu Runshi, Zhang He, Chen Tianyue, Ye Youran, and Yuan Zixuan, as well as Zhao Xinyue, Liu Yiting, Jin Tianxin, Feng Yanzhen, and others. It is because of the high degree of parental alignment that the children have grown increasingly strong wings in their spirits and have begun to take flight under the sky of human civilization's history.

四、当代中国教育的“药方”：最好的教育自救之路，就是平衡的经典阅读

徐：国语书塾的实践方案，和其他同样在进行教育实验的创新教育、学校教育的方案，有什么不同？

**傅：**其实，从一开始国语书塾就没有什么同类的教育方案，至少迄今我没有发现，所以也无法谈论什么不同。因为国语书塾不是一个学校，也不是一个机构，而是一个“想象的共同体”，“是孩子们关于国语书塾的所有记忆共同组成的”。国语书塾的实践方案带有更多的精神属性，我在国语书塾六周年时写过这样一段话：“国语书塾其实是个桃花源，只是在地上插了几枝桃花而已，不是一个实体，不是学校，也不是机构，是我个人五十岁之后和孩子们的生命连接，是在精神空间中的连接，通过母语的纽带，以古今中外的经典文本为媒介建立起来的，是像云一样抓不住，却又实实在在存在于天地之间的一个精神家园。我在孩子们心中播下母语的种子，用心血去浇灌，却要靠他们自身渐渐长成不同的样子，是不是参天大树，会不会果实累累，取决于很多的因素，外在的和内在的。我只是让他们相聚在一个‘想象的共同体’或‘想象的共和国’中，彼此碰撞，彼此对话，不仅是与看得见的今人，也与看不见的古人，有传世的文本在，文明的活水就在汨汨流淌。一个个已逝的生命也都活在文明史中。”

徐：是的，国语书塾小而精，但这个“想象的共同体”能容纳的孩子毕竟有限，有没有适合更多家长参考的一些实用行动方案？

**傅：**多年前我曾经说过：一个人能走多远，能看见一个多辽阔的世界，归根到底还是取决于从童年、少年到青年一路读过的课外书的数量与质量，光是考分高、读名校，没读过什么像样的书，照样只能看见眼前一点小小得失。只有读书才能摆脱不可抗拒的命运加在你头上的一切，赢得一个更大的天空。可以从更有审美性的阅读开始。一个读过荷马史诗、歌德、泰戈尔、托尔斯泰、卡夫卡、布罗茨基……，读过柏拉图、亚里士多德、康德、尼采、罗素……，读过伽利略、牛顿、爱因斯坦……的人，心灵上享有更大的自由。最好的教育自救之路，就是平衡的经典阅读，是每个家庭可以进行的亲子共读，这是风险最小、代价最轻的一条道路。与单一化的刷题、拼分数相比，好的阅读才是真正将一个人与整个人类文明史联系在一起的方式。

#### IV. The “Prescription” for Contemporary Chinese Education: The Best Path to Educational Self-Help is Balanced Reading of the Classics

Xu: How does the practical approach of the Guoyu Shushu differ from other innovative educational experiments and school education programs?

**Fu:** Actually, from the very beginning, there have been no comparable educational programs to the Guoyu Shushu, at least none that I have discovered so far, so it’s impossible to talk about any differences— because the Guoyu Shushu is not a school or an institution, but an “imagined community,” “composed of all the children’s memories of the Guoyu Shushu.” The practical approach of the Guoyu Shushu leans more heavily on spiritual development. I wrote this on the sixth anniversary of the Guoyu Shushu: “The Guoyu Shushu is actually a Peach Blossom Spring, just with a few peach branches planted in the ground. It is not a physical entity, not a school, not an institution. It is the connection of my life with the children’s lives after I turned fifty, a connection in a spiritual space, established through the bond of the mother tongue, with classic texts from ancient and modern times, from China and abroad, as the medium. It is like a cloud that cannot be grasped, yet it is a spiritual home that truly exists between heaven and earth. I sow the seeds of the mother tongue in the children’s hearts and water them with my heart’s blood, but it is up to them to gradually grow into different forms. Whether they become towering trees, whether they will be fruitful, depends on many factors, both external and internal. I merely bring them together in an ‘imagined community’ or an ‘imagined republic,’ where they collide with each other, dialogue with each other, not only with the visible people of today but also with the invisible people of the past. As long as the timeless texts exist, the living water of civilization flows. One by one, the lives of the long departed also live on in the history of civilization.”

Xu: Yes, the Guoyu Shushu is small and focused, but the number of children this “imagined community” can accommodate is after all limited. Are there any practical action plans that more parents can refer to?

**Fu:** Many years ago, I once said: how far a person can go, how vast a world they can see, ultimately depends on the quantity and quality of the extracurricular books they read from childhood and youth to young adulthood. Only having high test scores and attending a famous university, but not having read any decent books, one’s vision will be limited to the small gains and losses right in front of them. Only by reading can one escape all that is imposed on

徐:目前也有一些教育NGO在实践亲子共读、经典母语阅读等,怎么看待这些不同的教育方案?

**傅:**其他在教育领域不同的探索都各有自己的侧重面,各有自己的方向,具体的个案我关注的不够,也很难做出确切而客观的评价。我一向认为各种探索本身就是有意义的,至少来自民间的这些微小努力,可以拓展出不同的可能性。一个开放的、多元的,而不是封闭的、单一的教育生态,是多么令人期待。

徐:书塾主要在周末和假期上课,有没有想过采用更彻底的在家教育形式?

**傅:**由于客观条件的限制,国语书塾还没有考虑过全日制的在家教育形式。全日制所需要的那些条件,在今天的现实中都很难解决。我所知道的“在家教育实践”也没有比较好的范例。

徐:这些现实因素的限制,是不是也是中国的私学共同面临的关键问题?

**傅:**私立学校在中国今天的制度设计中,事实上也难有什么作为,在办学模式、教学内容、评价方式上都不可能拥有多少独立性。在这种大环境下,谈论私学存在的意义为时尚早。“私学”要有制度保障,才有真正自由的办学空间,探索自己的办学方向,比如民国时代的南开、南洋这些私立学校,都是那个时代的产物。

徐:是的,时代环境不一样。我们这个时代有一个新变量,就是人工智能的迅速发展,并且开始影响到了应试教育。您如何看待它对教育产生的任何影响?或者说,人工智能是否带来了更多可能性?

**傅:**在工具层面上,人工智能的发展会对教育领域产生一些影响,甚至很大的影响。但我相信教育是围绕着人,以人为中心,是为了人的生活,人的个性、情感、思想之丰富性、复杂性,而人工智能只是人发明的工具,无论多么发达,都代替不了人自身。“我思故我在”,“我爱故我在”,“我想象故我在”,人工智能归根结底只能是工具。

you by an irresistible fate and reach a larger horizon. One can start with more aesthetic reading. A person who has read the Homeric epics, Goethe, Tagore, Tolstoy, Kafka, Brodsky... who has read Plato, Aristotle, Kant, Nietzsche, Russell... who has read Galileo, Newton, Einstein... enjoys greater freedom of the soul. The best path to educational self-help is balanced reading of the classics. It is parent-child co-reading that every family can carry out. This is the path with the least risk and the lightest cost. Compared to monotonous test-drilling and fighting for high scores, good reading is the way to truly connect a person with the entire history of human civilization.

Xu: There are currently some educational NGOs that are also practicing parent-child co-reading, classic mother-tongue reading, etc. How do you view these different educational programs?

**Fu:** Other different explorations in the field of education each have their own emphasis and direction. I have not paid enough attention to specific cases, so it is difficult to make an accurate and objective evaluation. I have always believed that exploring different paths is meaningful in itself. At the very least, these small efforts from the private sector can open up different possibilities. An open, diverse, rather than closed, monolithic educational ecosystem is something to look forward to.

Xu: The Shushu mainly holds classes on weekends and holidays. Have you ever considered adopting a more thorough form of homeschooling?

**Fu:** Due to practical limitations, the Guoyu Shushu has not yet considered a full-time homeschooling format. The conditions required for full-time education are very difficult to solve in today's reality. There is also a lack of good models among the "homeschooling practices" I know of.

Xu: Are the limitations of these real-world factors also the key problem that private schools in China collectively face?

**Fu:** In today's institutional design in China, private schools, in fact, can hardly achieve much. They cannot have much independence in their operating models, teaching content, or evaluation methods. In this macro-environment, it is too early to talk about the significance of the existence of private schools. "Private schools" must have institutional guarantees to have a truly free space to operate and explore their own educational directions, such as the private schools of the Republican era like Nankai and Nanyang, which were products of that time period.

徐：您长期研究民国史、近代教育史，在开始办学时，心目中有没有对标历史上的学堂？记得您提过白马湖的春晖中学？还是说，您是在探索一个全新的无人之境？

**傅：**数十年来，我关注过晚清以来的教育史，尤其是民国的教育，我寻找“童子六七人”，开始国语书塾的尝试时，激励过我的有印度的泰戈尔、日本的福泽谕吉、俄国的托尔斯泰这些个案，他们都有办学的经历，但从来没有想过跟他们比较，因为我和他们所处的环境截然不同，他们具备的大部分条件我都不具备。我编过《过去的中学》《过去的小学》等书，也写过《美的相遇》《新学记：中国现代教育起源八讲》等书，熟悉在民国的中小学，包括天津南开中学、上海南洋中学、上虞白马湖畔的春晖中学的办学经验都是值得后人汲取的宝贵资源。但我从一开始就没有想过要模仿民国的某个学堂，不仅国语书塾不是一个学校，而且时代完全不同，所以我探索的这条路只是个人性的，是我个人带着孩子们一起读书、行走，与世界对话。

徐：是的，时代完全不同了。但是，民国读书人的思考方式，以及他们的办学方式，在你的教学内容、教学方式上有没有什么影响？比如，我看到您也大量采用民国时期的白话文学。

**傅：**我长期关注、研究民国史，民国教育在不知不觉中影响了我，我的“与世界对话”课程并不限于白话文，文言文和古典诗词也占有相当的比重。但我不认同民国以来在母语教育中采取单篇范文为主的范式，而是想另辟新路。在最近出版的新书《寻找母语教育的另一种可能》序言中，我写过这样一番话：

“我试图在叶圣陶、夏丏尊、朱自清等先生在民国践行并确立的母语教育范式之外，寻找并践行另外一条路径。

在文言转向白话的时代转型中，他们为近现代中国的母语教育摸索出了一条切实可行的道路，他们本身的母语根底和付出的努力，他们从一线的教育实践到教科书、课外辅导读物的编写，都已成为教育史上难以逾越的典范，其价值已被时间所证明。但是，随着时光的推移，世事的变迁，如何在一个变化了的时代重新找到更好地开启孩子心灵的路径，使他们真正习得纯

Xu: Yes, the current era is completely different. Our era has a new variable, which is the rapid development of artificial intelligence, and it has begun to affect exam-oriented education. How do you view its impact on education? Or rather, has artificial intelligence brought about more possibilities?

**Fu:** At the tool level, the development of artificial intelligence will have some impact, even a great impact, on the field of education. But I believe that education is centered around people, for the sake of people's lives, and the richness and complexity of human personality, emotions, and thoughts. Artificial intelligence is just a tool invented by humans. No matter how advanced it becomes, it cannot replace humans themselves. "I think, therefore I am," "I love, therefore I am," "I imagine, therefore I am." Artificial intelligence, at the end of the day, can only be a tool.

V. Looking Back on Modern Chinese Educational History: Experience, Problems, and Reflections

Xu: You have long studied the history of the Republic of China and modern educational history. When you started your school, did you have any historical schools in mind as a benchmark? I remember you mentioned Chunhui Middle School by Baimahu? Or were you exploring completely new, uncharted territory?

**Fu:** For decades, I have paid attention to the history of education since the late Qing Dynasty, especially in the Republican era. When I was looking for "six or seven young boys" and began the experiment of the Guoyu Shushu, what inspired me were the cases of Tagore in India, Fukuzawa Yukichi in Japan, and Tolstoy in Russia. They all had experience in running schools, but I never thought of comparing myself to them, because the environment I am in is completely different, and most of the conditions they had, I do not have. I have edited books like *Middle Schools of the Past and Primary Schools of the Past*, and have also written books like *An Encounter with Beauty* and *A New Record of Learning: Eight Lectures on the Origins of Modern Chinese Education*. I am familiar with the valuable resources for later generations to draw upon from the experience of running middle and primary schools in the Republican era, including Nankai Middle School in Tianjin, Nanyang Middle School in Shanghai, and Chunhui Middle School by Baimahu in Shangyu. But from the very beginning, I never thought

正的母语,并不断提升用母语与世界对话的能力,激发他们的想象力,涵育他们的审美力,仅仅以既定的成熟范式是否就能完成,这便成为一个值得追问的问题。

叶、夏诸先生开创的被广泛接受的以单篇阅读、字词句为中心的教学方式,对于多数孩子也许是合适的,但未必适合所有的孩子,何况在一个有了互联网、搜索引擎的时代,仍然强调以知识为中心也已显得被动。我所思考的就是如何在他们的基础上有所突破,有所斩获。“尝试成功自古无”,是陆游的诗句。我所求的不是成功,更不是替代。我寻求的只是新的可能,新的创造,新的价值。尝试本身就是一种价值。一个古老民族从古代教育中挣脱出来不过百余年,一切都还在路上,难道就此停下尝试的脚步?”

徐:很精彩!但是民国读书人办学的缺点,在今天如何克服和超越?

傅:民国知识分子办学,当然也有缺点,比如民族主义、国家主义的导向还是很明显,对于个体精神的重视不够,没有提倡国家起源于个人,没有将每个人的权利、尊严放在首位。但说实话,我个人以为,我们今天还不到讨论“如何克服和超越”他们缺点的时候,而是应该梳理过去的办学传统,挖掘可供参考的资源,“向后看”有的时候就是更好地“向前看”。我编《过去的中学》《过去的小学》和撰述《新学记:中国现代教育起源八讲》的用意也是如此。

徐:您研究历史是“向后看”,在这群孩子身上却是“向前看”,有什么期待吗?会不会有历史包袱?

傅:没有特别的期待,不会有历史包袱。每个人都只能在自己所在时代给定的条件下努力,不可能超越自己的时代凭空创造。我曾经说过,“三年百课千人万里,铺就一个中国少年一生的人文底色。”这是底线意义的期待。历史的变化总是在不起眼的角落里悄无声息地发生的,一个微不足道的个体在一个微不足道的角落所做的微不足道的努力,当下看来也许微不足道,也许在更大的时间尺度之下,却有重要的意义和价值,这是文明史的奇妙之处。

of imitating any school from the Republican era. Not only is the Guoyu Shushu not a school, but we are in a completely different era. So the path I am exploring is just a personal one, me personally reading, walking, and dialoguing with the world together with the children.

Xu: Yes, the era is completely different. But have the thinking methods of the Republican-era scholars, and their ways of running schools, had any influence on your teaching content and methods? For example, I see that you also use a lot of vernacular literature from the Republican period.

**Fu:** I have long focused on and studied the history of the Republican era, and its education has influenced me unconsciously. My “Dialogue with the World” course is not limited to vernacular Chinese; classical Chinese and classical poetry also account for a considerable proportion. But I do not agree with the paradigm of using single model essays, which has been adopted in mother-tongue education since the Republican era. I want to open up a new path. In the preface to my recently published book *Seeking Another Possibility for Mother-Tongue Education*, I wrote this:

“I am trying to find and practice another path outside the mother-tongue education paradigm that was practiced and established by masters like Ye Shengtao, Xia Mianzun, and Zhu Ziqing in the Republican era.

In the era of transition from classical to vernacular Chinese, they explored a practical and feasible path for modern China’s mother-tongue education. Their own foundation in the mother tongue and the efforts they put in, from their frontline educational practice to the compilation of textbooks and extracurricular supplementary readers, have all become unsurpassable models in the history of education, their value proven by time. However, as time goes by and circumstances change, how can we find a better path to open children’s minds in a changed era, so that they can truly learn the pure mother tongue and continuously enhance their ability to dialogue with the world in their mother tongue, to stimulate their imagination and cultivate their aesthetic sense—can this be accomplished merely with the established paradigm? This becomes a question worth asking.

The teaching method pioneered by Mr. Ye, Mr. Xia, and others, which is widely accepted and centered on single-text reading and words and sentences, may be suitable for most children, but not necessarily for all children. Moreover, in an era with the internet and search engines, it seems passive to continue emphasizing fact-based knowledge as the center.

What I am thinking about is how to make a breakthrough and build something on the foundation they have laid. 'There has never been a successful attempt since ancient times,' is a line from Lu You's poem. What I seek is not success, let alone to replace the old. What I seek is only new possibilities, new creations, new values. The attempt itself is valuable. The ancient nation of China has only broken free from ancient education for just over a hundred years. Everything is still evolving, on a journey. How could we stop striving toward a better way now, of all times?"

Xu: Brilliant! But how can the shortcomings of the Republican-era scholars in running schools be overcome and surpassed today?

**Fu:** The intellectuals of the Republican era, in running schools, certainly had their shortcomings. For example, the orientation towards nationalism and statism was still very obvious, and there was not enough emphasis on the individual spirit. They did not advocate that the state originates from the individual, nor did they place the rights and dignity of each person first. But to be honest, in my personal opinion, we are not yet at the stage to discuss "how to overcome and surpass" their shortcomings. Instead, we should sort through the past traditions of running schools and mine them

for wisdom. “Looking back” is sometimes the best way to “look forward.” This is also my intention in compiling *Middle Schools of the Past*, *Primary Schools of the Past*, and writing *A New Record of Learning: Eight Lectures on the Origins of Modern Chinese Education*.

Xu: You “look back” when you study history, but you “look forward” with this group of children. Do you have any expectations of them? Will there be any historical baggage?

**Fu:** No special expectations, and no historical baggage. Everyone can only strive under the conditions given by their own era; it is impossible to transcend one’s own era and create out of thin air. I once said, “Three years, one hundred lessons, one thousand people, ten thousand li, to lay the humanistic foundation for a Chinese youth’s entire life.” This is an expectation in a baseline sense. Historical changes always happen quietly and silently in inconspicuous corners. The insignificant efforts made by an insignificant individual in an insignificant corner may seem insignificant at the time, but perhaps on a larger time scale, they will hold important meaning and value. This is the wonder of the history of civilization.

徐：民国有人仕、办报、办学、经商、独立写作等多元途径，当代中国公共知识分子在体制内外能做什么？办教育是否一条新路？

**傅：**民国那个时代的空间，容许知识分子有更多元的选择，在报业、出版业、教育、实业、金融业、文学等不同领域，都给他们提供了安身立命的某种可能性。这样的空间在当代中国是不存在的，所以也很难有什么作为。办教育更是难之又难的一条路，前面我就说过，我所做的只是一件微不足道的事，与过去时代有机会办学的那些先辈走的是不同的路，更不可能成为一种示范。世人总是说“人往高处走”，我反其道而行之，选择了“人往低处走”，好“低”鹜远是我给自己的一个定位。作为一个低调理想主义者，我和儿童站在一起，其实也就是与未来站在一起，未来并不是从未来才开始的。

徐：那么，公共知识分子如何在真实社会中，实现自己精神追求和社会价值？

**傅：**“知识分子”这个概念很笼统，如果就受教育程度而言，事实上与社会其他群体已混合，没有什么特定的内涵，如果就从事的职业而论，也已经面目模糊、没有精神特质了。只有在精神上重新界定这个概念，其社会价值才能体现出来，那就是要担当社会的良心，对现实保持清醒的批评，不仅站在专业的角度，也站在人类文明的角度说出负责任的真话，这是要付出代价的。今天这样的时代，谈论这个话题，我都觉得是个奢侈的事，更不要说扮演这个角色。至于“公共知识分子”在中国大陆的语境中早已被污名化，相比之下，专业知识分子更容易生存，真正的公共知识分子几乎已失去存身之地。在极为复杂和艰难的社会环境中，要想实现自己的精神追求和社会价值，首先当然是在思想上保持独立性，不放弃独立思考，对于历史和现实要有深入体认，脚踏实地，从小处、低处着手，但从大处、高处着眼，坚守经过了时间考验的人类最基本的价值。如果有可能，就将自己的思考、研究转化为可以分享给世人或留在时间中的精神成果。在自己身上克服这个时代，不是一句空话，而是要实实在在通过个体生命的努力，在现实中行出来的。在不完美的今天付出的努力，就是最大限度地实现自己的精神追求和社会价值。

Xu: In the Republican era, there were diverse career paths for intellectuals such as entering politics, running newspapers, running schools, doing business, and independent writing. What can contemporary Chinese public intellectuals do inside and outside the system? Is running an educational institution a new path?

**Fu:** The space of the Republican era allowed intellectuals to have more diverse choices. The fields of journalism, publishing, education, industry, finance, literature, etc. all offered the possibility for one to settle down and make a living. Such a space does not exist in contemporary China, so it is also difficult to achieve much. Running an educational institution is an even more difficult path. As I said before, what I am doing is just an insignificant thing. I am walking a different path from those predecessors who had the opportunity to run schools in the past, and it is even more impossible for it to become a widely adopted model. The world always says, “people strive to move upwards,” but I have gone against the current, choosing to “walk to low places.” “Aiming ‘low’ for the long term” is how I position myself. As a low-key idealist, standing with children is, in fact, standing with the future. The future does not begin in the future.

Xu: So, how can public intellectuals achieve their spiritual pursuits and social value in real society?

**Fu:** The concept of “intellectual” is very general. In terms of educational attainment, they are in fact mixed with other social groups and have no specific connotation. In terms of their profession, their faces have also become blurred and they have no spiritual characteristics. Only by redefining this concept in a spiritual sense can its social value be reflected, and that is to act as the conscience of society, to maintain a sober critique of reality, and to speak the responsible truth not only from a professional perspective but also from the perspective of human civilization. This comes at a price. In an era like today, talking about this topic, I feel it is a luxury, let alone playing this role. As for “public intellectual,” the term has long been stigmatized in the context of mainland China. In comparison, professional intellectuals find it easier to survive; true public intellectuals have almost lost their place to stand. In an extremely complex and difficult social environment, to achieve one’s spiritual pursuits and social value, the first thing, of course, is to maintain independence in thought, not to give up independent thinking, to have a deep understanding of history and reality, to be down-to-earth,

徐：在您的办学经历中，有没有一些可供进一步学术研究的主题？还有哪些

教育问题值得进一步探索？

**傅：**我的小小的教育实验还在进行当中，也许要等国语书塾的孩子们长大，才能较为准确地评估这个实验的价值。教育是慢的事业，不是立竿见影的，要在时间中慢慢展开，如同一棵树的长成，是一个漫长的、潜移默化、润物无声的过程。从这个实验开始之前，我完成了《新学记：中国现代教育起源八讲》，探寻过中国现代教育的来龙去脉，还思考过“教育相遇论”，出版过《美的相遇》一书，但那只是一本随笔集，还不是系统的研究。国语书塾让我投入到“教育对话论”的实践中，设计了“与世界对话”一百课，过去这几年，已出版《与世界对话》系列十六册，游学课程《少年中国行》系列已出版的有《少年双城记》（北京、南京）、《少年西安行》、《少年江南行》（无锡、嘉兴、海宁）四册，《少年西湖走读课》《少年富春江走读课》也将出版。游学课堂《少年世界行》还来不及整理出版。“读万卷书、行万里路”，归结为“与世界对话”。与此同时，我逐渐形成了“教育留白论”，在时间上给孩子留白在一个教育内卷白热化的时代尤其重要，没有留白，一个孩子在童年、少年时代疲于奔命，是不可能有什么想象力的。我将“教育相遇论”、“教育对话论”、“教育留白论”称之为“三论”，这是我对教育的基本看法。我觉得“三论”就值得进一步探索。

徐：最后一个问题可能比较直接，目前国语书塾的实践有没有哪些局限性？

未来可能会有怎样的调整？

**傅：**国语书塾的实验本来就是带着镣铐跳舞，当然有局限，而且有极大的局限，我们只是在这种局限中眺望世界。有时候我会想到一句话，“达摩菩提东来只为了寻求一个不為人惑的人。”我们周围的环境如此恶劣，日复一日面对的都是不可抗力，眼看着一个个天真的孩子忙碌的身影和疲倦的眼神，我常常感到无能为力，学校不是在保护他们天真的童年，而是按照行政的量化管理模式在塑造他们，多数孩子的家庭不是在保护他们的童年，而是被动或主动地配合学校。国语书塾能做的实在太有限了，要跟学校抢一点闲暇的时间，让孩子可以阅读、可以思考、可以留白，这一点时间太奢侈了。忙碌的结果就是天真的逐渐丧失，也就是植物性力量的丧失。我深信童年时代人身上的这种植物性力量极为宝贵。捷克小说家昆德拉说，人的一生注定扎根在前十年。童年是一口记忆的深井，这口井中源源不断的活

to start from small and low places, but to look from high and far places, and to adhere to the most basic human values that have stood the test of time. If possible, one should transform one's own thoughts and research into spiritual achievements that can be shared with the world or left in time. To overcome this era within oneself is not an empty phrase, but something to be carried out in reality through the efforts of one's individual life. The efforts made in today's imperfect world are the greatest realization of one's own spiritual pursuits and social value.

Xu: In your experience of running a school, are there any topics that could be further explored through academic research? What other educational issues are worth further exploration?

Fu: My small educational experiment is still ongoing. Perhaps we have to wait for the children of the Guoyu Shushu to grow up to be able to more accurately assess the value of this experiment. Education is a slow business, not something that yields immediate results. It must unfold slowly in time, like the growth of a tree, a long, subtle, and silent process. Before this experiment began, I completed *A New Record of Learning: Eight Lectures on the Origins of Modern Chinese Education*, explored the origins of modern Chinese education, and also thought about the “theory of educational encounter,” publishing the book *An Encounter with Beauty*. But that was just a collection of essays, not systematic research. The Guoyu Shushu has allowed me to immerse myself in the practice of the “theory of educational dialogue.” I designed one hundred “Dialogue with the World” lessons. Over the past few years, sixteen volumes of the “Dialogue with the World” series have been published, and four volumes of the study tour course “A Youth’s Journey Through China” series have been published, including *A Tale of Two Cities* (Beijing, Nanjing), *A Youth’s Journey Through Xi’an*, and *A Youth’s Journey Through Jiangnan* (Wuxi, Jiaxing, Haining). *A Youth’s Reading Tour of the West Lake* and *A Youth’s Reading Tour of the Fuchun River* will also be published. The study tour course “A Youth’s Journey Through the World” has not yet been compiled and published. “Read ten thousand books, travel ten thousand *li*,” boils down to “dialogue with the world.” At the same time, I have gradually formed the “theory of educational white space” (*liú bái*). Giving children “white space” in time is especially important in an era of intense educational internal competition. Without this white space, a child who is exhausted in their childhood and youth cannot exercise their imagination. I call the “theory of educational encounter,” the “theory of educational dialogue,” and the “theory of educational white

水可以滋养人的一生。爱因斯坦的身上就能看到那种天真，这是典型的植物性力量。

未来充满了不确定的因素。我能坚持的就是信奉文明史中经过时间考验的基本价值，它们包含在那些传世的文本中，我把极少数有机缘跟我一起读世界的孩子带到这些作者和文本面前，即使在极不确定的时代也要追寻并确定这样的价值。

现实的局促决定了国语书塾不可能有什么扩展，我也没有想改变我的初衷，向现实让步。我依然深信，一个人在最好的年龄，遇见什么样的书、什么样的人，到过什么样的地方，都会进入生命深处，化为一生的精神源泉。国语书塾不是要给孩子们一瓢水或一桶水，而是带他们看见滔滔江河奔流入海的样子，看见文明史的浩瀚星空，让他们成为布罗茨基意义上的“文明的孩子”。

space” the “three theories.” This is my basic view of education. I think the “three theories” are very worthy of further exploration.

Xu: The last question may be quite direct. Are there any limitations to the practice of the Guoyu Shushu at present? What adjustments might be made in the future?

Fu: The experiment of the Guoyu Shushu is inherently a dance in shackles. Of course, there are limitations, and very great limitations. We are just gazing at the world from within these limitations. Sometimes a sentence comes to my mind, “Bodhidharma came to the East only to seek a person who would not be deluded by others.” The environment around us is so harsh. Day after day, we face irresistible forces. Seeing the harried figures and tired eyes of one innocent child after another, I often feel powerless. The school is not protecting their innocent childhood but is shaping them according to an administrative, quantitative management model. The families of most children are not protecting their childhood but are passively or actively cooperating with the school. What the Guoyu Shushu can do is really too limited—to snatch a little leisure time from the school so that the children can read, think, and have some white space. This little bit of time is too much of a luxury. The result of being busy is the gradual loss

of innocence, which is the loss of their ability to grow and set down deep roots like a healthy plant. I am convinced that this ability in childhood is extremely precious. The Czech novelist Kundera said that a person's life grows its roots in their first ten years. Childhood is a deep well of memory, and the continuous living water from this well can nourish a person's entire life. You can see that kind of innocence in Einstein, a prime example of this potential.

The future is full of uncertain factors. What I can adhere to is to believe in the basic values of the history of civilization that have stood the test of time. They are contained in those timeless texts. I bring the very few children who have the opportunity to read the world with me to these authors and texts. Even in extremely uncertain times, we must pursue and affirm such values.

Practical constraints prevent the Guoyu Shushu from expanding further. I also do not want to deviate from my original intention and make compromises. I still deeply believe that the books one reads, the people one meets, and the places one has been to at the prime of youth will enter the depths of their being and become a spiritual source for their entire life. The Guoyu Shushu is not about giving the children a ladle of water or a bucket of water, but about leading them to see the surging rivers flowing into the sea, to see the vast starry sky of the history of civilization, and to let them become "children of civilization" in the words of Brodsky.

# 书评

**BOOK REVIEWS**



# 意义的地图、 神性的召唤 与教育的契机

张军 ————— Jun Zhang

Maps  
of Meaning,  
the Call of  
the Divine,  
and the Kairos  
of Education

教育的目标, 不仅在于知识的传递, 更在于思维模式和能力的培养。而教育的最高目标, 则在于人格和心灵的塑造。本文试图通过一篇扩展的书评来反思深层教育目标的实现问题。本文评论的是一本有年头且相当另类的书, 就是乔丹·彼得森(Jordan Peterson) 1999年通过Routledge出版的:《意义地图: 信念的架构》(Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief)[1]。除了梳理彼得森的核心论点, 本文还将探讨其思想与基督教传统中某些核心观念的共鸣或张力, 并进一步反思这些讨论对于理解个体信仰范式选择和当代精神生活带来的启示。文章将尝试在一个广阔的学术视野下, 审视彼得森对意义、信仰和人类处境的思考。

这是一本独一无二、难以归类的书。它是一位严肃学者的严肃学术作

The goal of education is not merely to transmit knowledge, but to cultivate the ability to think for oneself. Its highest goal, however, lies in the shaping of character and the soul. This article aims to reflect on how these deeper educational goals may be realized, through an in-depth book review. The text in question is an older and rather unconventional one: Jordan Peterson's *Maps of Meaning: The Architecture of Belief*, published by Routledge in 1999.[1] In addition to outlining Peterson's core arguments, this article will explore the resonance or tension between his ideas and certain core concepts in the Christian tradition, and further reflect on the implications of these discussions for understanding individual choices of faith paradigms and contemporary spiritual life. We will examine Peterson's thoughts on meaning, faith, and the human condition within a broad academic perspective.

This is a book that defies categories. It is a serious academic work by a serious scholar, with nearly 600 notes and 300 references, and the writing style is quite abstruse (Peterson is known

1. 中文版标题为《意义地图: 如何活出生命的意义》2021年由中国青年出版社出版。但是被高度删节。建议参照英文原著阅读。彼得森后来又出版了三本比第一本影响力大得多的畅销书, 包括姊妹篇 *12 Rules for Life: An Antidote to Chaos* (Penguin Random House, 2018) *Beyond Order: 12 More Rules for Life* (Penguin Random House, 2021) 和最新的一本以阐释圣经为主旨的 *We Who Wrestle with God* (Penguin Random House, 2024)。这三本书的核心思想其实都是在本文聚焦的第一本书里奠定的。另外关于标题中的“belief”, 在中文版里被译为“信仰”。但“信仰”通常严格对应的英文词是“faith”。所以, 本文采用传统的“信念”译法。

1. The Chinese version is titled 意义地图: 如何活出生命的意义 (Maps of Meaning: How to Live a Meaningful Life), published in 2021 by China Youth Press. However, it is heavily censored. It is recommended to read the English original. Peterson has since published three more bestselling books that have been much more influential than his first, including the sister volumes *12 Rules for Life: An Antidote to Chaos* (Penguin Random House, 2018) and *Beyond Order: 12 More Rules for Life* (Penguin Random House, 2021), and his latest book, primarily interpreting the Bible, *We Who Wrestle with God* (Penguin Random House, 2024). The core ideas of these three books are actually laid down in the first book, which is the focus of this article. Also, regarding “belief” in the title, it is translated as “信仰” (faith) in the Chinese version. But “faith” usually corresponds strictly to the English word “faith.” Therefore, this article adopts the traditional translation of “信念” (belief).

品,有近600条的注释和300条的参考文献,写作的风格也相当艰涩(彼得森是以追求表达精确严谨而闻名的)。本书主要成型于作者在哈佛大学心理学系任教期间,部分内容曾被用作课堂教材。而且也是呕心沥血之作。作者说他每天花3小时,持续15年,字斟句酌,反复修改。但是本书绝非循规蹈矩或者常规的追求学术成果之作。对于许多学术界人士来说,此书既不规范也不严谨,或者是犯了禁忌。宗教和神话分析其实是本书的重点——大写的“God”和小写的“god”各出现250次左右,耶稣的名字都出现有60次之多。本书也是高度“跨界”之作,涵盖心理学、神经生物学、脑科学、人类社会学、西方哲学、文学、圣经神学和东方宗教等等。实际上,该书出版后,反响平平,甚至无人问津。据说精装版销量不足500册。彼得森自己都曾感慨:很多年过去,人们根本不知道该如何解读这此书,试图认真评论的也不多。事实上,当彼得森近十年前成为公众人物之后,本书才开始受到较大的关注。但是笔者看到此书的独特价值,所以愿意尝试做一次冒险的写作。

当然,该书也获得少数大家的好评,比如当时哈佛大学心理学系主任谢尔顿·怀特(Sheldon White)称其“极大地拓展了我们对人类动机的理解”<sup>[2]</sup>。马克辛·希茨-约翰斯通(Maxine Sheets-Johnstone)在《心理语录》(2000年)发表了罕见的长篇评论,称

for his pursuit of precision and rigor). The book primarily took shape during the author's time teaching in the psychology department at Harvard University, and parts of it were used as course material. It is also a work of painstaking effort. The author states that he spent three hours a day for fifteen years meticulously choosing his words and making repeated revisions. However, this book is by no means a conventional or standard pursuit of academic achievement. To many in the academic world, the book is neither standard nor rigorous, or perhaps it breaks taboos. The analysis of religion and myth is actually the focus of the book—“God” (capitalized) and “god” (lowercase) each appear about 250 times, and the name of Jesus appears as many as 60 times. The book is also highly “cross-disciplinary,” spanning psychology, neurobiology, neuroscience, social anthropology, Western philosophy, literature, biblical theology, and Eastern religions, among others. In fact, after its publication, the book received a lukewarm response, if any at all. It is said that the hardcover edition sold fewer than 500 copies. Peterson himself once lamented that for many years, people simply did not know how to interpret this book, and few attempted to review it seriously. In fact, it was only after Peterson became a public figure nearly a decade ago that the book began to receive significant attention. However, the author of this article sees the unique value of this book and will attempt to do it justice with a thorough review.

It is worth noting that the book did receive high praise from a few prominent figures. For example, Sheldon White, then the chair of the psychology department at Harvard, called it a work that “greatly broadens our understanding of human motivation.”<sup>[2]</sup> Maxine Sheets-Johnstone published a rare long review in *Psychology* (2000), calling it “a novel, thought-provoking, complex,

其为“一本新颖、发人深省、复杂而引人入胜的书，尽管有时在概念上令人困惑、内容重复，并且在格式上令人恼火”，然而，“这本书的优点远超缺点。”<sup>[3]</sup>对于普通读者，本书的阅读或许艰难甚至令人沮丧。但终究仍是瑕不掩瑜，不可多得。

如今乔丹·彼得森已是名满世界的超级学术网红，仅在Youtube上就有近900万订阅用户。作为争议性人物和言辞犀利的右翼思想领袖，他被人追捧，也被人憎恶。彼得森1962年出生于加拿大的阿尔伯塔。本科就读于阿尔伯塔大学，1984年获心理学和政治学双学士。1991年在麦吉尔大学获得临床心理学博士学位。1993-98年在哈佛大学心理系任助理教授。1998年转至多伦多大学任正教授，直至2021年因就言论自由问题与学校冲突之后办理了退休手续。如今除了自由写作和演讲，他也开办了自己的网络大学：Peterson Academy。

这本著作也可以说是彼得森个人大半生的灵魂探索：既是对个人内心世界追索，也是对重大社会和历史议题的省思。受荣格的影响，他相信整个世界问题的答案就藏在每个人隐秘的内心世界之中。他在书中表示尽管自己成长于一个基督教氛围浓厚的家庭和社区，

and fascinating book, though at times conceptually confusing, repetitive, and irritating in format.” However, “the book’s merits far outweigh its flaws.”<sup>[3]</sup> For the general reader, the book may be a difficult, even frustrating read. But ultimately, as Sheets-Johnstone says, its strengths far outweigh its weaknesses, making it a rare gem.

Today, Jordan Peterson is a world-renowned intellectual and influencer, with nearly 9 million subscribers on YouTube alone. As a controversial figure and a sharp-tongued right-wing thought leader, he is both adulated and reviled. Peterson was born in Alberta, Canada, in 1962. He attended the University of Alberta, earning bachelor’s degrees in psychology and political science in 1984. In 1991, he received his Ph.D. in clinical psychology from McGill University. From 1993 to 1998, he was an assistant professor in the psychology department at Harvard University. In 1998, he moved to the University of Toronto as a full professor, where he remained until he retired in 2021 after a conflict with the university over free speech issues. Today, in addition to writing and speaking, he has also founded his own online university: the Peterson Academy.

This work can also be seen as Peterson’s personal soul-searching over a large part of his life: it is a search within his own inner world, as well as a reflection on major social and historical issues. Influenced by Jung, he believes that the answers to the world’s problems are hidden in the secret inner world of every individual. He states in the book that although he grew up in a devout Chris-

2. White, Sheldon H. 1999. Developmental Psychology as an Ethical Enterprise. *Human Development*. 42 (1): 52.

3. Sheets-Johnstone, Maxine 2000. The Psychology of What is and What Should be: An Experiential and moral psychology of the known and unknown. *Psychology*: 11(124).

并且拥有快乐美好的童年,但年轻时高度叛逆,对于抛弃养育自己的精神源泉迫不及待,并急切寻求“普遍的社会和政治疯狂与世界的邪恶”(第xv页)之解药。但本书的思考和写作很大程度上预示了他此后对圣经信仰日益增长的兴趣和正面评价[4]。

### “行为”与“意义”

由书名可知,作者的主旨在于追问并阐释人生的意义和信念的关系。彼得森理论大厦的第一块基石,就是主张:世界是一个“行为剧场”(forum for action)。尽管世界同样可以被解释为一个“事物存在的场所”(place of things)(第1页)。事物存在的场所对应的是客观世界和科学叙事。行为剧场对应的则是价值世界和非科学叙事。作者主张,启蒙运动之后,这两种模式就进入了一种虽无必要但又无可避免的对峙状态。

人若要活下去,就必须行动。生活就是根据自己所看重、所期望、所认为应当的方式来行动。所以,有行动,必有评价。价值是行动的前提,或其隐含的、

tian family and community and had a happy childhood, he was highly rebellious as a young man, eager to cast off the spiritual wellspring that had nurtured him, and urgently sought an “antidote” to “the general social and political madness and the world’s evil” (p. xv). But the thinking and writing of this book largely foreshadowed his growing interest in and positive evaluation of the biblical faith in his later years.[4]

### “Action” and “Meaning”

As the title suggests, the author’s main purpose is to question and explain the relationship between the meaning of life and belief. The first cornerstone of Peterson’s theoretical edifice is the proposition that the world is a “forum for action.” This is despite the fact that the world can also be interpreted as a “place of things” (p. 1). The place of things corresponds to the objective world and the scientific narrative. The forum for action corresponds to the world of values and the non-scientific narrative. The author argues that since the Enlightenment, these two models have entered into a state of confrontation that is both unnecessary and unavoidable.

If one is to live, one must act. Life is about acting according to what one values, desires, and believes ought to be. Therefore, where there is action, there must be evaluation. Values are the

4. 彼得森于2021年初在自己的Youtube频道“Pursuit of Meaning”发布18分钟见证视频“Jordan Peterson’s INCREDIBLE Journey To GOD”, 流泪讲述自己的信仰历程。迄今已有超过900万的浏览量。

4. In early 2021, Peterson posted an 18-minute testimony video on his YouTube channel “Pursuit of Meaning” titled “Jordan Peterson’s INCREDIBLE Journey To GOD,” in which he tearfully recounted his faith journey. It has since garnered over 9 million views.

无意识的对应物。行动有价值, 因为行动与可选路径之间存在差异。行动实际上就是对多组方案中的一组表达偏好。我们总是以预设的“理想未来”为目标来评估当下。我们总是为了把“所在的地方”转变为“想的地方”而行动。所以, 行动追随目标, 目标决定意义且随目标而变。

彼得森主张, 价值关乎是非善恶。善恶之间的距离将意义赋予行动和生命。对于行动者, 一个行动的路径越有价值, 它就越好, 越善。若没有恶, 就无法定义善。若不相信善恶, 行动就因为无差别而无意义。意义的失落, 意味着作为行动指引的价值等级或者道德规范的崩塌——更危险的则是对这种价值等级存在与否的底层信仰崩溃——可能导致个人的抑郁、混乱、焦虑, 和社会的冲突甚至杀戮。失去意义感, 人就难免陷入致命的软弱而弃善从恶——屈服于痛苦和苦难, 憎恨生活甚至企图消灭生活。这种仇恨会导致人们去认同甚至渴望毁灭的力量——这就成为人类自相残杀以及战争的根源。所以, 意义的存续对人生和社会都至关重要。

彼得森为人生的意义提供了一个特殊的视角和一般性解读, 也为不同立场的对话提供了可能性。概括而言, 他主张完整的人生意义, 是与人生作为一个持续“探索”(exploration)的过程不可分割的, 包括不可或缺的三个部分: 1) 接受并实践已探索到的“已知”所赋予

precondition of action, or their implicit, unconscious counterpart. Action demonstrates one's values because there are differences between the available paths of action. Action is, in fact, the expression of a preference for one set of options over others. We always evaluate the present with a preconceived “ideal future” as our goal. We always act to transform the “place where we are” into the “place where we want to be.” Therefore, action follows a goal, and the goal determines meaning and changes with it.

Peterson argues that values are about right and wrong, good and evil. The distance between good and evil gives meaning to action and life. For the actor, the more valuable the path of an action, the better, the more good it is. Without evil, good cannot be defined. If one does not believe in good and evil, action becomes meaningless because there is essentially no difference in the array of paths one may choose. The loss of meaning signifies the collapse of the value hierarchy or moral code that guides action—and more dangerously, the collapse of the underlying belief in the existence of such a value hierarchy. This can lead to depression, chaos, anxiety, and social conflict, even mass slaughter. Having lost a sense of meaning, one inevitably falls into a fatal weakness and turns from good to evil—succumbing to pain and suffering, hating life, and even attempting to annihilate it. This hatred leads people to identify with, and even desire, the forces of destruction—this becomes the root of human self-slaughter and war. Therefore, the persistence of meaning is crucial for both individual life and society.

Peterson offers a unique perspective and a general interpretation of the meaning of life, also providing a possibility for dialogue between different standpoints. In summary, he argues that the

的意义, 2) 相信未探索的“未知”中存在着超越或者神圣的意义, 3) 肯定并享受探索过程本身的意义。类似于笛卡尔的“我思故我在”, 彼得森对探索的强调几乎到了“我探索故我在”的高度, 尽管探索和思考本不可分。持续探索就意味着意义永不确定, 但对探索本身的肯定又意味着对意义的确信。有意义的事情是令人向往和愉悦的。对探索的意义的肯定已经意味着人生是值得过的——哪怕历经苦难, 黑暗的尽头是有光明、有盼望的。但是, 善恶由谁来定义? 意义又从何而来?

complete meaning of life is inseparable from life as a continuous process of “exploration,” which includes three indispensable parts: 1) accepting and practicing the meaning endowed by the “known” that has already been explored, 2) believing that there is a transcendent or divine meaning in the “unknown” that has not yet been explored, and 3) affirming and enjoying the meaning of the process of exploration itself. Similar to Descartes’ “I think, therefore I am,” Peterson’s emphasis on exploration almost reaches the level of “I explore, therefore I am,” although exploration and thinking are inherently inseparable. Continuous exploration means that meaning is never certain, but the affirmation of exploration itself implies one is convinced of the existence of meaning. A meaningful thing is desirable and pleasant. The affirmation of the meaning of exploration already implies that life is worth living—even through suffering, there is light and hope at the end of the darkness. But who defines good and evil? And where does meaning come from?

迈克尔·波兰尼(Michael Polanyi)评论道,“广义上的现代思想是随着人类心智对宇宙的神话和魔法解释中解放出来而产生的。”<sup>[5]</sup>彼得森认为现代科学的贡献之一就是情感从感官认知中剥离出来,并允许人们纯粹依据彼此的感知共识来描述经验世界,因此也加速科学探索的进程。作为对照,文化传统和人文思维,是对行动所代表的世界的描绘。在这个领域,我们没有与科学领域的经验方法同样强大且被普遍接受的验证过程。在笛卡儿、培根和牛顿登场之前,尽管物质匮乏,人类的精神世界却生机勃勃,感官经验、道德信条与超越信仰浑然一体。生命的意义,在人们口耳相传的“故事”或者“神话”——关于宇宙结构和人类起源的神秘故事——中得到了揭示和传承。在中世纪的西方人看来,圣经启示的就是人类的元故事(meta-story):人都是神的儿女,都在至高者的恩典之下。人们因接受上帝的启示而清楚自己应该做什么、应该怎样做。但启蒙运动之后,现代科学和反传统主义者的兴起,越来越多的人不再相信传统信仰和叙事。伦理道德被实证主义否定,人文思维被经验主义挑战,神话视角被科学视角替代。越来越多的现代人不再相信宇宙背后的奥秘,但也因过多的理

Michael Polanyi once said, “Modern thought in the broad sense emerged as the human mind was liberated from a mythological and magical interpretation of the universe.”<sup>[5]</sup> Peterson believes that one of the contributions of modern science is to separate emotion from sensory perception, allowing people to describe the empirical world purely based on a consensus of what they perceive, thus accelerating the process of scientific exploration. In contrast, cultural traditions and humanistic thinking are depictions of the world represented by action. In this domain, we do not have a verification process as powerful and universally accepted as the empirical methods of science. Before the advent of Descartes, Bacon, and Newton, despite material scarcity, the human spiritual world was vibrant. Sensory experience, moral beliefs, and transcendent faith were integrated. The meaning of life was revealed and passed down through “stories” or “myths” in oral tradition—mysterious tales about the structure of the universe and the origin of humanity. In the eyes of medieval Westerners, the Bible revealed the meta-story of humanity: all people are children of God, all under the grace of the Most High. By accepting God’s revelation, people knew clearly what they ought to do and how they ought to do it. But after the Enlightenment, with the rise of modern science and anti-traditionalists, more and more people no longer believed in traditional faiths and narratives. Ethics and morality were denied by positivism, humanistic thinking was challenged by empiricism, and the mythical perspective was replaced by the scientific perspective. In the modern era, more and more people no longer

5. Polanyi, Michael and Harry Prosch 1975. *Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, p.5.

性怀疑和道德不确定性而困惑。所有失落传统信仰的现代人都不得不生活在尴尬困境之中：要继续有激情地生活，就需要相信经历的一切都有意义、有价值，但他们又被自己的理智告知一切终究都无意义、无价值[6]。

根据著名的“休谟法则”(Hume's Law)，是什么(is)与应该是什么(ought)是截然不同的两种命题，无论多少“实然”(描述性真理)都推不出任何的“应然”(规范性真理)。无论我们对客观世界的科学认知多么发达，都不能为生活的目标、意义和价值提供任何答案。但是，个人离不开信仰，因为行动离不开价值。而科学不能提供这种价值。所谓自然主义的伦理价值观不过是自欺欺人。正如尼采在100多年前所洞察的，西方人的伦理道德观是与他们的上帝信仰共存亡的：当他们不再信仰上帝的时候，因上帝信仰而来的价值观也就随之被粉碎——他们并不能拒绝上帝而保留其价值观(第6页)[7]。

彼得森要强调的是，事实上，所有的现代人仍然依靠“神话”而活——无论是传统的还是新发明的(比如西方的新纪元运动)——那些口头上只信科学不信神话的人，事实上在生活中仍然从某种可能秘而不宣的神话(而不是科学)中获得意义和价值。所以，没有任何人可以骄傲地宣称自己单单依靠“科学法则”生活，因此可以与一切依靠“宗教迷信”生活的人划清界限，因为这

believe in the mystery behind the universe, but at the same time are confused by excessive rational skepticism and moral uncertainty. All modern people who have lost their traditional faith must live in an awkward predicament: in order to have passion for life, they must believe that everything they experience has meaning and value, but their own reason tells them that everything is ultimately meaningless and valueless.[6]

According to the well-known “Hume’s Law,” what “is” and what “ought to be” are two completely different types of propositions. No amount of “is” (descriptive truth) can put forth any “ought” (normative truth). No matter how advanced our scientific knowledge of the objective world may become, it cannot provide any answers about the goals, meaning, and value of life. However, an individual cannot live without faith, because action cannot be separated from values. And science cannot provide these values. So-called naturalistic ethical values are nothing more than self-deception. As Nietzsche perceived more than 100 years ago, the ethical and moral views of Westerners coexisted with their belief in God: when they no longer believed in God, the values that came from that belief were also shattered—they could not reject God while retaining His values (p. 6).[7]

What Peterson wants to emphasize is that, in fact, all modern people still live by “myth”—whether traditional or newly invented (such as the New Age movement in the West). Those who verbally claim to believe only in science and not in myth, in fact, still derive meaning and value from some possibly unstated myth (not science) in their lives. Therefore, no one can proudly declare that they live solely by the “laws of science” and can thus draw a clear line between themselves and all those who live by “religious superstition,” because

样的“科学法则”根本不存在。彼得森主张,历史的功能正在于它与神话的关联。历史通常都被建构为某种神话而非经验事实或者是作为对“客观事件”的描述——被强调的通常是历史在心理上的意义而不是事实本身。传承的信念(beliefs)作为“行动的地图”被用来解释历史且赋予其意义,也为人们的行动提供价值指引。从前如此,今天依然如此。彼得森反问:自科学兴起以来,我们所依赖的神话难道比我们所拒绝的神话更少吗?如果旧的信仰体系被认为荒谬,取代它们的意识形态结构岂不更加荒谬。

当然,科学与神话并非截然对立。科学也并不必然否定一切神话。而且,基督徒会相信,各种“神话”当中,也可能有一种真的是“神的话”(the Word of God)。科学不能解释“无中生有”,也无法把历史放进实验室。尽管科学家个人可以坦然信奉有神论,“无神论”与“有神论”不可同时为真。只有当科

such “laws of science” simply do not exist. Peterson argues that the function of history lies in its connection to myth. History is usually constructed as a kind of myth rather than an empirical fact or a description of “objective events”—what is usually emphasized is the psychological meaning of history rather than the facts themselves. Transmitted beliefs, as “maps for action,” are used to explain history and give it meaning, and also to provide value guidance for people’s actions. It was so in the past, and it is still so today. Peterson asks: since the rise of science, are the myths we rely on any less mythical than the ones we have rejected? If the old belief systems are considered absurd, are the ideological structures that replace them not even more so?

Of course, science and myth are not diametrically opposed. Science does not necessarily negate all myths. Moreover, a Christian would believe that among the various “myths,” there may be one that is truly “the Word of God.” Science cannot explain creation *ex nihilo*, nor can it put history in a laboratory. Although a scientist as an individual can confidently profess theism, “atheism” and “theism” cannot both be true at the same time. The conflict between “science” and “myth”

6. “现代主义思想的标志性特征是一种信念,认为人的存在是偶然的——没有根基、没有目标、没有方向、没有必然性,人类本来很有可能从未出现在这颗星球上。这种可能性掏空了我们的现实存在,投射出恒常的失落和死亡的阴影。即使是狂喜的时刻,我们也颓丧地知道脚下的根基宛如沼泽——我们的身份与行为缺乏牢固的基础。这可能让我们美好时光变得更加珍贵,也可能让它变得毫无价值。”(Eagleton, Terry 2007. *The Meaning of Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. p.14.)

6. “The hallmark of modernist thought is the conviction that human existence is a matter of arbitrary, contingent fact—that we are groundless, goalless, and directionless, and that we might just as well have never been. This possibility drains our actual existence of substance, casting a perpetual shadow of loss and death over it. Even in our most ecstatic moments, we are dejectedly aware that the ground beneath our feet is a morass—that our identity and actions lack any firm foundation. This may make our good times all the more precious, or it may render them worthless.” (Eagleton, Terry. 2007. *The Meaning of Life*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, p. 14.)

7. Nietzsche, Friedrich. 1981. *The Twilight of the Idols and the Anti-Christ* (R.J. Hollingdale, Trans.). New York: Penguin Classics, pp. 69-70.

学理性与无神论被绑定的时候，“科学”与“神话”的冲突才无可避免。彼得森对科学和神话的简单两分过度简化了理性和信仰之间的复杂关系，忽略了科学在挑战信仰的同时为信仰提供的诸多证据以及科学与信仰之间的交叉与互补，正如当代基督徒学者比如斯蒂芬·迈耶(Stephen Meyer)的系列研究所揭示的<sup>[8]</sup>。

迈克尔·波兰尼则明确主张科学、艺术、宗教，都是人类对于意义的正当探索。<sup>[9]</sup>波兰尼对科学史的分析表明，科学就像神话一样，同样需要将经验片段借助想象整合成有意义的模式。与艺术或宗教活动类似，科学探索同样依赖于个人主观判断、无法表达无法验证的默会知识和社会认可。波兰尼因此完全拒绝科学产生价值中立的客观真理的观念。波兰尼看到的是，启蒙运动之后，伴随科学主义和实证主义兴起的反宗教、反权威和怀疑论思潮，甚至将人从对真理和正义的义务中解放出来，这对于西方文明的破坏是致命的。蔑视一切宗教权威、怀疑一切传统道德的个人主义和虚无主义，也为极权主义铺平了道路。蒙昧的科学主义将人贬低为机器、禽兽或者欲望的集合，因此剥夺了我们认真对待个人责任的可能性，甚至将人类的道德激情引向更卑劣的境地<sup>[10]</sup>。

彼得森和波兰尼对现代性危机中意义和道德资源匮乏的忧思，与另一

becomes inevitable only when scientific reason is bound to atheism. Peterson's simple dichotomy of science and myth oversimplifies the complex relationship between reason and faith, ignoring how science both provides many pieces of evidence in support of faith and challenges it at the same time, as well as the intersection and complementarity between science and faith as revealed by the research of contemporary Christian scholars like Stephen Meyer.<sup>[8]</sup>

Michael Polanyi, on the other hand, explicitly argues that science, art, and religion are all legitimate human explorations of meaning.<sup>[9]</sup> Polanyi's analysis of the history of science shows that science, like myth, also needs to integrate fragments of experience into meaningful patterns through imagination. Similar to artistic or religious activities, scientific exploration also relies on personal subjective judgment, inarticulate and unverifiable tacit knowledge, and social recognition. Polanyi therefore completely rejects the idea that science produces value-neutral objective truth. What Polanyi saw was that after the Enlightenment, the anti-religious, anti-authoritarian, and skeptical currents of thought that arose with scientism and positivism cut people free from their obligations to truth and justice, which was fatally destructive to Western civilization. Individualism and nihilism, which scorn all religious authority and treat all traditional morality with doubt, also paved the way for totalitarianism. The ignorance of scientism relegates man to nothing more than a machine, a beast, or a collection of desires, thus depriving us of the possibility of taking personal responsibility seriously, and even leading human moral passions to a baser state.<sup>[10]</sup>

Peterson and Polanyi's concerns about the lack of meaning and moral resources within the crisis

位当代思想家哈贝马斯的晚期思想转向不谋而合。哈贝马斯,这位曾经的马克思主义者和世俗理性主义的代表人物,在‘911事件’后,也开始深刻反思犹太-基督信仰传统对于(西方)现代文明的奠基性作用。他同样清醒地看到:科学不能承载意义和道德。他特别强调西方现代性的道德框架——自由、平等、民主、人权(所谓“普世价值”)——都是无可置疑地来源于犹太教(旧约)的正义伦理和基督教(新约)的爱的伦理。基督教并不仅仅是现代性的一个先驱或催化剂,而且是持续塑造现代性规范的基础力量。所以他主张西方世界的世俗化过程并非许多人相信的去宗教化,而是把源于宗教信仰的道德规范向世俗世界转换的一个“翻译过程”(translation process):比如把圣经中“人类按照上帝的形象被造”的概念,翻译成了“人类尊严”的世俗概念。但是哈贝马斯跟彼得森都一致认同尼采的主张——企图在放弃上帝信仰的同时享受源于上帝信仰的道德规范,不过是自欺欺人。所以2005年他提出“后世俗社会”(post-secular society)的概念,进一步从社会和功利的角度强调基

of modernity coincide with the late intellectual turn of another contemporary thinker, Jürgen Habermas. Habermas, a former Marxist and a representative of secular rationalism, also began to profoundly reflect on the foundational role of the Judeo-Christian tradition for (Western) modern civilization after the 9/11 attacks. Like Peterson and Polanyi, he came to the clear conclusion that science cannot bear the weight of meaning and morality. In particular, he affirmed that the moral framework of Western modernity—freedom, equality, democracy, human rights (so-called “universal values”)—is undeniably derived from the ethics of justice in Judaism (the Old Testament) and the ethics of love in Christianity (the New Testament). Christianity is not merely a precursor or catalyst for modernity, but a continuous force that shapes the norms of modernity. He therefore argues that the process of secularization in the Western world is not, as many believe, a process of de-religionization, but a “translation process” of transferring moral norms derived from religious faith to the secular world: for example, translating the biblical concept of “humanity created in the image of God” into the secular concept of “human dignity.” But Habermas and Peterson both agree with Nietzsche’s proposition—that attempting to enjoy the moral norms derived from the belief in God while abandoning the belief itself is nothing but self-deception. So in 2005, he proposed the concept of a “post-secular society,” further

8. Meyer, Stephen C. 2021. *Return of the God Hypothesis: Three Scientific Discoveries That Reveal the Mind Behind the Universe*. New York: HarperOne.

9. Polanyi, Michael and Harry Prosch 1975. *Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

10. Polanyi & Prosch 1975, pp. 14, 23-25.

11. Habermas, Jürgen 2008. *Between Naturalism and Religion: Philosophical Essays*, translated by Ciaran Cronin, Cambridge: Polity.

督信仰的当代价值<sup>[11]</sup>。

所以, 科学的出现, 的确对传统信仰构成很大的挑战, 也让许多现代人对包括基督教在内的传统信仰体系失去兴趣。但是科学并未证否信仰, 更不能在“行动剧场”中取代信仰。被奉为“科学”价值观的所谓“科学主义”不过是一个美丽的谎言和借口。许多人排斥信仰, 往往是出于误会或无知, 或是出于情感上的抵触, 而不是出于真正理性和科学的求真精神, 当然也是源于数百年来反传统、反信仰的激进自由主义学者的持续输出<sup>[12]</sup>。因此, 非常有必要对科学和神话在行动剧场中的影响进行全面反思。正确的主张, 是比较不同的非科学信念或者“神话”之间的作为行动指引的可信度, 而不是断言只有科学才为可信。在科学主义弥漫的当代社会里, 这也应当是推进价值观与信仰教育的切入点。

emphasizing the contemporary value of Christian faith from a social and utilitarian perspective.<sup>[11]</sup>

Therefore, the emergence of science indeed poses a great challenge to traditional faith and has led many people in the modern age to lose interest in traditional belief systems, including Christianity. But science has not disproven faith, let alone replaced it in the “forum for action.” The so-called “scientism” that is revered as a “scientific” value system is nothing more than a beautiful lie and an excuse. Many people reject faith out of misunderstanding or ignorance, or out of emotional resistance, rather than a truly rational and scientific spirit of seeking truth. Of course, it is also due to the continuous output of radical liberal scholars who have been anti-tradition and anti-faith for centuries.<sup>[12]</sup> Therefore, it is necessary to conduct a comprehensive reflection on the influence of science and myth in the forum for action. The correct approach is to compare the credibility of different non-scientific beliefs or “myths” as guides for action, rather than to assert that only science is credible. In a contemporary society permeated by scientism, this should also be the starting point for promoting education in values and faith.

12. 参见: Trueman, Carl R. 2020. *The Rise and Triumph of the Modern Self: Cultural Amnesia, Expressive Individualism, and the Road to Sexual Revolution*. Wheaton: Crossway.

12. See: Trueman, Carl R. 2020. *The Rise and Triumph of the Modern Self: Cultural Amnesia, Expressive Individualism, and the Road to Sexual Revolution*. Wheaton: Crossway.

在彼得森的行动剧场里,每个人都是且应该是探索者(explorer)。世界在探索者面前呈现为两个领域:已探索领域(explored territory)和未探索领域(unexplored territory)。前者是已知领域——是文化的和神话的,具有保护性和专制性,是前人探索发现的累积。后者是未知领域——具有创造性和破坏性,是一切确定事物的源头和最终归宿。已知的领域,也是在社会里我们与那些有着同样的信仰和信念传统的人所共享的领域。彼得森高度强调已知与未知的两极共存对于人类生活的基础性。可以说个体人生的基本状态就在于安顿未知、拓展已知。个体的“已知世界”的地图,也是一张行动模式的地图。它的建立,是持续的、社会性的、创造性探索过程的中间结果。

未知对人可能是威胁,也可能是机会。人天生被未知吸引,也不得不面对未知的挑战。人类一旦突然遭遇意外冲击,会本能地感到惊讶——既有恐惧又有好奇,紧随其后是注意力的转移、情绪的波动和行为冲动。彼得森认为人有一种控制与未知接触频率的本能,也是调节自身兴趣的本能:过多的接触会导致混乱和焦虑,过少的接触会导致停滞和退化。所以,一个人对某些未知领域(比如陌生的文化和信仰)缺乏兴趣,也符合本能,因为人的注意力和认知资源总是稀缺的。当然也存在价值误判或者

In Peterson's forum for action, everyone is and should be an explorer. The world presents itself to the explorer as two domains: explored territory and unexplored territory. The former is the known domain—cultural and mythical, protective and authoritarian, the accumulation of the discoveries of our predecessors. The latter is the unknown domain—creative and destructive, the origin and final destination of all certain things. The known domain is also the domain we share in society with those who have the same faith and belief traditions. Peterson strongly emphasizes that the coexistence of the known and the unknown is foundational to human life. It can be said that the basic state of an individual's life lies in settling the unknown and expanding the known. The map of an individual's “known world” is also a map of action patterns. Its establishment is the intermediate result of a continuous, social, and creative process of exploration.

The unknown can be a threat or an opportunity for people. People are naturally drawn to the unknown and must face its challenges. When humans suddenly encounter an unexpected shock, they instinctively feel surprised—a mix of fear and curiosity—followed by a shift in attention, emotional fluctuation, and behavioral impulses. Peterson believes that humans have an instinct to control their frequency of contact with the unknown, which is also an instinct to regulate their own interest: too much contact leads to chaos and anxiety, while too little leads to stagnation and regression. Therefore, it is also in line with instinct for a person to lack interest in certain unknown domains (such as unfamiliar cultures and faiths), because human attention and cognitive resources are always scarce. Of course, there is also the possibility of

把“未知”当作“已知”的可能性——所谓“知之之为知之、不知为不知”其实是很难的。

无论人类已经有多少知识,本质而言,仍是无知,而且将继续无知下去。“未知领域永远围绕着我们,就像海洋围绕着岛屿。我们可以拓宽岛屿的面积,却永远无法将海水抽干”(第48页)。这意味着,人类必须谦卑地接受与未知共存,但同时也该保留探索未知的兴趣和勇气。关乎意义的已知,都是在特定的历史和地理框架内形成的文化性认知和神话性叙事,必然包含了某种奥秘性预设——包括圣经信仰在内——因此,已知中仍然必有未知。所以,若离开“已知”,个人和世界都必陷入混乱,但“已知”只是先入之见和共享信念,而非上帝般的全知真知,甚至可能是真理的对立面。已知——根深蒂固的宗教信仰、文化传统、行为习惯等——也可以扼杀、误导、限制我们的探索和创造。所以对于人类,未知是永恒的,不确定性是永恒的,计划无法完美,犯错在所难免,人生的悲剧性也无可逃避,因为人终有一死。接受未知意味着承认人的有限和脆弱,但也可以开启创造和更新的过程。相反,夸大已知,否定未知和局限,则可能导致将某种相对甚至错误的认知绝对化,开启通向毁灭的地狱模式。

创造性探索的过程,可以使得未知从令人恐惧和不可抗拒之物转变成已知且有益之物。未知和探索本身就是

value misjudgment or treating the “unknown” as “known”—it is actually quite difficult “to know what you know and what you do not know.”

No matter how much knowledge humanity accumulates, in essence, we are still ignorant and will continue to be so. “Unexplored territory is eternally around us, like the sea around an island. We can widen the area of the island, but we can never drain the water” (p. 48). This means that humanity must humbly accept coexistence with the unknown, but at the same time, should retain the interest and courage to explore it. The known world with regards to meaning encompasses all cultural cognition and mythical narrative formed within a specific historical and geographical framework. It necessarily contains some mysterious presuppositions—including the biblical faith—therefore, the known must still contain the unknown. So, if we leave the “known,” both the individual and the world will fall into chaos, but the “known” is only a preconception and a shared belief, not god-like omniscience, and may even be the opposite of truth. The known—deep-rooted religious beliefs, cultural traditions, behavioral habits, etc.—can also stifle, mislead, and limit our exploration and creation. Therefore, for humanity, the unknown is eternal, uncertainty is eternal, plans can never be perfect, mistakes are inevitable, and the tragic nature of life is also inescapable, because man is mortal. Accepting the unknown means acknowledging human finitude and vulnerability, but it can also open up a process of creation and renewal. Conversely, exaggerating the known, denying the unknown and mankind’s limitations, can lead to the absolutization of some relative or even erroneous belief, opening the road to hell and destruction.

The process of creative exploration can transform the unknown from something fearful and

幸福的重要成分——人会因为不确定性而恐惧,但是更加无法接受完全的确定性。各种理性主义和极权主义系统都未能充分考虑到人性中的这种悖论。所以,彼得森引用陀思妥耶夫斯基“钢琴键”的比喻:“人是人,而不是钢琴键!人类的全部工作就是每时每刻都在向自己证明他是人而不是钢琴键!……既然如此,人们怎能不为它尚未实现而感到高兴,而这种愿望仍然取决于我们不知道的东西?”所以,“哪怕把一切尘世祝福洒满全身,哪怕淹没在幸福的海洋里,都只会让人发疯”<sup>[13]</sup>(第12页)。但是激进理性主义和极权主义都是试图把确定性和“完美的幸福”强加于人。

基督徒相信自己所信的对象是绝对的,是独一无二的神。但并非主张信仰本身的绝对性,而且主张每个信徒都是蒙恩的罪人。对信心与原罪的强调,都是对人的有限性的强调。接受信仰为“已知”,也是人生探索的再出发,而不是结束。基督徒因着信心获得盼望和确定性,但这种确定性并不消除今生的未知与不确定性。甚至可能意味着更大的挑战、风险、逼迫和苦难。所以,基督徒会主张,在信仰里冒险才是最安全的,试图靠自己掌控一切,才是最不安全的。所以,持续面对已知与未知之间的张力,是任何人都无法绕过的功课,也是教育必须面对的永恒主题。

overpowering into something known and beneficial. The unknown and the act of exploration themselves are important components of happiness—people fear uncertainty, but they are even less able to accept complete certainty. All rationalist and totalitarian systems have failed to fully consider this paradox in human nature. Therefore, Peterson quotes Dostoevsky's “piano key” metaphor: “Man is man, and not a piano key! And the whole work of man seems to consist in nothing but proving to himself every minute that he is a man and not a piano key! ... And how can one not be glad that it has not yet come off, and that desire still depends on something we don't know?” So, “even if you were to shower all the earthly blessings on him, to overwhelm him in happiness, ... it would still only make him mad”<sup>[13]</sup> (p. 12). But radical rationalism and totalitarianism both attempt to impose certainty and “perfect happiness” on people.

A Christian believes that the object of their faith is absolute, the one true God. But this is not to claim the absoluteness of the faith itself; rather, it is to claim that every believer is a sinner saved by grace. The emphasis on faith and original sin are both an emphasis on human finitude. Accepting faith as “known” is a new starting point for life's exploration, not its end. Christians gain hope and certainty through faith, but this certainty does not eliminate the unknown and uncertainty of this life. It may even mean greater challenges, risks, persecution, and suffering. Therefore, a Christian would argue that taking risks in faith is the safest path, and trying to control everything by oneself is the most unsafe. And so, continuously facing the tension between the known and the unknown

13. Dostoevsky, *Notes from Underground*, pp. 75-76, in Kaufmann, W. (Ed. and Trans.) (1975). *Existentialism from Dostoevsky to Sartre*. New York: Meridian.

一个求知者，就是一个探索未知者和适应世界者。鉴于已知和未知的关系，彼得森主张，人类适应世界有三种基本模式：“英雄模式”是肯定生命的意义并持续探索、直面挑战，“极权模式”是以理性自负否定未知，“颓废模式”则是拒绝探索且拒绝对未知。而且，与英雄认同对立的就是魔鬼认同，而魔鬼是骄傲的、撒谎的、毁坏的，也是愚蠢的。当然这样的分类定义未必客观公允，笔者认为反映了彼得森自己作为一名临床心理学家对于个人心理疾病的特殊关切，也有他自己一生对于人类罪恶和极权主义灾难的深刻反省。

概括而言，英雄模式意味着以诚实、谦卑、积极、乐观、勇敢的态度去面对未知，接受挑战，并且服务社会。英雄认同有助于个体承受生命中的不能承受之重，也为个人提供了一个同时超越群体局限并捍卫群体利益的可能性。彼得森预设任何人都可能且应该达到这种“英雄认同”和“英雄品格”。而“英雄品格”缺失的人，或者呈现某种心理病态（比如焦虑或抑郁），或者变得自卑懦弱，或者为非作歹。而且我们可以推论，只有具备“英雄认同”和“英雄人格”的受教育者，才是理想的探索者，是真正有益社会的可造之才。

彼得森认为，作恶的本质，就是对生命意义的否定或者放弃，就是英

is a lesson that no one can avoid, and it is also an eternal theme that education must wrestle with.

### “The Hero” and “The Adversary”

A seeker of knowledge is an explorer of the unknown and one who adapts to the world. Given the relationship between the known and the unknown, Peterson argues that there are three basic ways humans adapt to the world: the “heroic archetype” affirms the meaning of life and continues to explore and face challenges; the “totalitarian archetype” denies the unknown with rational arrogance; and the “decadent archetype” refuses to explore and to face the unknown. Moreover, the opposite of identifying with the hero is identifying with the adversary (or the devil), who is proud, lying, destructive, and foolish. Of course, such a classification and definition may not be objective or fair. This author believes it reflects Peterson’s own special concern for individual psychological illness as a clinical psychologist, as well as his lifelong profound reflection on human evil and the disasters of totalitarianism.

In summary, the heroic archetype means facing the unknown with an attitude of honesty, humility, positivity, optimism, and courage, accepting challenges, and serving society. Identifying with the hero helps individuals to bear the unbearable weight of life and also provides them with the possibility of simultaneously transcending group limitations and defending the interests of the group. Peterson presupposes that anyone can and should achieve this “heroic identification” and “heroic character.” And a person who lacks “heroic character” either presents some psychological pathology (such as

雄人格的丧失。他认为，魔鬼撒旦是一切极权主义发展背后的精神；其特征包括僵化的、以理性主义和完美主义主导的意识形态，以谎言为适应模式——拒绝承认错误，拒绝接受不完美，以及对自我和世界的仇恨。极权主义无可避免的全知假设——以“理性”取代“上帝”——是源于“路西弗式的骄傲”(Luciferian pride)，必然会催生一种地狱般的个人和社会状态。法西斯主义以保护个体免受伤害的群体承诺为名，将某种绝对化的集体认同强加于人，牺牲了个体独自面对生命挑战的灵魂。彼得森认为，法西斯主义者被恐惧和自负所支配，试图否定未知、否定奥秘和神性、否定人性弱点，试图控制一切，结果只能损害群体的适应能力，导致自己最终的崩溃。法西斯分子先摧毁一切自己不认同的东西，最后则是摧毁一切。法西斯主义者也不可避免地会失去同理心，变得既残忍又僵化：因为在他们主张的“完美世界”中，任何不完美的东西都不被容忍。

如果法西斯主义者是膨胀的人格，颓废主义者则是萎缩的人格。法西斯主义者自欺欺人地告诉自己可以征服一切未知和困难，颓废主义者自欺欺人地告诉自己未知和困难不存在。颓废人格同样否定奥秘未知中可能存在的盼望、能力和救赎。颓废者自由散漫，回避自身不足，拒绝融入社会，固守自己的理念。颓废者拒绝探索，因此削弱自

anxiety or depression), or becomes inferior and cowardly, or engages in wrongdoing. Thus we can infer that in order to become an ideal explorer who truly makes an impact on society, an educated person must embrace both “heroic identification” and “heroic personality”.

Peterson believes that the essence of doing evil is the denial or abandonment of the meaning of life, the loss of the heroic personality. He believes that Satan, the adversary, is the spirit behind the development of all totalitarianism; its characteristics include a rigid ideology dominated by rationalism and perfectionism, a mode of adaptation based on lies—refusing to admit mistakes, refusing to accept imperfection—and a hatred of the self and the world. The inevitable assumption of omniscience in totalitarianism—replacing “God” with “reason”—stems from “Luciferian pride” and will inevitably give rise to a hellish personal and social state. Fascism, in the name of protecting individuals from harm with the promise of the collective, imposes a certain absolutist collective identity on people, sacrificing the spirit of the individual to face life’s challenges alone. Peterson believes that fascists are dominated by fear and arrogance, trying to deny the unknown, mystery and divinity, and human weakness, while trying to control everything, which can only damage the population’s ability to adapt and thus lead to its ultimate collapse. Fascists first destroy everything they do not agree with, and in the end they destroy everything. Fascists also inevitably lose empathy, becoming both cruel and rigid: because in the “perfect world” they advocate, nothing imperfect is tolerated.

If the fascist is an inflated personality, the decadent is a shrunken one. The fascist deceives himself into believing he can conquer all unknowns and difficulties; the decadent deceives himself

己的人格力量和适应能力,终究可能因无力承受生活的重担而陷入心理崩溃。

英雄模式对应“英雄人格”。彼得森受到他所重视的荣格的人格心理学与基督信仰的双重影响——虽然他主张任何文化中都可能孕育“英雄人格”,但很大程度上把为义受苦的耶稣作为英雄的理想型——“因他受的刑罚,我们得平安;因他受的鞭伤,我们得医治”(以赛亚书53:5)——英雄即便面对死亡,也不顾群体的顺从压力,依然坚守“真道”。英雄人格最重要的就在于战胜死亡恐惧并且持守人性的尊严。人生苦难是有解药的,但是获得解药需要勇气,需要冒险,需要心怀盼望。对英雄人格的认同使世界对个体变得可以忍受,至少可以将不必要的痛苦降至最低。彼得森想说的是,在相互关联的社会里,我对英雄的认同和对苦难的担当,就是你的苦难的减少和幸福的加增。

基督徒会问:一个不认识耶稣基督的人,甚至一个对基督信仰不感兴趣的人,仍然可以发展出基督般的“英雄人格”吗?当然,正如彼得森书中阐述的,每种文化中都不乏被颂赞的英雄人物和英雄精神。但并不是每种文化都同样有利于英雄人格的塑造。笔者认为彼得森对于普遍“英雄人格”的主张,预设了每个人心中都有某种神性的引导、神性的盼望,都会有本能的神圣感、尊严感和道德感。只要人可以自愿地、不自我欺骗地持续探索未知、追求意义,极

into believing that the unknown and difficulties do not exist. The decadent personality also denies the hope, power, and redemption that may exist in the mysterious unknown. The decadent is undisciplined, avoids his own shortcomings, refuses to integrate into society, and clings to his own ideas. The decadent refuses to explore, thus weakening the strength of his own character and his ability to adapt, and may eventually fall into psychological collapse due to his inability to bear the burdens of life.

The heroic archetype corresponds to the “heroic personality.” Peterson is dually influenced by the personality psychology of Jung, and the Christian faith—although he argues that “heroic personality” can be nurtured in any culture, he largely takes Jesus, who suffered for righteousness, as the ideal type of hero—“by his wounds we are healed” (Isaiah 53:5). The hero, even in the face of death, disregards the pressure of group conformity and still holds fast to the “true way.” The most important thing about the heroic personality is to overcome the fear of death and to uphold human dignity. There is an antidote to the suffering of life, but obtaining the antidote requires courage, requires risk, requires hope. Identification with the heroic personality makes the world bearable for the individual, at least minimizing unnecessary suffering. What Peterson is implying is that in an interconnected society, my identification with the hero and my bearing of suffering means the reduction of your suffering and the increase of your happiness.

A Christian would ask: can a person who does not know Jesus Christ, even one who is not interested in the Christian faith, still develop a Christ-like “heroic personality”? Of course, as Peterson explains in his book, every culture upholds its own heroic figures and heroic spirit. But not every culture is equally conducive to the shap-

有可能英雄人格的终点就是某种与神的相遇。而理想教育的功能,应该就是対这种“英雄人格”的肯定、鼓励、培育、引导和巩固。

与英雄人格相联系,彼得森特别主张“兴趣的神圣性”(the divinity of interest)(第346页)。每个人的兴趣中都有来自未知的神圣召唤,来自群体认同的保护墙之外的召唤,某种超越的尊严感的召唤。对彼得森,保持兴趣的神圣性就是追求真理的同义词,就是追随神圣召唤的指引,发展真正的个性,建立英雄人格。彼得森认为深层意义感的获得需要通过深层责任的承担;如果你接受责任的重担,并接受最深层的痛苦,就可以发现内在的意义,并超越痛苦。反之,神圣兴趣丧失意味着心灵走向封闭或者某种心理崩溃,意味着意义感和愉悦感丧失(抑郁症的关键症状),以及进一步向着“魔鬼认同”的滑坡。从圣经视角,这里我们可以联想到上帝透过苦难的拣选和祝福:“你在苦难的炉中,我拣选你”(以赛亚书48:10)。或者登山宝训的教导:虚心的人有福了!饥渴慕义的人有福了!为义受逼迫的人有福了!

当然,神圣感存在的前提是神的存在。彼得森并未在书中直接表达对基督信仰或者上帝信仰的认同。他似乎暗示,即便在无神信仰的文化中,诚实的人应该也可以感受到神性的召唤。他的人性观可以认为是与罗马书(1:19)

ing of a heroic personality. This writer believes that Peterson's proposition of a universal "heroic personality" presupposes that everyone has some kind of divine guidance, a divine hope, and an instinctive sense of sanctity, dignity, and morality. As long as a person can voluntarily and without self-deception continuously explore the unknown and pursue meaning, it is highly likely that the endpoint of the heroic personality is some kind of encounter with God. And the function of an ideal education should be the affirmation, encouragement, cultivation, guidance, and consolidation of this "heroic personality."

In connection with the heroic personality, Peterson particularly advocates for "the divinity of interest" (p. 346). Within everyone's interest, there is a divine call from the unknown, a call from outside the protective walls of group identity, a call of some transcendent sense of dignity. For Peterson, maintaining the divinity of interest is synonymous with pursuing truth, following the guidance of the divine call, developing true individuality, and building a heroic personality. Peterson believes that a deep sense of meaning is obtained through the bearing of deep responsibility; if you accept the burden of responsibility and accept the deepest suffering, you can discover inner meaning and transcend suffering. Conversely, the loss of divine interest means the closing of the soul or some kind of psychological collapse, meaning the loss of one's sense of meaning and pleasure (a key symptom of depression), and a further slide towards "adversarial identification." From a biblical perspective, we can think of God's election and blessing through suffering: "I have chosen you in the furnace of affliction" (Isaiah 48:10). Or the teachings of the Sermon on the Mount: Blessed are the poor in spirit! Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness! Blessed are those

阐释的“普遍恩典”观(或者传统的自然法的思想)相一致的:“神的事情,人所能知道的,原显明在人心里,因为神已经给他们显明。”或许神性存在于每个人的心里,只是常常被人推诿和压制。同时彼得森预设了即便在基督信仰之外,人们也可以感悟到生命是值得过的、是有盼望的,苦难是有出路的,是值得忍耐等候的。当然,对于基督徒,这一切都是唯独在基督里才能得到的。而这种预设在今当大行其道的唯物主义、理性主义、功利主义、虚无主义或者其他偶像崇拜的世界观之下是无法得到支持的,或者是直接被其削弱否定的。所以,价值和信仰教育必然无法回避各种世界观与价值观的争论和辨析。

从圣经的角度,彼得森的“英雄人格”的建立和“神圣兴趣”的持守,需要特别的神圣恩典。彼得森也意识到,追随“神圣的兴趣”,意味着个人内心的挣扎与征战,类似于基督徒熟悉的“属灵征战”。这个主张,与18世纪美国神学家乔纳森·爱德华兹对于美德的主张也是一致的。在《真美德的本质》(The Nature of True Virtue, 1765年)中,爱德华兹主张,人的美德就是人的心灵对于作为存在和真善美终极本体的上帝表达真挚的认同。所以,如果一个人可以诚实地忠于自己神性的兴趣,忠于自己良心的指引,就几乎不可避免地会对基督信仰产生兴趣,尽管彼得森的书中并没有明确表达这层意思。但是为什么现实当

who are persecuted for righteousness' sake!

Of course, the premise of a sense of the divine is the existence of the divine. Peterson does not directly express his endorsement of the Christian faith or belief in God in the book. He seems to imply that even in a culture with an atheistic belief system, an honest person should be able to feel the call of the divine. His view of human nature can be seen as consistent with the view of “general grace” (or the traditional idea of natural law) as explained in Romans (1:19): “For what can be known about God is plain to them, because God has shown it to them.” Perhaps divinity exists in everyone’s heart, but is often shirked and suppressed. At the same time, Peterson presupposes that even outside the Christian faith, people can perceive that life is worth living, that there is hope, that there is a way out of suffering, and that it is worth enduring and waiting for. Of course, for a Christian, all of this can only be obtained in Christ. Furthermore, under the prevalent worldviews of materialism, rationalism, utilitarianism, nihilism, or other forms of idolatry today, this presupposition cannot find traction, or rather will be severely weakened and rejected. Therefore, education in values and faith must inevitably incorporate debate and analysis of various worldviews and values.

From a biblical perspective, the establishment of Peterson’s “heroic personality” and the maintenance of “divine interest” require special divine grace. Peterson also realizes that following “divine interest” entails an internal struggle, similar to “spiritual warfare” that is familiar to Christians. This proposition is also consistent with the claims of the 18th-century American theologian Jonathan Edwards on virtue. In *The Nature of True Virtue* (1765), Edwards argues that human virtue is the sincere assent of the human heart to God

中,似乎大多数人根本没有兴趣呢?

彼得森的答案之一大概是:因为人不能弃绝谎言,坚守诚实。社会和个人心理疾病的根源——“否认”和“压抑”——就是谎言。彼得森认为,那种认为生命的悲剧是难以承受的——人类经验本身就是邪恶的主张,都是谎言。否认生命神圣性,否认人的尊严和责任的主张也都是谎言。接受这样谎言的人,自己也就变成了说谎者,自愿使自己丧失了英雄人格。说谎是对恐惧的屈服,对未知的逃避,对盼望和救赎的放弃。拒绝诚实,就是拒绝道德真理,就使得懦弱、堕落、放纵和破坏性作恶被合理化。一旦向谎言妥协,随着恐惧的加增,对谎言的依赖也会加增。而谎言的根源是死亡焦虑和未知恐惧。人类不断扩展的抽象能力以及对死亡的想象,使我们将人性的脆弱与每一次意外遭遇联系起来,将死亡的意识深深植入每个人生命的历程之中。恐惧也容易使我们对保护性的社会身份紧抓不放。但是群体认同往往会像法西斯那样走向病态的愚昧和邪恶。放弃英雄人格很容易陷入“对社会化力量的盲目服从”(第347页),成为习俗和习惯的奴隶。

彼得森主张:“对死亡的意识”,也可以“迫使我们无情地向上,达到一种足以承受死亡之念的觉悟,“让我们意识到自己有能力直面“个体的脆弱性”(第468页),并发现我们生命的“道德真理”(第466页),并由此发现我们面

as the ultimate being and the ultimate reality of truth, goodness, and beauty. So, if a person can be honestly faithful to their divine interest, to the guidance of their conscience, it is almost inevitable that they will develop an interest in the Christian faith, although Peterson's book does not explicitly express this meaning. But why, in reality, do most people seem to have no interest at all?

One of Peterson's answers can be summed up along these lines: because people cannot renounce lies and hold fast to honesty. The root of social and individual psychological illness—"denial" and "repression"—is lies. Peterson believes that the proposition that the tragedy of life is unbearable—that human experience itself is evil—is a lie. Any proposition that denies the sanctity of life, human dignity and responsibility, is also a lie. A person who accepts such a lie becomes a liar himself, voluntarily forfeiting his heroic personality. Lying is a submission to fear, an escape from the unknown, an abandonment of hope and redemption. To refuse honesty is to refuse moral truth, thereby rationalizing cowardice, depravity, indulgence, and destructive evil. Once one compromises with lies, as fear increases, one's dependence on lies will also increase. And the root of lies is the anxiety surrounding death and the fear of the unknown. The ever-expanding human capacity for abstraction and our imagination of death make us associate human vulnerability with every unexpected encounter, deeply planting the consciousness of death into the course of everyone's life. Fear also easily makes us cling to our protective social identities. But group identity often leads to pathological ignorance and evil, as in fascism. Abandoning the heroic personality easily leads to "blind obedience to the forces of socialization" (p. 347), where one becomes a slave to custom and habit.

对未知时追寻意义的能力—我们“无限的善的能力”(第456页),“我们自愿承担死亡可怕重担的能力”(第454页)。如此一来,我们便能够承受和胜过“存在的悲剧性”(第454页),我们作恶的潜能便被击败。当然,对于基督徒,那个胜过死亡恐惧的道德真理就是一个人/神,就是耶稣基督。从教育的角度,值得深思的是,如何才能引导受教者的“英雄人格”和“英雄认同”,避免陷入“魔鬼认同”或者“极权模式”和“颓废模式”?

Peterson argues: “the consciousness of death” can also “force us relentlessly upward, to a state of awareness sufficient to bear the thought of death,” “making us realize our ability to face ‘individual vulnerability’ directly” (p. 468), and to discover the “moral truth” of our lives (p. 466), and thereby discover our ability to seek meaning in the face of the unknown—our “infinite capacity for good” (p. 456), “our capacity for voluntary acceptance of the terrible burden of death” (p. 454). In this way, we can bear and overcome the “tragedy of existence” (p. 454), and our potential for evil is defeated. Of course, for a Christian, that moral truth that overcomes the fear of death is a person/God, Jesus Christ. From an educational perspective, what is worth deep thought is, how can we guide the educated to pursue the “heroic personality” and “heroic identification,” and help them avoid “adversarial identification” or the “totalitarian archetype” and “decadent archetype”?

每个人的兴趣及其演变都受大脑控制。对大脑神经心理学的讨论在书中占据大量篇幅。让彼得森对此感兴趣的-一个事实是大脑左右半球的分工似乎分别对应着已知和未知的世界：右脑主要用于“谨慎应对新奇事物并快速形成全局假设”，而左脑则主导已经明确分类并按计划展开的已知事物的细致处理（第32页）。虽然我们对于人类意识的认知仍然十分有限，灵魂的存在更是不被科学承认，但脑科学的进展对于所有人类理解自身都是有帮助的。

我们知道人脑以极低的能耗实现极其复杂的认知功能，包括情感、感知、记忆、想象、决策和思维。节能增效是大脑设计与工作的一个重要特点。人类对于未知的反应、注意力的分配和意义地图的生成，首先是情绪性的，其次是习惯性的，二者都与记忆关联。情绪是可控的，因为大脑神经网络具有可塑性。大脑由三个独立的神经元组构成：运动单元、感知单元和情感单元。情感单元作为情绪放大器和调节器属于“边缘系统”，藏在新大脑皮层的褶皱下，尤其是存在于杏仁核（amygdala）和海马体（hippocampus）紧密整合的结构中。它负责处理带有激励意义或者情感显著性的信号，以及记忆的灌输与更新。一旦遭遇意外，边缘系统就会迅速启动，改变我们的情感、解释和行为。

Everyone's interest and its evolution are controlled by the brain. The discussion of neuropsychology occupies a large part of the book. A fact that interests Peterson in this regard is that the division of labor between the left and right hemispheres of the brain seems to correspond to the known and unknown worlds respectively: the right brain is mainly used for “cautious response to novelty and the rapid formation of global hypotheses,” while the left brain dominates the detailed processing of known things that have been clearly classified and are proceeding according to plan (p. 32). Although our knowledge of human consciousness is still very limited, and the existence of the soul is not recognized by science, the progress of neuroscience is helpful for all humans to better understand themselves.

We know that the human brain is capable of extremely complex cognitive functions, including emotion, perception, memory, imagination, decision-making, and thinking, with very low energy consumption. Energy efficiency is an important feature of the brain's design and work. The human response to the unknown, the allocation of attention, and the generation of maps of meaning are first emotional and second habitual, and both are related to memory. Emotion is controllable because the neural networks of the brain have plasticity. The brain is composed of three independent groups of neurons: motor units, perceptual units, and emotional units. The emotional unit, as an emotion amplifier and regulator, belongs to the “limbic system,” hidden under the folds of the neocortex, especially in the structure closely integrated by the amygdala and the hippocampus. It is responsible for processing signals with motivational significance or emotional salience, as well

对于任何未知的事物,在我们进行常规的探索或分类之前,焦虑、恐惧、好奇、兴奋和希望都会被自动唤起。杏仁核负责对意外信号的情感意义进行确认。它对具有负面情绪意义(尤其是威胁或恐惧相关)的刺激高度敏感并优先处理,以帮助主体识别并远离环境中的危险。杏仁核对注意力的掌控,取决于焦虑和希望两种情感之间的相互角力。如果信号不具备情绪吸引力(既无威胁也无奖励),就会被认为“无趣”而被自动抑制或排斥。当刺激重复出现且无显著后果时,大脑会习惯化,降低对该刺激的神经反应和兴趣。杏仁核还通过与海马体的连接,增强对情绪事件的记忆,从而间接影响后续的注意力分配。

海马体类似电脑的缓存,主要掌管人脑的临时记忆和储存。海马体的输出对接大脑皮层,它可以分门别类地将临时记忆转存至大脑皮层,形成长期记忆。海马体擅长根据记忆对当下的现实与运动单元构建的理想未来进行比较。当遭遇意外,若海马体解释的结果与事前预期结果不匹配,就会产生相应的情感,海马体就会切换模式,准备更新大脑皮层中的记忆存储。前额叶(prefrontal lobe)则类似电脑的中心处理器(CPU),内含“奖赏回路”,是人脑理性思考的发动机。前额叶分泌的多巴胺(dopamine)被称为“兴趣”或“动机”神经递质(neurotransmitter),

as the infusion and updating of memory. When one suffers an accident or sudden shock, the limbic system will be quickly activated, changing our emotions, interpretations, and behaviors.

When we face the unknown, we will automatically feel anxiety, fear, curiosity, excitement, or hope before we can conduct a routine exploration or try to classify the unknown entity. The amygdala is responsible for confirming the emotional meaning of unexpected signals. It is highly sensitive to and preferentially processes stimuli with negative emotional meaning (especially threat or fear-related), to help the subject identify and stay away from dangers in their environment. The amygdala's control over one's attention depends on the tension between the two emotions of anxiety and hope. If the signal does not have emotional appeal (neither threat nor reward), it will be considered “uninteresting” and automatically suppressed or rejected. When the stimulus is repeated without significant consequences, the brain will habituate, reducing the neural response and interest in that stimulus. The amygdala also enhances the memory of emotional events through its connection with the hippocampus, thereby indirectly affecting subsequent attention allocation.

The hippocampus is like the cache of a computer, mainly in charge of the brain's temporary memory and storage. The output of the hippocampus connects to the cerebral cortex, and it can classify and transfer temporary memories to the cerebral cortex to form long-term memories. The hippocampus is good at comparing the current reality with the ideal future constructed by the motor units based on memory. When one encounters an unexpected event, if the result interpreted by the hippocampus does not match the expected result, a corresponding emotion will be generated,

通过调节神经参与度在各种高阶认知方面发挥作用。前额叶的理性思考与杏仁核的情绪反应构成互相抑制的作用，以达成理性与情绪的平衡。

记忆包括过程记忆、情景记忆和语义记忆。彼得森强调，哲学、宗教、神话、戏剧、文学、礼仪、游戏、故事以及各种叙事，都会随着时间和经验进入人脑变成记忆，为人类适应环境提供行动模式。道德规范通常是通过情景记忆和语义记忆被表征、交流和阐述。想象力则通过海马体和前额叶皮层的交互，依赖情景记忆来构造情景模拟参与对未来期望的塑造。一切的神话和叙事，在作为行为模式被抽象语言明确地表达之前，也是由想象力所构建的。各种人文学科都与想象力紧密相连；但想象力在科学中也发挥着至关重要的作用。

新的、意外的或显著的刺激会带来边缘单元的朝向反射 (orienting reflex)，引发的不自主的注意力转移，从而使事件进入意识。随着刺激的重复，朝向反射会减弱或习惯化，表明大脑已经学会将刺激识别为可预测的习得反应，不再需要关注。情绪也可形成记忆并且通过反复的输入被强化为习惯。神经网络把习惯当作默认选项。新习惯的形成和巩固，需要利用神经可塑性的力量不断重复，也需要和旧习惯对应的强大的神经回路相互竞争。所以，从教育者的角度，学生对于某个信息的兴趣，取决于它在什么时候首次被

and the hippocampus will switch modes, preparing to update the memory storage in the cerebral cortex. The prefrontal lobe is like the central processing unit (CPU) of a computer, containing a “reward circuit,” and is the engine of rational thinking in the human brain. The dopamine secreted by the prefrontal lobe is called the “interest” or “motivation” neurotransmitter and plays a role in various high-order cognitive functions by regulating neural engagement. The rational thinking of the prefrontal lobe and the emotional response of the amygdala have a mutually inhibitory effect to achieve a balance between reason and emotion.

Memory includes procedural memory, episodic memory, and semantic memory. Peterson emphasizes that philosophy, religion, myth, drama, literature, ritual, games, stories, and various narratives will all enter the brain and become memory with time and experience, providing action patterns for human adaptation to the environment. Moral norms are usually represented, communicated, and elaborated through episodic memory and semantic memory. Imagination, through the interaction of the hippocampus and the prefrontal cortex, relies on episodic memory to construct simulations of situations to participate in shaping expectations for the future. All myths and narratives, before being explicitly expressed in abstract language as behavioral patterns, are also constructed by imagination. All disciplines within the humanities are closely linked to imagination, but imagination also plays a crucial role in science.

New, unexpected, or significant stimuli will bring about an orienting reflex from the limbic unit, causing an involuntary shift of attention, thus allowing the event to enter one’s consciousness. As the stimulus is repeated, the orienting reflex will weaken or habituate, indicating that the

作为新奇刺激被大脑识别及其所得到的价值评估。当类似的刺激重复出现, 大脑反应敏感度就会降低。一旦习惯化之后, 无论是感兴趣还是不感兴趣, 都不易改变。

大脑通过注意力系统对海量输入信息进行筛选, 控制神经的参与度。此外, 在认知超负荷的时候, 尤其在需要持续注意力的任务中, 大脑会降低兴趣或者为避免疲劳过度直接罢工。大脑会基于过往经验和文化背景, 将某些信号自动归类为“无关”。焦虑或抑郁可能改变注意力分配, 使某些信号被特别关注或忽视。所有这些特点, 都会影响学生对老师所传递的信息的兴趣和反应。信息的表达, 对于接收的对象是否清晰易懂, 表达方式是否新鲜有趣, 也会直接影响对方的兴趣。

意识是决定和控制我们行为的智能操作员 (intelligent operator), 潜意识则是自动驾驶员 (autopilot)<sup>[14]</sup>。习惯会使一部分行为成为条件反射, 常常是在无意识中被执行的。弗洛伊德说: 人的心智 (mind) 就像一座冰山, 其体积的七分之一浮在水面上。无意识和潜意识的重要性常常超出我们的想象。坎德尔说: “我们有意识的感知、思想和行为都受到无意识的心智过程的影响”<sup>[15]</sup> (2018, 第16页)。潜意识除了影响习惯, 也会自动对不断涌入我们头脑的信息进行筛选和处理。无意识的期望和意图也会影响有意识的选择和决

brain has learned to recognize the stimulus as a predictable learned response and no longer needs attention. Emotion can also form memory and be reinforced into habit through repeated input. The neural network treats habit as the default option. The formation and consolidation of new habits require the use of the power of neuroplasticity for constant repetition, and also need to compete with the strong neural circuits corresponding to old habits. So, from the perspective of an educator, a student's interest in a certain piece of information depends on when it is first recognized by the brain as a novel stimulus and the value assessment it receives. When similar stimuli are repeated, the sensitivity of the brain's response will decrease. Once the brain has habituated to a stimulus, it is not easy to change how it has been classified as something of interest or disinterest.

The brain filters a massive amount of input information through the attention system, controlling neural engagement. In addition, during cognitive overload, especially in tasks that require sustained attention, the brain will reduce interest or “go on strike” to avoid excessive fatigue. The brain will automatically classify certain signals as “irrelevant” based on past experience and cultural background. Anxiety or depression can change the allocation of attention, causing certain signals to be particularly noticed or ignored. All these features will affect a student's interest and response to the information transmitted by the teacher. The way the information is expressed—whether it is clear and easy for the recipient to understand, and whether the mode of expression is novel and interesting—will also directly affect the other party's interest.

Consciousness is the intelligent operator that determines and controls our behavior, and the

策。对一个想法的敏感性与好恶,相当程度也是存在于潜意识中的。迈克尔·波兰尼则强调,任何的学习探索,都涉及一种“从-到”的认知过程(from-to knowing):一个作为“从”的辅助意识和一个作为“到”的焦点意识通过认知者个人的记忆、直觉、想象和参与而整合起来,这自然也涉及各种显意识和潜意识的整合[16]。

所以,熟悉大脑的工作方式,对于一个教育工作者是至关重要的。至少我们应当确保传递信息和交流的方式可以引起学生足够的兴趣。应该明白,学习者的兴趣和立场极大程度受到先入之见的左右。语言的交流、逻辑的思辨,对于改变一个成年人深信不疑的东西,作用是非常有限的。一个人对于新的认知或信仰范式的兴趣和反应,很大程度上取决于其潜藏于记忆深处的、很可能是无意识的历史印记。很多时候,摆事实讲道理并不能改变人心。教育者也应该想办法帮助交流对象去挖掘记忆深处的、潜意识当中的认知或情感障碍。

subconscious is the autopilot.[14] Habit will cause some behaviors to become conditioned reflexes, often unconsciously. Freud described the human mind as an iceberg, with one-seventh of its volume floating above the water. The importance of the unconscious and subconscious often exceeds our imagination. Kandel said: “Our conscious perceptions, thoughts, and actions are all influenced by unconscious mental processes”[15] (2018, p. 16). In addition to affecting habits, the subconscious will automatically screen and process the information that constantly floods into our minds. Unconscious expectations and intentions will affect one’s conscious choices and decisions. One’s sensitivity to and preference for an idea also exist to a large extent in the subconscious. Michael Polanyi emphasizes that any learning exploration involves a “from-to knowing” cognitive process: an subsidiary awareness as the “from” and a focal awareness as the “to” are integrated through the one’s personal memory, intuition, imagination, and participation, which naturally also involves the integration of various conscious and subconscious processes.[16]

So, being familiar with the way the brain works is crucial for an educator. At the very least, we should ensure that the way we transmit information and communicate can arouse sufficient interest in students. It should be understood that the learner’s interest and position are greatly influenced by preconceptions. The exchange of language and logical reasoning have a very limited effect on changing an adult’s deeply held beliefs. A person’s interest in and response to a new

14. Agid, Yves 2021. *Subconsciousness: Automatic Behavior and the Brain*. New York: Columbia University Press.

15. Kandel, Eric R. 2018. *The Disordered Mind: What Unusual Brains Tell Us About Ourselves*. New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

16. Polanyi, Michael. 2012. *Personal Knowledge*. Abingdon: Routledge.

一个人兴趣的塑造和意义地图的描绘,是从婴儿期就开始的,也需要被放在生命历程和社会环境当中去理解。婴儿对父母是高度依赖的。儿童无法独立生活而必须经历一个童年的“学徒期”(apprenticeship)(第216页)。儿童通常在父母的庇护下,缓慢地暴露于“未知”并且融入“文化结构”。婴儿的学习是从观察并模仿母亲的肢体语言开始的。模仿的天性也是跟形成钦佩(admire)和建立信任的能力相关联。儿童会观察并鉴别自己钦佩且信任的对象(首先是父母),主动去模仿他们的行为,吸收他们的价值观。彼得森主张“行动先于理念”(第415页):儿童在能够为其行为提供抽象的解释或描述之前,就可以学会如何恰当地行动。因此,每个人的兴趣和意义地图,是在开始学习抽象思维甚至学习语言之前就被建立的。儿童可以通过观察和模仿父母的行为上所表现出来的好恶,就逐步建立自己的价值体系(比如父母是爱读书还是爱打游戏)。儿童通过观察父母是否撒谎、是否言行一致,就可以形成对诚实和诚信的价值观。父母对孩子行为的奖惩,同样会直接影响孩子价值观的发育。比说教更重要的,父母在孩子面前活出来的有关信仰的行为模式,将直接影响孩子对信仰的评价和兴趣。此外,渗透在文化中的价值观念从父母的床头故事逐渐进入儿童的内心。听圣经故事长大

cognitive or belief paradigm depends to a large extent on the historical imprints hidden deep in their memory, which are very likely unconscious. Many times, presenting facts and reasoning cannot change people's hearts. Educators should also think of ways to help the person they are communicating with to dig out the cognitive or emotional obstacles hidden deep in their memory and subconscious.

### “Interest” and “Growth”

The shaping of a person's interest and the drawing of their map of meaning begin in infancy and need to be understood in the context of their life's journey and social environment. An infant is highly dependent on its parents. A child cannot live independently and must go through a childhood “apprenticeship” (p. 216). A child is usually slowly exposed to the “unknown” and integrated into the “cultural structure” under the protection of its parents. A baby's learning begins with observing and imitating the mother's body language. The instinct to imitate is also related to the ability to form admiration and build trust. A child will observe and identify the objects of their admiration and trust (first and foremost, their parents), and actively imitate their behavior, absorbing their values. Peterson argues that “action precedes idea” (p. 415): a child can learn how to act appropriately before being able to provide an abstract explanation or description of their behavior. Therefore, everyone's interest and map of meaning are established before they begin to learn abstract thinking or even language. A child can gradually establish their own value system by observing the likes

还是听哪吒和孙悟空的故事长大,必然会对孩子的价值观形成不同的塑造。从小没机会长大后初次接触某种信仰的时候,通常都会表现出很大的兴趣。但是如果多次接触只是形成了负面印象,就会大大降低再次接触时候的兴趣。

所以,每个人从孩提时代开始在内心携带着父母的形象,并且对一生的行为方式都有深远的影响。文化之于成年人,则如同父母之于孩子。步入青春期的孩子会迫切需要新的解释和新的行为方式。青春期的自我认同会逐渐取代对父母权威的依赖,成为青少年直接面对未知的方式。逐步发展的抽象思辨能力能够提升模仿能力,也会赋予每个人反思和反省“已知”——自己已经习得的意义地图——的能力和机会。世界观、人生观、价值观的终极塑造,很大程度上要看这个时候的青少年从家庭、学校和社会获取到什么样的信息,或者被什么样的“故事”所包围、吸引和说服。

社会学和社会心理学经常用初级和次级社会化(Primary & Secondary Socialization)描述个体习得社会规范、价值观和行为的过程。如前所述,初级社会化发生在生命早期,儿童在家庭和游戏中,将观察到的社会规范和价值观内化于心,塑造了身份认同和行为的基本模式。次级社会化则发生在生命后期,通过学校、同龄人、工作场所和媒体等,调整、完善和扩展社交技能和价值体系。今天的社会化越来越受到全

and dislikes expressed in their parents' behavior (for example, whether the parents love reading or playing games). A child can form values of honesty and integrity by observing whether their parents lie and whether their words and actions are consistent. The rewards and punishments that parents give for a child's behavior will also directly affect the development of the child's values. More important than lecturing, the behavioral patterns of faith that parents live out in front of their children will directly affect the child's evaluation of and interest in faith. In addition, the prevalent values in the surrounding culture gradually enter the child's heart from the parents' bedtime stories. Growing up listening to Bible stories versus growing up listening to stories of Nezha and Sun Wukong will inevitably shape a child's values differently. Those who didn't have the opportunity to learn about a particular faith as children usually show great interest when they first encounter it later in life. But if multiple encounters only form a negative impression, it will greatly reduce their interest in subsequent encounters.

So, everyone carries the image of their parents in their heart from childhood, and it has a profound impact on their behavior throughout their life. Culture is to an adult what parents are to a child. A child entering adolescence will urgently need new explanations and new ways of behaving. The self-identity of adolescence will gradually replace the dependence on parental authority, as adolescents begin to face the unknown independently. As one's capacity for abstract reasoning gradually develops over time, it will naturally enhance one's ability to imitate, and to reflect on and re-examine the “known”—the map of meaning they have already learned. The ultimate shaping of one's worldview, philosophy of life, and values depends to a large extent on what kind of information ado-

球化和数字化的影响(例如各种社交媒体包括网络游戏的影响),甚至直接介入儿童初级社会化的过程。初级社会化定下了兴趣和价值观的基调,次级的社会化则会对其进行完善、强化或者挑战和颠覆。<sup>[17]</sup>个人的成长过程中会有一些机会窗口,经历认知和价值的解体和重构。这也是人格和信仰教育的机会窗口。但这样的机会窗口会随着年龄增加而减少。一旦定型之后,再次被改变的机会就很少了。没有人会频繁更改自己的世界观。

文化中诸多的故事可以在不同的抽象层级上被编码和传递。我们的价值参照系也具有“嵌套”或“层级”结构。在特定时刻,我们的注意力仅占据该结构的一个层级。对于注意力的限制能力,在潜意识的支持下,使人们不需要关注整体图景和终极意义,就可以为自己当下的行动找到方向和意义。所以,许多人不需要思考人生的意义,不需要一个明确的信仰体系,不需要去了解哲学和神学,就足以感到自己活得清醒满足,而没有兴趣寻求改变。然而,必要的时候,人也可以或者不得不转换抽象层次或者调节时空分辨率的尺度。当意外冲击发生,熟悉的解释类别和行动模式可能会失效,人们或者被迫着眼于全局,或者聚焦于之前忽略的细节。人们可能就更愿意调整自己的认知范式或者转换参照系。比如在遭遇人生危机的时候,或者突然移民海外经历文化冲击的

lescents get from their family, school, and society at this time, or what kind of “stories” they are surrounded, attracted, and persuaded by.

Sociology and social psychology often use primary and secondary socialization to describe the process by which an individual learns social norms, values, and behaviors. As mentioned earlier, primary socialization occurs early in life, where children, in the family and at play, internalize observed social norms and values, shaping the basic patterns of their identity and behavior. Secondary socialization occurs later in life, through school, peers, the workplace, and the media, etc., adjusting, refining, and expanding social skills and value systems. Today's socialization is increasingly influenced by globalization and digitalization (for example, the influence of various social media, including online games), and even directly intervenes in the process of a child's primary socialization. Primary socialization sets the tone for interests and values, and secondary socialization will refine, reinforce, or challenge and subvert it.<sup>[17]</sup> In the process of an individual's growth, there will be some windows of opportunity to experience the deconstruction and reconstruction of cognition and values. This is also a window of opportunity for education in character and faith. But such windows of opportunity will decrease with age. Once a person is set in their ways, the chances for significant change are few. No one will frequently change their worldview.

The many stories in a culture can be encoded and transmitted at different levels of abstraction. Our frame of reference for values also has a “nested” or “hierarchical” structure. At a specific moment, our attention only occupies one level of this structure. The ability to limit attention, with the support of the subconscious, allows people to

时候,就有可能突然产生兴趣转向,这些也将是难得的价值观和信仰转变的机会窗口。

find direction and meaning for their current actions without needing to focus on the overall picture and ultimate meaning. So, many people do not need to think about the meaning of life, do not need a clear belief system, do not need to understand philosophy and theology, and can feel that they are living a fulfilling life, without any interest in seeking change. However, when necessary, a person can or has to switch levels of abstraction or adjust their scale of spatio-temporal resolution. When an unexpected shock occurs, familiar categories of explanation and patterns of action may fail, and people may be forced to look at the big picture or focus on previously ignored details. People may then be more willing to adjust their cognitive paradigms or switch frames of reference. For example, when encountering a life crisis, or suddenly immigrating overseas and experiencing culture shock, it is possible to experience a sudden turn of interest. These will also be rare windows of opportunity for changes in values and faith.

17. Berger, Peter L., & Luckmann, Thomas 1966. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Garden City, NY: Anchor Books. Parsons, Talcott and Bales, Robert F. 1955. *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press. Parsons, Erikson, Erik H. 1950. *Childhood and Society*. New York: W. W. Norton & Company. Giddens, Anthony 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

彼得森的《意义地图》是一部充满挑战和启发性的著作，它迫使我们直面存在的根本问题，重新唤起当代人对生命意义、个体责任、传统智慧的重视。他也提供了跨学科的、挑战当代学术规范的研究视野和研究方法，并且对极权主义、虚无主义和人性之恶提出深刻且独特的反省与批判。彼得森对当代人类精神困境及其历史演化的深切关注，对重拾意义和责任的呼吁，在今天这个信仰失落、精神迷茫的时代弥足珍贵。无论文化背景和思想立场，我们都可以在与彼得森的对话中，深化自己对意义、信仰和人性的理解。

彼得森的思考志在建立微观个体与宏观历史之间的通道。我们每个人都自己的家庭、时代、社会和际遇的产物。历史和社会以某种形式进入内心，

Peterson's *Maps of Meaning* is a challenging and inspiring work. It forces us to confront the fundamental questions of existence and reawakens the contemporary person's attention to the meaning of life, individual responsibility, and traditional wisdom. He also provides a cross-disciplinary research perspective and methodology that challenges contemporary academic norms, and offers a profound and unique reflection on and critique of totalitarianism, nihilism, and human evil. Peterson's deep concern for the spiritual predicament of contemporary humanity and its historical evolution, and his call to reclaim meaning and responsibility, are especially valuable in today's era of lost faith and spiritual confusion. Regardless of cultural background and ideological standpoint, we can all deepen our understanding of meaning, faith, and humanity in a dialogue with Peterson.

Peterson's thinking aims to build a channel between the micro-individual and macro-history. Each of us is a product of our family, our era, our society, and our circumstances. History and so-

塑造了我们的人格、思想和行为。历史以行动剧场、经验传承和叙事构造的形式建构了我们每个人的人格和价值观，同时历史也是每个个体探索生命意义的过程彼此交互的结果。每个人都是独一无二的，各自在独特的探索中找到意义，找到安身立命之所。历史作为意义的地图正是在这个过程中被所有个体共同绘制的。个人对意义的渴求、对未知的态度、独特的成长经历、社会文化影响等，都在自己的“意义地图”上留下印记，影响着自己的人格取向和心灵习惯。在每个个体的未知探索、人格养成与意义寻找中扮演积极的辅助角色，恐怕正是教育最重要的功能。换句话说，教育者的价值正在于帮助每个个体更好地阅读历史，并绘制自己独特的意义地图。

ciety enter our hearts in some form, shaping our personality, thoughts, and behaviors. History, in the form of a forum for action, experiential transmission, and narrative construction, shapes every person's personality and values. At the same time, history is also the result of the interaction of each individual's process of exploring the meaning of life. Each person is unique, finding meaning and a place to stand in their own unique journey of exploration. The map of meaning as history is drawn jointly by all individuals in this process. An individual's thirst for meaning, their attitude towards the unknown, their unique growth experience, and socio-cultural influences all leave their mark on their own "map of meaning," affecting their personality and mental habits. It is perhaps the most important function of education to play an active supporting role in each individual's exploration of the unknown, cultivation of personality, and search for meaning. In other words, the value of an educator lies in helping each individual to better read history and to draw their own unique map of meaning.

# 推敲专栏

**KEY WORDS  
TRANSLATIONS**

编者按语  
陈俊元 顽痼问题

Editor's note  
Junyuan Chen, Wicked Problem

子曰：名不正则言不顺。

在活着的语言中，汉语是古老的；在使用人口累计上，汉语是最多的；作为第一语言，汉语仍然是最大的。

于今，汉语内外交困，左右为难。内部受制于严格管控的言论自由，外部承受英语的世界霸权，左边是教育体系批量生产的标准化人群，右边是庸俗乃至猥琐的自媒体风格。

《汉语学志》强调简洁、优美、准确、诚实的语言文字，故此，特设“推敲专栏”，引《苦吟》（卢延让）诗为态度。

莫话诗中事，诗中难更无。  
吟安一个字，捻断数茎须。  
险觅天应闷，狂搜海亦枯。  
不同文赋易，为著者之乎。

又有贾岛《题诗后》为旨趣。

两句三年得，一吟双泪流。  
知音如不赏，归卧故山秋。

Confucius said: *Ming bu zheng ze yan bu shun*. (If names are not correct, language will not be in accordance with the truth of things.)

Among living languages, Chinese is ancient. It is the most spoken language in the world, with the largest number of native speakers.

Today, the Chinese language is besieged from within and without, caught in a dilemma. Within China, it is constrained by strictly controlled freedom of speech; externally, it faces the global hegemony of English. It is surrounded on one side by rigid mental frameworks mass-produced by the education system, and on the other side by the vulgar, crude pontifications of social media writing.

Logos Review promotes concise, elegant, precise, and truthful writing. For this reason, we have established the “Deliberation Column” (*Tuiqiao Zhuanlan*), in the spirit of Lu Yanrang’s “Musing on a Poem”.

*Speak not of matters within the poem, for in the poem, there are no greater difficulties.*

*To settle on one word, I've twisted off several strands of my beard.*

*Seeking a perilous phrase would weary Heaven; a frantic search would dry up the sea.*

*Unlike the ease of prose, this is the author's toil with particles of speech.*

We also take guidance from Jia Dao’s “After Writing a Poem”.

*Two lines took me three years to write; when I recite them, my tears flow.*

*If a kindred spirit does not appreciate them, I will return to my old mountain to sleep through the autumn.*

# 顽瘡问题

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# Wicked Problem

20世纪70年代末至90年代初,学术界经历了一场对既有科学范式的深刻反思。研究者开始质疑过去那种将复杂现象拆解为独立变量,再通过机械原理对其加以控制的思维方式。特别是以系统思维(systems thinking)与复杂性理论(complexity theory)为代表的一系列跨学科方法逐渐兴起。此时期,被誉为现代系统科学之父的卡尔·路德维希·冯·贝塔朗菲(Karl Ludwig von Bertalanffy)于1968年提出了“通用系统理论”(General System Theory),为后来的复杂性研究奠定了理论基础(Bertalanffy, 1968);法国哲学家埃德加·莫兰(Edgar Morin)自1977年起陆续出版六卷本著作《方法》(La Méthode),从理论、方法与实践层面全面阐述了复杂性思想对社会伦理与知识组织方式的深远意义。在美国,新成立的圣塔菲研究所(Santa Fe Institute, 1984)更推动了“复杂适应系统”(Complex Adaptive Systems)等理论的发展,将非线性、自组织、涌现性(emergence)等概念引入主流科学讨论。

正是在对“理性规划范式”的反思背景下,加州大学伯克利分校教授霍斯特·里特尔(Horst W. J. Rittel)提出了“wicked problems”一词,用以描述那些难以界定、缺乏标准解法、问题

From the late 1970s to the early 1990s, academia underwent a profound reflection on existing scientific paradigms. Researchers began to question the past way of thinking that dismantled complex phenomena into independent variables and then sought to control them through mechanical principles. In particular, a series of interdisciplinary methods represented by systems thinking and complexity theory gradually emerged. During this period, Karl Ludwig von Bertalanffy, hailed as the father of modern systems science, proposed the “General System Theory” in 1968, laying the theoretical foundation for later complexity studies (Bertalanffy, 1968). French philosopher Edgar Morin, beginning in 1977, successively published his six-volume work *La Méthode*, comprehensively elaborating on the profound significance of complexity thinking for social ethics and the organization of knowledge. In the United States, the newly established Santa Fe Institute (1984) further promoted the development of theories such as “Complex Adaptive Systems,” introducing concepts like non-linearity, self-organization, and emergence into mainstream scientific discourse.

It was against this backdrop of reflection on the “rational planning paradigm” that University of California, Berkeley professor Horst W. J. Rittel coined the term “wicked problems” to describe social predicaments that are difficult to define, lack standard solutions, and in which the problem and solution are inextricably entangled. The term was first introduced by philosopher C. West Churchman in his 1967 editorial in *Management Science*, where he noted it was a highly inspiring concept he had heard from Rittel, revealing the non-engineering nature of social problems (“Free

与解法纠缠不清的社会难题。该术语首次由哲学家 C. West Churchman 在其1967年发表于《管理科学》的社论中引入,指出这是他从里特尔处听到的一个极具启发性的概念,揭示了社会问题的非工程性本质(“Free for All,” 1967)。1973年里特尔与城市规划学者 梅尔文·韦伯(Melvin Webber)合著《规划一般理论的困境》一文,正式发表了“Wicked Problem”一词,并总结出其“十条特征”(Rittel & Webber, 1973) [1]。作为“无法分割或简化的问题”的顽痼问题,必须通过整体视角和复杂系统的理论方法对其加以理解。

for All,” 1967). In 1973, Rittel and urban planning scholar Melvin Webber co-authored the article “Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning,” officially publishing the term “Wicked Problem” and summarizing its “ten characteristics” (Rittel & Webber, 1973) [1]. As problems that “cannot be divided or simplified,” wicked problems must be understood through a holistic perspective and the theoretical methods of complex systems.

1. (1) 顽痼问题没有确定的表述方式。
- (2) 顽痼问题没有停止的规则。
- (3) 顽痼问题的解决方案不是真或假,而是好或坏。
- (4) 解决顽痼问题的方案没有直接和最终的检验标准。
- (5) 顽痼问题的每一个解决方案都是‘一锤子买卖’;因为没有机会通过试错来学习,所以每一次尝试都非常重要。
- (6) ‘顽痼’的问题并没有一套可列举的(或可详尽描述的)潜在解决方案,也没有一套可纳入计划的允许操作的详尽描述。
- (7) 每个顽痼问题本质上都是独一无二的。
- (8) 每个顽痼问题都可以被视为另一个问题的症状。
- (9) 代表顽痼问题的差异的存在可以有多种解释方式。解释方式的选择决定了问题解决方案的性质。
- (10) 规划者没有权利犯错。

1. (1) Wicked problems have no definitive formulation.
- (2) Wicked problems have no stopping rule.
- (3) Solutions to wicked problems are not true-or-false, but good-or-bad.
- (4) There is no immediate and no ultimate test of a solution to a wicked problem.
- (5) Every solution to a wicked problem is a “one-shot operation”; because there is no opportunity to learn by trial-and-error, every attempt counts significantly.
- (6) Wicked problems do not have an enumerable (or an exhaustively describable) set of potential solutions, nor is there a well-described set of permissible operations that may be incorporated into the plan.
- (7) Every wicked problem is essentially unique.
- (8) Every wicked problem can be considered to be a symptom of another problem.
- (9) The existence of a discrepancy representing a wicked problem can be explained in numerous ways. The choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem’s resolution.
- (10) The planner has no right to be wrong.

“Wicked Problem”一词自2005年进入中国学术界以来(唐林涛, 2005), 已有多重翻译方式, 包括“坏问题”(唐林涛, 2005)、“棘手问题”(周昕宇 & 杨宏山, 2025; 王敏 & 宋轶, 2023; 郭佳良, 2017, 2020)、“复杂问题”(郭巍青 et al., 2019)和“抗解问题”(张金梁 & 王晓峰, 2024)等。然而, 这些译法均未能全面体现其内涵和特性。通过对不同译法的横向比较, 本文提出了一种新的译法——“顽痼问题”, 以更贴切地反映其核心特质。

棘手: 紧急但不一定复杂

“Wicked Problem”最普遍的翻译为“棘手问题”(周昕宇 & 杨宏山, 2025; 王敏 & 宋轶, 2023; 郭佳良, 2017, 2020), 这一译法在中文学界尤为普遍。其突出问题的紧迫性和急需解决的特质, 但却忽略了该类问题的内在复杂性和难以根本解决的特点。实际上, “棘手”更多强调解决问题的操作层面, 而非其系统性难题的本质。

坏: 价值判断但无特点描述

另一种较为直译的译法是“坏问题”(唐林涛, 2005), 直接沿用了“Wicked”的字面含义。然而, 这一译法容易让人误以为问题带有道德或价值层面的评判性意义, 从而模糊

Since the term “Wicked Problem” entered Chinese academia in 2005 (Tang Lintao, 2005), it has been translated in several ways, including “坏问题” (huài wèntí, bad problem) (Tang Lintao, 2005), “棘手问题” (jíshǒu wèntí, thorny problem) (Zhou & Yang, 2025; Wang & Song, 2023; Guo, 2017, 2020), “复杂问题” (fùzá wèntí, complex problem) (Guo et al., 2019), and “抗解问题” (kàngjiě wèntí, resistant-to-solution problem) (Zhang & Wang, 2024). However, none of these translations fully capture its connotation and characteristics. Through a horizontal comparison of these different translations, this article proposes a new translation—“顽痼问题” (wángù wèntí)—to more accurately reflect its core qualities.

Thorny (棘手): Urgent but Not Necessarily Complex

The most common translation for “Wicked Problem” is “棘手问题” (jíshǒu wèntí, thorny problem) (Zhou & Yang, 2025; Wang & Song, 2023; Guo, 2017, 2020), which is particularly prevalent in Chinese academia. It highlights the urgency of the problem and the need for a solution, but it overlooks the inherent complexity and the characteristic of being difficult to resolve fundamentally. In reality, “棘手” (thorny) emphasizes the operational level of problem-solving rather than the essence of it being a systemic predicament.

Bad (坏): A Value Judgment Lacking Description

Another more literal translation is “坏问题” (huài wèntí, bad problem) (Tang Lintao, 2005), which directly adopts the literal meaning of “wicked.” However, this translation can easily lead one to mistakenly believe that the problem carries a moral or value-based judgment, thus blurring the

了“Wicked Problem”作为技术与实践性术语的真正意涵。这种译法虽然抓人眼球,但无法满足严谨的学术讨论需求。

#### 复杂:片面的特点描述

“复杂问题”(郭巍青 et al., 2019)是“Wicked Problem”在中文中的另一常见译法。虽然这一译法试图呈现问题的多维复杂性,却因中文语境中“复杂”一词的多义性而显得模糊。具体来说,“复杂”既可以指“复杂性”(complexity),即难以通过单一方法解决的特质;也可能指“繁杂”(complicated),后者通常可以通过梳理与分析得以化解。这种模糊性可能会削弱读者对“Wicked Problem”核心特征的理解。

#### 抗解:仅突出技术维度

“抗解问题”(张金梁 & 王晓峰, 2024)从字面上可理解为“抗拒解决的问题”,一定程度上对应了“Wicked Problem”中难以通过标准化方法加以解决的特性。然而,该译法在表达中更侧重“解法”的抗拒,突出了技术性障碍,却未能充分涵盖“Wicked Problem”所具有的多方利益冲突、目标模糊、解决路径不可复现等实践性特征。

true meaning of “Wicked Problem” as a technical and practical term. While eye-catching, this translation fails to meet the needs of rigorous academic discussion.

#### Complex (复杂): A One-Sided Description

“复杂问题”(fùzá wèntí, complex problem) (Guo et al., 2019) is another common translation for “Wicked Problem” in Chinese. Although this translation attempts to present the multidimensional complexity of the problem, it becomes ambiguous due to the polysemy of the word “复杂”(complex) in the Chinese language. Specifically, “繁杂” can refer to “complexity,” a quality that is difficult to solve with a single method, or it can refer to being “complicated,” which can usually be resolved through sorting and analysis. This ambiguity may weaken the reader’s understanding of the core characteristics of a “Wicked Problem.”

#### Resistant-to-Solution (抗解): Highlighting Only the Technical Dimension

“抗解问题”(kàngjiě wèntí, resistant-to-solution problem) can be literally understood as “a problem that resists being solved,” which to some extent corresponds to the difficulty of solving a “Wicked Problem” with standardized methods. However, this translation places more emphasis on the resistance to a “solution,” highlighting technical obstacles, and fails to fully encompass the practical features of a “Wicked Problem,” such as conflicts of interest among multiple parties, ambiguous goals, and the non-replicable nature of solution paths.

### 三、为何译作“顽痼问题”

基于上文已有汉译的讨论,笔者主张将“Wicked Problem”翻译为“顽痼问题”。下文将对“顽”、“痼”和“问题”三个部分分别进行阐述。

#### 3.1. “顽”

首先“顽”字,在中文语境里带有一种抗拒性。在《说文解字》中,“顽”本义为“愚也”,后发展为“顽钝、顽劣、顽皮、顽抗”等用法,常用来形容不受教、不服从、难以约束的行为或状态。这使得“顽”带有一种“抵抗治理”的倾向,即包含理性难以控制之处,也隐含了某种情感上的叛逆。

在这个意义上,它与wicked一词之间产生了一种有趣的语义共鸣——wicked并非单纯的“邪恶”或“错误”,而是指一种难以驯服的问题状态。这正好与里特尔在其文章中用“驯服问题”(tame problem)来表达可以被解决的简单问题相互呼应(Rittel & Webber, 1973)。

#### 3.2. “痼”

虽然“顽”可以表达wicked的“难以被驯服”的意思,但“顽问题”在中文表达中并不通顺。因此,“顽痼”这一

### III. Why Translate it as “顽痼问题”(Wángù Wèntí)?

Based on the discussion of the existing Chinese translations above, this author advocates for translating “Wicked Problem” as “顽痼问题”(wángù wèntí). The following will elaborate on the three parts: “顽”(wán), “痼”(gù), and “问题”(wèntí).

#### 3.1. “顽”(wán)

First, the character “顽”(wán), in the Chinese context, carries a sense of resistance. In the *Shuowen Jiezi* (the oldest comprehensive Chinese character dictionary, compiled during the Eastern Han dynasty), the original meaning of “顽” is “foolish,” which later evolved into usages like “顽钝”(stubborn and dull), “顽劣”(unruly and wicked), “顽皮”(naughty), and “顽抗”(stubborn resistance), often used to describe behavior or a state that is incorrigible, disobedient, and difficult to restrain. This gives “顽” a flavor of “resisting governance,” implying a nature that is averse to control and reason, as well as a certain emotional rebellion.

In this sense, it creates an interesting semantic resonance with the word “wicked”—wicked is not simply “evil” or “wrong,” but refers to a problem state that is difficult to tame. This corresponds well with Rittel’s use of “tame problem” in his article to describe simple problems that can be solved (Rittel & Webber, 1973).

#### 3.2. “痼”(gù)

Although “顽” can express the “difficult to tame” meaning of “wicked,” the phrase “顽问题”(wán

翻译笔者希望取“顽固”之音与“痼疾”之形。由“固”到“痼”的变化灵感来自于中医。

系统思维强调问题是嵌入在其所在的复杂系统中的,要真正理解并应对这些问题,必须从整体的角度出发,分析问题的多维交织关系。与传统的线性思维不同,系统性思维能够发现表面上看似无关的要素之间的间接联系,揭示任何一个变量的变化如何影响整个系统。这一思维模式与中医的整体观念有许多相似之处。中医强调人体是一个有机的整体,各个部分相互依存,治疗疾病不能仅仅针对某一症状,而应从整体出发,调整全身的功能以达到平衡。例如,中医常通过刺激脚部的穴位来缓解远处器官的病痛,这种思路与系统思维下的全局观不谋而合。

《说文解字》段玉裁注本在“疒部”中释曰:“痼,久病也”,即指积久难愈之病,强调其病程之长与根深难治的特性(许慎撰 et al., 1963)。在古典文学中,“痼”常与“疾”连用为“痼疾”,专指长期积累、反复发作、难以彻底治愈的慢性疾病。

在古代医籍中,“痼疾”多用于描述长期潜伏、难以消除的病理状态。《难经·十八难》即有相关记载:“假令脉结伏者,内无积聚;脉浮结者,外无痼疾;有积聚脉不结伏,有痼疾脉不浮结。为脉不应病,病不应脉,是为死病也。(秦

wèntǐ) does not flow easily in Chinese. Therefore, for the translation “顽固,” this author hopes to borrow the sound of “顽固” (wángù, stubborn) and the form of “痼疾” (gùjí, chronic disease). The inspiration for the change from “固” to “痼” comes from Traditional Chinese Medicine (TCM).

Systems thinking emphasizes that problems are embedded in the complex systems in which they exist. To truly understand and respond to these problems, one must start from a holistic perspective, analyzing the multidimensional and intertwined relationships of the problem. Unlike traditional linear thinking, systems thinking can discover the indirect connections between seemingly unrelated elements, revealing how a change in any one variable affects the entire system. This mode of thinking shares many similarities with the holistic concept of TCM. TCM considers the human body as an organic whole, with all parts interdependent. When treating a disease, a TCM practitioner does not simply target a single symptom but starts from the whole, adjusting the functions of the entire body to achieve balance. For example, TCM often stimulates acupoints on the feet to alleviate pain in various organs, a line of thought that coincides with the global view of systems thinking.

In Duan Yucui's annotated edition of the *Shuowen Jiezi*, under the “sickness radical” (疒), he notes: “痼, a long-standing illness,” referring to a disease that has persisted over a long period of time and is difficult to cure, emphasizing the length of its course and its deep-rooted, intractable nature (Xu Shen et al., 1963). In classical literature, “痼” is often combined with “疾” (jí, illness) to form “痼疾” (gùjí), specifically referring to chronic diseases that have accumulated over a long period, recur frequently, and are difficult to cure completely.

越人, 2009)”中医认为, 这种脉象和病情互相矛盾的情况, 说明身体已经失去正常反应能力, 往往预示着病情危重、难以治愈, 所以称之为“死病”。简单来说, 就像手机电池明明没电了电量却显示满格, 或者明明有电却黑屏关机, 这种“表里不一”的状态往往意味着系统出了大问题。此处“痼疾”不仅强调疾病的时间跨度, 更通过表象与系统之间的关系体现了其复杂性。

因此, 将“wicked”译为“顽痼”, 不仅在语义上呈现出问题的顽劣性与慢性根深之象, 也在思维模式上契合了中医对复杂病理状态“久病入络、系统失衡”的整体性认知。

### 3.3. “问题”的双重语意

在中文语境中, “问题”一词天然具有语义上的双重性: 它既可以对应英文中的 *problem*, 即需要解决的难题, 也可以对应 *question*, 即需要理解与探究的提问。然而在英文中, *problem* 与 *question* 通常被严格区分。*Problem* 通常指涉一种障碍或困境, 隐含着“必须被解决”的语气, 即便像 *wicked problem* 这样无法彻底解决的复杂难题, 其命名本身也无法避免想要解决它的联想。而中文中的“问题”则不同, 它的语义更为开放, 允许人们在理解尚未清晰、边界尚不明确时, 也将某种现象称为“问题”, 提供了一种

In ancient medical texts, “痼疾” is often used to describe a pathological state that is long-latent and difficult to eliminate. The *Nanjing* (an ancient foundational text of TCM) describes this con-founding state in its eighteenth chapter: “If the pulse is knotted and hidden, there are no internal accumulations; if the pulse is floating and knotted, there is no external chronic disease. If there are accumulations but the pulse is not knotted and hidden, or if there is a chronic disease but the pulse is not floating and knotted, this is a case where the pulse does not correspond to the illness, and the illness does not correspond to the pulse. This is a fatal illness.” (Qin Yueren, 2009). According to TCM, this kind of contradiction between the pulse and the illness indicates that the body has lost its normal ability to respond, often presaging a critical and incurable condition, thus dubbed a “fatal illness.” It is akin to a mobile phone battery displaying a full charge when it is actually dead, or displaying a black screen and shutting down when it is fully charged. This state of “the outside not matching the inside” often means there is a major problem with the system. Here, “痼疾” not only emphasizes the time span of the disease but also reflects its complexity through the relationship between appearance and the system.

Therefore, translating “wicked” as “顽痼” (*wángù*) not only reflects the stubbornness and chronic, deep-rooted nature of the problem from a semantic perspective, but also aligns, in its mental framework, with the holistic understanding in TCM of a complex pathological state as a “long illness that has entered the collaterals, a system out of balance.”

更温和、更探询的视角：面对顽痼问题，我们未必要急于将其视为迫切待解的“难题”，而是可以先对它进行“提问”，它尚未被充分理解，也许仅仅是我们的知识经验尚无法对其进行认知。

正如顽痼问题的提出者里特尔与韦伯(Rittel & Webber, 1973)所指出的，理解问题与开发应对方案是同步发生的过程，也就是说，所谓“应对”，本身就是“理解”的一部分。中文“问题”一词在语义上的可置换性，恰好为这种同步性提供了语言基础。它不仅避免了将复杂现象简单归类为“待解难题”的倾向，也鼓励研究者以更开放的姿态面对这类问题的独特性，从而放下固有的模式与预设。从该角度来看，“顽痼问题”不仅是对 wicked problem 的一种翻译选择，更是在中文语境中对这一概念的深入表达。

### 3.3. The Dual Meaning of “问题” (wèntí)

In the Chinese context, the word “问题” (wèntí) naturally has a semantic duality: it can be translated as the English word “problem,” a difficult issue that needs to be solved, as well as “question,” an inquiry that needs to be understood

and explored. However, in English, “problem” and “question” are usually strictly distinguished. “Problem” usually refers to an obstacle or a predicament, implying an expectation that it needs to be solved. Even for a complex predicament like a wicked problem, which cannot be completely solved, that air of expectation hangs heavy over the word. In contrast, the Chinese word “问题” is different; its semantics are more open, allowing people to call a phenomenon a “问题” even when they have not yet clearly understood it or defined its boundaries. This provides a gentler, more inquisitive perspective: when faced with a wicked-chronic problem, we do not necessarily have to rush to see it as a “predicament” to be solved urgently, but can first make inquiries of it. It has not yet been fully understood; perhaps it is simply that our knowledge and experience are not yet able to grasp it.

As Rittel and Webber (1973), the scholars who coined the term “wicked problem,” pointed out, understanding the problem and developing a response happen concurrently. That is to say, the so-called “response” is itself a part of “understanding.” The semantic interchangeability of the Chinese word “问题” happens to provide the linguistic basis for this concurrency. It not only avoids the tendency to simply classify complex phenomena as “problems to be solved” but also encourages researchers to face the uniqueness of such problems with a more open attitude, thereby letting go of fixed models and preconceptions. From this perspective, “顽痼问题” (wángù wèntí) is not just a translation choice for “wicked problem,” but a deeper expression of this concept in the Chinese context.

现实世界中诸多问题并没有简单明确的答案,任何单一解决方案,往往都带来新的社会或环境后果。顽痼问题的存在提醒我们,教育不应仅限于让学生记忆固定的标准答案,而应培养他们理解和应对这些问题的能力。面对日益复杂和多元的社会生态挑战,培养跨学科视野、系统思考能力可能比掌握具体知识更为关键。

Many problems in the real world do not have simple, clear answers. Any single solution on its own often brings about new social or environmental consequences. The existence of “顽痼问题”(wángù wèntí) reminds us that education should not be limited to memorization of fixed, standard answers, but should cultivate an ability to understand and respond to these problems. In the face of increasingly complex and diverse socio-ecological challenges, cultivating an interdisciplinary perspective and the ability to think systemically may be more crucial than mastering specific knowledge.

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札记

ESSAYS

陈瑞渝 银色的语言：在时代喧嚣中重塑中文的思考力

Ruiyu Chen, The Silver Language: Re-shaping Chinese Thinking  
in an Age of Noise

# 银色的语言： 在时代喧嚣中 重塑中文的 思考力

The Silver  
Language:  
Reshaping  
Chinese Thinking  
in an Age of Noise

我们的语言是简洁、优美、准确、诚实的。我们将用汉语剖析我们的顽疾和偏见，改变我们对重要问题的认知，也让汉语常新。

——《汉语学志》编辑部

这一段话，既是我们刊物的愿景，也是这本杂志的视觉与设计策略的出发点。

一种语言的衰弱，不只意味着词汇的退化，更意味着思考方式的退化。

中文正在面对这样的挑战：公共语境中，欲言又止的表达越来越多，直指问题的语言越来越少；信息的密度不减，内容的质量却难以匹配；而在面对时代重大问题时，中文反而显得力不从心。这并非语言本身的局限，而是我们在使用中文时，逐渐放弃了它原有的锋利、节制与诚实。

在创办《汉语学志》的过程中，我们始终思考一个问题：当汉语正在滑入空洞、平庸、支离破碎的状态时，我们能否用一种有尊严的语言，重新谈论真实的问题？

我们不是要制造“文化符号”或“视觉爆点”，我们更关心的是——一种语言的命运是否还能被思想和诚实的表达所扭转？

因此，我们的视觉设计策略并不以“吸引眼球”为第一目标，而是希望传达一种明确的立场：我们相信汉语依然可以剖析现实、承载思想，并在时代的迷雾中发出属于它的光芒。

Our language is meant to be concise, elegant, precise, and honest. We aim to use Chinese to dissect our blind spots and prejudices, reshape our understanding of fundamental issues, and keep the language ever-renewed.  
— from *Logos Review* Editorial Department

This sentence is not only the vision of our publication—it is also the starting point of our visual and design strategy.

The weakening of a language does not merely mean a loss of vocabulary. It marks a deeper erosion: the fading of a way of thinking.

Chinese today is facing this challenge. In the public realm, evasive, half-spoken expressions are multiplying; direct, clear language is in decline. The volume of information hasn't decreased, but its quality struggles to keep up. When confronted with pressing issues of our time, Chinese often feels inadequate—not because the language lacks power, but because we have gradually abandoned its innate sharpness, restraint, and honesty.

In creating *Logos Review*, we kept asking ourselves:

As Chinese slips into hollowness, mediocrity, and fragmentation, can we still speak truthfully, with dignity, in this language?

We are not here to create cultural icons or visual gimmicks. What we care about is this:

Can the destiny of a language still be reshaped by thought and honest expression?

That is why our visual strategy does not aim to “grab attention” first, but to assert a clear stance:

We believe that Chinese can still dissect reality, carry ideas, and shine with its own light—even in the fog of our times.



1. 参考图片，图片源自网络

1. Reference image, image from internet

为什么是银色？

我们为本期《汉语学志》选择“银色”作为主色，不是因为它吸睛或潮流，而是因为它具有稀有的象征性，是对我们刊物精神气质的象征性回应。在编辑部的共识中有这样一句话：“我们将用汉语剖析我们的顽疾和偏见，改变我们对重要问题的认知，也让汉语常新。”

银色最能体现剖析和常新。

它不喧哗、不张扬，却自有光芒；它冷静、理性、克制，却又锋利、有力，是在喧嚣时代中依旧坚持清晰思考的象征。银色的光不是耀眼的，却是穿透沉默的。

在色彩选择过程中，我们曾考虑蓝色。蓝色诚实、理性，却缺乏锋芒，也稍显疏离，缺少一种人文的温度。因此，最终我们选择了银色。

在一个图像泛滥、语言滑落的时代，我们相信，汉语依然可以承载深度与真实。银色象征着这份信念——它不是烈焰，但可以照见黑夜；不是喧闹，但能穿透沉默。银色像是锋利的刀刃，在不动声色中剖开顽疾。在最深的黑暗中，它依然反射思想的微光——真正的思想不需要靠声量取胜，而是靠洞见穿透迷雾。银色是我们对思考深度的坚持，也是我们对语言锋利感的回望。

银色不仅贯穿封面印刷，也点缀于内页和网页设计的多个层级。它不仅仅是背景色，而且还是一种方法论：在视觉上剖开噪音，让语言本身站出来。

## Why Silver?

We chose silver as the primary color for Logos Review Issue 1, not because it is trendy or eye-catching, but because it holds a rare symbolic quality that resonates with the spirit of our publication. There's a saying in the editorial department's consensus: "We will use Chinese to dissect our chronic problems and biases, change the way we think about important issues, and keep the Chinese language ever-evolving."

Silver best embodies both dissection and renewal.

It is quiet and unassuming, yet luminous; calm, rational, and restrained, yet sharp and powerful. It symbolizes the persistence of clear thinking in a noisy age. The light of silver is not dazzling, but it penetrates silence.

During the color selection process, we considered both blue and silver. Blue represents honesty and reason, but it lacks edge and feels too emotionally detached. In contrast, silver carries sharpness with calmness, combining clarity with humanity.

In an age saturated with images and diminished language, we believe Chinese can still carry depth and truth. Silver stands for this belief: it is not blazing fire, but it can illuminate the night; not loud, but capable of piercing silence. It is like a blade, slicing through afflictions with subtle precision. Even in the deepest darkness, it reflects the faint light of thought — true thinking does not triumph through noise but through insight. Silver is our commitment to intellectual depth and a tribute to the sharpness of language.

Silver permeates not just our cover printing, but also accents the inner layout and digital design. It is not merely a background color, but a methodology: a visual technique that cuts through noise and lets the language emerge.

排版方面,我们采用干净、严谨的网格系统,以最小限度的设计干预,支持文本本身的清晰度。

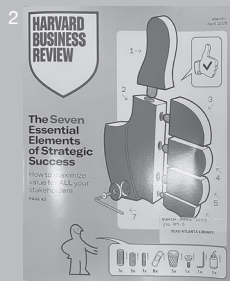
我们调研了多种注重内容的学术杂志,如《哈佛商业评论》(2-4)、《哈佛法律评论》(5-6)、《Nature》(7-8)以及《哈佛设计杂志》(9-11)。其中,《哈佛商业评论》的内页属于典型的商业杂志排版,色彩丰富,配图大量,广告众多,信息密度高却略显喧闹;《哈佛法律评论》则走向另一个极端,纯文字、无色彩、排版工整,视觉语言显得极具权威却少了真实感;《Nature》的风格更接近商业杂志,视觉流程化,内容密度高但不克制。

最终,《哈佛设计杂志》的排版风格最契合我们的目标。它兼具图像的信服力与色彩的节制感,配合利落的版式设计、清晰的信息呈现和优质的纸张手感,使其既真实又权威。

参考《哈佛设计杂志》,我们希望让排版“隐身”,让文字显形。不是去风格化,而是让风格服从语言的逻辑与重量。

在这样一个视觉张力饱和的世界里,清晰本身就是一种力量。我们不试图通过装饰赢得注意力——我们相信,信息的权威感并不来自视觉的厚重堆叠,而来自排布的逻辑与语言的诚实。

在视觉节奏上,我们不寻求过度的风格化表现,而更强调一种“让内容自己呼吸”的节制空间,并通过秩序恢复阅读的节奏。对我们来说,克制不等于贫瘠,而是一种针对语言现状的回应,我们要让读者专注于文字本身,而不是被形式诱导分心。



## Layout and Structure: Disciplined Order

In our layout strategy, we adopt a clean, rigorous grid system that supports textual clarity with minimal design intervention.

We researched other content-driven academic journals, such as *Harvard Business Review* (2-4), *Harvard Law Review* (5-6), *Nature* (7-8), and *Harvard Design Magazine* (9-11). The



inner layout of *Harvard Business Review* is typical of commercial magazines—rich in color, abundant in illustrations, and filled with advertisements.

*Harvard Law Review*, by contrast, presents a starkly different tone: purely typographic, highly structured, with no color use. Its layout conveys a sense of authority but lacks emotional resonance.



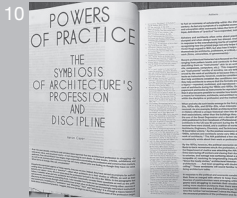
*Nature* is closer in format to *Harvard Business Review*, also using a commercial magazine structure. Among them, *Harvard Design Magazine* is the one we look to for visual alignment.

Our own visual language must first and foremost reflect our editorial tone—simplicity, authority, and authenticity. *Harvard Business Review* and *Nature* suffer from visual over-saturation and standardized layouts, which compromise both clarity and authority. Meanwhile, *Harvard Law Review* is authoritative, but so much so that it loses a sense of human realism.

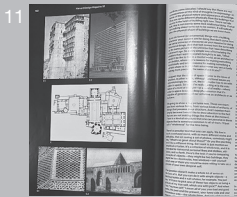


*Harvard Design Magazine*, on the other hand, achieves a compelling balance. Its use of images and color is believable and restrained. Paired with sharp layout design, clear information structure, and high-quality tactile experience, it manages to be both credible and authoritative.

Following this model, we want the layout to “disappear,” and the text to come forward—not by removing style, but by letting style serve the logic and weight of language.



In a world over saturated with visual tension, clarity is power. We don't attempt to capture attention with decoration. We believe that authority comes not from visual volume but from the logic of arrangement and the honesty of language.



In terms of visual rhythm, we avoid excessive stylization. Instead, we emphasize a restrained space where content can breathe. Through order, we restore a natural reading rhythm. For us, restraint is not a lack, but a response to the current state of language. Our goal is to help readers focus on the text itself, not be distracted by form.

在字体系统上，我们有意并置中文宋体与英文无衬线体(sans serif)，不仅出于视觉美学的考量，更是一次语言哲学的实验。

宋体，源自古籍印刷传统，是中文思想的载体之一。它有笔锋、有韵律，是温和、耐看的存在，传达出一种思想的稳定性与延续感。而英文无衬线体代表当代的信息结构、清晰度与效率，它冷静、干净、直达核心，具有一种时代性与理性。

我们并不追求它们的风格统一，而是强调语言/思想之间的张力。在视觉上，它们并不“对称”，但正是这种不对称的组合，构成了一种思想的张力和路径的多元性。这种搭配让一种文脉深远的文字(汉语)，在另一种结构简洁的系统中获得被重新排列、被重新阅读的可能。

宋体低声思考，无衬线清晰呈现，这不仅是一句关于字体的判断，也是一种思想的立场，既是视觉策略，也是世界观。

Our typography strategy purposefully juxtaposes Chinese Songti with English sans-serif fonts. This decision is not only aesthetic but philosophical.

Songti, rooted in classical Chinese printing traditions, is a bearer of thought in Chinese culture. It has brush-like strokes and rhythm, offering a visual sense of stability and continuity. In contrast, the sans-serif font reflects contemporary values of structure, clarity, and efficiency — it is calm, clean, and direct.

We are not trying to unify these styles, but to foreground their tension. Visually, they are not symmetrical, yet this very asymmetry creates intellectual tension and allows for multiple pathways of interpretation. This pairing enables a deeply rooted language (Chinese) to be rearranged and re-read through a more minimal and rational system.

Songti thinks quietly. Sans-serif speaks clearly. This is more than a typographic description — it is a philosophical stance. It is both a visual strategy and a worldview.

2-4. 《哈佛商业评论》2025年3-4月刊

5-6. 《哈佛法律评论》2025年4月刊

7. 《Nature》杂志2016年8月刊

8. 《Nature》杂志2025年第4期

9-11. 《哈佛设计杂志》第48期

2-4. Harvard Business Review, March - April, 2025

5-6. Harvard Law Review, April, 2025

7. Nature, August, 2016

8. Nature, Volume 4, 2025

9-11. Harvard Design Magazine, Issue 48

在今天这个世界，“设计”往往被简化为一种视觉策略：包装概念、吸引注意力、服务于流量与算法分发机制。设计被要求快速出效果、迅速抓人眼球，以适应信息爆炸与传播节奏加快的现实。这种趋势下，视觉工作者的角色，常常变成了“流量入口”的优化器，甚至成为短暂注意力经济的附庸。

但我们希望，《汉语学志》的设计可以成为一种反向的提醒——提醒我们设计不仅是装饰语言的外衣，更应是承载语言深度与思想重量的结构本身。

在一个深度稀缺、表达被过度简化的时代，我们相信，设计的真正职责，不是去取悦，而是去支撑——支撑那些需要被认真传递的语言，支撑那些在浮躁语境中依然坚持思考的声音。

设计可以是锋利的：它划破喧嚣，让文字重新聚焦；设计也可以是温柔的：它为思想创造栖居之所，让复杂被耐心理解。

在我们眼中，真正有力量的设计，让语言锋利，让思想得以安放——这不仅是我们的设计目标，也是我们作为视觉工作者的职责所在。

In today's world, design is often reduced to a visual strategy: packaging ideas, attracting attention, and serving the demands of traffic and algorithmic distribution. Designers are expected to produce immediate impact and capture interest quickly, adapting to the accelerating pace of information and media. In such a context, the role of the visual practitioner is frequently diminished to that of an “entry-point optimizer” — a facilitator of the attention economy, sometimes even its subordinate.

But with Logos Review, we hope design can serve as a quiet counterpoint—a reminder that design is not merely the decorative shell of language, but the very structure that bears its depth and intellectual weight.

In a time where depth is scarce and expression is overly simplified, we believe the true role of design is not to please, but to support—to support the kinds of language that deserve to be heard, and to hold up the voices that continue to think critically in an agitated world.

Design can be sharp: it cuts through the noise, brings focus back to the text.

Design can be gentle: it creates a space where thought can rest and complexity can be understood with enough patience.

To us, truly powerful design sharpens language and gives thought a place to dwell—this is not only our design aspiration, but the deeper responsibility we carry as visual practitioners.

# LOGOS REVIEW

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