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Local culture and political socialization of Hong Kong's Chinese language curriculum in the period of 1960s to 1997

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Local Culture and Political Socialization of Hong Kong's

Chinese Language Curriculum in the Period of 1960s to 1997

By

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ABSTRACT

Hong Kong was ruled by the British from 1842-1997. During that period, educational policy of Hong Kong differed from that in other colonial territories. The colonial government encouraged identification with the indigenous Chinese culture, particularly the values of Confucianism. One aim of this research is to explore the culture and values that were chosen by the colonial government as "legitimate knowledge". A second aim is to investigate the relationships between the promotion of the Chinese local culture and British colonial rule in Hong Kong. The methodology used in this study consists of content analysis, interview and documentary analysis to collect both primary and secondary sources of data.

Hong Kong under British rule, pursued a deliberate policy of the "depoliticization" of society, both to avoid offending the Chinese government and to preserve Hong Kong's stability and prosperity -- conditions favourable to the colonial government's continued rule and the economic development of Hong Kong society. Hence, some scholars have argued that the colonial government's strategy was to depoliticize the curriculum in its educational policies. However, the present study demonstrates that politics and the Chinese Language curriculum were closely related. The Chinese Language curriculum strongly advocated Confucian values and this was in fact a tactic to achieve political socialization as well as consolidate British colonial rule over Hong Kong.

The promotion of the Chinese local culture in Hong Kong was most probably a remedial measure to tackle political crisis arising from the anti-imperialist demonstrations, boycott and general strike against the British in Hong Kong in the 1920s. Under such a cultural incorporation policy, traditional Chinese values, particularly Confucian ethics, were strongly promoted, in the hope of nurturing conservative attitudes among Hong Kong students and eliminating their radical behaviour. Such a move could not only pacify the anti-British emotions and win popular support, it could also further strengthen colonial rule without provoking political unrest. The key to British success in consolidating its rule depended heavily on its tactics of achieving "de-nationalization" (i.e. deliberately excluding the cultivation of a sense of national identity among the Chinese) through "nationalization" (i.e. cultural incorporation of Chinese culture) and made use of "de-politicization" (greatly promoting moral cultivation in the Chinese Language curriculum and discouraging people's active participation in politics) to achieve politicization (political stability).

Generally speaking, the indigenous language of a country, in addition to training students with language skills, provides students with an awareness of their national identity. In Hong Kong, by contrast, the subject of Chinese Language existed to supply students with a depoliticized and alienated vision of their national identity. As revealed by the findings in this study, the Chinese Language curriculum mainly emphasizes those values that contribute to social harmony as well as political stability, thus facilitating British colonial rule.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Hong Kong's succumbing to British colonial rule represented a significant humiliation for China in a century of unequal treaties (Chan, 1997: 12). However, during the 150 years of British colonial rule, Hong Kong underwent great changes. It evolved from a fishing village to a major international commercial and financial centre in Asia by the 1990s. With impressive economic development, Hong Kong became one of the "Four Little Dragons" of Asia in the 1970s.

As a cosmopolitan world class city and having been governed by the British for a long time, Hong Kong society is considered to be very westernized. Nevertheless, the traditional Chinese culture, particularly the Confucian tradition, has been widely preserved in the present day. This seems to be a matter of course. However, taking into consideration that for a territory being under Western rule for one-and-a-half century, this could not have been possible without the support of the ruling government. Moreover, this can even be the outcome of a deliberate cultural policy of promoting Confucianism launched by the colonial government.

Why did the British colonial government strongly promote the local Chinese culture (Confucianism) in Hong Kong? And what was the relationship between such policy and its colonial rule? One of the objectives of the present study is to provide answers to these questions. In addition, the present study will attempt to explore the relationship between politics, colonialism and culture in shaping the Chinese Language curriculum.

Before we examine the features of the Chinese Language curriculum under British rule, a brief history of colonial Hong Kong is provided in the following section to give some background information as to why Hong Kong became a colony of Britain.

1.2   A Brief History of Colonial Hong Kong

1.2.1   Unequal Treaties

Hong Kong comprises Hong Kong Island, Kowloon, and the New Territories.   The whole territory was originally part of China's Guangdong province. Hong Kong Island was seized by British naval forces in 1841 during the First Opium War.   The war ended with the 1842 Treaty of Nanjing which formalized the island's cession to Britain.   With regard to the cause and course of Hong Kong being Britain's colony, Scott (1989: 40-41) offers this narrative of the colonization drama:

> Hong Kong was acquired reluctantly, much in the way of many other colonies. In 1838, the Chinese Emperor ordered the eradication of the opium trade. British merchants in Canton were besieged, forced to surrender their contraband supplies of opium, and eventually required to retreat to Macau. In support of the merchant's claim for compensation and their wider interest in opening up China for trade, a British expedition under Captain Charles Elliot, the Superintendent of Trade, blockaded the Canton river and ultimately compelled the Chinese authorities to negotiate. Palmerston, the British Foreign Secretary, thought that an 'island where British subjects should not again be exposed to violence' might be a possible, though not an essential, element of a settlement which was primarily designed to secure British mercantile interests. Elliot, however believed that an island base was absolutely essential for the future confidence of the traders. Chi-san, the Chinese negotiator, to the anger and shame of his own countrymen, offered the island of Hong Kong. Elliot, to the ridicule and contempt of his own countrymen, particularly Palmerston, accepted it. Hong Kong was occupied on 26th January 1841 but the Emperor rejected the cession. Another punitive British expedition was launched and by the Treaty of Nanjing, 1842, ratified in the following year, the island finally became a British possession.

"As a bastard child begotten out of a relationship so brutally forced", Hong Kong has always been a source of awkwardness and embarrassment to all concerned (Jones, 1990: 10).   Jones further observed that ever since then, "Lord Palmerston's lack of enthusiasm for the 'barren island with hardly a house upon it' has been much quoted. The conclusion drawn was that this 'small barren unhealthy and valueless island' could never become profitable, would always be a drain on the British Government -- and was

not worth any more of his time".

Between 1856 and 1858, the Second Opium War was fought, leading to the 1860 Convention of Beijing under which China also ceded the Kowloon peninsula to Britain. In 1898, Britain took advantage of China's defeat by Japan in the war of 1894-1895 to demand the lease of the territory north of Kowloon and south of the Shenzhen River, as well as the neighbouring islands. The lease was for a term of 99 years, to be expired on 30 June 1997. The New Territories was the name given to the leased area.

To the Chinese, the Treaty of Nanjing set a precedent for other colonial powers to force China to sign similar pacts, turning the country into a semi-colony. In 1911, the imperial Qing government (1644-1911) was overthrown by revolutionary forces led by Sun Yat-sen. The Republic of China (ROC) founded by Sun announced that it would not be bound by any "unequal" treaties signed by the Qing government. However, the new government was too weak to reclaim most of the developing settlements. During World War II, China and Britain became allies. In 1942, during negotiations for agreement to coordinate actions against the Japanese, the ROC led by Chiang Kai-shek sought the return of Hong Kong. However, the request was rejected by Britain, which was willing to deal with Hong Kong's future only as part of a general settlement including its other colonies in Asia (Lau, 1997: xi-xii). In fact, the British acquired Hong Kong Island not for its human or material resources (Hong Kong Island at that time was inhabited by a few thousand farmers and fishermen in a number of small villages), but when Elliot recommended Hong Kong, he could see the value of its strategic location and magnificent harbour. The British wanted a secure base for their trade with China (Hsu, 1975).

1.2.2 Putting an End to Colonial Rule

In 1971, the People's Republic of China (PRC) took over from the ROC China's seat in the United Nations. The following year permanent representative Huang Hua asked that Hong Kong and Macau be removed from the purview of the Special Committee on Colonialism. He reiterated the PRC's position that "the questions of Hong Kong and Macau ... should be settled in an appropriate way when conditions are

ripe". In the late 1970s, Hong Kong began to fret about its future after 1997. Although China saw the three treaties which formed the basis of British rule over the territory as "unequal" and refused to be bound by them, the treaties were legitimate in the eyes of the British. The colonial government in Hong Kong had been granting sub-leases of land in the New Territories which were to be terminated on June 1997. With just over 20 years to go before the expiration of the 1898 lease, a clear answer to the future legal status of the area had to be worked out.

In April 1981, the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party approved a three-point policy on Hong Kong: (1) China must resume sovereignty over Hong Kong in 1997; (2) Hong Kong must continue to serve China's economic and political strategies; and (3) an appropriate socio-political system for post-1997 Hong Kong must be worked out on the basis of not infringing Chinese sovereignty. This resolution provided the framework of the "one country, two systems" policy under which Hong Kong would be allowed to maintain its way of life upon return to Chinese sovereignty and would be exempt from practising communism for 50 years.

In September 1982, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited Beijing to pave the way for formal negotiations on Hong Kong's future. Finally, China agreed to maintain Hong Kong's existing system after the transfer of sovereignty. This was achieved in the form of the Sino-British Joint Declaration signed on 19 December 1984 by Thatcher and Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang. It provided for British withdrawal from Hong Kong on 30 June 1997 and the restoration of Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997, and thus started the thirteen years' transition period from British colonial rule to local autonomy under Chinese sovereignty. Hong Kong hence entered into a new era and would then become a Special Administrative Region of China to be administered by Hong Kong people, with its existing system to remain unchanged for 50 years (Lau, 1997: XI-XV).

1.2.3 The Development of Hong Kong under British Colonial Rule

Throughout colonial rule over the last century and a half, Hong Kong transformed

itself from a fishing port to an international financial centre successfully. Initially, the British planned Hong Kong to serve as her military base in East Asia and a stepping stone for more concessions from China. As time went on, Hong Kong developed beyond the initial objectives of the British government and had become a major international commercial and financial center in Asia by the 1990s.

As a "borrowed place, borrowed time" (Chan, 1997:13), Hong Kong has been described as a society with no character, no conscience and no identity. Immigrants, foreigners and mercenaries are held together mainly for one purpose and one goal -- economic and profit gain. As observed by visiting missionary George Smith, the sort of foreigners gathered together in Hong Kong were notorious for their "moral improprieties and insolent behaviour". On the other hand, only 'the lowest dregs of native' (meaning Chinese) society flock to the British settlement in the hope of gain or plunder" (Jones, 1990:11).

Under the British constitutional law, Hong Kong's political system never developed into a parliamentary democracy. Hong Kong was a crown colony, and it was ruled by a governor under basic empowering *Letters Patent* together with *Royal Instructions* on detail and procedure (Duncanson, 1988:11-13). According to Miners (1975: 58-62), the governor's legal powers were such that, should he exercise his full authority, he could in effect function as a dictator. However, he was required by *Letters Patent* to consult the Executive Council, his cabinet, which consisted of some official and some unofficial members. He was also subject to British law, as far as it was applicable in the colony and to all the ordinances passed by the Hong Kong Legislative Council. Since the Legislative Council consisted entirely of civil servants and members appointed by the governors, the power of the Hong Kong government was largely concentrated in the hands of the governor. In spite of the fact that there were no special safeguards for the fundamental rights of individuals in Hong Kong, and there was insufficient legal protection granted to the rights of citizens, Hong Kong people were content with the situation so far as the British government rarely exercised its legal right to interfere with the activities of the

Chinese community, and generally respected personal self-determination. Such non-interventionist policy of the British towards the Hong Kong people was known as "laissez-faire".

Under British rule, Hong Kong people were generally content with the situation, as Hong Kong enjoyed a few decades of social, political and economic stability (Forman, 1988). One of the former Governors, David Wilson (1990) points out that Hong Kong's economic success was due to its separation from China's complicated domestic politics. Lau, Kuan and Wan (1991) described the features of Hong Kong society as political stability as well as economic prosperity. Hong Kong people enjoyed a high degree of socio-cultural freedom together with economic growth. Since most people of the last Hong Kong generation were peasants, they were hungry for material rewards. People under colonial rule were passive in political matters whilst active in economic matters. Hong Kong's political situation was hence comparatively more stable than other Asian societies (Tsai, 1993: 288).

The colonial government's laissez-faire approach towards economic policy was welcomed by Hong Kong people since it allowed greater upward social mobility, and opportunity was open to people with different talents (Morris, 1985). Chan and Kirst (1984) suggested that this was one of the main elements for maintaining Hong Kong's social stability and economic prosperity: keeping opportunity open for all.

1.3 Background of the Study

The education policy applied by the British towards its colony Hong Kong was not a typical colonial education policy. The colonial government aimed to encourage an identification with the indigenous culture, in contrast to Watson's (1982: 37) argument that "much of the curriculum in colonial schools dismissed indigenous languages and culture as inferior while stressing the superiority of European civilization." Under the British colonial rule from 1842-1997, the indigenous culture of Hong Kong was not suppressed; on the contrary, the local Chinese culture was preserved and even strongly promoted by the colonial government. Interestingly, the Hong Kong Chinese were neither taught to

accept the inherent dominance of British culture nor the superiority of European culture. This contrasted with other colonial regions, such as France in West Africa (e.g. Nigeria and Ghana) where all education was delivered in French or in English (Kelly, 1991: 13).

How a society selects, classifies, distributes, transmits and evaluates the educational knowledge it considers to be public, reflects both the distribution of power and the principles of social control (Bernstein, 1975:47). Apple (1993 and 1997) also suggests that education is deeply implicated in the politics of culture. The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in a nation's texts and classrooms. "Texts are not simply 'delivery systems' of 'facts'. They are at once the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles, and compromises. They are conceived, designed and authored by real people with real interests. They are published within the political and economic constraints of market, resources, and power". They are always part of a selective tradition, someone's selection, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. They are produced from cultural, political, and economics conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize a people. In addition, the decision to define some groups' knowledge as the most legitimate and official while another group's hardly surfaces says something important about society (Apple and Smith, 1991: 1-2). Hence, politics and education are closely related: politics influences education and education influences politics (Thomas, 1983: 6).

Hong Kong, under colonial rule, pursued a deliberate policy of the "depoliticization" of society, both to avoid offending the Chinese government and to preserve Hong Kong's stability and prosperity -- conditions favourable to the colonial government's continued rule until 1997 and the economic development of Hong Kong society. Combined with the idea of the depoliticization of Hong Kong society, the strategy taken by the colonial government was to depoliticize the curriculum in its educational policies (Bray and Lee, 1993; Leung, 1995). Some scholars thus concluded that "We are thus faced with a situation where the apolitical general politics of the territory were closely paralleled by an apolitical educational system and school curriculum" (Morris and Sweeting, 1992:

145-146).

However, as revealed by the findings of the present study, the Chinese Language curriculum was not entirely apolitical. It is the intention of the present study to provide an account of it.

1.4 Aims of the Study

Altbach and Kelly (1991: 1) argue in their book *Education and the Colonial Experience* that most colonial education aimed to devalue indigenous culture, thus stunting indigenous cultural development and promoting the colonizers' culture, in order to assimilate the indigenous people into a foreign culture. They further point out that "those who ran the (colonial) schools wished to have them ... assist in the consolidation of foreign rule." Altbach and Kelly reveal that different colonial educational practices and strategies were adopted according to different races and societies. For instance, some colonial educational policies did not orientate the colonized to their own cultural roots, and ultimately the colonized became alienated from their own culture and homeland and ended up as exiles living in other countries. Such colonial educational policies caused cultural loss and alienation to the colonized. Pennycook (1998) tends to assume that colonial curricula constantly devalued and alienated "native" history. However, this might not be readily applicable to Hong Kong. The British colonial educational policies in Hong Kong are a good example of the exception to such practices.

Hong Kong has been criticized as a society emphasizing English and neglecting Chinese during its colonial period. However, judging from the history of the educational policies adopted and the development of Chinese Language Curriculum, the subject of Chinese Language was never trivialized or eradicated by the colonial government. This study aims to show that the British, as the colonizer, intentionally revived the indigenous culture and traditional values of the colonized Hong Kong starting from the 1920s. It will examine the reasons behind this move and explore what kind of indigenous heritage and traditional Chinese values were promoted as well as the

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essential feature of the secondary Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong under British colonial rule.

It is worth noting that there is no evidence indicating that the subject of Chinese Language in Hong Kong under British rule was Anglocentric. The phenomenon of the colonial government continuing to preserve or even strongly advocate the traditional Chinese culture deserves our attention. Apart from identifying those cultural values promoted by the colonial government, exploration of the reasons behind such selection is also the major objective of this research. The present study will examine the forces and factors that have shaped the Chinese Language curriculum. As mentioned above, politics and education are interrelated; this study will hopefully demonstrate such a relationship by means of analyzing the content of the whole official Chinese Language curriculum under colonial rule. Furthermore, it is hoped that this study can illustrate how the British colonial regime consolidated its ruling power over Hong Kong through the Chinese Language Curriculum. As Hong Kong has now been returned to the sovereignty of China and an end has been put to the colonial era, it is a suitable time to review the policies and practices implemented by the colonial government on aspects of the local Chinese culture and educational development.

In retrospect, although Hong Kong was under British colonial rule for over 150 years, the traditional Chinese culture was not eradicated; on the contrary, the colonial government highly honoured the Chinese cultural heritage (Luk, 1991). Generally speaking, Chinese cultural components and traditional values are richly embedded in Confucian canons and texts written by other Chinese literati. As China possesses several thousand years of culture, the kinds of Chinese cultural heritage that the British colonial government would select and promote are an interesting issue to be explored. The secondary Chinese Language Curriculum in Hong Kong, being a means of transmitting Chinese culture to students, contains lots of texts from Confucian canon and ancient Chinese literati; therefore examining the texts of the Chinese Language Curriculum may give us a clearer picture of the educational policies as well as political

intentions of the British colonial government.

Kwong (1985: 197) points out that textbooks "bear strong imprint of the political cultures of societies producing them, and offer an interesting source in study of a society's political culture." Apple (1991a: 8) also states that textbook decisions have always been linked up with political factors and state control. Hence, contents of textbooks would best illustrate the type of political culture and ideology that a ruling regime would support or accept.

1.5 Significance of the Study

Textbooks and curriculum are inter-related in various ways. As pointed out by Talmage (1972: 26), "the textbook is the 'arbiter' of the curriculum in school systems". Similarly, Goodlad (1984) also argues that textbooks dominate schools' curricula, that textbooks and workbooks appear with great frequency at the junior and senior high school levels, and that junior high schools appear to be somewhat more textbook-oriented. Therefore, textbooks generally serve as "providers of input into classroom lessons in the form of texts, activities, explanations, and so on" (Hutchinson and Torres, 1994: 317). As such, textbooks "distill and interpret the knowledge and scholarship of a discipline" (Woodward, 1993: 115).

Moreover, teachers have relied heavily on textbooks as instructional materials according to McCutcheon (1995: 157). McCutcheon (1981: 57-58) found that teachers generally relied on textbooks as the basis for their plans because the texts provided a sense of security about what to teach. Reading and mathematics teachers designed their activities based on suggestions in the teachers' guide from 85 to 95 percent of the time. Woodward (1987) has similar findings that textbooks structure up to 90 percent of instructional time. According to his observations in U.S. elementary and junior high schools, Woodward argued that many teachers are highly dependent on teachers' guides and textbooks to organize their teaching.

Westbury (1990) also suggested that textbooks are the central tools and the central objects of attention in all modern forms of schooling, and the textbooks that teachers

have are the most significant resource for their teaching. Just as teachers depend on the textbook as a primary instructional tool, students rely on it as repository of knowledge to be learned. Nitsche (1992: 117) conducted a survey on a group of high school students on their perception of their social studies textbooks and found that they showed "a note of overwhelming support for the textbook as a resource or guide in the course of study". Woodward (1993: 115) summarized the multifaceted role of textbooks as "a standard resource, reference, and instructional tool". Hence, textbooks do play an important role in different levels of education. In addition, "the school textbook holds a unique and significant social function which is to represent each generation of students an officially sanctioned, authorized version of human knowledge and culture" (Luke and Luke, 1989: vii). Apple and Christian-Smith (1991: 3) confirmed the vital position of textbooks as follows:

> Textbooks are surely important in and of themselves. They signify --
> through their content and form -- particular constructions of reality,
> particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible
> knowledge.

In addition, textbook can be a form of ideological regulation as it is not simply a "delivery system" of "facts", but also at once "the results of political, economic, and cultural activities, battles and compromises". The textbook helps to enfranchise one social group's knowledge as "legitimate" and disenfranchise others.

As part of the curriculum, textbooks participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of society and in the creation of what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help to re-create a major reference point for what the knowledge, culture, belief, and morality really are (Inglis, 1988: 22-23).

In language acquisition, textbook is one of the critical mediators, which functions to "provide students with knowledge of the language and culture of the target group" (Ramirez and Hall, 1990: 48). Therefore, by analyzing the content of textbooks, we might uncover what values and beliefs that a key group of political and educational elites would like to pass on to the younger generation.

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However, there are limitations in research on textbooks. Detailed discussion will be in Sections 3.4 and 5.7.2.

The present study is important in the following ways:

Firstly, the data collected from content analysis of the whole official Chinese Language Curriculum for the secondary schools, consisting of four syllabi, from the 1960s to 1990s, should be a valuable aid to understanding the values that were conveyed to students through textbooks as "legitimate knowledge" under British colonial rule.

Secondly, previous studies of the Hong Kong Chinese Language curriculum merely concentrated on the features revealed from the texts of one particular level. For example, Au (1994) examined the junior secondary level of the 1991 syllabus; Leung (1996) investigated the senior secondary level of the 1991 syllabus. Wan (1987) examined both the junior and senior secondary level of Chinese Language curriculum from the early 1910s to the 1980s, but not the whole colonial period. In addition, there are other inadequacies in these studies. None of the above studies examine the influence of politics on the Chinese Language curriculum. Thus our understanding of the relationship between politics and cultural or national identity as manifested in the school curriculum remains incomplete. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the Chinese Language curriculum in depth to see how and why it came into existence and developed during colonial rule.

The present study examines the official Chinese Language curriculum from the 1960s (the beginning of official Chinese Language curriculum under colonial rule) to the 1990s (the end of colonial rule), during which four syllabi were produced. By analyzing the four syllabi, comparison can be made between different periods. Hence, changes in the emphases of values can be detected. The comparison of syllabi for different periods can add a longitudinal perspective to the analysis of social change, political change and value change.

It is therefore the intention of the present study to contribute to further discussion of the Chinese Language curriculum, and to provide a framework of reference for curriculum

developers.

Thirdly, this study will enrich the literature on the relationship between politics, culture and the development of school curriculum. This study is the first attempt to reveal the nature of the Chinese Language curriculum, an indigenous cultural subject, during British colonization in Hong Kong in relation to political factors. The findings, especially the values revealed, aim to contribute to the literature on education and colonialism. Previous research on the local Chinese Language curriculum generally revealed the values transmitted from the texts, or pointed out that the Chinese Language curriculum was a good tool to conduct values education and moral education since an abundance of Confucian values was embedded in the Chinese texts. However, little attention has been paid to how and why Confucianism came to be seen as an ideal instrument of social control as well as the dominant ideology of Chinese society.

When we look back to the history of China, we can get some insight concerning the rule of a country. Manchus, as the alien, overthrew the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) of China and established the Qing Empire (1644-1911). The Qing administration adopted Confucian doctrine as part of their policy for controlling and administering an expanding empire. Emperor Yongzheng (1723-1735), a very capable and brilliant emperor, once frankly expressed the utility of Confucianism as an instrument of social control:

> Ordinary people know only the Confucius' teaching aims at
> differentiating human relationships, distinguishing the rights and
> obligations of the superior and inferior, rectifying human minds and
> thoughts, and amending social customs. Do they also know that after
> human relationships have been differentiated, the rights and obligations
> of the superior and inferior distinguished, human minds and thoughts
> rectified, and social customs amended, the one who benefits the most is
> the ruler himself? (Cleverly, 1991: 11).

Similarly, as the colonizer of Hong Kong, the British government also subtly made use of Confucianism to pacify the resistance to the colonization as well as consolidate its colonial rule. One Hong Kong governor Sir Cecil Clementi (Governorship in Hong Kong:1925-1930) once highly praised traditional Chinese learning and morality which emphasized the importance for the Chinese of treasuring their ancestors' learning and

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living up to the ancestral moral code, rather than following any fad from abroad (Luk, 1991: 659). Judging from the attitude of Clementi, on the one hand, he was skillfully using the tactic of mollification, in order to spare the colonial government from the accusation of obliterating Chinese culture. On the other hand, requesting the Hong Kong colonized to preserve their traditional Chinese morality facilitated the stabilization of the colonial regime.

1.6 Statement of the Problem

This study is designed to analyze the reasons why the indigenous cultures of Hong Kong did not wither under the British colonial rule. It investigates the values conveyed as legitimate knowledge through texts of the Chinese Language Curriculum for secondary schools in Hong Kong with regard to the ruling tactics of the colonial power.

1.7 Scope of Study

The present study mainly examines the secondary school Chinese Language Curriculum from the 1960s to the 1990s. Regarding the time-frame, 1960s is chosen for the start of this study since the local production of the official Chinese Language syllabus only started in the 1960s. Before that, Hong Kong schools used textbooks published in China. The present research ends in the 1990s due to the fact that Hong Kong was returned to China in 1997. The 1990 syllabus was the last secondary Chinese Language syllabus before the British formally ended its colonial rule over Hong Kong.

The present study mainly concentrates on the secondary Chinese Language Curriculum from the 1960s to the 1990s. However, the development of Chinese education in Hong Kong before the 1960s will also be reviewed as background to understanding the Chinese Language policies and the development of Chinese Language Curriculum implemented afterwards.

The reasons for choosing the secondary level to analyze are that Chinese Language was a compulsory and common core subject in the Hong Kong school curriculum. Chinese students in all government and aided schools were required to take Chinese,

unless exempted by the school principals (Newspaper *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, 21 January 1951). The secondary school curriculum was chosen for examination because the texts students were required to study were clearly stated in the secondary school curriculum and syllabi. Correspondingly, these required/compulsory texts were also the examination syllabi for the local public examination -- the Hong Kong Certificate Examination. As a result, all students studying in government schools or aided schools had to study these compulsory Chinese texts in order to sit for the public examination. By analyzing the secondary Chinese texts, we can gain a clear understanding of what values and what aspects of Chinese culture were accepted and promoted by the colonial government. By contrast, in the primary Chinese Language curriculum, there were no specific Chinese texts to be studied. Only curriculum guidelines were provided, but the content of these guidelines was rather abstract, not concrete, very vague and not specific, with only a few lines of guidelines stating the objectives of the subject. Hence, the content of primary Chinese textbooks, varied with different publishers. Values conveyed in primary Chinese textbooks therefore, could not sufficiently reflect the official intentions. In contrast, by investigating the themes and values of the secondary Chinese Language curriculum, part of the highly centralized official curriculum, we may learn what values and cultural heritage were promoted by the colonial government.

There is a general belief that as Chinese Language is a value-laden subject, quite a lot of the Chinese texts are morally related and teachers are given opportunities to bring out the moral concepts in lessons in a natural way. Confucian classics and other great Chinese characters have a substantial moral education content, which teachers can make use of, benefiting students in the development of moral thinking. Hence, teaching the Chinese Language can play a vital part in cultivating morality and ethics in students. It has been argued that Chinese Language was primarily a subject for training students in language skills and implementing moral cultivation -- it had nothing to do with politics (Bray and Lee, 1993; Morris and Sweeting, 1996). In fact, under British colonial rule, the Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong bore an additional function -- serving

British political interests by consolidating its colonial rule in Hong Kong.

1.8 Research Focus and Specific Questions

This study analyzes the content of the secondary Chinese Language Curriculum of Hong Kong from the 1960s to the 1990s, which consisted of four syllabi, namely the 1961, 1971, 1978 and 1990. For each syllabus, required/compulsory texts were assigned for each level of Secondary One to Five. The content of each syllabus will be analyzed to reveal what values, themes or messages the colonial government promoted through the Chinese texts. In addition, the values conveyed in the curriculum, are expected to throw light on the relationships between the development of the Chinese Language Curriculum and the British colonial rule in Hong Kong.

In order to explore the above aspects, the following specific questions will be examined:

1. What were the relationships between the promotion of the Chinese local culture and British colonial rule in Hong Kong? (This is discussed in Chapter 2, and we return to it in Chapters 7 and 9)

2. How does the literature analyzing the interrelationship of knowledge, power and the curriculum help to understand the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under colonial rule? (This is covered in Chapters 3 and 4)

3. How does the literature on political socialization help to understand the colonial government's reasons for promoting Confucian values in the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong? (This is covered in Chapter 5 and we return to it in Chapter 7)

4. What were the values, themes or messages conveyed in the secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong from the 1960s to the 1990s? (This is covered in Chapter 8)

5. What were the characteristics of each syllabus (1961, 1971, 1978, 1990)? (This is covered in Chapter 8)

6. Why did the colonial government select the values in these Chinese texts for study in

secondary schools of Hong Kong? (This is discussed in Chapter 2, and we return to it in Chapters 7 and 9)

1.9 Organization of the Study

This thesis contains ten chapters and the contents of the thesis is divided into four parts: Part 1: Introduction (Chapter 1); Part 2: Literature review (Chapters 2-5); Part 3: Methodology and Findings (Chapters 6-8); Part 4: Discussion and Conclusions (Chapters 9-10).

Chapter One consists of an introduction to the problem to be investigated, the background as well as the aim and significance of the study.

The development of Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under British colonial rule had a close relationship with the local culture of the Chinese, namely Confucianism. Chapter Two reviews some major features of Confucianism, which is regarded as the most influential system of ethics in the history of Chinese thought.

Chapter Three demonstrates the relationships between knowledge, culture, power and reproduction. Chapter Four introduces different concepts and characteristics of the curriculum, and the relationship between politics and curriculum. In addition, research related to content analysis of school textbooks is examined. These two chapters will serve to locate the present study in relation to previous research in the field of education and politics.

Chapter Five explores the relationships between education and political socialization. Different models and theories of political socialization are presented to provide a theoretical framework for further discussion.

Chapter Six outlines the research design and procedures that have been adopted to investigate the research questions.

Chapter Seven explores the relationship between politics, colonialism and culture in shaping the Chinese Language curriculum and explains reasons for British promotion of local Chinese culture (Confucianism) in Hong Kong with reference to its political intentions.

Chapter Eight identifies the values, themes and messages revealed by the four syllabi of the secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under British colonial rule.

Chapter Nine discusses the findings and emergent features within the wider theoretical context arising from the review of the literature in Chapters Two to Five.

Chapter Ten summarizes the findings of the previous chapters. The discussion then returns to an analysis of the role played by politics, colonialism and culture in shaping the Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong under British colonial rule.

Chapter 2   Chinese Local Culture

2.1   Introduction

Moore (1997: 4) made an acute observation about the way to understand Chinese culture: "To understand China, one must start at least as early as Confucius.   One must consider the great thinkers because they have played a principal part in making China what she is". Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961: 25) also observe that Confucianism is the most influential system of ethics in the history of Chinese thought.   A quick review of the texts of Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong could review that they contain lots of Confucian ethics and values.   This seems to suggest the observation made by Moore as well as Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck also reflects this.   It is therefore necessary to review some major features of Confucianism before examining the British colonial government's reasons for promoting Confucianism as a way to support the teaching of Chinese culture in Hong Kong and the decision to conduct content analysis of the Chinese Language curriculum.

In fact, Confucianism is not just a philosophy of ethics and human relationships, it is at the same time a blending of ethics and politics.   For the Confucian, ethics and politics are inseparably conjoined (Pott, 1925: 30).   By means of moral cultivation, according to Confucianism, a well-ordered family, a well-governed state and a harmonious world can be achieved.   In addition, the very nature of Confucianism is a ruling tool to restore social order and maintain political harmony by means of an ethical approach.   The tactics of internal and external control of Confucianism serve political ends for the benefit of the rulers.   The brilliance of the British was shown in its employing of Chinese local culture of Hong Kong (i.e. Confucianism) as an implicit tool of political socialization to achieve its unstated political ends.   Such tactic not only allowed the British to gain cultural legitimacy and create a favourable impression on the Hong Kong Chinese, it also helped the British to consolidate its colonial rule without provoking anti-British sentiment.

2.2 Confucianism

Confucianism is regarded as one of the most important sources of Chinese values and attitudes. King and Bond (1985: 29) allege that "while we fully appreciate that Chinese culture is far from a homogeneous system, it seems to us that Confucian values have played a predominant role in moulding Chinese character and behaviour". The Confucian tradition has been an inseparable part of the civilization of China (Wright, 1962: 3). In addition, Confucianism has been inseparable from the political system of China. Many dynasties officially adopted Confucianism as state ideology, and Confucianism has thus become a part of the "controlling system" of the country, as much as government, education, literature, society, ethics and non-institutional religion (Chan, 1968: 27). Because of the influence of Chinese civilization and the political system, Confucianism is often described as a politico-ethical system, in which rules and principles for the guidance of private life are inextricably bound up with those for the regulation of the public careers of men entrusted with the responsibility of governing. To Confucianists, ethics and politics are inseparably conjoined (Pott, 1925: 30-52). Confucius (551-479 B.C) has been regarded as the greatest thinker, educator and philosopher in China. Confucius lived in an age of growing confusion and chaos. Dedicating himself to the task of bringing order out of chaos, Confucius became firmly convinced that a society could only be good when the social members are in order (Mei, 1997: 326). Hence, Confucianism was definitely aiming at the restoration of a rationalized feudal order, with clear gradations of rank, at a time when the feudal system of the Zhou Dynasty (770-256B.C.) was breaking down. To put it briefly, Confucianism stood for a rationalized social order through an ethical approach, based on personal cultivation. It aimed at political order by laying the basis for it in a moral order, and it sought political harmony by trying to achieve moral harmony in humans themselves (Lin, 1938: 6).

Confucianism places great emphasis on the moral order, which is viewed as a set of true and invariable norms for the conduct of life in society. As in the *Book of Rites* (Confucian Classic, the codified rules of social behaviour), the Confucian moral norms find their perfect

embodiment in the well-ordered patriarchal family, which is the microcosm of the order that should prevail in state and society. For the moral order to prevail, it must be understood and exemplified by enlightened rulers and ministers who live according to these norms and spread it through wise measures of education and social control. The values implicit in the Confucian vision are those of harmony, stability and hierarchy (Wright, 1960: 4).

Confucianism was accepted as the orthodox account of China's entire thought and practice. It began with a decision made by Emperor Han Wu in 141 B.C. Emperor Han Wu accepted the advice of a Confucian scholar, Dong Zhongshu, to embrace Confucianism as the dominant ideology that the state's officials should be trained to acquire (Fairbank, 1992: 62). Since then, Confucianism has become an official ideology that governed the educational system and the Mandarin hierarchy in ancient China. Early Confucianism, drawing directly on the teachings of Confucius and Mencius, focused on the role of virtue, learning and culture in producing good men and good government. Emperor Han Wu, by making Confucianism the state ideology, transformed it into a pliable pool of regime legitimization by adopting elements from the school of Legalism. The Confucian-Legalist synthesis combined Confucius' and Mencius' teachings on filial piety with the prescriptions for governance taught by the third great Confucian thinker, Xunzi, who was more concerned with circumscription through rules than either of his predecessors. The end-purpose of the new synthesis was to ensure social order, which required both virtue and rules of conduct to promote the virtuous and curb the unvirtuous. One of its more striking features was the lack of clear delineation between the social and the state or the private and the public. In each case, the latter was a conflation of the former, formalised through elaborate ritual. Thus the bonds between ruler and subject were spiritually parallel to those between father and son. This conceptual dependency became a powerful tool in the hands of autocrats, who tried to conflate Mencius' prescription of absolute filial piety into a formula of absolute loyalty to the ruler (Barr, 2002: 161). The regimes of Han and the successive dynasties adopted a tamed state Confucianist ideology that defined a subject's duties to the ruler as a reflection of a son's duty to his father. At the same time, these regimes developed an authoritarian control system underscored by

Legalist thoughts. The gradual synthesis of Confucianism and Legalism from the Han dynasty onwards set the pattern of government and much of life for ordinary Chinese. Generally speaking, the philosophy of Confucianism involves the following aspects: the self-oriented values; interpersonal-oriented values; society-oriented values and nation-oriented values.

2.3   Self-oriented Values

The attempt to inform one's moral self-development by constantly probing one's inner self is neither a narcissistic search for private truth nor an individualistic claim for isolated experience.   Rather, it is a form of self-cultivation which is simultaneously also a communal act harmonizing human relationships (Tu, 1985: 67). Confucianism places dual emphasis on the importance of the proper development of the individual for the well-being of society, and, at the same time, on the importance of social responsibility for the perfection of the individual (Mei, 1968b: 323).

2.3.1   Self-Cultivation

With regard to personal morality, Confucianism assumes that human nature is basically good, and that the good, ethical life can be assured by order, harmony, moderation, and good manners (Harrison, 1992: 82). Confucianism places great emphasis on the self-cultivation of an individual's personality and morality.   According to Tu (1985: 4, 55-56), Confucian self-cultivation is a rigorously disciplined path.   One's ability to harmonize human relations does indeed indicate one's self-cultivation, but the priority is clearly set. Self-cultivation is a precondition for harmonizing human relations; if human relations are superficially harmonized without the necessary ingredients of self-cultivation, they are practically unworkable.   Confucians recognize that human beings are social beings, but they maintain that all forms of social interaction are laden with moral implications and that self-cultivation is required to harmonize each one of them. If human relations are harmonized, it is because the people involved have cultivated themselves. To anticipate a harmonious state of affairs in one's social interaction as a favourable condition for self-cultivation is, in the Confucian sense, not only unrealistic but illogical. Self-cultivation is like the root and trunk, and harmonious

human relations are like the branches.

The Great Learning, one of the *Four Books* in the Confucian Classics, which is a record of Confucius' sayings written by his disciple Zengzi, has the following leading passage: "What *The Great Learning* teaches is: to demonstrate illustrious virtues; to love the people; and to rest in the highest excellence attainable" (*The Great Learning*, I.1). Hsieh (1968: 167) alleges these "Three Items" form the central thought of Chinese philosophy. According to the "Three Items", Confucian moral cultivation is a process of working from within and then applying the internal qualities to external human relationships. The first step of the "Three Items" is "demonstrating illustrious virtues". It starts with the cultivating of one's personal virtues, progresses by stabilizing the social order, and culminates in the perfection of one's personality. Hence, the main theme of Chinese philosophy is centered around ethics, which also forms its starting point of human relationships.

Lin (1938: 21-22) points out that personal cultivation in Confucian ideology is the basis of a world order:

> Confucianism traced back the ordering of a national life to the regulation of the family life and the regulation of the family life to the cultivation of the personal life. The Chinese preoccupation with moral maxims and platitudes becomes then intelligible, for they are not detached aphorisms, but are part of a well-rounded political philosophy.

Interpreted in the light of modern psychology, Lin further explains this doctrine as two theories, the theory of habit and the theory of imitation. The whole emphasis on "filial piety", more clearly translated by myself as "being a good son", is psychologically based on the theory of habit. Confucius and Mencius literally said that, having acquired the habits of love and respect in the home, one could not but extend this mental attitude of love and respect to other people's parents and elder brothers and to the authorities of the state. The teaching of young children to love their parents and brothers and to be respectful to their superiors lays the foundation of right mental and moral attitudes for growing up to be good citizens. Hence, in Confucianism, ethics and politics are closely related.

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2.3.2 Teaching and Learning

Since human nature is imparted from Heaven, and human nature embodies moral standards originated from Heaven, according to the doctrines of Confucianism, therefore, to cultivate and develop the moral truth within human nature is an important Confucian concept. This is the concept of "education" and explains why "education" receives great attention in Confucian moral philosophy. Consequently, "demonstrating illustrious virtues" refers to cultivating of one's personal virtues as it ought to be if a person simply acts in accordance with his/her Heaven-bestowed nature. Therefore, according to the teachings of Confucianism, for a Confucianist to achieve peace and order throughout the world, he has to cultivate his personal life first (Lu, 1983: 5-8).

The philosophy of Confucius advocates a peaceful and harmonious welfare society. To achieve this goal, one should begin with self-cultivation, then extend these general qualities to develop a harmonious family life, then to well-organised governmental organization, and eventually realise the ideal of global peace. In this process of extending these general qualities to societal influences, education performs a significant function (Tu, 1993). The cultivation of the self as the point of departure is learning in the Confucian tradition. The Confucian belief in the perfectibility of human nature through self-effort provides the impetus for cultivating one's own growth as a project of learning. One does not study the classics simply to acquire knowledge but to deepen self-awareness (Tu, 1993: 25). According to Lee (1994a), self perfection can be achieved with self-determination and will power and effort as the driving force.

There is a close relationship between education and human perfectibility, effort and academic achievement. The concepts that everyone is educable, everyone can become a sage, and everyone is perfectible, form the basic optimism and dynamism towards education in the Confucian tradition. This explains why education is viewed as significant in such a tradition. The concept of the attainability of human perfectibility, what is called the "universal attainability of sagehood" (Moore, 1997: 6), is also closely related to education. Mencius was

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confident that not only he himself, but everyone else as well, can attain the identity of man with the universe and become like Yao and Shun (the great ancient Sage-Kings) if one pays effort to pursue this goal. Everyone has potential sagehood within oneself. It all depends on how well one can extend and develop those inborn beginnings of virtues (Mei, 1968a: 157). According to Confucianism, sagehood can be attained through learning and effort. Without making an effort and a strong will or determination, one is doomed to fail. On the contrary, despite one's level of intelligence, if one tries and keeps trying, one will certainly "get there" sooner or later. This tradition seems to have influenced many of the modern Asian learners coming from a Confucian tradition (Lee, 1994a). According to a survey on "Academic causal attributions by Chinese students in Hong Kong" (Hau and Salili, 1991), effort, interest in study, study skill, mood and ability were considered the most important causes of academic performance by the Hong Kong students who participated in the study. As shown by Hau and Salili's findings, "effort" was regarded as the most important factor for educational success, while "ability" only ranked fifth. This survey further pointed out that teachers in Hong Kong considered effort as the major determinant of success. Chinese students are taught to work hard even when the probability of success is low and they are taught to be responsible for their own academic performance; if they fail, it is because of their laziness; if they succeed, it is because of their hard work. Hence, we can see that Hong Kong society today is still much influenced by this "Confucian work Dynamism" (Hau and Salili, 1991: 179). On the other hand, a strong and pervasive preoccupation with achievement and accomplishment is commonly observed among Chinese people in the family and related social settings (Bond, 1986). A survey on "achievement motivation" found that the achievement motivation of Asian students was very high, especially for the students of Mainland China and Taiwan (Lee, 1994c).

As an integral part of a comprehensive quest for self-knowledge, Zengzi, a disciple of Confucius, is known to have engaged in daily self-examination on three points: "Whether, in transacting business for others, I may have been not faithful; whether, in intercourse with friends, I may have been not truthful; whether I may have not mastered and practised the

instructions of my teacher" (*The Analects*, Confucian Classic, 1: 4). Tu argues that this attempt to inform one's moral development by constantly probing one's inner self is neither a narcissistic search for private truth nor an individualistic claim for isolated experience. Rather, it is a form of self-cultivation which is simultaneously also a communal act of harmonizing human relationships (Tu, 1985: 67).

On the other hand, the centrality of "learning" in Confucian classics should be interpreted as a process of training the self to be responsive to the world and culture at large (Tu, 1985: 68). Tu further argues that one studies *Poetry (Shi)* in order to acquire "language" (*Yan*) as a necessary means of communication in the civilized world, and *Ritual (Li)* in order to internalize the "form of life" characteristic of one's own community. Accordingly, learning is a way to be human and not simply a programme of making oneself knowledgeable. The whole process seeks to enrich the self, to enhance its strength and to refine its wisdom so that one can be considerate to others and honest with oneself.

In short, "learning" in the Confucian perspective is basically a process of self-cultivation in morality. It is a gradual process of building up one's character by making oneself receptive to the symbolic resources of one's own culture and responsive to the shareable values of one's own society. Thus, Confucius observes, "In order to establish oneself, one should try to establish others; in order to enlarge oneself, one should try to enlarge others" (*The Analects*, 6: 28). This sense of mutuality is predicated on the belief that learning to be human is by no means a lonely struggle to assert one's private ego. On the contrary, human beings come into meaningful existence through symbolic interchange and reciprocal relationship which affirms a commonly experienced truth (Tu, 1985: 68).

2.3.3 Humanity (*Ren*)

Confucius places great emphasis on the idea of "humanity" (*ren*) in The Analects, and considers *"ren"* as the general virtue which is basic, universal and the source of all specific virtues" (Chan, 1975: 109). Confucius said, "A resolute scholar and a person of humanity will never seek to live at the expense of injuring humanity. He/she would rather sacrifice his life in order to realize humanity." (*The Analects*, Confucian Classic, 15: 8). According to Tu (1993:

3), to realize humanity as the ultimate value of human existence eventually becomes the spiritual self-definition of a Confucian.

Mencius formulated clearly and explicitly the cardinal tenet of the goodness of human nature. "The tendency of human nature to good is like the tendency of water to flow downwards. There are none but have this tendency to good just as all water flows downwards" (*Book of Mencius*, Confucian Classic, Book VI). He analyzed the moral components of human nature in the following way (Lu, 1983: 11):

> The heart of commiseration is the beginning of humanity (*ren*); the heart of shame and dislike is the beginning of righteousness (*yi*); the heart of deference and compliance is the beginning of propriety (*li*); and the heart of right and wrong is the beginning of wisdom (*zhi*).

These "four beginnings" are the inborn moral qualities of man and therefore the moral components that make up human nature. If properly nurtured, they can grow and develop into the four virtues, i.e. humanity (*ren*), righteousness (*yi*), propriety (*li*) and wisdom (*zhi*) (Lu, 1983: 12).

"Humanity" (*ren*) has been regarded as a central concept in Chinese philosophy. The word "humanity" (*ren*) has been variously translated as benevolence, love, human-heartedness, etc. And in most cases, the person who has achieved "humanity" is the perfect person. More specifically, Confucianists believe in the "perfectibility of all men" (the "superior man") and that everyone can become the "sage-emperors like Yao and Shun" if they extend and manifest their original good human nature (Chan, 1963: 15-17). Bodde (1953: 69) elaborates that if one fails to actualize this potential, this is mainly due to an inadequate understanding of how the universe operates. This deficiency, however, can be remediated through self-cultivation and education. Henceforth the possibility always exists for every one without exception to achieve sagehood.

The realization and application of "humanity" (*ren*) is the central Confucian doctrine. Humanity needs to be realized through actual practice. There is a central thread running through Confucius' teachings, intertwined with conscientiousness and altruism, which forms the two essential elements of humanity.

The Great Learning suggested an "Eight-Step" scheme for translating humanity into

actual living which carefully maintained the balance and harmony of the individual and the collectivity. The "Eight-Step" scheme is:

- the investigation of things,

- the extension of knowledge,

- sincerity of the will,

- rectification of the mind,

- cultivation of the personal life,

- regulation of the family,

- national order, and

- world peace (Chan, 1963: 84).

These eight steps denote the significance of the enrichment of the mind and the intellect as a foundation of human realization. Further the internal self enrichment will be manifested through one's influence on the external world, that is, family, nation and the world.

The *Great Learning* emphasizes that the whole structure of human realization is centred on the fifth step, the "cultivation of the personal life". Cultivation of the personal life is the root or foundation of human realization. As Chan (1963: 87) remarks, there is never a case when the root is in disorder and yet the branches are in order." There has never been a case when what is treated with great importance becomes a matter of slight importance or what is treated with slight importance becomes a matter of great importance.

Of the "Eight Steps", the first five are the inner cultivation procedures of a person. When one has cultivated oneself well enough, one can then further extend the realization of this quality to the outer world so as to regulate the family, govern the country and make the world peaceful.

As the "self" is the source and the focus of motivation, the "self" constitutes a significant reference point in an individual's value system. Human relationships are extended from the self. If a person has cultivated himself well enough, he will then seek to influence the outside world. That is to say, a person should cultivate himself first before seeking to govern the state (Lee, 1994a: 9).

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Hsiao (1979: 103) further points out that in terms of personal cultivation, *"ren"* is a matter of one's individual ethics. However, in terms of practice, *"ren"* is additionally both social ethics and political principle. When Confucius spoke about *"ren"*, he was in fact melting the ore of ethics, social relationships, and politics together in one crucible; he was bringing others, the self, the family, and the state into alignment through the development of "one all-pervading" concept. *The Great Learning* states that whether an individual is in a high or low position, one must consider cultivation of the individual character as "the root" of social well-being and harmony. One of the outstanding characteristics in Chinese social thought is the emphasis on obligations rather than rights and prerogatives of the individual in relation to society. We should not ask what society can do for us; instead, ask what we can do for society. The cultivation of the character of the individual, according to the *Great Learning*, as quoted, includes five inward steps of self-perfection and three outward steps of social extension spreading to the family, the state, and the whole world. The "Eight-step" scheme has served as a master plan of moral and educational development as well as a blueprint for social and political administration in Chinese culture (Mei, 1968b: 327).

2.4 Interpersonal-Oriented Values

2.4.1 Filial Piety and Familial Love

The doctrine of filial piety (*xiao*) in Chinese ethics has a far-reaching impact on Chinese society, including family life, social activities and political perspectives. Most important of all, the doctrine of filial piety may contribute to the peace and welfare of the world. As Chinese ethics stresses the practicality of moral teachings, its central idea is benevolence on the one hand, and filial piety on the other.

Filial piety has always been a central Confucian thought and been understood in terms of benevolence, and has never been an incidental expediency. According to Mencius, "Every human being is endowed with the sense of commiseration" (*Book of Mencius*, VIB: 11) and "The feeling of commiseration is the starting point of benevolence" (*Book of Mencius*, IIA: 6). Since everyone possesses an inherent feeling of commiseration, everyone is endowed with the virtue of benevolence. Mencius also stresses that benevolence is an

intuitive ability, which is innately possessed by humans without having been acquired by learning. "Children carried in arms all know to love their parents, and when they are grown up, they all know to respect their elder brothers" (*Book of Mencius,* VIIA: 15). This inherent attribute of love-and-respect towards parents is filial piety. This is the germination or starting point of the gradually expanding virtue, leading to the universal love of humankind.

Benevolence and filial piety are inter-related. On the one hand, the seed of benevolence as sown in filial piety still needs timely cultivation, without which it tends to wither away or completely disappear. On the other hand, in order to keep benevolence durable and expanding, cultivation of the feeling of filial piety is indispensable.

Moreover, benevolence needs to be realized through actual practice. Confucianists advocate that the realization of benevolence must begin with the love of children towards their parents. This means that, in the complicated human relations, filial piety forms the primary and most fundamental unit of mutual connection between two or more persons, in which the practice of benevolence must first be fulfilled. By inference, all other relations among human beings should emanate from this basic virtue as their source; otherwise, they may not stay on the right course in attaining happiness and peace in the society.

Tu (1985: 13-14) comments that "The Confucian self, in the context of a hierarchical structure of social roles, is inevitably submerged in the group. The father-son relationship seems to provide an excellent case in which the Confucian son submits himself to the parental authority for the maintenance of social order." With regard to the father-son relationship in the context of self-cultivation, Tu (1985: 115) points out that:

> The conventional belief is that since "filial piety" is a cardinal value in Confucianism, a salient feature of the father-son relationship is the unquestioned obedience of the son to the authority of the father. For the son to cultivate himself, in this view, he must learn to suppress his own desires, anticipate the wishes of his father, and take his father's commands as sacred edicts. His receptivity to his father is thus the result of his concerted effort to internalize his "superego", to the extent that his conscience automatically dictates that he does what his father wishes. Latent aggressiveness toward, not to mention hatred of, his father is

totally repressed in belief and attitude as well as suppressed in behaviour. Understandably, the Confucian son, overpowered by the authority of the father, evokes images of weakness, indecision, dependency, and conformity.

However, Tu (1985: 116) does not agree with such conventional belief of the reasons for practising "filial piety". Tu argues that the reason why an individual practises filial duties towards his parents, and fulfills duties to his family is in fact for the realization of self-cultivation.

Hsieh (1997a: 318) has a similar viewpoint. He argues that:

> Every individual has a duty to his family, and duty to the family was especially emphasized in Confucian ethics. But this emphasis on duty to the family was in fact for the good of the individual. The common mistaken view is that, since Confucian ethics emphasized the importance of the family, Chinese ethics took the family as the unit of its system, that Chinese ethics considered the family as the basis or the centre to which all individuals must be subordinated, that the family is everything, and that individuals are nothing, that individuals must submit to the family and work for the family. This is not correct.

Hsieh further points out that the importance of the family is for the sake of realizing the individual, that is, for the fulfillment of the seed of *ren* possessed by every individual. In this sense, the seed of *ren* comes directly from the family. We all inherit our humanity originally from the family. Since we all grow up in the family, the cultivation and development of our humanity must begin within the family... The two important duties of the individual to the family are filial piety and brotherliness/sisterliness. These principles were based upon the seed of humanity inborn in all humans in loving their parents, and were intended to preserve and develop it by ethical education. Confucius considered the rudimentary instinct of loving one's parents as the root of *ren*. Without cultivation, it may wither away or disappear. In order to cultivate and develop such a root of *ren*, Confucius taught the doctrine of filial piety and brotherliness in the family (Hsieh, 1997a: 319).

Chinese tradition places a high value on group goals and production (Abbott, 1970). Chinese tradition accentuates a sense of group rather than individual orientation. Inclination is towards collective rather than independent behaviour, and consequently towards cooperation rather than deviance (Wilson and Wilson, 1979). One main feature of Chinese culture is the

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emphasis on social groups, especially domestic groupings, rather than on the individual. This is related to the centrality of the concept of filial piety and leads to the consequence that the physical, emotional, and financial security of the individual is insured by others, mainly by the family and other associations based on kinship. Chinese culture also emphasizes the orderly social relations and the intensity of intergenerational bonds represented by genealogy, ancestor worship, and "filial piety".

The ideal development of good morality must derive from its true source, that is, filial piety in its enlightened and broad interpretation. This explains why classical Chinese philosophers emphasized the doctrine of filial piety as the fountain of all good conduct (Hsieh, 1968: 170-172).

2.4.2 Family and State

Hsieh (1997b: 174-175) argues that Chinese society has always been thoroughly under the sway of the ethical concept of filial piety. In other words, it was built upon the basis of filial piety, which has penetrated into every corner of Chinese life and society, permeating all the activities of the Chinese people. Its influence has been all-prevailing in the family life, social life as well as political life of the Chinese people.

With regard to family life, Chinese society, which has laid special emphasis on the integrity of household relations, treats family as the foundation and the unit of society. Mencius states that "the root of the empire is in the state, and the root of the state is in the family" (*Book of Mencius*, IVA: 5). *The Great Learning* (I: 4) advocates that "in order to govern the state properly, it is necessary to regulate the family first; in order to put the empire in peace and prosperity, it is necessary to regulate the state first."

Prior to the establishing of a community or a state, there must be the social unit called the family. Therefore, to put one's household in good order is the primary stage to demonstrate one's ability to hold a public office in such a way as to bring well-being to the state and peace to the empire. The primary stage, according to the Confucian view, was absolutely important as a prerequisite for the attainment of the latter as "it is impossible for one to teach others if he cannot teach his own family" (*The Great Learning*, IX: 1). Since

one's parents are the source of one's life, this fundamental blood relationship legally as well as morally dictates the imperative rule that one owes certain unavoidable obligations to his parents. Taking for granted that one is endowed with the virtue of love, one must first show it towards his parents. One must first be able to uphold his responsibility to his parents and his family as a social unit before he can shoulder his responsibility towards society and the state. The logical conclusion of this reasoning on the importance of the family obviously revolves around the theme of filial piety (Hsieh, 1997b: 175).

On the other hand, concerning the social life of Chinese people, they essentially expanded or extended family life into a larger area. This was an extension of the practice of filial piety. In Chinese community, kinship was formed through the marriage relationship, clans were established through blood relationship, and villages were built up through the regional relationship in which one was born and brought up. One's ancestors, and, still further, teachers and friends, were linked together through academic pursuit or mutual attraction or other causes -- all these revolved around the centre of gravity of the practice of filial piety. In Confucian ethics, the position of the teacher was particularly respected, ranking next to father's position in every household. By expanding the view that one must honour his physical-life giver, he must also honour his cultural-life giver as it was the teacher who had much to do in formulating the pupil's spiritual and cultural life. By the same token, one treats his bosom friends with high respect too. While the Chinese respect for the teacher was an extension of filial piety, the respect of friendship was, as an expansion of tutorship, also an extension of filial piety. The closely knit patterns of relatives, clansmen, fellow countrymen, and teachers, together with friends, were all interwoven around the filial axis in the Chinese community (Hsieh, 1997b: 181-182).

Finally, with regard to the political life of Chinese people in its traditional form, the Chinese seem to have shown little interest in politics. In every community or village, social relationships usually functioned instead of higher administrative regulation. From the filial view point, everyone was exhorted to pay respect to the elderly in the family in the management of family affairs and in the settlement of intra-family disputes, if any

serious dispute arise; and in the case of inter-family controversies, the village head would settle them as amicably as possible. *The Book of Rites* (X: 45) emphasizes, "As the people are taught filial piety and brotherly love at home, with reverence toward the elder and diligent care for the aged in the community, they constitute the way of a great king; and it is along this line that states as well as families will become peaceful" (Hsieh, 1997b: 182).

Hence, Confucius remarks that there is no more excellent method than the rituals for making those in authority secure and the people well-ordered. If every village is kept in good order, the whole state will naturally be in good order. Confucius states that "By reviewing the local rule in the villages, I comprehend that the King's Way should be easy (*Book of Rites*, X: 45). Even though the whole empire might collapse, with the ruling house changing hands, sometimes frequently, yet the people might still take advantage of the local village rule which was an expansion of the practice of filial piety in every good household (Hsieh, 1997b: 183).

On the other hand, as the *Book of Filial Piety* (Confucian Classic) puts it: "Filial piety at the outset consists of service to one's parents; in the middle of one's path, in service to his sovereign; and, in the end, in establishing himself as a mature man" (*Book of Filial Piety*, I). Mencius further extends this virtue, saying, "The superior man should love his parents and be lovingly disposed to people in general; and so he should also be kind to all living creatures" (*Book of Mencius*, VII A.45). In addition, Mencius also points out, "Treat with reverence the elders in your own family, so that the elders in other families shall be similarly treated; treat with kindness the young in your own family, so that the young in other families shall be similarly treated" (*Book of Mencius*, 1A.7). All such passages show that filial duties toward one's parents must be expanded to the whole society. Hence, all of the human virtues should be born through observance of filial piety, which serves as the dynamic force of all other virtues. With genuine and comprehensive love toward one's own parents, one may naturally learn to be benevolent to all living creatures, affectionate toward mankind as a whole, loyal to his country and to the duties of a free citizen, faithful in keeping obligations, righteous in

action, peaceful in behaviour, and just in all dealings. All these eight virtues, together with many others, emanate from filial piety through its expansion. The *Book of Filial Piety* says, "It is filial piety which forms the root of all virtues, and with it all enlightening studies come into existence *(Book of Filial Piety*, I)(Hsieh, 1968: 173-174).

The role of family is crucial, with such concepts as "*guo jia*" or "nation" which combines the ideographs for country and family, and "*min zu fu mu*", "the appellation for the emperor", literally meaning "the people's father and mother" (Devos, 1976: 48). A filial child should exercise filial loyalty to his parents, to the point of never disobeying but adhering strictly to the principle of propriety in serving them when they are alive and sacrificing to them when they are dead *(The Analects*, II. 5).

Moreover, Chinese society lays special emphasis on the integrity of household relations, and treats the family as the foundation unit of society. Confucian doctrine takes *jia* (family) as the most fundamental unit in human society and other social institutions are merely projections or even replications of familial structure and relationship. Mencius held it to be true that "the root of the empire is in the state, and the root of the state is in the family" *(Book of Mencius*, IV A.5). *The Great Learning* advocates that "in order rightly to govern the state, it is necessary first to regulate the family" *(The Great Learning*, I. 4). Hence, the family has been the basic unit of identity for Chinese for more than two thousand years (Tsang, 1994a). The *Book of Rites* emphasized, "As the people are taught filial piety and brotherly love at home, with reverence towards the elderly and diligent care for the aged in the community, they constitute the way of a great king and it is along this line that the state as well as families will become peaceful" *(Book of Rites*, X. 45). Among the functions of the family, surely one of the most important is its position as the intermediate point between the individual and the larger society. It is here that one is trained in the adjustments he will have to make throughout life between himself and other men. This is the reason harmony has been stressed as a cardinal virtue for the family (Chan, W.T., 1968: 26). In the well-ordered family the adults learned how to manage community affairs and direct others for the common good while the young gradually learned to obey and to play their proper roles in the kinship hierarchy. The

family was thus seen as a microcosm of the sociopolitical order; the wise father was a model for the wise ruler or minister and dutiful children were the models for properly submissive subjects who knew their place, their role, and their obligations to others (Wright, 1962: 6-7).

The Confucianists view the family as the foundation of social organization. Since the state is a part of the society, family is also the basis of political organization (Hsu, 1975: 66-67). In *The Great Learning*, the position of family in political progress is clearly defined:

> Everything has its root and its branches. To know what is first and what is last will lead near to the Royal Doctrine. The ancients who wished to illustrate illustrious virtue throughout the kingdom first governed well their state. Wishing to govern well their state, they first regulated their families. Wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their personalities... Their families being regulated, their states were rightly governed. The states being rightly governed, the whole kingdom was made tranquil and happy" (The text of Confucius, section 3-6; Hsu, 1975: 67).

Agreeing with the thesis that the family is the foundation of the state, and that the family as a social unity forms the basis of social organization and political organization, Hsu (1975: 67-68) further points out that the family is an educational unit. According to Hsu, government of virtue is the only form of government that can assure political progress. A government of virtue is possible only when the sovereign and the officers are able to influence the people to be virtuous and wise (*The Analects*, Book XIII, Chapters i, vi, xiii). The family is the best institution for the training of individual character, virtue and wisdom. Family virtues may be transformed into political virtues. For instance, filial piety towards parents may be transformed into loyalty to the sovereign; and fraternal duty to the elder brother may be transformed into kindness to fellow-citizens (*The Analects*, Book II, Chapter xx). To rightfully fulfil duties as a member of the family is to teach one how to rightfully fulfil the duties of citizenship. To know how to govern well a family is to know how to govern a state (*The Great Learning*, Commentaries, Chapter ix).

The family is the primary school for training in political organization. Confucius says, "Be dutiful to your parents, be brotherly to your brothers. These qualities are displayed in

government" (*The Analects*, book II. Chapter xxi). Actually, in both family and state, there are government, and this government should be based upon virtue... In both there is an organization of work and a distinction of superiors and inferiors. The regulation of the family, therefore, offers much valuable political experience; and so the wise man learns his statecraft within the doors of his own home" (*The Great Learning*, Commentaries, Chapter ix; Hsu, 1975: 69).

Moreover, the family is an agency of rectification. Rectification, which is the main function of government, should begin with family. If the parent is kind to the child, the child will be filial to the parent. If the elder brother is fraternal to the younger, the younger will respect the elder. If the husband is just to the wife, the wife will be devoted to the husband. When all keep their proper place in the family, then the family will be rectified. If the family is so rectified, the entire state will be rectified (*Book of Change*, part ii; Hsu, 1975: 68-69).

On the other hand, the Confucian emphasis on complex families and the legal power vested in the head of a family to prevent its premature break up is an aspect of a total political system in which some authority is delegated from the administrative system to what, in a metaphorical sense, we may call natural units. The Confucian moralizing about the family, the stress put upon filial piety and the need for solidarity among siblings underline the importance of domestic harmony. These reflect a political view in which units standing at the base of the social pyramid are expected to control themselves in the interest of the state (Freedom, 1979: 242).

Abbott (1970: 166) argues that the family still retains its function of inculcating values and continues to be seen both in Taiwan and on the Mainland as the basic unit of national society. This can be quoted as evidence of the Confucian dictum that the effective functioning of families leads to the effective functioning of the nation. In the Chinese culture, the family unit, rather than the individual, and harmony are regarded as the highest good; this seems to be a primordial basis for minimizing individual aggressiveness (DeVos, 1976: 100). In addition, Bond (1986: 80) sampled printed passages from newspapers, magazines, works of fiction and non-fiction, the textbooks of primary and secondary schools, as well as

non-educational reading matter. They found that there were more loyal-and filial-related words in the Chinese Language than in English and that the total frequencies of usage of these words were also higher in Chinese than in English.

Filial piety is the core of Chinese culture. It is the root of all virtues in Confucianism. If one does not have a sense of gratitude and affection towards one's own parents, one cannot be expected to harbour love and concern for others. Confucius believed that the primary moral duty of filial piety must be upheld even at the expense of other secondary moral obligations such as social justice. It is a matter of the relative priority of moral values. Filial piety is not just a moral concern within the family; it affects the moral climate of the whole society (Lu, 1983: 66). Furthermore, classical Chinese kinship has a strong preponderance of particularistic emphasis, placing kinship loyalties very high in the general scale of social values (Parson and Ahils, 1959: 177). According to Confucianism, the family unit is important because it is the training ground for morality. And filial piety is significant as it is the root of morality. Theoretically, the Confucianist, after fulfilling his love to his family should extend it to the country as a whole and even the world at large.

2.4.3 Compassion

According to Mencius, "a person without the heart of compassion/commiseration is not a human being" and "the heart of commiseration is the beginning of humanity (*ren*)" (Lu, 1983: 10-11). In other words, "commiseration" is the foundation of all morality. It generates from our most inner being and extends to relationships with others -- "love the people". According to Confucian core teaching, to practise "*ren*/humanity", one must be honest about one's inborn moral qualities by developing them as fully as possible. Mencius further explained the concept of "*ren*": "All humans have a mind set which cannot bear to see the suffering of others." This mind set is what we called the feeling of compassion. Some people are able to develop and manifest this feeling whereas others are unable to do so. Here lies the difference between a Confucian gentleman and a morally inferior person. This same feeling could also apply to the running of a government by a Confucian ruler; the result would be a humane government that could not bear to see the suffering of the people (Lu, 1983: 81).

2.4.4 Modesty

Harmony is a central concept in Confucian thought, and is closely related to the collectivist orientation of the Chinese, who are especially concerned with harmony among people, and who strive to maintain it in their social relations. Modesty, as a result, occupies a central and noticeable position in human interactions in Chinese society and is an essential moral quality in achieving group harmony. Humility is thus a valued and model characteristic in Chinese interpersonal relations. A humble person makes self-effacing attributions, whereas a boastful one make self-enhancing attributions. A person with self-effacing attributions should be better liked than one making self-enhancing attributions. In addition, humanity (*ren*) constitutes the central concept of Confucianism; knowledge (*zhi*) is of secondary importance, and a humble or self-effacing person is more valued by the society regardless of whether one is a competent person or not (Bond et al., 1982).

2.5 Society-oriented Values

Mei (1968: 327-328) concedes that social well-being in the Confucian society depends on the proper cultivation of the individual, and the individual can achieve the full realization of his destiny only through public services and social participation. Social obligations and responsibilities of an individual are not chains and burdens to be escaped from, or to be borne and suffered. On the contrary, it is in the fulfillment of these social responsibilities that the individual realizes his complete personal fulfillment. In a very fundamental sense, the individual and society in Confucian social thought are mutually dependent upon each other.

"Social orientation" in the Confucian tradition may be defined as a predisposition towards maintaining harmony through social conformity, non-offensive behaviour and submission to social expectations on the one hand, and avoidance of punishment, conflict, rejection and retaliation in a social situation on the other. Basically, it represents a tendency for a person to act in accordance with external expectations or social norms, rather than internal wishes or personal integrity, so that he will be an integral part of the social network. Here solidarity and social consciousness are more decisive as determinants of behaviour than individuality and self-assertion. As a result, social-consistency takes precedence over

self-consistency. More specifically, to be social-oriented usually means to behave in consonance with social expectations and/or role imperatives at the expense of the actor's personal feelings, opinions, or will (Yang, 1981: 159-160).

2.5.1 Five Human Relations (*Wu Lun*)

With respect to human relations, there are "Five Human Relations" according to Confucianism. The "Five Human Relationships" emphasize harmonious relationships "between sovereign and subjects, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers and friend and friend" with a deep respect for and obedience to their superiors. Mencius says, "Between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, good faith" (*The Book of Mencius*, III A.4). When these are demonstrated, a harmonious social order will prevail. Of the "Five Human Relations", three were within the family, and the other two were based upon specific family models. The filial principle extends into all important family and social ties. One of these, the relationship between the sovereign and subject, has special importance for us. It is conceived as an extension of the relationship between father and son; from the way in which one serves one's father, one learns how to serve one's sovereign. The respect shown to them is the same (Lifton, 1961: 362).

2.5.2 Propriety (*Li*)

Confucius gave advice to his son: "If you do not learn the rules of propriety (*li*), your character cannot be established." (*The Analects*, Book XVI: 4). This shows that Confucius places great emphasis on propriety. According to Pott (1925: 32-34), the Chinese word "*li*" can be translated into English as either "ceremony" or "propriety". It is an important word in Confucian ethics and its explication would help materially to define the Confucian ethical and social ideal. The *Book of Rites,* or The *Book of Ceremonies,* elaborates the meaning of "*li* "as "A life ordered in harmony with it (*li*) would realize the highest Chinese ideal and surely a very high ideal of human character" (Legge, 1995: 17). Indeed, the *Analects* always mentions the word "*li*" and the way in which it is employed as practically synonymous to the

highest form of life. Confucius answered his disciple's question about "perfect virtue" by saying to subdue oneself and return to propriety (*li*) is perfect virtue: If a person can one day subdue oneself and return to propriety, all under heaven will ascribe perfect virtue to him/her" (*The Analects*, Book XII: 1).   What he meant was that the insolence of human passion and desire, greed and ambition could only be checked and chastened through "returning to propriety".   The rules of propriety are just so many *natural* restraints on human's conduct. This restraining function of the rules of propriety is emphasized repeatedly in *The Analects*. Hence the rules are means for individual and social control.   They are not ends (Pott, 1925: 42).

In addition, from propriety we can see the manifestation of *ren*. Indeed, the importance of propriety lies here.   Propriety must be based upon *ren*; if not, it can hardly be called propriety.   "If men are without *ren*, what use is there for propriety?" (*The Analects*, III: 3) It is for the sake of *ren* that one should treat others with propriety.   And in such propriety, in such respectful conduct towards others, one affirms the personality, the value and the rights of others.   If each individual has such respectfulness towards others, then the relation between person and person will be in perfect harmony and without conflict.   As *The Analects* says (I: 12), "In practising the rules of propriety, harmony is to be prized." Accordingly, the aim of propriety is peace among people (Hsieh, 1997a: 316).   Pott (1925: 40) points out that "*li* is not mere ceremonialism and meaningless red-tapeism, in other words, far more than being scrupulous , it is the real inwardness of all morals and manners.   Indeed it is only the proper sense of *li* that prevents morality and politeness from degenerating into mere formalism and ceremonialism.

According to Wright (1962: 7), transcending the family but including many familial imperatives were the *li*, the norms of proper social behaviour.   The ancient sage-kings, it was believed, had prescribed observances, taboos, and rituals that ensured the well-being and happiness of their subjects.   People codified these prescriptions and created a body of norms that provided for all social contingencies.   It was the duty of the father to teach the *li* in the household.   It was the duty of monarch and officials to make the *li* known to the populace so

that one and all might live according to the same time-tested norms. The *li*, spread by fathers, village elders, and government officials, and supplemented by the discipline of ordered family life, would in turn foster social virtues: filial submission, brotherliness, righteousness, good faith, and loyalty. Further means were advocated and used to spur the development of these cardinal virtues. Exhortations to virtue were read in the villages, the *Book of Filial Piety* was taught to the young, and stories of noted exemplars were read to the masses by the literate storytellers and dramatic troupes. The power of example, of models of conduct, has been extolled by Confucius and was a basic principle of child-rearing and education in imperial China.

2.5.3 Harmony (*Hexie)*

Harmony has been known as the core value of the Chinese people. As Wu (1997: 227) observes:

> Whether they are speaking of self-cultivation or dealing with the
> affairs of the world, harmony is the keynote of all their thinking.
> In the practice of virtue, they aim at the harmony of body and soul.
> In the family, they aim at the harmony of husband and wife and of
> the brothers and sisters. In the village, they aim at the harmony of
> neighbours. Even the Golden Rule of Confucius and his principle
> of reciprocity are little more than an expression of the spirit of
> harmony. When Confucius says that in a country what is really to
> be worried about is not the scarcity of goods, but the lack of
> proportion in their distribution, he is aiming at socio-economic
> harmony. When he says that in hearing litigations, he is no better
> than other people, but that the important thing is to cause litigations
> to cease, it is very plain that he prefers social harmony, which
> would prevent any conflicts of interest from arising, to a just
> resolution of actual conflicts.

The concept of the *li* reveals the significances of proper human relationships within the society. In order to set standards of behaviour for the society at large, the Confucians formulated the notions of "Three Bonds" and "Five Human Relationships". The "Three Bonds" ensured the authority of the ruler over the minister, the father over the son, and the husband over the wife (Tu, 1993: 26).

The "Five Human Relationships" emphasize harmonious relationships "between

sovereign and subjects, father and son, husband and wife, elder and younger brothers and friend and friend" with a deep respect for and obedience to their superiors. Through education, people become aware of the "*li*" and thus understand their social positions and act accordingly. As the "*li*" is a means of checking the disorderly character of human nature, harmonious relationships in society can be established. A survey conducted in 1991 on Chinese conflict preferences revealed that the Chinese tend to avoid conflict and seek compromise (Triandis, 1995: 128). Actually, the Confucian notions of "Three Bonds" and "Five Human Relationships" is a double-edged sword for social control. In order to achieve the status of a cooperative society, the "Three Bonds" and "Five Human Relationships" consist of an ordered hierarchy of unequal components, all of which have their essential function to perform. The ideal society is one in which each individual accepts one's own social position and performs to the best of one's ability the obligations attached to that position (Bodde, 1953: 69). The establishment of the authority of the ruler, the father and the husband may have been an effective way to ensure the stability of the society under the domination of autocracy and patriarchy. Yet the Confucian ideology, with its emphasis on exemplary teaching and mutual responsibility, also requires that the ruler lives up to the ideal of kingship, that the father live up to the ideal of fatherhood, and that the husband live up to the ideal of householder. The Confucian intellectuals and the scholar-officials in general assumed the role of watchdog, not only for the imperial household, but also for the common people. They could help the ruling minority maintain law and order in society and had some coercive power to bring deviants into line. Normally they would exercise their influence through moral persuasion as teachers. At the same time, they could represent the people in addressing their grievances to the higher authority. They could serve as critics and censors when they believed that the anomalies of the dynasty were still redeemable. They could also advocate the creation of a new dynasty if they felt that the course of degeneration of the present one could not be reversed (Tu, 1993: 26-27).

Some Western literature (Abbott, 1970: 199-200) interprets the Chinese as passive and dependent. However, we have to recognize the Chinese cultural imperatives to be harmonious and collectivistic. Actually, a Chinese, operating under Chinese cultural values can be

assertive but not in an individualistic manner. His relatively dominant, achievement-oriented and extroverted behaviour must be compensated for by an equally great concern for the opinion of others, social relations and group norms in order to comply with the cultural standard of harmony.

In short, in the Confucian tradition, a primary concern in all social relationships centres on the maintenance of harmony and stability. Harmony (*Hexie*) is a central concept in Chinese thought, and is closely related to the collectivist orientation of the Chinese, who are especially concerned with harmony among people, and who strive to maintain it in their social relations. The achievement of harmony occurs through the acceptance of socially approved rules of behaviour based on an ordered hierarchy. These rules are contained in the *Li* or principles of behaviour (Silin, 1976). The *Li* serves as the function of maintaining order and has great importance in the structural harmony within Chinese society. The "*Li*" is the "right conduct in maintaining one's place in a hierarchical order". As a common Chinese expression underscores, "Seniors and juniors have their ranking". Furthermore, along the same lines, there is the comprehensive attitude of tolerance, which pervades the Chinese mentality and Chinese society (Moore, 1997: 6)).

2.6 Nation-oriented Values

"Man, rather than law, has been the controlling factor in Chinese political life. As early as Confucius, man was considered the most important element in government. 'The administration of government depends on men,' declared the Sage. 'Let there be man, and the government will flourish; without men, government will decay and cease.'" (*The Doctrine of the Mean*, Confucian Classic, XX) (Chan, W.T., 1968: 22). Confucianism traditionally demanded that a scholar occupy himself not only with self-cultivation but with improvement of society as well (Schirokauer, 1962: 185).

2.6.1 Benevolent Government

As mentioned previously, the Confucian tradition places great emphasis on the realization of humanity (*ren*) and the extension of love to others. Actually, this philosophy of benevolence is not only the utmost moral requirement of an individual, it is also the

principle of governing and the ideal of society. In politics, Confucius was the champion advocate of the idea of government by virtue, a novel idea at a time when absolute powers were vested in a hereditary aristocracy. Elevation of the citizen's character becomes the purpose and procedure of such a government, and moral life and education are a part of political socialization. The liberating and democratic tendencies of such a political ideal are evident, but it was Mencius who gave these tendencies a clear and definite formulation (Mei, 1997: 155).

The Confucian idea of government by virtue was turned into the idea of government by *ren* by Mencius (*The Book of Mencius*, IVA. 1, 3). All that a ruler has to do is to let his innate *ren* impulse have its natural play and give it a wide extension towards all people (*The Book of Mencius*, 1A. 7; IIA.6). Special attention should be given to the needs of the people. Material and spiritual government by *ren* is the political norm. In case of disharmony between the ruler and the people, usually due to the degeneracy of the ruler, the ruler should be emphatically reminded that the people rank the highest, the spirits of the land and grain next, and the sovereign the lowest (*The Book of Mencius*, VIIB. 14). With regard to the philosophy of government, Mencius suggests that "No one is devoid of a heart sensitive to the suffering of others. Such a sensitive heart was possessed by the Former Kings and this manifested itself in compassionate government. With such a sensitive heart behind compassionate government, it was as easy to rule the Empire as rolling it in your own palm." (*The Book of Mencius*, 2A: 6). The idea of benevolent government underlies the Confucian political vision and there are examples in *The Analects* showing how "benevolent government" is considered the best course of action in politics.

A humane government and the practice of benevolent policies towards one's subjects is at the core of political philosophy of Confucius. In the Confucian tradition, moral values and political ideals are closely related: the former serve as the foundation of the latter. Confucius proposed a political recipe for a good government: the ruler must first of all set a good moral example. For even a ruler himself is not exempted from performing his moral obligations. A ruler ought to be humane to his ministers. From the Confucian viewpoint, political leaders

should have high moral standards compared to the ordinary people. They should be willing to sacrifice their personal interests for the common well-being of the people (Lu, 1983). In addition, the moral or ethical commitment of leaders is considered crucial to success (Silin, 1976). The Confucian moral definition of the state has emphasized the benevolent conduct of a leader or the state authority (Hsiao, 1988:18). Mencius and Xunzi argued that an inhuman and unjust sovereign who did not pay any attention to criticism would lose one's regime. He should then not be regarded as a ruler, but just a criminal, and might be treated accordingly (Paul, 1990: 63). Moreover, Mencius also affirmed that the people are more important than the ruler and that the people have the right to rebel against tyrannical rulers (Wilson and Wilson, 1979). Pye in his discussion of "The East Asian Political Model" pointed out that in East Asian political cultures, authority is expected to be combined with grace and benevolence. This is also a combination of elitism and sympathy. The Confucian tradition reveres hierarchy, accepting gradations of rank and merit as natural, but they also expect rulers to be concerned about the livelihood of the masses. Also, the Confucian ideal of rule by an educated elite has been given way to rule by technocrats who are assumed to be knowledgeable about, and sympathetic towards, the interests of all segments of society (Pye, 1988: 84).

In addition, the significance of the concept of virtue, which features prominently in Confucian political thought, is that since "Heaven sees as the people see and Heaven hears as the people hear" (*The Book of Mencius*, 5A: 5), the real guarantee for the well-being of the rulership lies in its acceptable performance rather than in its preconceived mandate. The right of the people to rebel against a tyrannical dynasty, the right of the aristocracy to remove an unjust imperial household, the right of the imperial clansmen to replace an unsuitable king, and the right of the bureaucrats to remonstrate with a negligent ruler are all sanctioned by a deep-rooted conviction that political leadership essentially manifests its performance in moral persuasion and that the transformative power of a dynasty depends mainly on the ethical quality of those who govern (Tu, 1993: 6).

2.6.2 Confucian Tactics of Governing

With regard to Confucian techniques of governing, Hsiao (1979: 108-116) summarizes them into three domains, namely, to nourish, to teach and to govern. The instruments with which to nourish and to teach are "virtues" and the rites, while the instruments with which to govern are "politics" and punishments. Virtues and rites are major; while politics and punishments are auxiliary. The central governing strategy that Confucius most emphasized was that of transforming the populace through teaching.

2.6.2.1 Nourishing the People

Firstly, Confucius looked upon providing for the people's nourishment as an essential duty, which is one manifestation of his concept of benevolence. Thus he looked upon "the extensive dispensation of succor to the masses" as the achievement of the Sage. As for the course to be followed in nourishing the people, Confucius advocates the enrichment of people's livelihood, keeping taxes and imposes light, limiting labour service exactions, and restricting fiscal expenditures (*The Analects*, XIII: 9). In short, nourishing people in Confucianism is mainly concerned with ample provision for people's livelihood. Moreover, the standard of plenitude, as Confucius saw it, had nothing to do with the absolute quantity of production, but merely with the relative equality of distribution. If all is well-apportioned, there will be no poverty; if they are not divided against one another, there will be no lack of men, and if there is contentment, there will be no upheavals" (*The Analects*, XVI: 1).

2.6.2.2 Teaching the People

According to Confucianism, nourishing the people was one of the state's indispensable policies, but it is not its highest policy. For the objectives of the state are not merely that the people should enjoy plenitude with regard to food and clothing, but that more importantly they should be noble and virtuous in character and in deed. Hence, Confucius suggests that when people have been enriched, they can then be taught (*The Analects*, XIII: 9). As a matter of fact, Confucius places his greatest emphasis on transforming through teaching. This is closely related to his doctrine of humanity (*ren*). "The man of benevolence, wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others (*The Analects*, VI: 28). The cultivation of the self and the establishment

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of virtuous practices are ultimately responsibilities upon the self; therefore it follows inevitably that one must proceed to a concern for the perfection of others, so that all men starting with those nearer and reaching beyond to those more distant, will be encompassed in a transformation, bringing them to "rest in the highest excellence" (*The Great Learning*) and "revert to benevolence" (*The Analects*, XII: 1). Seen in this way, transformation through teaching is not merely one of the tactics of governing, but is in fact the central element in Confucius' political policy (Hsiao, 1979: 110-111).

2.6.2.3 Governing the People

Confucius also suggests that "To govern means to rectify" (*The Analects*, XII: 17). Thus the cultivation of the self for the sake of rectifying (or "putting aright") others was in fact a tactic of governing. If one employs this tactic, then "his government is effective without the issuing of orders", and he can "rule well without exerting himself" (*The Analects*, XIII: 6). A time could be envisaged when government would be reduced and punishments no longer used (*The Analects*, XIII: 10). The ideal of "everything under Heaven reverting to benevolence" could be attained in this way (*The Analects*, XII: 1). One thing we have to note is that Confucius' political policy of transforming the people through teaching had as its objective to nurture the individual's integrity; it did not place great stress on knowledge or specialized skills. Moreover, Confucius held the principle that "politics is to rectify", perceiving that the transformation of people is the principal work of government. The principal task was not per se to rule over the people, much less was it to manage affairs. Thus, politics and education had similar intended results; the ruler and the preceptor shared the same duties of office. Confucius' ruler-preceptor was a man of humanity (*ren*) who valued ethics above all. The ruler-preceptor was to employ ethics wherewith to transform the people (Hsiao, 1979: 112-113).

Another of Confucius' tactic of governing is conveyed by the terms "politics" and "punishments". This tactic does not lie within the scope of ethic or of education, but is government in the narrower sense. What Confucius called politics and punishments included all regulations and constitutions, laws and ordinances. Though Confucius believed that

transformation through teaching could produce the effect of ruling well without action; but he understood that as men differ in their native capacities, therefore, the state cannot eliminate laws and regulations, punishments and rewards. However, the application of politics and punishments has limits: They can do no more than supplement those areas which transformation through teaching fails to reach (Hsiao, 1979: 114).

Actually, in Confucius' tactics of governing, there is a tendency towards enlarging the scope of transformation through teaching, and reducing the scope of politics and punishments. His attitude towards ethics is positive in the extreme, while his attitude towards politics is extremely negative. Confucius says, "Govern the people by regulations, keep order among them by chastisements, and they will flee from you, and lose all self-respect. Govern them by moral force, keep order among them by ritual, and they will keep their self-respect and come to you of their own accord (*The Analects*, XII: 13) (Hsiao, 1979: 114).

2.7 Conclusion

In brief, the Confucian argument states that the investigation of things leads to sincerity of will, and that leads to personal moral integrity, and that to the well-established family, and that to the well-ordered state, and that to peace in the world -- the essence of the argument, being that knowledge and the personal integrity of the individual constitute the root principle of all Chinese thought and culture.

The Chinese thought-and-culture tradition is characterized by humanism, by its emphases upon the ethical, the intellectual (primarily with relation to life and activity), the aesthetic and the social (not necessarily in that order of importance), without any aversion to material welfare and the normal enjoyments of life -- and with an inner tranquility of spirit that pervades life in both prosperity and adversity, a tranquility born of a sense of harmony with Nature and one's fellow men (Moore, 1997: 7-8).

However, the Confucian philosophy is at the same time characterized by a blending of ethics with politics. Moral cultivation is the panacea for all social disease as it is the foundation of society. It is the root of a well-balanced individual, a well-ordered family, a well-governed state, and a happy and harmonious world. It is also the goal of every one from

the Son of Heaven down to the lowliest person (Liu, 1987: 30-31).

For an individual to achieve the perfection state in politics and ethics, the Confucian ideal is: "inner sagehood and outer kingliness". "Inner sagehood" refers to people who have perfected their inner moral qualities, whereas "outer kingliness" describes those with significant social and political achievements (Lu, 1983:19). Social well-being depends on the proper cultivation of the individual. The individual can achieve the full realization of one's destiny only through public services and social participation. In the fulfillment of these social responsibilities, the individual can realize one's complete personal fulfillment. Hence, some scholars contend that when Confucius talked about the importance of the cultivation of virtues very often, he also meant that it was a way to preserve the social solidarity of the nation or the peace of the world or to train the people to be contented with their circumstances and not to offend their superiors. These values are therefore alleged to be socio-political values. Other scholars also contend that when Confucius talked about the values of the virtues, he was also considering the values as a means of achieving of harmony and order in human relations, which were taken as a part of the harmony and order not only of the natural universe but also of the state (Tang, 1997: 191). Generally speaking, whether these Confucian values are personal values, interpersonal values, society-oriented values, or nation-oriented values, they all serve political purposes. Therefore, Confucianism can be described as an ideal tool of social control for the benefit of the rulers. The adroit promotion of the Chinese local culture (Confucianism) by the British not only easily acquired cultural legitimacy, winning the hearts and minds of the Hong Kong Chinese, it also gained moral legitimacy for political sovereignty by moralizing politics in the name of promoting Confucian ethics and virtues. The colonial government was successful in launching such a cultural policy whereby "the selection of culture is deemed as socially legitimate" (Giroux, 1981b: 94) and "certain ideas become dominant and are sustained, not through a simple imposition or through coercion and manipulation, but through the construction and winning of consent" (Whitty, 1981: 57). Moreover, the wisdom of the colonial government was not only demonstrated by its promotion of Confucianism ("cultural incorporation") to gain the cultural legitimacy of the Hong Kong

Chinese, but also its adoption of "cultural hegemony" to include and exclude certain values to be put into the Chinese Language curriculum. Detailed explanation of this issue will be offered in Chapter 9.

Chapter 3   Politics of Education: Culture and Reproduction

3.1 Introduction

During British colonial rule, the indigenous culture of Hong Kong was not suppressed; on the contrary, the local Chinese culture was preserved and even strongly promoted by the colonial government.   Why was Chinese culture promoted as *legitimate* knowledge in the official curriculum?   This thesis considers whether it was related to the ruling tactics of the British over Hong Kong. Britain's "reproduction of culture" in Hong Kong contrasted with the existing cultural reproduction theories, in which the culture of the ruling classes was confirmed while simultaneously cultures of the subordinate groups were being undermined. Hence, the existing theories of cultural reproduction do not adequately account for the case of Hong Kong since the colonial government did not reproduce the dominant culture of the ruling class (i.e. the British culture), but the culture of the subordinate group (i.e. the Chinese culture).   British cultural reproduction of Chinese culture did not primarily aim to reproduce social-class relations as the existing cultural reproduction theories suggest. These are more related to economic life. In contrast, the advocacy of Chinese culture by the British was primarily for political reasons.   Before examining the features of British cultural reproduction policy, we must first review the existing theories of reproduction in this chapter.

3.2   Education -- A Political Instrument

It is important to identify both the knowledge content of culture and the ways in which it is defined at any given moment as valid, proper and generally unquestionable -- in other words as being *legitimate*.   All societies have processes not only to ensure the storage and transmission of knowledge but also to make certain that its definition becomes internalized by the young.   To achieve all this, the school and its curriculum are called upon to become an essential instrument in the transmission and legitimation of knowledge in any society. Hence, they become instruments of social control that help to ensure the maintenance of the social system -- its knowledge, its status, stratification and above all its power (Freire, 1985: 7).

Greenstein (1969: 2) argues that education, interpreting the term in its broadest sense, is a highly efficient (and, in fact, necessary) instrument of politics. Freire (1974: 18-19) argues that "Neutral education cannot in fact exist. It is fundamental for us to know that, when we work on the content of the educational curriculum, when we discuss methods and processes, when we plan, when we draw up educational policies, we are engaged in political acts which imply an ideological choice; whether it is obscure or clear is not important." Freire then continues to analyse education as a means of cultural action which instills conformity and domesticates the young generation into the existing order. As education can never be neutral, its essential political nature depends on whose interests it represents, who creates it and for what purpose it exists in its established form. Schooling is seen as a system of communication in which a particular cultural message is created and reproduced. Education is important in providing for the social reproduction of the economic mode of production (Bowles and Gintis, 1976).

Apple (1993: 10) has investigated the function of educational system. He argues that education has become deeply politicized, that education and differential cultural, economic, and political power, have always been parts or elements of an indissoluble couplet. The means and ends involved in educational policy and practice are the results of struggles by powerful groups and social movements to make their knowledge legitimate, to defend or increase their patterns of social mobility, and to increase their power in the larger social arena. However, Apple points out that the "powerful" are not that powerful. In fact, he argues, the politics of official knowledge is the politics of accords or compromises. They are usually not impositions, but signify how dominant groups try to create situations where the compromises that are formed favour them. Apple continues to point out that these are not compromises between or among equals. Those in dominance almost always have more power to define what counts as a need or a problem and what an appropriate response to it should be. The controversies over "official knowledge" that usually centre around what is included and excluded in textbooks really signify more profound political, economic, and cultural relations and histories. Conflicts over texts are often proxies for wider questions of power relations (Apple,

1993: 48). School curriculum is always influenced by social, political, economic and ideological forces.

Apple (1995: ix) suggests that one of the functions of our educational system is the production of technical / administrative knowledge that is ultimately accumulated by dominant groups and used in economic, political, and cultural control. Apple (1995: 9-10) further points out "the important role schools -- and the overt and covert knowledge within them -- play in reproducing a stratified social order that remains strikingly unequal by class, gender, and race ... the educational and cultural system is an exceptionally important element in the maintenance of existing relations of domination and exploitation". Agreeing with Bowles and Gintis (1976) as well as Althusser (1971), that schools are important agencies for social reproduction, Apple (1995: 19) asks a more political set of questions concerning politics and education:

- Why and how are particular aspects of a collective culture represented in schools as objective factual knowledge?

- How, concretely, may official knowledge represent the ideological configurations of the dominant interests in a society?

- How do schools legitimate these limited and partial standards of knowing as unquestioned truths?

Apple (1995: 21-22) continues to point out that schools do distribute ideological knowledge and values, and the educational system constitutes a set of institutions that are fundamental to the production of knowledge as well. Apple argues that schools are organized not only to teach the "knowledge that, how and to" required by our society, but are organized as well in such a way that they ultimately assist in the production of the technical / administrative knowledge required, among other things, to expand markets, control production, labour, and people, engage in the basic and applied research needed by industry, and create widespread "artificial" needs among the population. This technical / administrative knowledge can be accumulated. It acts like a form of capital, and, like economic capital, this cultural capital tends to be controlled by, and serve the interests of, the most powerful classes

in society. Economics and culture are inextricably linked. The kinds of knowledge considered most legitimate in school and which act as a complex filter to stratify groups of students are connected to the specific needs of our kind of social formation.

Apple concludes that education is deeply implicated in the politics of culture. The curriculum is never simply a neutral assemblage of knowledge, somehow appearing in the texts and classrooms of a nation. It is always part of a *selective tradition*, some group's vision of legitimate knowledge. It is produced out of the cultural, political, and economic conflicts, tensions, and compromises that organize and disorganize people. In addition, "there is always a politics of official knowledge, a politics that embodies conflict over what some regard as simply neutral descriptions of the world and what others regard as elite conceptions that empower some groups while disempowering others" (Apple, 1996: 22-23).

Bourdieu and Passeron (1977: 177-219) suggest that the education system performs three central functions. It firstly performs the "function of conserving, inculcating and consecrating" a cultural heritage. This is its "internal" and most "essential function". Schooling provides not just the transmission of technical knowledge and skills, but also socialization into a particular cultural tradition. It performs a cultural reproduction function. When this first function is combined with traditional pedagogy, the education system performs a second, "external" function of reproducing social-class relations. It reinforces rather than redistributes the unequal distribution of cultural capital. It also performs a social reproduction function. The education system also performs a third function -- "legitimation". Bourdieu and Passeron thus conclude that education actually contributes to the maintenance of an inegalitarian social system by allowing inherited cultural difference to shape academic achievement and occupational attainment.

Freire (1985: 15) argues that:

> ... schools were, in fact, agencies of social, economic, and cultural reproduction. At best, public schooling offered limited individual mobility to members of the working class and other oppressed groups, and in the final analysis they were powerful instruments for the reproduction of capitalist relations of production and the legitimating ideologies of everyday life.

Freire (1985: 17) further points out that the radical critics within the new sociology of

education provided a variety of useful models of analysis to challenge traditional educational ideology:

> ... the new sociology of education argued that school knowledge was a particular representation of the dominant culture, one that was constructed through a selective process of emphases and exclusions. ... culture was linked to power and to the impositions of a specific set of ruling class codes and experiences. Moreover, school culture functioned not only to confirm the privilege of students from the dominant classes but also through exclusion and insult to discredit the histories, experiences, and dreams of subordinate groups.

Moreover, Pierre Bourdieu (1984: 7) explains how elite culture, habits, and "tastes" function in the following way:

> The denial of lower, coarse, vulgar, venal, servile -- in a word, natural -- enjoyment, which constitutes the sacred sphere of culture, implies an affirmation of the superiority of those who can be satisfied with the sublimated, refined, disinterested, gratuitous, distinguished pleasures forever closed to the profane. That is why art and cultural consumption are predisposed, consciously and deliberatively or not, to fulfill a social function of legitimating social difference.

Bourdieu also points out that these cultural forms, "through the economic and social conditions which they presuppose, ... are bound up with the systems of dispositions (habitus) characteristic of different classes and class factions (Bourdieu,1984:5-6). Consequently, cultural form and content function as markers of class (Bourdieu, 1984: 12). The granting of sole legitimacy to such a system of culture through its incorporation within the official centralized curriculum, then, creates a situation in which the markers of "taste" become the markers of people. The school becomes a class school.

Generally speaking, education's prime function is to transmit the cultural heritage of society. Hence a theory of cultural reproduction is argued to be crucial to the understanding of what is transmitted within the school through the overt curriculum as well as the covert curriculum. The cultural reproduction theory, addressing the relationship between culture, power and reproduction, of the French social scientist Pierre Bourdieu, will be extended later in the paper.

According to Selden (1977: 206), the everyday meanings of the school curriculum, were

seen as essential elements in the preservation of existing social privilege, interests, and knowledge, which were the prerogatives of one element of the population, maintained at the expense of less powerful groups.

As Gramsci (1975: 360) argued, the control of the knowledge preserving and producing sectors of a society is a critical factor in enhancing the ideological dominance of one group of people or one class over less powerful groups of people or classes. In this regard, the role of the school is to select, preserve, and pass on "knowledge", conceptions of competence, ideological norms, and values, often only to certain social groups, through both overt and hidden curricula in schools (Apple and King, 1990: 57-58).

The official curriculum is significant not because of its explicit learning objectives, but because of the knowledge it legitimizes and delegitimizes, the effects of this process, and the manner in which it distributes this knowledge differently to different classes of students (Posner, 1998: 95).

3.2.1 Culture and Knowledge

Culture -- the way of life of a people, and the constant and complex process by which meanings are made and shared -- does not grow out of the pregiven unity of a society. Rather, in many ways, it grows out of its divisions. It has to work to construct any unity that it has. The idea of culture should not be used to "celebrate an achieved or natural harmony". Culture is instead "a producer and reproducer of value systems and power relations" (Apple, 1993: 45).

Difference in thought processes and the differences in the perception of events that ensue lead to differences in the store of knowledge possessed by each society and by each group. These stores of knowledge transmitted from generation to generation form the culture of societies and groups. It is culture that identifies not only societies but also tribes, nations, races, social classes and most of the other semi-permanent groups of social life. Culture with its basis of stored, shared, valid and legitimate knowledge constitutes the accepted way of life in a group. Learning as an internalization of the essential core of the culture by each individual is seen to be an essential prelude to achieving an adult identity which is shaped and

recognized through schooling (Eggleston, 1974: 2).

Indeed, there are many similarities between "culture" and "knowledge". Fiske (1990: 45) argues the nature of "knowledge" as follows:

> Knowledge is never neutral, it never exists in an empiricist, objective relationship to the real. Knowledge is power, and the circulation of knowledge is part of the social distribution of power. The discursive power to construct a commonsense reality that can be inserted into cultural and political life is central in the social relationship of power. The power of knowledge has to struggle to exert itself in two dimensions. The first is to control the "real", to reduce reality to the knowable, which entails producing it as a discursive construct whose arbitrariness and inadequacy are disguised as far as possible. The second struggle is to have this discursively (and therefore sociopolitically) constructed reality accepted as truth by those whose interests may not necessarily be served by accepting it. Discursive power involves a struggle both to construct (a sense of) reality and to circulate that reality as widely and smoothly as possible throughout society.

Fiske clearly reveals the relationship between what counts as knowledge, who has power, how power actually functions in our daily lives, and how this determines what we see as "real" and important in our institutions in general and in education in particular.

Social and economic control in schools can also be exercised through the forms of meaning the school distributes. That is, the "formal corpus of school knowledge" can become a form of social and economic control (Young, 1971a: 4). Schools do not only control people; they also help control meaning. Since they preserve and distribute what is perceived to be "legitimate knowledge" -- the knowledge that "we all must have" -- schools confer cultural legitimacy on the knowledge of specific groups (Bourdieu, 1971: 167). For the ability of a group to make its knowledge into "knowledge for all", Apple and Franklin (1990: 64) argue that it is related to that group's power in the larger political and economic arena. Hence, power and culture need to be seen as attributes of existing economic relations in a society. They are dialectically interwoven so that economic power and control is interconnected with cultural power and control. Apple and Franklin further point out that schools play a crucial role in the connectedness between knowledge or cultural control and economic power. Schools are caught up in a nexus of other institutions -- political, economic, and cultural --

that are basically unequal. That is, schools exist through their relations to other more powerful institutions, institutions that are combined in such a way as to generate structural inequalities of power and access to resources. In addition, these inequalities are reinforced and reproduced by schools (though not by them alone). Through their curricular, pedagogical, and evaluative activities in day-to-day life in classrooms, schools play a significant role in preserving if not generating these inequalities. Along with other mechanisms for cultural preservation and distribution, schools contribute to what has elsewhere been called the "cultural reproduction of class relations" in advanced industrial societies (Bernstein, 1977: 43).

Apple and King (1990: 45) suggest that the study of educational knowledge is a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered legitimate knowledge by specific social groups and classes, in specific institutions, at specific historical moments. It is, further, a critically oriented form of investigation, in that it chooses to focus on how this knowledge, as distributed in schools, may contribute to a cognitive and dispositional development that strengthens or reinforces existing institutional arrangements in society. In clearer terms, the overt and covert knowledge found within school settings, and the principles of selection, organization, and evaluation of this knowledge, are value-governed selections from a much larger universe of possible knowledge and selection principles.

3.2.2 Culture and Ideology

Culture usually refers to the general principles and shared understandings through which social groups and classes "live" their relations with others. In this study, culture refers to how particular classes and social groups share beliefs, practices and values. Sometimes this is referred to as forms of consciousness that particular classes and social groups hold (Whitty, 1981: 56). Gramsci has a similar definition for the concept of culture. He regards culture as the "cement" of society and culture, then, refers to practices, activities and beliefs that bring people together and give them a sense of belonging and sharing the same kind of life (Gramsci, 1975: 23).

Ideology, on the other hand, has come to refer to the ideas and practices through which consciousness (whether understood as "true" or "false") is formed and expressed in society. It

may well be imaginary, in that the real conditions through which we experience life are obscured; nevertheless, we shall argue that it is not "just ideas in someone's head". Ideology has material effects and it is to the lived experiences designated by ideology that we must look to observe these ideological/cultural processes and instances at work (Whitty, 1981: 56). Richard Johnson has summed up this notion as follows:

> The characteristic feature of the ideological -- cultural instance, then, is the production of forms of consciousness -- ideas, feelings, desires, moral preferences, forms of subjectivity. It is not so much a question that schools or families *are* ideology, more that they are *sites* where ideologies are produced in the form of subjectivities... All this is to say, of course, that there is no separate institutional area of social life in which forms of consciousness arise: mentalities and subjectivities are formed and expressed in every sphere of existence (Johnson, 1979: 232).

It is worth noting that ideologies do not simply reflect the controlling interests of particular groups and classes in society. In highly complex advanced capitalist societies, one of the crucial sociological and political questions is how particular ideologies come to prevail at particular times and how specific class interests are represented as against those of other classes. All classes do not have an equal say in how ideas are formed, organized and communicated. Some groups are powerful and crucial definers of reality who construct the ideological field to their own advantage (Whitty, 1981: 57). For example, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels (1970: 64) describe the notion of dominant ideologies representing dominant social groups in society in the following way:

> The ideas of the ruling class are in every epoch the ruling ideas, i.e., the class which is the ruling *material* force of society is at the same time its ruling *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal, has control at the same time over the means of mental production, so that generally speaking, the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are subject to it.

The above quotation provides us with some ideas for evaluating how certain ideas become dominant and are sustained, not through a simple imposition or through coercion and manipulation, but through the construction and winning of consent (Whitty, 1981: 57).

Furthermore, the power that ideologies have in shaping experience is not a function of direct control. Rather, it is a question of *hegemony*, which is a concept that directs us to

thinking through how ideologies are produced as subjectivities and lived experience that *appear* to be natural and unchangeable. Hegemony is sustained precisely because such cultural and social practices appear to be so "natural" and unquestionable to those experiencing them (Whitty, 1981: 57).

Education is not a neutral enterprise. By the very nature of the institution the educator is involved, whether he or she is conscious of it or not, in a political act (Giroux, 1981b: 110). Besides, the structuring of knowledge and symbols is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control in society (Bernstein, 1975: 158).

3.2.3 Culture and Hegemony

Schools preserve and distribute symbolic property – cultural-capital to create and recreate forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained without the necessity of dominant groups having to resort to overt mechanisms of domination (Dale et al., 1976: 3). Williams (1976: 205) argues that we can only understand an effective and dominant culture if we understand the real social process on which it depends: the process of incorporation. The educational institutions are usually the main agencies of transmission of an effective dominant culture, and this is now a major economic as well as cultural activity. Moreover, at a philosophical level, at the true level of theory and at the level of the history of various practices, there is a process of "selective tradition": that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as "the tradition", the significant past. But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, and certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded.

Hegemony functions to define the meaning and limits of common sense as well as the form and content of discourse in a society. It does so by positing certain ideas and routines as natural and universal. The complexity of hegemonic control is an important point to stress for it refers not only to those isolatable meanings and ideas that the dominant class "imposes" on others but also to those "lived" experiences that make up the texture and rhythm of daily life. Williams (1976: 110) further argues that hegemony has to be seen as more than ideological

manipulation and indoctrination:

> It is a whole body of practices and expectations, over the whole of living: our senses and assignments of energy, our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world. It is a lived system of meanings and values -- constitutive and constituting -- which as they are experienced as practices appear as reciprocally confirming ... It is, that is to say, in the strongest sense a "culture", but a culture which has also to be seen as the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes.

3.2.3.1 Cultural Hegemony

Schools, as educational institutions, not only "process people"; they "process knowledge" as well (Young, 1971b). They act as agents of cultural hegemony, as agents of selective tradition and of cultural "incorporation" (Williams, 1976: 205). The concept of hegemony, according to Giroux (1981a: 94), refers to a form of ideological control in which dominant beliefs, values, and social practices are produced and distributed throughout a whole range of institutions such as schools, the family, mass media, and trade unions. Giroux further points that "one approach in analyzing how hegemony functions in the school curriculum would be to investigate these four separate, though interrelated, aspects of the schooling process:

(1) the selection of culture that is deemed as socially legitimate;

(2) the categories that are used to classify certain cultural content and forms as superior or inferior;

(3) the selection and legitimation of school and classroom relationships;

(4) the distribution of, and access to, different types of culture and knowledge by different social classes. Each of these aspects of the school curriculum points to areas in which the imposition of specific values and meanings can be used to support the dominant culture Giroux (1981a: 95).

Bourdieu (1973: 71) views the concept of cultural reproduction as the transmission of the culture of the dominant class. In more specific terms, the cultural hegemony, or dominant form of cultural capital, consists of those attitudes, dispositions, tastes, linguistic competencies, and systems of meaning that the ruling-class deems as being legitimate. This

specific form of cultural capital is institutionalized in schools and is passed off as natural, unchanging, and even eternal. As a mechanism of social stability, dominant cultural capital posits itself in both the form and process of the educational experience. Thus it structures not only the selection and distribution of knowledge, it also structures, legitimates, and saturates the day-by-day experience of the classroom encounter. In essence, cultural reproduction can be regarded as a vehicle of social reproduction.

Bourdieu's work is significant in that it provides a theoretical model for understanding aspects of schooling and social control. Its politicization of school knowledge, culture, and linguistic practices formulates a new discourse for examining ideologies embedded in the formal school curriculum. In addition, Bourdieu adds a new dimension to analyses of the hidden curriculum by focusing on the importance of the body as an object of learning and social control (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 83.)

3.2.3.2 Hegemonic Curriculum

Education is seen as an important social and political force in the process of class reproduction. By appearing to be an impartial and neutral "transmitter" of the benefits of a valued culture, schools are able to promote inequality in the name of fairness and objectivity. According to Bourdieu, it is the relative autonomy of the educational system that "enables it to serve external demands under the guise of independence and neutrality, i.e. to conceal the social functions it performs and so to perform them more effectively" (Bourdieu and Passerson, 1977: 178).

By linking power and culture, Bourdieu provides some insights into how the hegemonic curriculum works in schools, pointing to the political interests underlying the selection and distribution of those bodies of knowledge that are given top priority (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 81). These bodies of knowledge not only legitimate the interests and values of the dominant classes, they also have the effect of marginalizing or disconfirming other kinds of knowledge. For instance, working class students often find themselves subjected to a school curriculum in which the distinction between high-status and low-status knowledge is organized around the difference between theoretical and practical subjects. Courses that deal with practical subjects, whether they be industrial

arts or culinary arts, are seen as marginal and inferior. In this case, working class knowledge and culture are often placed in competition with what the school legitimates as dominant culture and knowledge. In the end, working class knowledge and culture are seen not as different and equal, but as different and inferior. It is important to note that high-status knowledge often corresponds to bodies of knowledge that provide a stepping stone to professional careers via higher education. Such knowledge embodies the cultural capital of the middle and upper classes and presupposes a certain familiarity with the linguistic and social practices it supports. Such knowledge is not only more accessible to the upper classes, but also functions to confirm and legitimate their privileged positions in schools. Hence, the significance of the hegemonic curriculum lies in both what it includes -- with its emphasis on Western history, science, and so forth -- and what it excludes -- feminist history, black studies, labour history, in-depth courses in the arts, and other forms of knowledge important to the working class and other subordinate groups (Anyon, 1979: 361-386; Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 81).

3.3   Education and Reproduction

Social reproduction theories developed as an attempt to understand how societies seemed to be able to hold themselves together and to continue in many important aspects relatively unchanged, or how they were able to "reproduce" themselves.

Giroux classifies "reproduction in schooling" into two domains, namely the cultural-reproductive model and economic-reproductive model. Perhaps this classification is best summarized by quoting from Giroux (1981a: 402; 1983: 258):

> First, schools provided different classes and social groups with the knowledge and skills they needed to occupy their respective places in a labour force stratified by class, race and gender. Second, schools were seen as reproductive in the cultural sense, functioning in part to distribute and legitimate forms of knowledge, values, languages, and modes of style that constitute the dominant culture and its interests.

3.3.1   Education and Cultural Reproduction

Theories of cultural reproduction are concerned with the question of how capitalist societies are able to reproduce themselves. Central to these theories is a sustained effort to develop a sociology of schooling that links culture, class, and domination. The mediating role

of culture in reproducing class societies is given priority over the study of related issues, such as the source and consequences of economic inequality (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 79).

Pierre Bourdieu was an early and key architect of the widely influential theory of social reproduction -- a theory that has led many to see that educational institutions can enhance social inequalities rather than weaken them. Bourdieu's theory of cultural reproduction begins with the conception that the logic of domination, whether manifested in schools or in other social sites, must be analyzed within a theoretical framework capable of dialectically linking human agents and dominant structures. The exercise and reproduction of class-based power and privilege is a core substantive and unifying concern in Bourdieu's work, in which he focuses on the role culture plays in social reproduction. In his approach to culture, Bourdieu conceptualizes culture as a form of capital with specific laws of accumulation, exchange, and exercise. He attempts to understand the role of culture in linking, first, schools to the logic of the dominant classes, and, second, the dynamics of capitalist reproduction to the subordinate classes. Schools are seen as part of a larger universe of symbolic institutions that do not overtly impose docility and oppression, but reproduce existing power relations more subtly through the production and distribution of a dominant culture that tacitly confirms what it means to be educated (Bourdieu, 1979).

Bourdieu's (1973, 1977a, 1984 and with Passeron, 1977 and 1979) cultural-reproductive model posits the dominant culture of the ruling class as the hidden basis for maintaining class interests, hierarchy, and domination. According to Bourdieu, as schools are relatively autonomous, they are perceived as being "neutral" in transmitting cultural capital and rejecting less-valued, lower-class culture. The school's curriculum, language, and positive behaviours are actually those of the dominant culture (that is, the ruling class). The historical conditions ("habitat") and deliberately cultivated, durable, individual dispositions ("habitus") of persons enable schools to dominate the "unconscious" of young workers so completely that they willingly accept their predetermined lot in society (Bourdieu, 1984; Farnen, 1997).

Bourdieu (1977b: 115) regards the educational system as the major instrument of cultural reproduction. Applying his theory to education, Bourdieu argues that in a class society,

education is a process of symbolic violence in that it involves the imposition of a "cultural arbitrary" (refers to the culture of the dominant classes, though not in appearance, based on power) by an "arbitrary power" (Bourdieu, 1977b: 120). In other words, the culture of the dominant class is defined as *the* culture: it designates what it means to be educated, and this is then transmitted through the educational system. As a result, since other class cultures differ markedly from that of the dominant culture, the educational system tends to reproduce itself through the reproduction of the hierarchical distribution of cultural capital. Schooling is biased in favour of those who, by virtue of their class habitus (refers to habits of thought, perceptions, dispositions and manners) have already acquired, via a process of cultural osmosis, the appropriate dispositions, attitudes to language and the other preconditions for educational success. The power relations which lie behind and sustain it are misrecognized and thereby the process of cultural and social reproduction is achieved (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977: 26-29).

Bourdieu (1974, 1979) believes that even in advanced societies the principal mode of domination has generally shifted from overt coercion and the threat of physical violence to forms of symbolic manipulation. This belief justifies his focus on the role that cultural processes, producers, and institutions play in maintaining inequality in contemporary societies. The function of symbolic systems that Bourdieu emphasizes most is their serving as *instruments of domination.* Dominant symbolic systems provide integration for dominant groups, distinctions and hierarchies for ranking groups, and legitimation of social ranking by encouraging the dominated to accept the existing hierarchies of social distinction (Bourdieu 1977b: 114-15).

In short, Bourdieu's particular contribution is to show that schools are neither neutral nor merely reflective of broader sets of power relations, but play a complex, indirect, mediating role in maintaining and enhancing them (Swartz, 1997: 191). On the other hand, Aronowitz and Giroux (1985: 85-86) criticize Bourdieu's model of rejecting conflict, struggle, and resistance within different classes and ignoring both the active reconstruction of ideologies and resistance to their imposition through counter ideologies. Moreover, Bourdieu is also

ignorant of the oppressive burdens of material conditions and other economic constraints which impede the growth of working-class students and, at the same time, limit their possibilities for critical thinking and emancipation (Shirley, 1986).

3.3.2 Education and Economic Reproduction

With regard to the relationship between education and reproduction, Louis Althusser (1971: 126) argues that all societies are based on a particular mode of economic production; to continue to exist, they must reproduce both the labour power necessary to maintain that system and the relations of production, or the world view, necessary for people to continue to believe in that particular economic system. He stresses that education is a mechanism of domination that reproduces the unequal relationship of capitalist production. He also points out the school system is an important "Ideological State Apparatus" contributing to the reproduction of the essential conditions for capitalist institutions to adapt, survive and innovate. He argues that the school carries out two fundamental forms of reproduction: the reproduction of the skills and rules of labour power, and the reproduction of the relations of production. Althusser (1971: 127) argues that:

> ... this reproduction of the skills of labour power ... is achieved more and more outside production: by the capital educational system and by other instances and institutions.

By the above mechanistic formulation, the school, on the other hand, reproduces the knowledge and skills needed in society and for production, and thereby socializes students into the requirements of their future work circumstances. He points out that school, through an ideology of neutrality with regard to its function, actually reproduces both the labour power and the relations of production. It does this through its teaching of basic knowledge and skills, and through the inculcation of the behaviour and attitudes required to facilitate submission to the rules of the established order (Althusser, 1971: 128-129).

The reproduction of the skills and rules of labour power is defined within the context of the formal curriculum and, in Althusser's terms, includes the kind of "know-how" students need in order to:

> Read, to write and to add -- i.e. a number of techniques, and a number of other things as well, including elements of "scientific" or "literary culture" which are directly useful in the different jobs in production (one instruction for manual workers, another for technicians, a third for engineers, a final one for high management) ... Children also learn the rules of good behaviour, i.e., the attitude that should be observed by every

agent in the division of labour, according to the job he is "destined" for: rules of morality, civic and professional conscience, which actually mean rules of respect for the socio-technical divisions of labour and ultimately the rules of the order established by class domination (Althusser, 1971: 132).

Indeed, domination and the reproduction of the work force as constitutive elements of the schooling process take place primarily "behind the backs" of teachers and students through the hidden curriculum of schooling. Althusser attempts to explain the "hidden" process of socialization through a systematic theory of ideology (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 76). In Althusser's analysis of how ruling-class domination is secured in schools, the theory of ideology embodies two senses. Firstly, the theory refers to a set of material practices through which teachers and students live out their daily experiences. Ideology has a material existence in the rituals, routines, and social practices that both structure and mediate the day-to-day workings of schools. This material aspect of ideology is clearly seen in the architecture of school buildings, with their separate rooms, offices and recreational areas -- each positing and reinforcing an aspect of the social division of labour. Space is arranged differently for the administrative staff, teachers, secretaries, and students within the school building. This material aspect of Althusser's concept of ideology points to the class-specific source and control of power that bears down on ideological institutions such as schools -- institutions deemed essential to the production of ideologies and experiences that support the dominant society (Althusser, 1971: 148-158).

In the second meaning of Althusser's concept of ideology, the dynamics of the reproductive model unfold. In this sense, ideology is completely removed from any notion of intentionality, producing neither consciousness nor willing compliance. Instead, it is defined as those systems of meanings, representations, and values embedded in concrete practices that structure the unconsciousness of students (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 76). The effect of such practices and their mediations is to induce in teachers and students alike an "imaginary relationship ... to their real conditions of existence" (Althusser, 1971:162). As Althusser puts it:

It is customary to suggest that ideology belongs to the region of

"consciousness"... In truth, ideology has very little to do with "consciousness"... It is profoundly unconscious, even when it presents itself in a reflected form. Ideology is indeed a system of representation, but in the majority of cases these representations have nothing to do with "consciousness": they are usually images and occasionally concepts, but it is above all as structures that they impose on the vast majority of men, not via their "consciousness". ... They are perceived-accepted-suffered cultural objects and they act functionally on one in a process that escapes them (Althusser, 1969: 233).

In short, the economic-reproductive model, by focusing on the relationship between schools and the workplace, has helped to illustrate the essential role that education plays in reproducing the social and technical division of labour. In addition, this model of reproduction has provided important insights into the class and structural basis of inequality. By rejecting the "blaming the victims" ideology that informs much of the research on inequality, these accounts have blamed institutions such as schools for inequality, and have traced the failure of such institutions to the very structure of capitalist society (Aronowitz and Giroux, 1985: 78-79).

Another analysis of an education system within an economic-reproductive framework known as "Correspondence Theory" was developed by Samuel Bowles and Herbert Gintis in their book entitled *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1976). They trace the relationship between changes in the American system of economic production and educational reforms. Their correspondence theory equates school classroom practices with workplace needs and demands. The social division of labour and the class structure are mirrored in schools. The "hidden curriculum" in schools legitimizes the workplace's authority, rules, values, rationality, and power relationships. Intellectual, hierarchical, and competitive tasks are valued more than manual, democratic, or group/shared processes. Students learn to read, write, and add for productive work, to behave properly to meet job expectations, and to respect the rules and hierarchy imposed by the capitalist order (Bowles and Gintis, 1976, 1986 and 1988). Bowles and Gintis argue that, owing to the fact that the education system is dominated by the needs of the capitalist economy, the school tends to reproduce in its own organization and activities the principles of order and behavior that correspond to the conditions existing in the

world of work. They claim that there exists a correspondence between the social relationships which govern personal interaction in the work place and the social relationships of the educational system with regard to the hidden curriculum. They note that:

> The structure of social relations in education not only inures the student to the discipline of the workplace, but develops the types of personal demeanor, modes of self-preservation, self-image, and social class identifications which are crucial ingredients of job adequacy. Specifically, the social relationships of education -- the relationships between administrators and teachers, teachers and students, students and their work -- replicate the hierarchical division of labour (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: 131).

The above quotation shows that their concept of a hidden curriculum is also linked, to a certain extent, to learning outcomes (Gordon, 1982: 188). In the work of Bowles and Gintis, emphasis is given to the importance of schooling in forming the different personality types which correspond to the requirements of a system of work relations within an economic mode of production (MacDonald, 1977: 309). Specifically, the authority and control system in schools replicates the hierarchical division of labour in the vertical power structure of the workplace (Porter, 1991: 12).

Finally, they summarize the concept of the Correspondence Theory as follows:

> The educational system reproduces the capitalist social division of labour in part through a correspondence between its own internal social relationships and those of the work place (Bowles and Gintis, 1976: 147).

In this way, according to Bowles and Gintis, not only does education allocate individuals to a relatively fixed set of positions in society -- an allocation of positions determined by economic and political forces -- but the process of education itself, the formal and hidden curriculum, socializes people to accept as legitimate the limited roles they ultimately fill in society (Meyer, 1977: 64).

Broadly speaking, Correspondence Theory posits that the hierarchically structured patterns of values, norms, and skills that characterize both the workforce and the dynamics of class interaction under capitalism are mirrored in the social dynamics of the daily classroom encounter. Through its classroom social relations, schooling functions to inculcate students with the attitudes and dispositions necessary to accept the social and economic imperatives of

a capitalist economy. In this view, the underlying experience and relations of schooling are animated by the power of capital to provide different skills, attitudes, and values to students of different classes, races, and genders. In effect, schools mirror not only the social division of labour but also the wider society's class structure.

3.4 Limitations of Reproduction Theories

The reproduction theories tend to be rather deterministic and mechanistic. They assume that students passively absorb the curricular messages, which is a very simplistic view of learning process itself as they ignore the intermediate social context where learning takes place. On the other hand, studies on *resistance* and *interaction* point out the significance of factors of human agency and autonomy in the process of reproduction (Willis, 1977; Giroux, 1983). "Human agency" is an important factor affecting the effectiveness of reproduction and political socialization. Resistance theorists discuss the role of human agency in the mechanism of production through the tensions and conflicts occurring in families, schools and workplaces (Giroux, 1983). Willis (1977) conducted a case study of a group of twelve non-academic working-class boys in an all-male comprehensive secondary school in a small industrial English town. They largely rejected the intellectual and social messages of the school. Contrary to Bourdieu's assumption of the structural notion of *cultural capital* which demonstrate the mediating role of class culture in the mechanism of reproduction, Willis put forward a specific cultural pattern -- "counter-school culture" -- in schooling. Such culture could be characterized by specific working-class themes: "resistance; subversion of authority ... and an independent ability to create diversion and enjoyment" (Willis, 1977:84). The theme of resistance has a potential revolutionary implication. Therefore, students are not passive subjects towards their schooling experience. On the contrary, they are active learners, capable of restructuring the knowledge they receive or might even react with "critical thinking and reflective action" (Tse, 1997; Giroux, 1983).

On the other hand, the degree of correspondence between the intended and implemented curriculum deserves our attention. Gaps between the intended and implemented curriculum may occur owing to conflicting demands and pressures on teachers from administrators, other

teachers, parents, and students, leading teachers to make choices about what to teach based on a cost-benefit type of analysis. Besides, teachers' own subjective understandings and interpretations of the intended curriculum as well as a lack of resources for implementing the intended curriculum will affect the teaching outcome (Weatherley and Lipsky, 1977; Morris, 1995). Furthermore, teachers may be unable to teach the curriculum as intended because of insufficient resources, and teachers find themselves under too much pressure, and without adequate guidance, to teach effectively (Weatherley and Lipsky, 1977; Fairbrother, 2002). In addition, as teachers do have a degree of autonomy and choice in carrying out tasks, they may teach political attitudes in their own ways but may not be as effective as expected (Morris, 1995). Take the case of the implemention of civic education in Hong Kong as an example, civic education was not well received by the teachers. Leung (1995) found that teachers' involvement in civic education promotion was very low, and few teachers showed a good understanding of the objectives of the *Civic Education Guidelines*, the purposes of civic education, or their school policies towards civic education. Few teachers were interested in politics or put much emphasis on political education. Hence, the implemention of civic education in secondary schools was problematic, and the effects of civic education on students' values and beliefs were insignificant. On the whole, civic education programmes in Hong Kong did not achieve many of the objectives stated in the *Guidelines* (Tse, 1997).

Bourdieu's cultural reproductive model posits the dominant culture of the ruling class as the hidden basis for maintaining class interests, hierarchy and domination, while at the same time discrediting the histories, experiences of subordinate groups through exclusion. This theory of cultural reproduction does not adequately account for the case in Hong Kong since the British did not reproduce the dominant culture of the ruling class (i.e. the British culture), but the culture of the subordinate group (i.e. the Chinese culture). Such cultural reproduction was not aimed at reproducing social-class relations as the existing cultural reproduction theory suggested, which is more related to economic factors; the advocacy of reproducing the Chinese culture by the British was primarily for political reasons. Chapter 9 will provide detailed explanations concerning this issue.

3.5 Conclusion

It has been argued in considerable detail that the selection and organization of knowledge for schools is an ideological process, one that serves the interests of particular classes and social groups (Apple, 1990a). However, this does not mean that the entire corpus of school knowledge is "a mirror reflection of ruling class ideas, imposed in an unmediated and coercive manner." Instead, "the processes of cultural incorporation are dynamic, reflecting both continuities and contradictions of that dominant culture and the continual remaking and relegitimation of that culture's plausibility system" (Luke, 1988: 24). Curricula are the products of often intense conflicts, negotiations, and attempts at rebuilding hegemonic control by actually incorporating the knowledge and perspectives of the less powerful under the umbrella of the discourse of dominant groups (Apple and Smith, 1991: 10).

With regard to the process by which dominant cultures actually become dominant, Tony Bennett (1986: 19) points out that:

> Dominant culture gains a purchase not in being imposed, as an alien external force, on to the cultures of subordinate groups, but by reaching into these cultures, reshaping them, hooking them and, with them, the people whose consciousness and experience is defined in their terms, into an association with the values and ideologies of the ruling groups in society. Such processes neither erase the cultures of subordinate groups, nor do they rob "the people" of their "true culture": what they do is shuffle those cultures on to an ideological and cultural terrain in which they can be disconnected from whatever radical impulses which may (but need not) have fuelled them and be connected to more conservative or, often, downright reactionary cultural and ideological tendencies.

Although so much of education has been linked to processes of gender, class, and race stratification, we cannot assume that all of the knowledge chosen to be included in texts simply represents relations of cultural domination, or only includes the knowledge of dominant groups. Too many critical analyses of school knowledge -- of what is included and excluded in the overt and hidden curricula of the school -- take the easy way out (Apple, 1993: 55). However, in reality, the process of cultural incorporation is very complex. Perhaps the promotion of Chinese local culture in Hong Kong by the British colonial government can provide a cogent example. This thesis considers whether the colonial government's adopting

of the policy of "cultural incorporation" was politically intentioned, with the aims of achieving social harmony and political stability, thus facilitating the consolidation of its colonial rule over Hong Kong.   This issue will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 9.

Chapter 4   Curriculum and Politics

4.1   Introduction

Under British colonial rule, the government of Hong Kong pursued a deliberate policy of the "depoliticization" of society, both to avoid offending the Chinese government and to preserve Hong Kong's political stability and economic prosperity, conditions favourable to the colonial government (Lau, 1982). Therefore, in line with the idea of the depoliticization of Hong Kong society, the strategy taken by the colonial government was to depoliticize the curriculum in its educational policies (Bray and Lee, 1993; Leung, 1995). However, the seemingly depoliticized Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under colonial rule, with strong traditional Confucian values, was actually very "political". This chapter explores the close relationship between curriculum and politics.

From the time when Plato tried to fashion the ideal state based on the notion of all-round education of free men, there has been a continuing discussion on the relationship between politics and education (Bottcher, 1980: 7). Educators do not operate in a political vacuum and educators are not neutral. What educators do occurs in a context of power relations and distributions of symbolic and material resources, and what action (or inaction) educators engage in has political implications for themselves and others (Freire, 1970; Ota, 1985). Everything that educators do inside and outside their workplace is dialectically related to the distribution of structural and ideological power used to control the means of producing, reproducing, consuming and accumulating material and symbolic resources, and hence also is related to the distribution of material and symbolic resources. School texts usually contain values and beliefs that a key group of political and educational elites would like to pass on to the younger generation. Textbooks, which "constitute a major part of the curriculum", also "reflect the dominant culture and reinforce the value of the ruling group" (Kwong, 1988: 228). Educational knowledge is a major regulator of the structure of experience and curriculum is a significant means of transmitting educational knowledge.

4.2 Definitions of Curriculum

Various definitions of curriculum have been developed in the course of educational studies. In general, curriculum is defined in terms of: a set of subjects; a set of materials; a set of performance objectives; what is taught both inside and outside school and directed by the school; something that an individual learner experiences in schooling, things that are planned by school personnel; a sequence of courses; a course of study; everything that goes on within the school, including extra-class activities, guidance, and interpersonal relationships as well as a series of experiences undergone by learners in school (Oliva, 1992: 5-6; Marsh, 1997: 3-8).

Eisner and Vallance (1974: 28-30) classify curriculum from the perspective of what a study will lead to. Based on this understanding, they develop an orientation approach to curriculum:

1. Cognitive process orientation: cognitive skills applicable to a wide range of intellectual problems;

2. Self-actualization orientation: individual students discover and develop their unique identities;

3. Technological orientation: to develop means to achieve prespecified ends;

4. Academic rationalists: to use and appreciate the ideas and works of the various disciplines;

5. Social reconstructionist orientation: schools must be an agency of social change.

Posner (1998: 5-11) looks at curriculum from an organization point of view. He defines curriculum in terms of scope, syllabus and contents of study:

1. Scope and sequence: The depiction of curriculum as a matrix of objectives assigned to successive grade levels (i.e. sequence) and groups according to a common theme. (i.e. scope).

2. Syllabus: A plan for an entire course, typically including rationale, topics, resources, and evaluation.

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3. Content outline: A list of topics covered, organized in outline form.

4. Textbooks: Instructional materials used as the guide for classroom instruction.

5. Course of study: A series of courses that the student must complete.

6. **Planned experiences:** All experiences students have that are planned by the schools, whether academic, athletic, emotional, or social.

Furthermore, Posner (1998: 12) looks at curriculum in relation to how it operates in schools. His questions are thus: How is a curriculum given to the school? How does the school receive it and implement it? Based on these questions, he develops five types of curricula:

1. Official curriculum, formal curriculum or written curriculum, is documented in scope and sequence charts, syllabi, curriculum guides, course outlines, and lists of objectives.

2. Operational curriculum: the curriculum embodied in actual teaching practices and tests.

3. The hidden curriculum is not generally acknowledged by school officials but may have a deeper and more durable impact on students than either the official or the operational curriculum.

4. The null curriculum consists of those subject matters not taught, and any consideration of it must focus on why these subjects are ignored (Eisner, 1994). No curriculum can contain everything. Every intended curriculum leaves out more than it contains. Leaving things out of the curriculum is not only a matter of excluding certain lists of content. It is also a matter of excluding certain ways of thinking about things (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988: 154).

5. Extra curriculum comprises all those planned experiences outside of the school subjects. It contrasts with the official curriculum by virtue of its voluntary nature and its responsiveness to student interests. It is not

hidden, but an openly acknowledged dimension of the school experience.

On the whole, definitions of curriculum can be defined in terms of functional orientation (e.g. cognitive process orientation, self-actualization orientation, technological orientation, academic rationalists and social reconstructionist orientation); in terms of organization (e.g. scope, syllabus and contents of study), and in relation to school operation (e.g. official curriculum, operational curriculum, hidden curriculum, null curriculum and extra curriculum).

Although the above definitions of curriculum hardly mention politics, some analysts point out that there are always political elements in the curriculum. Of the five concurrent curricula mentioned above, the hidden curriculum is particularly related to "political socialization". As Vallance (1974: 5) notes, "the functions of hidden curriculum have been variously identified as the inculcation of values, political socialization, training in obedience, and docility, the perpetuation of the class structure -- functions that may be characterized generally as social control." McClelland (1961: 202) also argues that there are close relationships between values contained in school texts and economic and political decisions. Apple and Smith (1988: 1-3) argue that the texts chosen by educational authorities represent the results of political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises. Indeed, textbooks reflect the dominant culture and reinforce the value of the ruling group (Kwong, 1988: 228). Giroux (1981a: 103) puts it strongly that "the production, distribution, and evaluation of knowledge are directly linked to questions of control and domination in the larger society".

In Hong Kong, since the general perception of the school curriculum of Hong Kong under the British rule was that it was in nature apolitical (Morris and Sweeting, 1996), hence, studies of the Hong Kong school curriculum seldom mentioned the political perspective of curriculum development. However, the present study demonstrates that politics and the Chinese Language curriculum were closely related. The focus of the present study is on the official curriculum of the Chinese Language curriculum from the 1960s to the 1990s and aims to explore the features of Chinese Language curriculum of

Hong Kong under the British colonial rule, particularly in relation to political factors.

4.3 Formal Curriculum and Hidden Curriculum

4.3.1 Formal Curriculum

The formal curriculum refers to the visible, structured aspects of schooling that are offered to students in regular lessons, school activities, and learning materials (Wotherspoon, 1996). According to Portelli (1993: 343), "The formal curriculum is that curriculum which is officially recognised. It is public, available to all who ask for it and it is meant to be explicit."

4.3.2 The Hidden Curriculum

The term "Hidden Curriculum" first appeared in Phillip Jackson's (1968) book entitled *Life in Classrooms* in the late 1960s. However, the concept actually emerged much earlier. Eisner (1985: 78) refers to the work of Waller in the early 1930s, and Cornbleth (1984: 35) reminds us of Dewey's reference to "the 'collateral learning' of attitudes that occurs in schools that may have more long-range importance than the explicit school curriculum". The original definitions of hidden curriculum were influenced by the functional theory of socialization and described the process of transmission of implicit norms, values and beliefs through the underlying structure of the curriculum and, more particularly, the social relations of school and classroom (Whitty, 1985: 46). Moreover, there are many other expressions related to the concept of hidden curriculum, such as "the unstudied curriculum", "the implicit curriculum", "the invisible curriculum", "the unwritten curriculum", "the covert curriculum", "the latent curriculum", "the silent curriculum", "the by-products of schooling" and "what schooling does to people" (Dreeben, 1968; Overly, 1970; Hicks, 1971; Vallance, 1974; Martin, 1976; Kelly, 1977; Giroux and Purpel, 1983; Cornbleth, 1984 and Eisner, 1985).

Jackson (1968) used the term "hidden curriculum" to illustrate that the social requirements of learning at school are often hidden but are enormously significant. He pointed out the following three elements of the hidden curriculum:

1. the crowded nature of the classrooms -- pupils have to cope with delays,

denial of their desires and social distractions;

2. contradictory allegiances required of both teachers and peers;

3. unequal power relations given to teachers over pupils.

Illich (1973, 1978), Giroux (1988) and Portelli (1993) suggest that the concept of the hidden curriculum is very important and consideration of the hidden curriculum should play a central role in the investigation of the educational process, and especially formal processes such as schooling.

4.3.3 Hidden Curriculum and Reproduction

Bowles and Gintis (1976) argue that the social control function of the hidden curriculum reproduces the social class of students.   The hidden curriculum contains a social and economic agenda that is responsible for separating social classes, giving elites more freedom and opportunity, and training non-elites to accept their lot as obedient and punctual workers.   Moreover, most students are taught to accept their political-economic system as the best alternative system for them (Ballantine, 2001: 226).

Anyon (1979) documents the difference in school experiences and expectations by describing several types of elementary schools in contrasting communities, from working-class to professional and executive elite schools.   Although many outward similarities exist, the hidden curriculum in each school addresses the "needs" of the social class represented by the majority of students in the school:

1. The working-class school stressed following the steps of a procedure, mechanically, by rote, with little decision making, choice, or explanation why it was done in a particular way.

2. The middle-class school stressed getting the right answer.   There was some figuring, choice, and decision making; for instance, asking the children how they got an answer.

3. The affluent professional school stressed creative activity carried out independently, with students asked to express and apply ideas and concepts, and think about the ideas.

4. The executive elite school stressed developing analytical intellectual powers, reasoning through problems, conceptualizing rules by which elements may fit together in systems and applying these to solving problems. Included here are successful presentation skills.

Anyon points out that these aspects of the hidden curriculum are preparing the students for their future productive roles in society. The working class is being prepared for future wage labor that is mechanical and routine, the middle class for bureaucratic relations to capital, the professionals for instrumental and expressive roles that involve substantial negotiation, and the elite for analyzing and manipulating the system. In sum, the hidden curriculum prepares students for their future roles in society.

In another study, Lubeck (1985: 230) reports on early childhood education, documenting the importance of the use of time and space to transmit adult values. The differences between the Head Start and other child-care settings she studied illustrate the importance of values for reproducing class. In Head Start settings that served low-income children, time and space tended to be more rigidly structured for the children than in other centers where children had some control. The schooling had the long-term results of reproducing their class status.

According to Portelli (1993: 343), "The hidden curriculum is usually contrasted with the formal curriculum and may form part of the actual curriculum." The hidden curriculum consists of the informal messages that students receive as a consequence of their everyday experiences in schools. The know-how that students gain about social expectations, interpersonal relationships, authority structures, and school rules and procedures are all part of the hidden curriculum, as are various other mechanism within schooling that contribute to the perpetuation of social inequalities (Lynch, 1989; McLaren, 1989).

Vallance (1974: 5) describes the functions of the hidden curriculum as follows:

> The functions of hidden curriculum have been variously identified as the inculcation of values, political socialization, training in obedience, and docility, the perpetuation of the class

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structure -- functions that may be characterized generally as social control ... I use the term to refer to those non-academic but educationally significant consequences of schooling that occur systematically but are not made explicit at any level to the public rationales for education.

Bowles and Gintis (1976) further argue that schools function to maintain the capitalist system because of particular social relations which occur in schools, specifically:

1. the hierarchical division of labour between teachers and students;

2. the alienated character of students' school work;

3. the fragmentation in work (and the destructive competition among students).

They argue that a student's social class/race/gender all have significance in determining the social experiences they have at school, i.e., there is not a unitary hidden curriculum but "many".

According to MacDonald (1977: 9), the importance of the hidden curriculum lies in its mediation between the individual and the societal order. Through the experience of schooling, the individual becomes accustomed to the rules which govern who shall have power and who shall not; he learns to accept the system of status and privilege; he learns how, and to what extent, he may participate, negotiate and control his own development. He acquires the rules of how to relate to different individuals by adopting a system of categories which order knowledge, people and values. However, more significantly, through such structured experience, the individual internalizes (albeit unconsciously) the political order of his society. Through his school experience the individual is prepared for the material world of economic life, a world in which the unequal distribution of power makes one class the ruling one, in which the relationship between ruler and ruled is the most fundamental.

Apple (1979) argues in his book *Ideology and Curriculum* that there is high-status and low-status curriculum knowledge. The poor and minorities are excluded from the high-status (technical) knowledge and this is used as a device to filter for economic stratification and future career prospects. In *Education and Power*, Apple (1982) argues that schools are producers of culture and its reproduction in schools is presented

in forms, which are either accepted (by career-oriented bourgeoisie) or contested and resisted (by lower classes). In *Teacher and Texts*, Apple (1986) points out how reproduction occurs through the control of teachers and textbooks in schools. He argues that the variety of textbooks and curriculum packages on the market renders teachers to be deskilled.

According to Seddon (1983), the hidden curriculum involves the learning of attitudes, norms, beliefs, values and assumptions often expressed as rules, rituals and regulations. They are seldom questioned and are just taken for granted. The judgment about whether a hidden curriculum is positive or negative depends upon the value stance of the person concerned.

Furthermore, Lynch (1989) argues that inequality is perpetuated through the hidden curriculum owing to the universalistic and particularistic aspects of schools. Many of the universalistic qualities of schools are highly visible and include such elements of provision as syllabuses, prescribed content and examination procedures. They apply to all students regardless of social class and background. Particularistic aspects of schools apply more to consumption elements such as streaming and grading, timetabling practices and reward systems. These elements are more familiar to certain social groups and are used by them to further their own ends. Marsh (1992: 21) points out that it is these particularistic elements that increase inequalities but they are not widely known or understood and are "hidden" from many social groups.

4.3.4 Types of Hidden Curriculum

Four major types of the hidden curriculum have been identified in curriculum discourse:

1. The hidden curriculum as the *unofficial expectations*, or implicit but expected messages:

Jackson (1968: 33-43) refers to "the hidden curriculum" as the unnoticed aspects of school life, and particularly to "three facts of life" found in schools: the system of

crowds, praise and power. These three factors in his view give rise to norms and values which "collectively form a hidden curriculum which each student (and teacher) must master if he is to make his way satisfactorily through the school". Jackson contrasts these norms with "academic demands" or "the official curriculum". For Jackson, the hidden curriculum refers to *unofficial expectations,* implicit values and norms. He claims that these play an important role, in that failure to attain certain official expectations can be explained in terms of failure to comply with hidden expectations. For example, the student is unmotivated because he or she does not try to cope with certain systems in schools, has not "caught on" to the hidden rules of the game. The main characteristic of the hidden curriculum which emerges from Jackson's treatment is that the hidden curriculum is the sum total of unofficial institutional expectations, values and norms aimed at by educational administrators, and perhaps teachers and to a lesser extent parents, which are initially completely unknown to the students. The hidden curriculum is contrasted with the official curriculum in the sense that the former is not public and therefore "hidden". It can also be hidden if it is unnoticed by those directing the schooling process (Eisner, 1985: 74-83).

2. The hidden curriculum as *unintended learning outcomes* or messages:

Another widely used meaning of the hidden curriculum refers to the unintended learning outcomes. While Jackson's seminal work focused on learning (student) expectations, educationists such as Martin (1976), Gordon (1982) as well as Connelly and Clandinin (1988: 154-156) focused on unintended learning outcomes or messages. Since "even the most mundane of activities are often accompanied by unintended consequences " (Dale, 1990: 191), these outcomes or messages may never be recognized or identified; or even if they are, they may never be formally acknowledged. Hence a stronger element of hiddenness is present in this meaning.

3. The hidden curriculum as *implicit messages* arising from the structure of schooling:

This notion of the hidden curriculum is put forth by Illich (1978: 82), who focuses on

"the impact of the invariant structure of the school". According to Illich, this is a hidden structure: it is not officially recognized and it "constitutes a course of instruction that remains forever beyond the control of the teacher or of the school board. It necessarily conveys the message that only through schooling can an individual prepare for adulthood in society, that what is not taught in school is of little value, and that what is learned outside school is not worth knowing".

4. The hidden curriculum as *created* by the students:

This notion of the hidden curriculum is defended by psychologists like Snyder (1971), who contrasts the expectations of students with the expectations stated by professors or teachers, and the way in which students react to formal statements of tasks expected from them. Students' views about what it is in fact necessary to do are usually different from the tasks as expressed by teachers. According to Snyder (1971: 6), there are "latent, covert tasks that students (and others) infer as the basis for the rewards in the particular setting". These latent tasks even form part of the hidden curriculum. According to this view, students know the content of the hidden curriculum since it arises out of their own reactions and attitudes toward the formal curriculum. Snyder refers to this as the hidden curriculum since "it is rarely talked about openly with the faculty or with deans. There is some distrust of those who set its tasks" (Snyder, 1971: 7).

4.4   Model of Curriculum Development --The Tyler Model

One of the best represented models for curriculum development with special attention to the planning phases is perhaps in the work of Ralph Tyler. In his classic book *Basic Principles of Curriculum and Instruction* (Tyler, 1949), he proposed "The Tyler Rationale", a process for selecting educational objectives, for curriculum planning. Such Rationale, and in particular his four questions regarding the selection of educational purposes, the determination of experiences, the organization of experiences and the provision for evaluation, has dominated thought on curriculum planning for several decades since the publication of his book in 1949. According to Tyler, when planning a

curriculum, the following four questions need to be considered:

Firstly, curriculum planners are recommended to decide on the educational purposes that the school should achieve. Such goals are to be identified by gathering data from systematic studies of three sources: the learners, contemporary life in society and the subject matter. After identifying numerous general objectives, the planners need to refine them by filtering them into two screens: the educational and social philosophy of the school and the psychology of learning. The general objectives that successfully pass through the two screens become specific instructional objectives.

Learners as Source -- Tyler suggests that the curriculum planners begins their search for educational objectives by gathering and analyzing data relevant to student needs and interests. The total range of needs -- educational, social, occupational, physical, psychological, and recreational -- is examined. He further advocated observations by teachers, interviews with students, interviews with parents, questionnaires, and tests as techniques for collecting data about students (Tyler, 1949: 12-13). By investigating the interests and needs of learners, the curriculum developer identifies the potential objectives.

Society as Source -- Tyler suggests that analyzing the contemporary life in both the local community and in society at large was the second phase in the process of formulating general objectives. Tyler recommended that curriculum planners could first design a classification scheme that divides life into different aspects such as family, health, recreation, religion, consumption, vocation and civic roles (Tyler, 1949: 19-20). From analyzing the needs of society, potential educational objectives can be generated, so as to lengthen the set of objectives.

Subject Matter as Source -- The subject matter, the disciplines themselves, is the third source that the curriculum planner should pay attention to. The educational objectives should be derived from analyses of the subject matter by specialists.

Secondly, Tyler recommends that curriculum planners need to determine what educational experiences can be provided that are likely to achieve these purposes.

Possible experiences are checked for consistency with objectives and for economy.

Thirdly, Tyler advises that curriculum planners must find ways to effectively organize these educational experiences. The planner attempts to provide experiences that have a cumulative effect on students. Tyler further recommends that experiences build on one another and enable learners to understand the relationships between what they learn in various fields. In so doing, planners should pay attention to the sequence of experiences within each field and to the integration of knowledge across fields. Some concepts, skills and values are quite complex and require repeated study in increasing degrees of sophistication and breadth of application to help the student relate one field to another. The planners use these organizing elements to provide the sequence and integration the curriculum requires.

Lastly, Tyler suggests the planners need to determine if the educational purposes are being achieved. Objective evaluation instruments -- e.g. work samples, questionnaires, tests and school records -- are developed to check the effectiveness of the curriculum. The criterion for success is behavioural evidence that the objectives of the curriculum have been attained.

However, there are some inadequacies in Tyler's curriculum development model. He neglected the issue that curriculum decision making has close relationship with political considerations. As mentioned earlier, educators do not operate in a political vacuum and educators are not neutral in political orientations (Freire, 1970; Ota, 1985). What educators do in and outside their workplace is dialectically related to the distribution of structural and ideological power used to control the means of producing, reproducing, consuming, and accumulating material and symbolic resources and hence also is related to the distribution of material and symbolic resources. Educators' actions (and inaction) are constrained and enabled by such power relations and resource distributions, while at the same time through their daily activity and historical struggles educators are engaged in reproducing, resisting, and transforming existing power relations and resource distributions. Casting the notion of educators and politics in this way means that

educators are political actors regardless of whether they are active or passive, autonomous or heteronomous vis-a-vis other groups; conservative or change-oriented, seeking individual, occupational group, or larger collectivities' goals, and/or serving dominant group, subordinate group or human interests (Ginsburg and Kamat, 1995: 7-8).

4.5   Curriculum and Politics

Giroux (1981b: 103) argues that "curriculum is not a realm of objective facts, it is actually a "selection from the larger culture". With regard to the relationship between school curriculum and the dominant society, Giroux states that it is vital to investigate how schools function "to produce, in both hidden and formal curricula, the cultural beliefs and economic relationships that support the larger society" on the one hand; and on the other hand, curriculum theorists should try to examine how "the very texture of day-to-day classroom relationships generates different meaning, restraints, cultural value and social relationships". In essence, "the production, distribution, and evaluation of knowledge are directly linked to questions of control and domination in the larger society" (Giroux, 1981b: 103).

4.5.1   Curriculum Decision Making as Political Work

Curriculum content represents a selection of topics and a selection of ways of viewing these topics.   Power relations are embedded in curriculum both in terms of who makes the decisions and whose interests are served by the topics and perspectives included or excluded (Giroux, 1988).

Class relations are also reproduced through the inclusion and greater valuing of the knowledge or cultural capital of dominant classes (Bourdieu and Passerson, 1977). Knowledge and power can be seen as inextricably linked (Foucault, 1980).   The content of curriculum knowledge may serve to legitimate or challenge existing relations of power.   Similarly, existing relations of power constrain or enable the representation of particular kinds of curriculum knowledge (Young, 1971b; Apple, 1982).

According to Cornbleth (1990: 43), "among the outcomes attributed to implicit

curricula messages are individual and societal effects that foster conformity to national ideals and social conventions ... Individual students are assumed to acquire prevailing world views, norms, and values as well as predefined roles ... Collectively, such effects are seen as serving a social control function". As for "social control", Franklin (1986: 10) defines it as the diverse efforts of social groups to bring the attitudes and behaviour of their members into line with accepted and customary social expectations.

4.5.2 Curriculum and Control

Dawson and Prewitt (1969: 100) in their book *Political Socialization* point out that there are three socialization agents, namely the family, peer groups and the school. All of them are held to be responsible in passing along basic beliefs, values, attitudes and behavioural norms to children. The family and the peer groups are considered as the "primary agents" in the socialization process owing to their personalized and unstructured relationships being more in fostering beliefs and attitudes than the school. School, due to its relatively more formal and impersonal structures, is regarded as the "secondary agent" in the childhood socialization process. In spite of the fact that school is considered to be less influential than the "primary agent" in the process of childhood socialization, it does serve as a significant institution in conveying approved attitudes and behaviours to children.

The information carried within textbooks defines the task of education: textbooks are the most important resources which teachers and schools have as they do their work (Westbury, 1985). Generally speaking, governments use school and school texts as tools to change and manipulate the beliefs and value orientations of its citizens. School texts usually contain values and beliefs that a key group of political and educational elites would like to pass on to the younger generation. Textbooks, which "constitute a major part of the curriculum", also "reflect the dominant culture and reinforce the value of the ruling group" (Kwong, 1988: 228). McClelland (1961: 202) discusses the relationship between values contained in school texts and economic and political decisions:

> It may come as something of a shock to realize that more could have
> been learned ... by reading elementary school books than by

studying such presumably more relevant matters as power politics, wars and depressions, economic statistics ... The reason apparently lies in the fact that the readers reflect sufficiently the motives and values of key groups of men in a country which in the long run determine the general drift of economic and political decisions.

During the process of learning, textbooks and reading materials are playing prominent and influential roles. Governments of different countries generally employ schools as well as the school texts to inculcate the beliefs and value orientations of their citizens. Ozmon and Johnson (1967: 3) argue that all reading materials teach values of one type or another. Similarly, Younker (1963: 72) points out that "textbooks are a means of the induction of the young into a culture, and reflect the character and ideals of the society in which they are used".

Wilson has a similar viewpoint concerning political socialization:

One of the values of examining political socialization through the medium of schools is the opportunity to view, in a terse, direct form, the ideals of the adults of that society (or at least that particular group of adults that controls the educational system) (Wilson, 1970: 12).

In addition, Graney (1977: 249) argues that readers serve as the medium for teaching many kinds of cultural lessons. According to him, the utilization of readers for teaching cultural norms is intentional: authors, editors and instructors are aware of the moral lessons communicated. Reading textbooks initiates children into a sociocultural environment contrived by adult authors.

Altbach (1991: 243) finds that textbooks are among the most political commodities:

In a sense, textbooks define the nature of education. They embody legitimate knowledge. They are perceived as a powerful teaching tool and their content as one of the key determinants of what gets taught in schools. The content of textbooks is thus political and often a terrain for battles over the nature of education, and sometimes over important social issues or even how the nation, religion, or other sensitive issues are interpreted.

Sleeter and Grant (1991) argue that curriculum always represents somebody's

version of what constitutes important knowledge and a legitimate worldview. They take textbooks as an example to illustrate this argument. They point out that in writing textbooks and debating what should go into them, scholars select from a wide spectrum of versions of reality. Teachers have fewer from which to choose, but often have more than one; and students usually are given the opportunity to learn only one. In this way, textbooks serve as a tool of social control. They legitimate existing social relations and the status of those who dominate, and they imply that the interpretations being taught in school are undisputed fact.

Apple (1990b) further pinpoints that it is naive to think of the school curriculum as neutral knowledge. Rather, what counts as legitimate knowledge is the result of complex power relations and struggles among identifiable class, race, gender / sex, and religious groups. Hence, education and power are terms of an indissoluble couplet (Apple and Smith, 1991: 2). Apple (1989: 107-123) also points out that texts are caught up in a complicated set of political and economic dynamics. Text publishing is not just controlled by the "invisible hand" of the market, it is also largely determined by the highly visible "political" hand of the state textbook adoption policies.

Apple and Smith (1991: 3-4) stress that textbooks, as the concrete vehicle for the official knowledge, are surely important in and of themselves. They signify -- through their content and form -- particular constructions of reality, particular ways of selecting and organizing that vast universe of possible knowledge. They embody what Williams (1961) called the *selective tradition* -- someone's selection, someone's vision of legitimate knowledge and culture, one that in the process of enfranchising one group's cultural capital disenfranchises another's.

One the other hand, Inglis (1985: 22-23) argues that texts are really messages to and about the future. As part of a curriculum, they participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of society. They participate in creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help re-create a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief, and

morality really are. However, in the process of recognition that texts participate in constructing ideologies and ontologies, we have to understand that it is not a "society" that has created such texts, but specific groups of people (Apple and Smith, 1991: 4).

As for Hong Kong, since textbooks are approved by the Education and Manpower Bureau (formerly Education Department) of Hong Kong, they can be regarded as the "national curriculum" of Hong Kong. Hence, textbooks provide the material basis for the construction of legitimate content and form in schools.

In Hong Kong, textbooks play an important role in schooling as both teachers and students rely heavily on textbooks. As Down (1988: viii) puts it:

> Textbooks, for better or worse, dominate what students learn. They set the curriculum, and often the facts learned, in most subjects. For many students, textbooks are their first and sometimes only early exposure to books and to reading. The public regards textbooks as authoritative, accurate, and necessary. And teachers rely on them to organize lessons and structure subject matter.

In essence, textbooks embody the complex connections between economy, politics, and culture. They represent what powerful groups have defined as legitimate knowledge that are at least partly regulated by the government through state textbook adoption policies, and are often the results of ongoing conflicts over cultural legitimacy. In addition, they are the results of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic relations and social movements involving multiple power relations, including but not limited to race, class, gender, sexuality, and religion (Nozaki and Apple, 2002: 385). Furthermore, textbooks are subject to processes of interpretation as they are used and read in different ways by teachers, students, and community members who are themselves complex and contradictory people formed simultaneously out of gender, class, race, and other ideological discourses. Hence, these books are subject to multiple readings -- in dominant, negotiated, or oppositional ways -- depending on their form and content and on the person doing the interpretation (Apple, 1993: 42).

Hence, to understand the ideological formation and influence of the dominant curriculum artifact in most nations -- the textbook -- we would need to ask about the

history of how and by whom it was written, produced, and sold. We would need to examine the process of how it was approved and chosen at the level of the state and of the individual school. All of these moments involve conflicts and compromises. All of them involve multiple power relations of class, gender, race, and so on both among groups of people and within each person.

However, in Hong Kong, research done in the past has produced merely the lists of values or attitudes in textbooks rather than critically explored them. As mentioned above, features of textbooks constitute part of hidden curriculum, which serves the function of social control. The present study will critically examine the value themes presented in each syllabus and shed light on the relationships between curriculum and politics with regard to the Chinese Language curriculum.

4.6 Curriculum, Ideology and Values

Relationships between knowledge, social control, ethics, ideology and curriculum have long been the concern of scholars, educationalists, sociologists and politicians. "What constitutes a worthwhile curriculum or content?", "How is such knowledge produced?", "Whose interests does this knowledge serve?" (Peters, 1966; Hirst, 1974; Giroux, 1981a), "What knowledge is of most worth?", "Whose knowledge is of most worth?" (Apple and Smith, 1991: 1). These are the fundamental questions asked by the curriculum researchers.

With regard to the relationship between ideologies and curriculum, Rachel Sharp (1982: 36) attempts to identify some of the mechanisms involved:

> The manner in which schools, classrooms and pupils are organized, hierarchically stratified and horizontally differentiated, helps to constitute agents as appropriate subjects, with the right skills, attitudes and values, for capitalist work processes and to "act" as decent "law-abiding citizen". Practical ideology serves to inculcate submissive attitudes to authority, acceptance of social hierarchies and the stratification system, through the classification and grading system, and a cognitive view of the way the social world "works", all of which function to legitimate the relations of domination and subordination characteristic of the world beyond school. Moreover, the ideological content of the formal curriculum, an aspect of theoretical ideology,

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initiates pupils into more generalized forms of social consciousness necessitated by class domination.

Apple views schools as sites for the maintenance of existing patterns of control, production, and distribution of economic and cultural resources. He argues that curriculum research should explain and analyze how "the structuring of knowledge and symbol in our educational institutions is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control" (Apple, 1990a: 2). He further points out that:

> The knowledge that now gets into schools is already a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles. It is a form of cultural capital that comes from somewhere, that often reflects the perspectives and beliefs of powerful segments of our social collectivity. In its very production and dissemination as a public and economic commodity -- as books, films, materials, and so forth -- it is repeatedly filtered through ideological and economic commitments (Apple, 1990a: 8).

Ideology usually refers to a system of ideas, beliefs, fundamental commitments, and values about social reality. It is a complicated concept and has a complex history. It has been seen in two basic ways: (1) as a system of meanings that justifies the vested interests of existing or contending groups in society; and (2) as a set of knowledge and beliefs that provides meaning, that enables people in their everyday lives to make sense of their social reality. Interestingly, both views claim a link between ideology and social and material relations, and both point to the connections between knowledge and power (Apple, 1979, 1990b).

In order to further explore the relationship between "ideology" and "curriculum", we can examine the form and content of the most common curriculum device -- textbooks. Textbooks, being the embodiment of official knowledge, are also good tools to illuminate the complicated nature of connection between knowledge and power in education. The selection and organization of textbooks are important educational issues because textbooks can show the ideology of tradition and of values in one's society or culture.

Anyon (1979) attempts to read the ideology of school textbooks from an analysis of their content. This study focuses on the broad patterns of inclusion and exclusion of content within seventeen widely used secondary-school history textbooks. Particularly important, and an advance on much other work in this vein, is her emphasis on what is *excluded*. It is in the significant *silences* of a text, in its gaps and absences, that the presence of ideology can be most positively felt". Anyon's central claim seems to be that patterns of inclusion and exclusion, as well as certain recurrent stereotypical representations, serve to portray the nature and history of both dominant and oppositional groups in American society in a remarkably consistent and, to her, misleading way. The texts, then, serve to emphasize and legitimate the existence and activities of some groups at the expense of others (Whitty, 1981: 24). As a result, in the area of curriculum planning, judgments regarding what *not* to teach become as important as what *to* teach (Anderson, et. al, 1995: 13) In essence, curriculum and ideology are closely related, as Nozaki and Apple (2002: 381) put it:

> Curriculum, then, is part of what we might call the selective tradition. Thus, it needs to be interpreted as part of the ideological processes through which hegemonic power is maintained and challenged. Out of the vast universe of possible knowledge, only some groups' knowledge, history, and values are selected to become official knowledge taught to everyone. Particular beliefs and assumptions about what is important to know and to do now and in the future ... provide the filter through which decisions about curriculum, pedagogy, and evaluation are made. These ideological beliefs and assumptions are not always visible to the naked eye, since ideologies are embodied and lived. Hence, they are often hidden within the daily events and commonsense activities that organize the social relations and educational events ... of classrooms, as well as in the relations between schools and the communities that surround them.

4.6.1 Values in the Teaching of Language Subjects

According to Young (1971b: 24-26), starting from the 1950s, sociologists were interested in the socially constructed character of education, as well as the transmission of societal values through the selection and organization of curricular knowledge. From the sociological perspective, schools are regarded as "part of a

wider societal process and that they must be judged within a specific socioeconomic framework". In addition, as Haydon (1985: 3) argues, "education plays a significant role in moral socialization. It is responsible for influencing the values of a generation."

Williams (1990, Paper 4: 2) suggests that "every area of the school curriculum is value-laden to some extent" and points out that "within the classroom, the choice of lesson content reflects underlying judgments about what is thought to be worthwhile, effective, relevant and essential in the educational process".

All academic subjects have potential for contributing to the permeation of values across the curriculum, and to the development of students' values; certain aspects of the formal curriculum, such as Personal and Social Education (PSE), religious education, social sciences, history and languages are often seen as having a special influence. Of the above formal curriculum, languages attract our discussion here. Languages, for instance, English and Chinese, constitute both affective and cognitive elements of human behaviour and relationships. In addition, they are preoccupied with explicit and implicit values; as language subjects they are necessarily and unavoidably so preoccupied since language is itself the repository of values (Hollindale, 1986). Concerning the teaching of English, Dixon (1967) suggests that it involves three aspects of English: skills, cultural heritage and personal growth. Moreover, literature, a qualitative sub-division of language, is part of English, which is most profoundly occupied with values. By their experience of literature, children encounter a quality of imaginative and linguistic experience. Its representations of human experience have a uniquely civilizing power: they enact the moral dimensions of human experience; they exercise a civilizing influence on our own beliefs, values and behaviour" (Hollindale, 1986: 35). Hence, literature can be regarded as an instrument of moral education.

4.6.2 The Role of the Subject of Chinese Language in Values Education

Over the past few decades, there has been divergence in views concerning what should constitute the proper focus of the Chinese curriculum in Hong Kong: it has been

argued that teaching language skills and thinking abilities should be the primary objective of the subject Chinese Language, whereas the transmission of cultural, literary and ethical values should be a secondary objective (Tse, et al. 1995).

In addition, the issue of whether the objectives of Chinese Language teaching should include the teaching of ethical values has been a controversial topic for a long time. The difference in the expected functions of the subject Chinese Language could be summarized into two major views: the "integrationist" view and the "separationist" view (Tse, et al. 1995:8). The integrationist view holds that the subject of Chinese should serve two functions: it should not only teach language and thinking skills but should also transmit to the learners Chinese cultural, literary and ethical values. On the other hand, the separationist view advocates that language skills and thinking abilities should be the primary objective of the subject Chinese Language and the transmission of cultural, literary and ethical values should be a secondary objective. The integrationist view was prevalent in the 1950s. Starting from the late 1960s, the separationist view gradually gained acceptance (Tse, et al., 1995: 10).

Scholars who hold the separationist view think that language teaching aims at helping students to manage language as a tool, and thus the Chinese subject should emphasize the training in language skills. In contrast, scholars who hold the integrationist view advocate that the separatist or language-as-tool theory divorces language education from conceptual development, moral education and literary education. This they argue, will lead to the lowering of language standards (Tse, et al., 1995: 63). These diverse views have caused confusion in Chinese language teaching. The present Chinese language syllabus tries to include the objectives of the two views.

The Curriculum Development Council (1978) stated that the syllabus of Chinese Language for the 1980s should serve the following objectives:

1. For junior forms, the primary objectives are for students to develop reading and writing skills, to speak and write grammatically and logically, to develop thinking skills to enhance civic sensibility, to use dictionaries and reference books to

enhance language skills and knowledge, and to appreciate prose and easy classical Chinese;

2. For senior forms, in addition to consolidating the objectives of Chinese education for the junior forms, primary objectives include developing an ability to read classical Chinese and write in Modern Standard Chinese. The secondary objectives are to develop an ability to appreciate Chinese literature and cultural values.

The 1991 Chinese Language Syllabus stated that the objectives of the subject of Chinese Language should be (1) to teach language, thinking and learning skills and (2) to nurture cultural knowledge, personality and social responsibilities (Tse, et al., 1995:11). In this Syllabus, there was no differentiation between primary and secondary objectives. The position of the former secondary objectives is raised to the same level as the primary objectives. This obviously indicates that the Curriculum Development Committee placed equal emphasis both on the teaching of language, thinking and learning skills as well as on the fostering of morality in students.

Although the present Chinese language syllabus tries to include the objectives of the two views of the separationist and the integrationist, it still cannot adequately explain the functions of the Chinese language curriculum in Hong Kong under British colonization. In fact, apart from its explicit functions to develop language skills and to transmit traditional Chinese cultural values, the Chinese language curriculum in colonial Hong Kong shouldered an implicit function of maintaining the political stability of the British colonial government in Hong Kong. Under the British colonial rule, the indigenous culture of Hong Kong was not suppressed; on the contrary, the local Chinese culture was preserved and even strongly promoted by the colonial government. This contrasted with other colonial regions, such as West Africa where all education was delivered in French or English (Kelly, 1991: 13). The difference between Hong Kong and some other colonial governments (e.g. Africa) was that the British colonial government saw the Chinese traditional culture as contributing to political stability

rather than upsetting it. As mentioned earlier, Confucianism places great emphasis on the maintenance of social harmony, social order and political stability (Wright, 1960: 4). Since the observance of Confucian ethics can have the effectiveness of binding with regard to a person's behaviour and conduct, it is not necessary to use force to control the people. Confucianism is thus a brilliant tool for nation management and governance. However, the British colonial government was much cleverer, employing "cultural hegemony" in the Chinese Language curriculum to rule the colonized subjects without its political intentions being recognized.

As Chinese Language is a value-laden subject, quite a lot of the Chinese texts are morally related and teachers are given opportunities to bring out the moral concepts of morality in lessons in a natural way. An inspector of Chinese Language in the Education Department, expressed her view on the teaching of Chinese Language (in Moral Education Reference Materials, Education Department, 1991) that "Language itself can enlighten students' wisdom, indoctrinate knowledge, therefore through the teaching of Chinese language, it can directly or indirectly train and enlighten students' moral awareness". For instance, Confucian classics and other great Chinese characters have a substantial moral education content. If teachers can make use of these materials, students will benefit a lot in the development of their moral thinking. Hence, teaching the Chinese Language can play a vital part in cultivating the morality and ethics of students. From 1982 to 1993, the Religious and Education Section of the Advisory Inspectorate of the Education Department published 11 issues of Moral Education Reference Materials. Four of them are concerned with the implementation of moral education through academic subjects, while three issues specialise in Chinese Language (Issue No.4: Chinese Language of Secondary School; Issues No.5 and 11: Chinese Language of Primary School). Thus, it is revealed that there is a close relationship between the subject of Chinese Language and moral education.

Chow (1991) points out that the process of moral education is an interaction of knowledge, emotion, will power and behaviour. As the texts contain moral messages,

the Chinese Language subject is more than the teaching of language skills, but also passages that involve knowledge about Chinese culture, Confucian moral stance and behaviour expectations. This makes the teaching of the Chinese Language closely related to moral education. Moreover, it makes discussion of moral expectations much easier when the class is conducted through the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. Furthermore, the "Six Characters" (*Liu Shu*) in the construction of Chinese characters also have a major role to play in Chinese philosophies and culture, according to Chow. Furthermore, many components of moral education are embedded in the Chinese literature, expressing the authors' highly developed sense of morality which guides students to raise and consolidate their level of knowledge, emotion and will power. As Chinese culture is mainly based on ethics and morality, when explaining a piece of Chinese text, we are inevitably selective in preparing the teaching material that will bring out the theme of moral or values education.

In addition, being one of the three main subjects (Chinese Language, English Language and Mathematics) studied in the Hong Kong education system, the Chinese Language is a rather influential subject, given the amount of time allocated to it. Furthermore, the secondary Chinese Language curriculum contains many passages that touch upon learning national heritage and cultural values as well as other knowledge through the primary language instruction, that is the Chinese Language. Thus, children quite naturally come to internalise their national values through listening to the stories about major historical figure in their own language. Also, in Chinese Language lessons, as typical Chinese Language course content includes many heavily value-laden issues, a variety of human experience can be explored, and the parameters of moral actions discussed, more effectively than in any other subject.

4.7   Past Research on School Textbooks

Past research on school textbooks from different subjects, employing the method of content analysis, have been quite numerous. However, the present research concentrates on readings, textbooks, the Chinese Language curriculum, and the relationship between textbooks and moral education, socialization and political changes. Of the available literature, analyses of China's textbooks feature prominently. In addition, some research has used cross-cultural studies to identify the different emphases in the countries concerned. Study of the elementary Chinese curriculum of Hong Kong began in 1982, whereas study of the secondary Chinese Language of Hong Kong commenced in 1987.

4.7.1   Research on Textbooks in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong

Many of the studies about values and political socialization of the curriculum have been conducted through content analysis. Many of these studies can be found in Chinese textbooks in China, Taiwan and Hong Kong. Research by McClelland (1963a) in *Motivational Patterns in Southeast Asia with Special Reference to the Chinese Case* revealed that the motivational concerns in stories changed under Communist and Western influence. Three sets of Chinese storybooks used in the People's Republic of China and in Taiwan during 1950-1959 were examined and their motivational concerns were scored by a standardized scoring system. The purpose of this research was to measure the changes in motivational concerns over time and how the motivational concerns in stories had changed under Communist and Western influence. The research findings indicated that motivational concerns had changed in China over the past generation. The patterns of motivational scores for the Republic of China in the 1920's corresponded to those features of static, traditional societies governed by authoritarian regimes, whereas the pattern of motivational scores for Communist China and Taiwan demonstrated that they were moving more towards a "modern" direction.

The study also revealed that the concern for achievement injected by the Communist leaders into their stories was more decisive and much higher than those found in stories used in Taiwan.

Ridley, Godwin and Doolin (1971) conducted research on the role of elementary education in the making of a model citizen in China. This research examined the core values which the Chinese leadership wanted to nurture in its citizens. It investigated how a child in Communist China was taught to view his country and political system, as well as what he was taught as his ideal role in the new China. Ten volumes of elementary school readers were used to identify the kinds of informational, behavioural and political messages taught to children under the Communist Government. The study found that the values and beliefs embedded in the readers of China were closely related to the official ideology of Chinese Communism and designed to:

> Provide a definite orientation towards China, emphasizing the "new" society as opposed to traditional China and the "evils" of the Kuomintang interregnum. Within the "new" society, the child-citizen is made aware of his particular social and political responsibility to contribute to the over-all good of the community. Any goals of personal achievement must remain secondary to the pre-eminent responsibility of contributing to the common good of the new society...The "new" society being created under the leadership of Mao and the Chinese Communist Party should be perceived of by the child-citizen as a benevolent society and one worthy of the highest dedication ... The system sought to produce an individual at the primary school level who was aware of the "new" China, who was loyal to it and its leadership, and who was compliant, group-oriented, and satisfied with a life in rural China (Ridley, Godwin and Doolin, 1971: 185-186).

The information available to the Chinese pupils was limited in scope and imposed upon them a worldview with China as its center and with very little consideration for what lay beyond the borders of China. The major political themes were that younger generations should be dedicated to the "new" society and the "new" political system. In addition, the benevolence and goodness of the new

society was deliberately contrasted with the oppressive, cruel rule of the Kuomintang Government. Students were also taught to serve the country in military action. Moreover, students were taught not to be friendly with the Americans. American imperialism was considered a great threat towards China. Students were taught to be aware of the existence of "oppressed people" in the world who had yet to throw off the yoke of oppression and who were waiting for the "revolution". Concerning the behavioural themes, students were taught to feel obligated to the society; they should strive to achieve not for themselves, but for the common good. The ideology of Communism was deeply planted into the Readers in order to make the younger generations model citizens in the "new" society.

Martin (1975) contrasted the social and political norms which the governments of China and Taiwan encouraged their respective citizens to adopt, in an article entitled "The socialization of Children in China and Taiwan: An Analysis of Elementary School Textbooks". The study aimed "to highlight contrasts in the goals of socialization in the two societies, so different in their vision of the ideal polity" (Martin, 1975: 242). By examining the elementary school textbooks published in China from 1957-1964 and those published in Taiwan in the 1970s, he found that the governments of China and Taiwan, though these were both Chinese societies, were pursuing very different socialization goals. In China, the following values were emphasized as reflected in the textbooks:

> Social service, hard work, self-sacrifice, manual and agricultural skills, an experimental approach to nature and a sense of comradeship and functional status in interpersonal relations are to characterize the model citizen in China. His primary focus is to be the larger community in which he works ... He is encouraged to be politically aware and positively involved with the political programmes and personalities which touch him (Martin, 1975: 260).

As for Taiwan, different values and goals were detected:

> Filial piety, patriotism, academic achievement, and aesthetic appreciation of nature and a sense of propriety in interpersonal relations are to be the attributes of a model citizen in Taiwan. The individual's focus is to be the family unit, and he is encouraged to have little political awareness or involvement (ibid).

From the analysis of the school textbooks, Martin argues that the two contrasting socialization goals of these two societies contributed important differences to the educational experience of children of China and Taiwan. The government of China was attempting to break with the Confucian system and to replace it with a new "socialist" system of social behaviour and personal mores. In contrast, the government in Taiwan was actively promoting a revitalization of the traditional Confucian system of social behaviour and personal mores to strengthen their political legitimation as a Chinese sovereignty.

Blumenthal (1976) conducted research on the content and process of moral education in the People's Republic of China. A total of 252 stories were selected from popular children's literature books purchasable from bookstores in China during 1973-74 for an in-depth study. Blumenthal agreed with the findings of Ridley et al. (1971) and further showed that the content of moral education in China placed much emphasis on the Communist morality and devotion to the Revolution as well as to the new society. Chinese children were encouraged to imitate characters depicted as hard-working, achievement oriented, group oriented, altruistic and upholding class struggle.

Blumenthal found that the approaches to conducting moral education as reflected in these stories were mainly based on emulation of models. Characters in the stories were presented as models for imitation. Models with a positive image were used to teach prosocial behaviour, whereas models with a negative image were used to teach recognition of undesirable behaviour. Blumenthal identified several characteristics of

these moral stories. Firstly, these stories were realistic stories portraying settings, people and situations that were familiar to children. Secondly, characters in these stories were consistent in word and deed. Thirdly, virtuous and good behaviours were rewarded, while undesirable behaviours were punished. The constant association of reward with good behaviour and punishment with bad behaviour served to tell children which behaviour they were encouraged to imitate and which were not. Blumenthal further pointed out that there was a close relationship between Chinese storybooks and the political changes in China. Authors of picture storybooks were striving to write stories consistent with the current official ideology. Thus, the content of Chinese stories changed with political changes in China (Blumenthal, 1976: 193).

Chang (1979) investigated the relationship between political changes and story content by studying Chinese children's picture storybooks. Chang found that before 1949 (i.e. the year that the polity of the People's Republic of China was set up), Chinese children's picture storybooks were intended mainly for entertainment. They were seldom embedded with political messages. However, after 1949, the children's picture storybooks were used to transmit officially approved messages to readers. The Chinese Communist leaders made use of every means to inculcate new socialist values in their citizens. Chang also found that a large proportion of Chinese picture storybooks published in the 1950s were on the revolutionary struggle and Socialist construction. Traditional stories were still published at that time. However, in the mid-1960s, when the PRC launched the campaign to rectify cultural and ideological thought, publication of picture storybooks portraying traditional stories was not permitted as these stories were condemned for instilling feudal and bourgeois values in Chinese society.

From the mid-1960s onwards, with the start of the Cultural Revolution, children's literature became more and more politicized. "Science", which used to be the major theme in picture storybooks before the Cultural Revolution, was substituted

by such themes as class struggle, revolutionary tradition and proletarian internationalism. The impact of the Cultural Revolution was far-reaching. The storybooks of the 1970s reflected the political and policy changes that were brought by the Cultural Revolution. The Cultural Revolution's spirit of "going against the tide" and other "new-born things" was widely publicized. On the other hand, Confucius was condemned as a capitalist because of his upper-middle class background during the Cultural Revolution.

Kwong (1985) examined the relationship between textbooks and political development in the People's Republic of China and found close and explicit relationship between them:

> Textbooks bear the strong imprint of the political cultures of societies producing them, and offer an interesting source in the study of a society's political culture ... Textbooks form an integral and important aspect of educating the young, providing them with values fundamental to the society's political structures and cultures (Kwong, 1985: 197).

Kwong found that the content of language textbooks was very different before and after the death of Mao Zedong. In the early 1970s, almost 26% of the textbooks in primary school language textbooks were about Mao's work. Mao's greatness, kindness and power were highly praised and described in godlike magnitude. After the death of Mao in 1976, the textbooks were changed to praise Mao's appointed successor, Hua Guofeng. Later, Zhou Enlai was praised as a hero. These shifts were correlated to the shift of political power.

According to Kwong, in the early 1970s, the leaders' priority was to preserve China's socialist character. For instance, 66 out of 69 chapters of language texts published in Inner Mongolia were about the corrupting power of capitalism. On the other hand, students were encouraged to be farmers and workers since these two occupations were "the mainstay of the country's economy".

In the late 1970s, "the leaders continued to condemn capitalism, not on ideological but on economic grounds" (Kwong, 1985: 200). Later, when the government planned to modernize China and raise the productivity through a more diversified economic structure, i.e. limited private enterprise, the stories in the language textbooks were changed to praise the private initiatives of the people and free market, which were condemned in the early 1970s (Kwong, 1985: 201). The above phenomena showed that political and economic factors had an explicit and far-reaching impact on the contents of textbooks in China.

Lee (1987) compared the values embedded in Taiwan Readers (junior grades) with the Mainland Readers. He found that the value orientations in Taiwan Readers carried the essential spirit of Confucianism and was in accordance with the traditional means of students' character cultivation. As for the Readers in the Mainland, they consisted of two parts, namely the traditional and the modern ones. The former focus on moral themes from Chinese tradition, such as self-cultivation and perseverance, whereas the latter mainly emphasized class consciousness, devotion to the Party and adherence to Marxism and Socialism. In general, party orientation and class struggle, outweighing the traditional values of filial piety and universal "Ren" (love and benevolence), were the dominant themes in China's Readers.

Wang (1993) compared school readers from Taiwan (Grades 7 to 9 of the Chinese Language Readers published in 1991-1992) with readers from Texas (Grades 7 and 8 of Basal Readers published in 1986-87). The theme that occurred most frequently in both sets of Readers was moral qualities or behaviours. The values advocated in Taiwan Readers were idealistic and had a society-centred focus (for instance, patriotism, appreciation of others, serving others and honesty). In addition, students were taught absolute moral principles. Group-orientation and altruism were evident in Taiwan Readers. Wang concluded that:

> A pattern cutting across the themes of the reading selections from the
> Taiwan Readers was the group orientation. It was hoped that the

students grow to be people of virtues who serve the society and the nation. The Readers were filled with strong altruistic sentiments. In contrast, the Texas reading series did not demonstrate a group-oriented cultural trait. Personal feelings, individual accomplishments and self-centred values received more attention (Wang, 1993: 203-204).

Yang (1982) compared two sets of elementary school grammar readers used in China and Hong Kong. The Mainland set comprised ten volumes with a total of 390 stories and covered the five grades of elementary school in China. The Hong Kong set contained twelve volumes with a total of 283 stories and covered the six grades of elementary school in Hong Kong. The Mainland textbooks were used in Beijing and Guangdong elementary schools in the 1979-1980 academic year, whereas the Hong Kong textbooks were used during the 1980-1981 academic year. It was found that the content of the textbooks in China and the Hong Kong textbooks was fundamentally different, each seeking to inculcate the kind of personal and social ethics and values that met the needs of these two societies. Yang argued that the most apparent difference between the thematic content of the Mainland Readers and the Hong Kong Readers lay in the political themes:

> Statistically, there is a significant difference between the thematic content of the Mainland Readers and the Hong Kong Readers, with the political themes contributing much to the difference between the two sets of textbooks. The content of the Mainland Readers is politicized, reflecting current political trends in China. In it, the "new" society is compared to the "old" society to cultivate devotion and allegiance to New China and the Communist ideology of collectivism, egalitarianism and selflessness. By contrast, the content of the Hong Kong Readers is apolitical and devoid of any discussion of political issues (Yang, 1982: 227).

With regard to the themes of factual information, Yang further pointed out that:

Information available to elementary school pupils in China lies mainly within China. There is an obvious attempt by the Chinese leadership to develop a political identity among the younger generation and to promote political integration in the country. Such an attempt is conspicuously absent in the Hong Kong Readers (Yang, 1982: 228).

Yang attributed the different phenomena of the content of the Mainland Readers and that of the Hong Kong Readers to the different socio-economic and political orientations of the two societies:

Socialist China in her attempt to modernize the country seeks to teach children scientific and agricultural knowledge to inculcate them with the social responsibility of working for the collective, and to cultivate their love of and pride in New China. In contrast, Hong Kong seeks only to teach children the basic of reading and writing, and to improve their communication and social skills to meet the needs of a highly commercialized capitalist society. It does not seek to inculcate children with a sense of social responsibility for the collective, nor does it seek to develop children's national identity and their political awareness (Yang, 1982: 230).

Though China and Hong Kong shared a cultural heritage of Confucianism, Yang argued that due to the difference in economy and polity, the socialization content and processes for children in China and Hong Kong were different:

As an independent socialist state, Chinese children's textbooks are nationalistic in nature. They also attach much importance to inculcate in children the Communist ideology of collectivism and selflessness. As a colonial, capitalist city state, Hong Kong children's textbooks are apolitical but cosmopolitan in nature, focusing more on the West than on the East (Yang, 1982: 230-231).

Wan (1987) investigated 330 pieces of secondary Chinese Language texts designated by the Hong Kong Education Department from Post-World War II to 1986. The scope of analysis covered various aspects of Chinese behaviour, such as "family relationship", "friendship", "status of females", "aspirations and meaning of life",

"socio-political views", "leisure", "nostalgia homesickness" and "moral standard of behaviour". The findings revealed that pessimistic views pervaded the three great categories of "socio-political views", "family relationship" and "aspirations and meaning of life" in the Chinese texts. On the whole, the curriculum presented a gloomy and depressed picture, in which people experienced a lot of suffering and hardship. Wan concluded that though the syllabi of the Chinese Language had been amended several times, they still could not arouse the interest of students as there was a great discrepancy between the content of the Chinese Language curriculum and the actual needs of students in Hong Kong in the present day. Moreover, texts that described the past in China mainly concentrated on negative aspects, such as the backwardness of farm villages and the suffering of Chinese people. This negative portrayal of China would prevent Hong Kong students from understanding the traditional Chinese culture.

Au (1990), from the perspective of sociology of curriculum, explored the relationship between primary school curriculum content and "Individual Modernity" by examining textbooks in Taiwan and Hong Kong. Au designed an "Individual Traditionality – Modernity Scale" which was based on relevant research results from the West and East. This scale was then used in a quantitative analysis of two school subjects: Chinese Language and Social Studies, using a selection of the most popular editions of textbooks in Taiwan and Hong Kong in the 1980s. It was found that elements of modernity constituted a greater proportion than traditionality in the four sets of textbooks. In addition, the study revealed that elements of modernity were stronger in textbooks from Hong Kong, whereas elements of traditionality were stronger in textbooks from Taiwan. Au therefore argued that the textbooks concerned were serving to "reproduce" the cultural values in the two societies.

Au (1994) analysed the value orientations in the junior secondary Chinese Language Curriculum of Hong Kong (1991 Secondary Chinese Language Syllabus)

using the methodology of content analysis. Au found that there was an abundance of Confucian ethics in the textbooks, particularly the personal and social oriented values. In addition, values of personal integrity and interpersonal relationships were much emphasised in the Junior Curriculum.

Leung (1996) conducted a similar study on the senior secondary Chinese Language Curriculum (S4-S5) of the 1991 secondary Chinese Language Syllabus of Hong Kong. The findings also revealed that there was a dominance of themes related to Confucian ethics of morality and personal virtues. Of the five major categories of value orientations, the "self-oriented values" constitute a major component of the whole curriculum, then followed by "group-oriented values", "society-oriented values", "nation-oriented values" and "nature-oriented values" respectively. Values such as a "familial love" and "compassion" were mentioned most among all the themes. In addition, the study reported that Chinese teachers generally showed favour and support to the implementation of values education in Chinese teaching as the texts of the Chinese Language syllabus contained many desirable personal, social and moral values which were very suitable for nurturing students' personalities and responsibilities.

4.7.2   Research on Textbooks in Other Countries

A study conducted by McClelland (1963b) concerning values in popular literature for children found that the stories differed noticeably from country to country in the values they presented. During this study, Readers of Grades 3 and 4 from 40 countries were investigated in order to identify the values embedded in the texts. They found that stories from Middle Eastern and North African countries like Turkey and Lebanon often used themes of intelligence or ability to outsmart others. German stories stressed the value of loyalty to one's country whereas in Chilean and Japanese stories,

kindness and obligation were their main emphasis. McClelland concluded that popular stories for children reflect what the people in the country value most, and what they think is important. Children acquire the values or ethical ideas expressed in the stories, even without conscious or deliberate attempts to inculcate them. According to McClelland, the Middle Eastern children learned naturally from what they read that intelligence is a good thing, just as American children learned that working together is usually the best way of doing things. Children come to take such ideas for granted because that is the way thing "are" or "happen" in the stories they read (McClelland, 1963b: 136).

Zimet (1972) studied the beginners' reading textbooks from the United States and twelve other countries. They found that the recognition of the influence of antiquity or tradition on the present occurred frequently in South Korea's and India's reading texts. France mentioned "play" (being actively engaged in recreation or sport) most often, whereas Israel mentioned "play" least often. Mexico, India and South Korea presented "working" more frequently than the other countries. South Korea and India were high in "conforming and compromising", one's behaviours to facilitate harmonious interaction, whereas France and the United States had the lowest number of frequency counts in those aspects. The attitude of caring and nurturing was mentioned in over two thirds of the stories of India and the United States. On the other hand, South Korea was outstandingly different from all other countries in the high frequency of occurrence of cleanliness and orderliness (Zimet , 1972: 168-172).

Anyon (1979: 362) analyzed seventeen history textbooks published in the United States and found that "the information presented in the history textbooks is intended to prepare students for participation in political and other institutions of the society". In addition, the history textbooks were used as an instrument to reproduce the existing class structure and support the dominant political system:

Textbooks not only express the dominant groups' ideologies, but also help to form attitudes in support of their social positions …Textbook history illustrates one way of imposing beliefs and constraining choice. Textbooks offer concrete examples and thus substantive instruction in past "success" and "failure" in social, economic and political matters. Governmental reform and labour-management cooperation are characterized as successful methods of social recourse, whereas confrontation and strikes are depicted as failures. Evidences of what constitutes success or failure, whether or not it coincides with actual fact, provides a compelling guide for making choices today (Anyon, 1979: 382).

Anyon analysed the ideological import of the history textbooks' content and what is absent from them. She tried to relate both the textual messages and their mode of production to the interests of capital. Anyon's study focused on the broad patterns of inclusion and exclusion of content within 17 widely used secondary school history textbooks. Particularly important, and an advance on much other work in their vein, is her emphasis on what is *excluded*, an emphasis that echoes, at the level of content, the claim by Macherey, a French literary theorist, that "a work is tied to ideology not so much by what it says as by what it does not say. It is in the significant *silences* of a text, in its gaps and absences, that the presence of ideology can be most positively felt" (Eagleton, 1976: 34-35). Anyon's central claim seems to be that patterns of inclusion and exclusion, as well as certain recurrent stereotypical representations, serve to portray the nature and history of both dominant and oppositional groups in American society in a remarkably consistent and, to her, misleading way (Whitty, 1985: 41).

As for the texts, Anyon argued that they served to emphasize and legitimate the existence and activities of some groups at the expense of others. Anyon particularly pointed out that militant trade unionists and socialists were denied the place in history that other sources suggested they ought to occupy. In addition, she pointed to the ways in which the use of particular terms might structure our reading of the texts and thus help to

construct the particular sense of history that they produce. For Anyon, this was a version of history that served to "naturalize" the status quo by providing support for the interests of the dominant groups in American society and hiding from view the sorts of political action that might effectively challenge them (Whitty, 1985: 41).

Blackburn (1985) conducted research on a collection of history textbooks and books of readings containing historical instruction produced and used by Hitler's Third Reich (1933-1945). It was found that the history textbooks, like everything else in Hitler's Germany, were designed to serve a political end. The selection and arrangement of materials constituted a primary means by which the Nazis inculcated belief in their own pattern of history. The central theme of the history written by the National Socialists was to arouse in students a sense of Germanism, which would kindle the urgent desire to secure Germany's permanent hegemony in the world. Furthermore, the history textbooks drew distinct boundaries between German and non-German nationalities and projected for youth the sacred meaning of preserving their unique racial qualities.

According to O'Dell (1987), the readings (junior grades) of the former Soviet Union were embedded with certain Socialist values and beliefs. Themes such as "honouring the working class by illustrating their role in the October Revolution and by showing their suffering and bravery in pre-revolutionary times" occurred in many stories. Besides this, the need to work primarily for the collective good was heavily emphasized.

4.8 Conclusion

As shown from the above literature review, several researchers have used content analysis to examine the values embedded in children's storybooks, readers and textbooks. For those countries with authoritarian governments, values transmitted by the textbooks usually involve explicit political socialization, as well as advocating loyalty to the leadership. For instance, the values and beliefs embedded in the readers of Mainland

China were closely related to the official ideology of Chinese Communism. Children's literature was highly politicized with emphasis on promoting Communist morality, party orientation, Communist leadership, and such ideologies as socialist construction and class struggle (Ridley et al., 1971; Martin, 1975; Blumental, 1976; Chang, 1979; Yang, 1982; Lee, 1987).

As for Germany under the government of Hitler, history textbooks were designed to serve a political end, arousing in students a sense of German nationalism. In the reading books of the former Soviet Union, political themes related to the October Revolution frequently occurred. Even in a democratic and capitalist country like the United Sates, political themes still existed in the textbooks. According to Anyon (Anyon, 1979: 362), "information presented in the history textbooks is intended to prepare students for participation in political and other institutions of the society" and the history textbooks are used as an instrument to reproduce the existing class structure and support the dominant political system (Anyon, 1979: 382). As pointed out by Williams (1976), education is not a product like bread and cards, but must be seen as a selection, and/or an organization, of social knowledge at a particular time. Similar viewpoints are expressed by Apple and Smith (1988: 1-3): "The knowledge that now gets into schools is already a choice from a much larger universe of possible social knowledge and principles", they further point out that "texts chosen by educational authorities present the result of political, economic and cultural activities, battles and compromises".

On the other hand, the above review shows that studies of the Hong Kong Chinese Language curriculum have all only described the features arising from the content of the curriculum and the themes that occurred. It was generally found that the texts were dominated by Confucian ethics and aimed to promote moral education by nurturing students' personality and responsibilities. However, no study so far has explored the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong in relation to political factors under British colonial rule. The present research hence attempts to investigate the relationship between the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong and British colonial rule.

Furthermore, previous studies of the Secondary Chinese Language of Hong Kong were based only on a segment of the curriculum. No study examined the whole Secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong during the colonization period. Consequently, a full picture of the development of the Secondary Chinese Language curriculum cannot be portrayed. It is hoped that the present study will throw light on this aspect, as a historical reflection in Hong Kong, after the ending of British colonization.

Chapter 5   Education and Political Socialization

5.1   Introduction

Britain's successful rule over Hong Kong during the period of colonization may be due to her subtly employed tactics of political socialization, implemented through the local Chinese culture, especially through traditional Confucian values.   As the British colonial government had gained sovereignty over Hong Kong through a number of unequal treaties, the Hong Kong colonial authorities had no systematic, theoretical justification for their legitimacy as a governing power (Lau and Kuan, 1986).   The Hong Kong colonial government thus appeared as an insecure government of questionable legitimacy.   In addition, Hong Kong was under considerable political influence from Kuomintang and Communist ideologies (Bray and Lee, 1993; Morris, 1997b).   Consequently, as Lau (1982) argued, the colonial government pursued a deliberate policy of the "depoliticization" of society, both to avoid offending the Chinese government and to preserve Hong Kong's stability and prosperity, conditions favourable to the colonial government's continued rule until 1997 and the economic development of Hong Kong society.   In line with the depoliticization of Hong Kong society, the strategy taken by the colonial government was to depoliticize the curriculum in its educational policies (Bray and Lee, 1993; Leung, 1995). Hence, the general perception of the school curriculum of Hong Kong under British colonial rule was "apolitical".

However, as revealed by the findings of the present study, the seemingly depoliticized Chinese Language curriculum was not entirely apolitical.   In fact, Britain employed a subtle procedure to achieve her political ends of facilitating colonial rule by using Confucian ethics and virtues as a moral basis for her political ends.   Hong Kong was only a colony of Britain. Due to the embarrassing position of the colonial government, it appeared better to use indirect approaches to promote loyalty and devotion in Hong Kong Chinese towards the British, and thus to avoid anti-British feelings among the colonized subjects.   In fact, the British colonial government did not want to raise the political consciousness of the Hong Kong Chinese and it had a strong interest in maintaining order and social stability (Chan and Morris, 1994).   In

order to achieve the above goals, the British wisely borrowed the traditional Chinese culture, i.e. Confucianism, to achieve their political ends. The present study will report that there were many themes in the texts of the secondary Chinese Language curriculum related to political socialization. It was found that the colonial government made use of "nationalization" (i.e. cultural incorporation by promoting Confucianism) to achieve "de-nationalization" of Chinese culture (e.g. by deliberately excluding the cultivation of a sense of national identity among the Chinese) and made use of "de-politicization" (strongly promoting moral cultivation in the Chinese Language curriculum and discouraging people's active participation in politics) to achieve its political ends (political stability).

5.2 Socialization

"Socialization", according to Erik Erikson (1950: 90) is the process whereby "Man's 'inborn instincts' are drive fragments to be assembled, given meaning, and organized during a prolonged childhood by methods of child training and schooling which vary from culture to culture and are determined by tradition". Socialization involves, in the first place, an interaction between an individual's personality and the society in which he is living, and therefore a study of socialization must examine not only personality or the social system but the interaction of the two. In the second place, socialization begins in childhood. Third, the training given the individual is organized in some way, in the home with other family members, with groups of friends, perhaps formally as in school, in work, in play, etc. Last, the content of this training is to give meaning to the habits which one is taught to acquire, the content itself being, in effect, the culture of the society.

Socialization goes on throughout an individual's life, from childhood experience to adult life. That there is a continuity between childhood and adult life is well established in psychological theory (Wilson, 1970: 6). In an explanation for studying Luther, Erikson (Erikson, 1962: 117-118) has stated that:

> Man is not organized like an archeological mound, in layers; as he grows he makes the past part of all future, and every environment, as he once experienced it, part of the present environment. Dreams and dreamlike moments, when analyzed, always reveal the myriad past experiences which are waiting

outside the gates of consciousness to mingle with present impressions.

It is always true that earlier events, especially those experienced in early childhood, will have profound influence on an individual's adulthood. Greenstein (1965: 80-81) has set down four hypotheses as to why such early cultural content learning is least likely to change. First, the child learns uncritically; second, much early learning is at an unconscious level of imitation and identification; third, parents are highly authoritative; and fourth, personality characteristics are being formed, and political and social learning becomes part of basic psychic equipment, i.e., the child is at a very formative age.

In addition, socialization refers to the development procedure whereby a person obtains knowledge, ability, beliefs, values, attitudes and dispositions which makes it possible to function as a more or less effective member of society (Stacy, 1978: 2). Hence, socialization can be regarded as a process whereby each society tries to shape the new and young members of society and to prepare them for successful incorporation in group life by means of the positive development of innate characteristics and the incorporation of successive "content" learned and assimilated by the individual (Claussen and Kili, 1988: 203).

5.3 The Concept of Political Socialization

Every society that wishes to maintain itself has as one of its functions the socialization of the young so that they will carry on willingly the values, traditions, norms, and duties of their society. The newborn child is not born socialized. Socialization is a learning process. Such learning, however, is not limited to the acquisition of the appropriate knowledge about a society's norms but requires that the individual so makes these norms his own -- internalizes them -- that to him they appear to be right, just, and moral. Having once internalized the society's norms, it will presumably not be difficult for the individual to act in congruence with them. A politically organized society has the same maintenance needs and consequently has an additional function: the political socialization of the young. Political socialization is designed to preserve the social order and consensus as well as to maintain the political, economic and social status quo (Paulston, 1977; Morrow and Torres, 1995). Moreover, political socialization is defined as "a developmental process by which adolescents acquire

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cognitions, attitudes and behaviours relating to their political environment" (Atkin and Gantz, 1978: 184). Almond (1996: 50) states that "socialization refers to the way children are introduced to the values of their society. Political socialization is the part of this process that shapes political attitudes."

Political socialization is the gradual learning of the norms, attitudes, and behaviour accepted and practiced by the ongoing political system (Greenberg, 1970: 19-20). Similarly, Easton and Dennis (1970: 19-24) regard political socialization as the way in which a society transmits political orientations -- knowledge, attitudes or norms, and values -- from generation to generation. Levine (1993: 129) refers to political socialization as the method in which a culture transmits its political culture to its members. Political socialization is the process of learning about political life, and it is the way in which political cultures are maintained and changed. On the other hand, political socialization may be defined as the process through which young people become aware of how power is distributed in society and acquire their orientations and patterns of behaviour as citizens (Whyte, 1999: 156).

Greenstein (1969: 72) and Nimmo and Bonjean (1972: 6) point out that the study of political socialization includes the study of both individualistic orientations and system orientations. While the individualistic approach focuses on the individual as the main unit of investigation; the system approach inquires into the role of political socialization as a system's stability and maintenance (Pandit, 2000: 48).

Among the variety of definitions of political socialization, it seems that Greenstein (1969: 551) offers both a broad and a narrow conception of the term. Broadly conceived, political socialization encompasses all political learning, formal or informal, deliberate and unplanned, at every stage of the life cycle, including not only explicitly political learning but also nominally non-political learning. For the narrow aspect of Greenstein's definition, political socialization is the deliberate inculcation of political values, information and practices by instructional agents who have been formally charged with this responsibility. Generalizing from the different definitions of political socialization, political socialization involves the study of individual roles, content and agents in a process of learning about politics (Pandit,

Generally speaking, political socialization is viewed as a means for developing support for the political system. It is a process through which appropriate values and knowledge regarding a particular political system is created among its constituents. Basic support is presumed necessary for a political system to persist over time (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 8).

Almond (1960: 27-28) points out the function of political socialization that:

> Political socialization is the process of induction into the political culture. Its end product is a set of attitudes, cognitions, value standards, and feelings -- toward the political system, its various roles, and role incumbents. It also includes knowledge of, values affecting, and feelings toward the inputs of demands and claims into the system and its authoritative outputs.

Moreover, the goal of political socialization is to so train or develop individuals that they become well-functioning members of the political society. While the definition of a well-functioning member will vary with the political system -- from obedient passive subject in one system to active participating citizen in another -- a well-functioning citizen is one who accepts (internalizes) society's political norms and who will then transmit them to future generations (Greenberg, 1970: 20). The present study will mainly examine the approaches implemented by the colonial government through the Chinese Language curriculum to achieve political socialization of nurturing loyal, obedient and passive subjects, as well as social harmony and political stability in Hong Kong.

5.4   Types of Political Learning

Three types of political learning can be distinguished: cognitive socialization, affective socialization, and evaluative socialization (Levine, 1993: 129; Almond and Verba, 1972: 15). *Cognitive socialization* refers to the acquisition of knowledge of and belief about the political system, its roles and the incumbents of these roles, its inputs, and its outputs. *Affective socialization* is the process in which an individual develops approval or rejection of a political leader, government unit, or political system. *Evaluative socialization* refers to the process through which one acquires judgements and opinions about the political system on the basis of some moral criteria.

As for the approaches to political socialization implemented by the British colonial government in Hong Kong, I shall argue that they absolutely did not involve *evaluative socialization*. The reason was that the British did not want to raise the political awareness of the Hong Kong Chinese and definitely did not welcome any judgements and criticisms from the general public concerning political affairs. Instead, the British employed the approach of *affective socialization* by promoting Chinese Confucian culture. The adroit promotion of the local culture (Confucianism) by the British not only easily acquired cultural legitimacy, winning the hearts and minds of the Hong Kong Chinese; it also gained moral legitimacy for political sovereignty by providing a moral basis for politics in the name of promoting Confucian ethics and virtues. The colonial government was successful in launching such a cultural policy whereby "the selection of culture is deemed as socially legitimate" (Giroux, 1981a:94) and "certain ideas become dominant and are sustained, not through a simple imposition or through coercion and manipulation, but through the construction and winning of consent" (Whitty, 1981: 57). In addition, Chinese culture's emphasis on the family unit rather than on the individual and on harmony as the highest good, seems to curtail individual aggressiveness (DeVos, 1976: 100). In the Chinese Language curriculum, "filial piety" is much emphasized in the lower forms. "Filial piety" is taught so early because it is the basis on which political authority is built. If students are encouraged to develop the virtue of filial piety, they will not dare to challenge authority and will become colonized easily. In Chinese society, subjects tend to respect the government because they treat government officials, by extension, as their parents. Out of filial piety, a good son will never fail to obey his parents. Similarly, a citizen will not offend his government. Consequently, nurturing filial piety is the best way to consolidate one's rule (Tu, 1993: 25).

5.5 Patterns of Preadult Political Learning

The first important work in investigating individual political outlooks was Herbert H. Hyman's *Political Socialization : A Study in the Psychology of Political Behaviour* (Hyman, 1959). He pointed out that the preadult experiences of an individual are the antecedents for

adult political behaviour. Hence, the notion that political learning has its origins in early life and that what happens during childhood is vital for shaping the political outlooks of later life have been major premises in the analysis of political socialization (Hyman, 1959: 25-26). Perhaps many would agree that the childhood / preadult years are recognized as critical for the development of individual personality, social attitudes, and cultural values. Both Plato and Rousseau, in their concerns for producing good citizens, paid attention to what the child experienced during the early years (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 49). Thus, in many respects the preadult years are those when the most significant political learning takes place. By the same token, the experiences gained in secondary school studies will also have profound impact on students in their adult life. Since the school subject of Chinese Language is a value-laden subject, students will be consciously or unconsciously influenced by the values that embedded in the texts.

Three different types of social and personal development have been identified in relation to preadult political learning.

1. Psychodynamic Theories

According to Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 69), this approach to individual development has been influenced by Freudian psychoanalytic conceptualization. The emphasis is upon stages of maturation that are internal to the individual. Experiences during infancy and very early childhood are crucial in shaping the needs and personality dynamics of the individual. The earliest experiences are depicted as very intense. They leave a deep imprint upon the developing personality. In both conscious and unconscious ways, maternal response to early internal needs determine how the child and later the adult will respond to objective events and other stimuli. From this perspective, the individual adopts outlooks toward the political world as a means of satisfying one's own personal needs and personality dynamics. This approach has been proposed to explain the indiscriminately positive outlooks young children have toward political authorities.

In this psychodynamic type of theory, there are two different hypotheses in relation to the positive orientation toward political authorities (Greenstein, 1965: 46-52; Easton and Hess,

1962: 233-236). Firstly, it is suggested that the positive orientations toward the president and other authority figures result from the transference of feelings developed toward the father on to other authority figures. On the basis of early, immediate and personal relationships with one's father, the child develops positive and benevolent feelings toward him. Secondly, the explanation of this positive orientation is the "vulnerability hypothesis". This hypothesis suggests that when confronted with the awesome powers of the presidency the young child feels quite vulnerable. As a means of dealing with the anxieties created by this vulnerability, one comes to believe that the president will use that power in a helpful and protective way. In both of these interpretations the particular orientations toward the president are motivated by personal relationships and needs (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 69-70).

2. Social-Learning Theories

Social-learning theory stresses the stimuli the individual receives from one's environment and the reinforcement for particular outlooks provided in that environment. The messages the individual receives from the environment are the crucial factors in determining the outlooks the individual will adopt. With regard to the development of a positive outlook toward authority among young children, the social-learning model places emphasis on the messages the young child receives from parents, teachers as well as the media concerning authority figures. The young child may develop a positive-benevolent outlook toward the police owing to his teachers, parents and the children's books stressing the helpfulness given by the police. The same messages may be conveyed to the young child with respect to other authority figures. Similarly, young children would obey the law and government as they would help them get along with others in peace and harmony and provide them with things they cannot take care of on their own (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 70).

3. Cognitive-Developmental Theories

The cognitive-developmental model emphasizes the interaction between the environment and the developing capacity of the individual to deal with the environment. According to Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 71), how the maturing individual responds and understands the things one experiences in the environment depends in large measure on the development of

one's basic thinking capacity. The cognitive capacity of the individual develops through a series of different stages. The ways in which the individual experiences, categorizes, and relates to objects in the environment change as one moves from infancy, to early childhood, to late childhood and adolescence. Different cognitive capacities are closely related to age sequences, though not rigidly. Older children whose cognitive capacity is further advanced are in a position to understand and think about politics in a manner quite different from younger children.

Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 71-72) points out that each of the above approaches offers something to an understanding of early political outlooks. The early idealization and personalization of authority may result from the consistent impact of each of these factors. The psychological needs of the young child, one's particular capacity to deal with political ideas and relationships, and the messages one receives about the political world may all work together to the same end -- an indiscriminately positive, benevolent, and highly personalized perspective. Generally speaking, the approaches of preadult political learning implemented in the Chinese Language curriculum by the colonial government can partly be explained by psychodynamic and social-learning theories. In the whole Chinese Language curriculum, the rulers were mostly portrayed as benevolent governors who were very much concerned for the livelihood of the people and accepted advice of officers who advocated a policy of benevolence towards the people. These ruling authorities intended to create a good impression on the colonized Hong Kong people. They aimed to minimize the resistance of Hong Kong people towards the existing colonial government. In fact, under the British colonial rule, Hong Kong not only had rapid economic development, the society was also in a stable condition. Most people living in Hong Kong were satisfied with such an environment. Hong Kong's public administration, was consistent with the traditional Chinese ideals of good government though it was largely a Chinese society increasingly subject to Western influence. Studying Chinese texts with components like "ruling the country in an orderly manner", readers might develop a feeling of satisfaction towards the British colonial government. Furthermore, the component of "respect for the ruler" (4

counts in the 1978 syllabus) also promoted a good image of the colonial government by fostering students to respect the contemporary ruler.

5.6   Forms of Political Socialization

Dawson and Prewitt (1977) identifies two general forms of political socialization: the direct and indirect forms of political socialization.

5.6.1   Direct Political Socialization

Direct political socialization refers to processes in which the content of orientations transmitted is explicitly political.   The individual learns explicitly about the structure of one's government, the virtue of a particular party, or the superiority of one's nation over all others. No intermediary general predisposition is involved in direct political socialization.   Direct mode of political socialization refers to experiences in which learning is explicitly political in nature.   According to Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 105), four forms of direct political learning can be identified, namely, *imitation, anticipatory socialization, political education* and *political experiences.*

1.   Imitation

Imitative learning is applicable to a wide array of values, behaviours, skills, expectations, and attitudes. The most basic skills the individual acquires are acquired by the child in large part by imitating what he or she sees and hears. Imitative learning may be a conscious, deliberate effort, or it may involve unconscious copying of values and behavioural patterns from others. Children may consciously or not consciously pick up an important part of social, cultural, and religious preferences from adults by taking parental values and adopting them as their own (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 106).

2.   Anticipatory Socialization

Sociologist Robert Merton (1971: 65) identifies the anticipatory socialization mode of learning.   He believes that people who hope for professional jobs or high social positions

frequently begin to take on the values and behaviour associated with those roles long before they actually occupy them. This is most clearly seen in professional schools. Law students and medical students, for instance, begin to think and act like lawyers and doctors.

According to Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 108), this type of socialization is less obvious in the analysis of political learning, though it undoubtedly occurs. Student activists often begin to prepare themselves for elective office before they are old enough to vote. In anticipation of holding a position of political power in the future, they begin to take on mannerisms and styles they considered appropriate for the politician. The role of "good citizen" may be so well-defined by parents and teachers that the child can anticipate and prepare oneself for it. If good citizens are supposed to be knowledgeable about public affairs, the child may begin to read the newspaper or to choose the weekly news reader at school.

3. Political Education

Political education is defined as a direct, deliberate attempt to transmit political orientations. Instruction in politics is carried on by the family, the schools, political or governmental agencies, and innumerable groups and organizations. The main difference between this form of political socialization and imitation and anticipatory socialization is that the initiative in political education is taken by the socializer rather than the individual being socialized.

The school system consciously stresses informed participation as the basis of good citizenship, orders weekly readers for the students, and puts aside time in class for the students to read the papers and discuss public affairs, rewarding them with grades for their active participation. Dawson et al. further point out that most societies have both formal and informal channels for the direct teaching of socially valued political attitudes and behaviour. He proclaims that "system maintenance is a high priority of any political system" (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 109).

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According to Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 109-110), the significance of implementing political education is apparent. Firstly, they suggest that citizens need some minimal information about political duties and rights to operate in the political arena. Obeying laws, especially those concerned with paying taxes, protection of property, and concern for the rights of others, is critical if governments are to operate effectively. Hence, a society will establish some means of educating new citizens in their political duties and responsibility, at least at a minimum level. Along with this minimal political education, most societies make available to their citizens extensive information about their government and how it works. In addition, and even more importantly, the society will encourage and provide methods of political education to teach loyalty, patriotism, and support for the political institutions. For instance, most formal schooling includes in the curriculum a full ritual life -- pledging allegiance, saluting the national flag, commemorating national heroes, celebrating national holidays -- which is intended to bind the child effectively to the nation. Generally speaking, most societies launch both formal and informal channels for the direct teaching of socially valued political attitudes and behaviour.

In most schools of Hong Kong, political education, in terms of nationalistic and democratic education, was basically absent. Instead, the dominant orientation of civic education programmes in schools was the mode of "citizenship transmission", which mainly concerned with developing moral virtues of good citizens and promoting co-operative relationships with the government, rather than a more reflective and critical approach to political literacy (Tse, 1999).

4. Political Experiences

Compared with "Political Education", in the case of "Political Experiences", the final type of direct political socialization, the emphasis is more on the person being socialized rather than the socializer. Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 110) cites an example of children who have dressed up in Indian costumes and pilgrim hats to dance around to music, in anticipation of sharing in a Thanksgiving feast; they are being politically educated -- through a

participatory experience. Many important political socialization experiences take place in such pre-political and extra-political settings. The question of to what extent the desired values and goals of the socializer have succeeded may depend to a great extent on the success of the experience for the individuals involved. This emphasis on individual perception is to suggest once more the notion of the individual as an active participant in the socialization process.

With regard to the importance of political participation, Alexis de Tocqueville (1960: 322) states that the concept that much of what a person comes to believe and know about politics follows from one's observations of and experiences in the political process that has become part of the political culture. He observed that participation in making political decisions in itself produces a sense of political responsibility. If an individual feels one can participate in directing one's social and political destiny, one is more likely to adopt a pragmatic approach to politics. Hence, the observation of and involvement in the political process can substantially shape political orientations.

5.6.2 Indirect Political Socialization

Indirect political socialization involves the initial acquisition of predispositions that are not in themselves political but that influence the subsequent development of specifically political outlooks. Non-political orientations are acquired first. They are later directed toward political objects to form political orientations. This form of political learning may be illustrated by a particular formulation of the way individuals acquire outlooks toward political authority. This formulation suggests that the child, as a result of one's relationship with parents, siblings, teachers, and other close "non-political" authorities, develops certain expectations regarding persons in positions of authority. From these personal experiences one develops a particular self-image regarding how one should relate to those in authority positions. In this manner, the child acquires a general disposition towards authority: not only particular authorities, but also authority in general. Later as one becomes aware of political authorities, this general predisposition towards authority is directed toward the more

particular political authorities.

Indirect political learning is a two-step process. First, a general predisposition is formed. At a later point that general predisposition is transferred to particular political objects. The key to understanding just what form the specifically political orientation will take is in knowing something about the individual's general predispositions and which ones will be brought to bear on a particular political object. For instance, if an individual learns not to trust other people; one comes to mistrust political leaders.

Three types of indirect political socialization are identified, namely the *interpersonal transference, apprenticeship and generalization.*

1. Interpersonal Transference

Hess and Torney (1967: 20) state that the assumptions of indirect political learning of interpersonal transference are that the child approaches explicit political socialization already possessing a fund of experience in interpersonal relationships and gratifications. By virtue of one's experience as a child in the family and as a pupil in the school, one has developed multifaceted relationships to figures of authority. In subsequent relationships with figures of authority, one will establish modes of interaction which are similar to those one has experienced with persons in one's early life. The Interpersonal Transfer Model is primarily useful for explaining affective feelings and relationships with political personages. A child begins to consider a question and express an opinion on a topic about which one obviously has little information by finding similarities and relating the unfamiliar to objects and persons with which one is familiar. Hess and Torney (1967: 21-22) further point out that the Interpersonal Transfer Model is most useful for understanding the child's first approach to the political system and its potency during this period of needs and previously derived expectations.

With regard to the mechanism of interpersonal transference, Easton and Hess (1962: 242) describe it in the following way:

The authority figures with which they (children) have earliest and most intimate contact are of course their parents, and it is this image of authority that they subsequently seem to transfer to political figures that cross their vision. The child not only learns to respect and admire political authorities, but with regard to many characteristics sees them as parents writ large.

Concerning this form of indirect political socialization, Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 97-99) suggest that the interpersonal transference is very close to the theory of psychocultural heritage which attempts to explain culture by analyzing the configuration of its personality types. In explaining the development of these personality traits, Dawson et al. focused on the cultural context and the socialization experiences that gave rise to them. The major emphasis was on the experiences of the very young child within the family context. Close fits were often discovered between the child-rearing practices used in a society and the personality traits or cultural patterns of adults (Merton, 1971: 67). The basic structure of individual personality was presumed to be formed during the first few years. Subsequent individual development was determined by these early dispositions. Explicit political orientations and other types of specific social attitudes and values are viewed as projections or generalizations from the basic personality traits acquired early in life. The early development of personality attributes, such as self-esteem, ego-strength, authoritarianism, and need for power are seen as related to the acquisition of political attitudes in later life. The interpersonal transference method has been applied primarily to explain the development of orientations toward authority. The question of how the child will perceive political authorities is presumed to be rooted in one's earliest contact with more immediate nonpolitical authorities, especially his parents. When the child becomes aware of the political world and authority figures in it, one transfers the feelings one has developed with respect to earlier and more personal authorities on to the more distant political figures (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 97-99).

The "filial principle" of Confucianism bears much similarity with the mechanism of the "interpersonal transference". Confucian doctrine takes "family" as the most fundamental unit in human society and other social institutions are merely projection or even replication of

familial structure and relationship (Tsang, 1994b). Furthermore, the filial principle extends to all important family and social ties. Of the "Five Cardinal Human Relationships", three are within the family, and the other two are based upon specific family models. One of these, the relationship between ruler and subject, has special importance for us. It was conceived as an extension of the relationship between parent and child. From the way in which one serves one's father, one learns how to serve one's ruler. The respect shown to them is the same (Lifton, 1961: 362).

According to Confucianism, the family is the best institution for the training of individual character, virtue and wisdom. Family virtues may be transformed into political virtues. For instance, filial piety toward parents may be transformed into loyalty to the sovereign; and fraternal duty to the elder brother may be transformed into kindness to fellow-citizens (*The Analects*, Book II, chapter xx). To rightfully fulfil duties as a member of the family is to teach one how to rightfully fulfil the duties of citizenship. To know how to govern a family well is to know how to govern a state (*The Great Learning*, Commentaries, chapter ix).

2. Apprenticeship

Another mode of indirect learning is apprenticeship. According to Dawson and Prewitt (1977: 100), this mode is closely related to the interpersonal transference mode. Apprenticeship entails transferring developmental experiences from the nonpolitical to the political world. Interpersonal transference involves the direct transference of explicit predispositions acquired through experiences with nonpolitical role models, whereas apprenticeship learning occurs as the individual acquires skills and values used in a specifically political context. Nonpolitical activities are viewed as practice or apprenticeship for political activities. From various nonpolitical experiences the individual acquires skills and insights one uses to find one's way in the political world.

On the other hand, the concept of apprenticeship learning can also be applied to the analysis of participation and authority. Almond and Verba (1972: 327-328) consider school

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and work experience as nonpolitical settings in which apprenticeship learning takes place. They retain the ideas of indirect political learning and the analogy from nonpolitical to political situations. Including the school and work setting in addition to the family, the age of indirect learning experiences is expanded to include late childhood and adolescence (school) and adulthood (work). Furthermore, Almond and Verba give the following description for explaining the expansion of the notion of indirect political socialization to include training for political roles/apprenticeship:

> ... the role that an individual plays within the family, the school, or the job may be considered training for the performance of political roles ... Participation in nonpolitical decision making may give one the skills needed to engage in political participation: the skills of self-expression and a sense of effective political tactics.

The above description suggests that indirect political socialization is not arrested in childhood but continues throughout life. In addition, indirect political learning is not restricted to transference of expectations from nonpolitical role models to political persons. It includes also the acquisition of skills, habits, behaviours, and practices appropriate for political activities.

3. Generalization

Almond and Verba (1972: 421-422) suggests that in many instances, social values are extended toward specially political objects. An individual's political self is embedded in one's entire belief system; hence, the basic belief and value patterns of a culture -- those general values that have no reference to specific political objects -- usually play a major role in the structuring of political culture.

5.7 Conclusion

The above sections demonstrate different types of direct and indirect forms of political learning. However, these modes of political learning are not mutually exclusive. During the overall process for people acquiring their political orientations, each of these modes for acquiring political orientations is likely to have its own role. A variety of learning techniques

may even contribute to the acquisition of a particular type of political outlook (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 112-113). Dawson further suggests that the benevolent orientations toward authorities among young children, may be influenced by interpersonal transference, political education or indoctrination, and imitation -- all at the same time. Direct political socialization is probably most applicable to the acquisition of political information and knowledge and to the formation of political identification. Indirect political socialization seems more relevant to the development of the more general ways in which the individual relates himself to the political world. One's general predispositions toward authorities, his tendency to trust or not trust political leaders, his feeling of competence to understand and influence the political world may often involve the relating of general personal needs and predispositions to the political world.

5.7.1 Indirect/Direct Learning and Intentional/Unintentional Socialization

On the other hand, the notions of indirect and direct learning should not be confused with the distinction between intentional and unintentional socialization. Direct political socialization may be intentional and overt, as when the teacher urges pupils to be good citizens and to abide by the laws. Or direct learning may be unintentional as when the child picks up a fear of the police as a result of overhearing older siblings recount how they were beaten by a policeman. Indirect socialization may be intentional, as when the child is told that a "good boy" is one who obeys what he is told by adults; or unintentional, as when the child learns the necessity of rules by participating in neighbourhood sports. The critical distinction between indirect and direct modes of learning is not the overt intent of the socialization agent, but whether or not the initial socialization experience is infused with specific political content (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977: 96).

5.7.2 The Effectiveness of Political Socialization

Undoubtedly, political experiences provide a significant learning tool for political socialization. However, political experiences may cause the participants to feel frustration, hostility, and alienation toward the political process and the people involved in making

authoritarian decisions. Therefore, involvement may or may not have positive personal benefits for the participant and may or may not have beneficial consequences for broader societal concerns. Therefore, Stacy (1978: 3) suggests that study of socialization should also take into account those people in society who are socialized to reject the conventional norms, values and behaviour and contribute to radical changes.

Moreover, some empirical research casts doubt on the effects of schooling in nurturing students' political attitudes. Langton and Jennings (1969) doubted the effectiveness of schooling in shaping students' political beliefs as they found that there were very weak correlations between attendance in American high school civic education courses and a number of political attitudes. Other empirical studies also questioned the effects of the curriculum, teachers, extracurricular activities, and even the general secondary school experiences on students' political orientations, views, values, attitudes and behaviours (Beck, 1977; Ehman, 1980; Merelman, 1986; Rosenberg, 1985).

In addition, a study in the Philippines revealed that the attachment towards the nation of primary school students was not strong as the schools failed to accomplish their mission of creating patriotic students (Canieso-Doronila, 1989). In contrast, Dougherty et al. (1992) found that the so-called differences in the meaning of national identity among English and Argentine secondary school students were attributed to cultural differences rather than to the direct effect of schooling, and had nothing to do with political socialization in the school.

Concerning the reasons for the ineffectiveness of schooling in developing proper political attitudes in students, some scholars (Langton and Jennings, 1969; Beck, 1997; Fairbrother, 2002) suggested that the structures and actors in the schools are to be blamed as the political messages of the school are duplicating those that students have already heard in earlier stages of schooling or outside the school. Consequently, new information and political messages tend to have a diminishing impact. Besides this, teachers are unable to teach the curriculum as intended because of insufficient resources, and teachers find themselves under too much pressure, and without adequate guidance, to teach effectively (Weatherley and Lipsky, 1977; Fairbrother, 2002). On the other hand, as teachers do have a degree of

autonomy and choice in carrying out tasks, they may teach political attitudes in their own ways but may not be as effective as expected (Morris, 1995).

Furthermore, students themselves may fail to grasp political messages. As Hess and Torney (1967) explain, the cognitive development model of political socialization posits that children must have reached an appropriate development level in order to understand certain political concepts. The teaching from the schools may not fit the capability of the students. Differences among students (in terms of mental capacity or intelligence) have limiting effects on political socialization efforts. Apart from the factor of intelligence, different students may receive political messages differently as they have varying levels of interest in the subject matter. Civic and political education may not be effective as it may cause boredom among students, who may then ignore the intended lesson (Dawson and Prewitt, 1977; Fairbrother, 2002).

5.7.3 The Present Study: the Case of Hong Kong

The stability and effectiveness of British colonial rule in Hong Kong relied not on coercion or force, but on making use of the local culture to further raise its political popularity and legitimacy. This thesis will argue that the brilliance of the British was shown in its employing of local Chinese culture as an implicit tool of political socialization to achieve its unrecognized political ends. Such tactics not only allowed the British to gain cultural legitimacy and make a favourable impression on the Hong Kong Chinese; it also helped the British to consolidate their colonial rule without provoking anti-British sentiments.

In sum, the thesis argues that in implementing political socialization in the Chinese Language curriculum, the colonial government used indirect approaches. Great emphasis was placed on moral cultivation, which mainly concerns good conduct and desirable behaviour of an individual by using tactics of "internal control". The colonial government also promoted politically related values, advocated a life philosophy of withdrawal from politics, and contrasted images of China (backward) with Britain (advanced). According to the political philosophy of Confucianism, promoting loyalty towards one's ruler is explicitly related to political socialization; however, moral cultivation plays an even more significant

role in the process of political socialization, though rather implicitly, in contributing to social harmony and political stability. One begins from moral cultivation, and then extends one's qualities to participation in politics as well as governance of the country. Confucianism indeed is a subtle way of implementing political socialization. In chapter 9 "Discussion and Analysis", there will be a detailed illustration of how the colonial government implemented political socialization through the Chinese Language curriculum to achieve social harmony and political stability naturally without involving force in Hong Kong.

Chapter 6 Research Method and Design

6.1 Introduction

The secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong from the 1960s to the 1990s consisted of four syllabi, namely the syllabi of 1961, 1971, 1978 and 1990. For each syllabus, required/compulsory texts were assigned for each level of Secondary One to Five. The content of each syllabus will be analyzed to reveal what values, themes or messages the colonial government promoted through the Chinese texts.

This chapter contains a description of the methods and procedures employed to collect and analyze data in the present study. The methodology used in this study consists of content analysis, interview and documentary analysis so as to collect both primary and secondary sources of data. More than one method was used to collect data to answer the same question in most cases as relying on a single method may yield limited or even misleading data and may distort the researcher's interpretation. The multiple methods approach enables the researcher to collect data from wider sources relevant to different aspects of the research. These different research methods are also used as a triangulation to cross-check the data to ensure greater reliability.

In view of the limitations of historical study, McCulloch and Richardson (2000:119) suggest "combining different kinds of source or method to help understand historical problems". They further point out how different methods can be employed to complement each other: "interviews with current or retired teachers or policy makers can, in combination with documentary evidence, shed interesting light on change in education over the longer term".

This study employs content analysis as the major methodology to examine the major themes and minor themes of the texts of Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong under British colonization. In addition, data will be collected from interview and documentary analysis. In this chapter, a general review of the definition, function and procedure of content analysis will be introduced, and then the selection of the sample, category construction and discussion of reliability and validity will be presented. Furthermore, the

strengths and weaknesses of interview and documentary analysis will be discussed.

6.2 Identification of Research Problems

In order to explore the relationships between the development of Chinese Language curriculum and the British colonial rule in Hong Kong, the following specific questions will be examined:

1. What were the relationships between the promotion of the Chinese local culture and British colonial rule in Hong Kong? (This was discussed in Chapter 2, and we return to it in Chapters 7 and 9)

2. How does the literature analyzing the interrelationship of knowledge, power and the curriculum help to understand the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under colonial rule? (This was covered in Chapters 3 and 4)

3. How does the literature on political socialization help to understand the colonial government's reasons for promoting Confucian values in the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong? (This was covered in Chapter 5 and we return to it in Chapter 7)

4. What were the values, themes or messages conveyed in the secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong from the 1960s to the 1990s? (This is covered in Chapter 8)

5. What were the characteristics of each syllabus (1961, 1971, 1978, 1990)? (This is covered in Chapter 8)

6. Why did the colonial government select the values in these Chinese texts for study in secondary schools of Hong Kong? (This was discussed in Chapter 2, and we return to it in Chapters 7 and 9)

6.3 Content Analysis as a Research Methodology

Content analysis as a research methodology was first introduced in the early 1920s to study mass media, especially the written information in newspapers and magazines. As Zito (1975: 27) puts it:

> Content analysis may be defined as a methodology by which the researcher seeks to determine the manifest content of written, spoken, or

published communication by *systematic, objective,* and *quantitative* analysis. It is, then, a quantitative method applicable to what has traditionally been called qualitative material -- written language. Since any written communication (and this includes novels, letters, suicide notes, magazines, and newspaper accounts) is produced by a communicator, the *intention of the communicator* may be the object of our research.

Content analysis is now widely employed to study the content of communication in social sciences and humanities subjects (Yeung, 1989). As Ferman and Levin (1975: 50) point out, content analysis is a useful device for understanding written communication. It is an unobtrusive method, a nonreactive alternative for data collection that does not require conscious subject participation, as this approach focuses on what communication has been produced and asks questions about the communication. Since the school curriculum and texts are formal written means in the communication between knowledge and the students, what texts present is likely to be the knowledge passed to students. Consequently, the realization of the official curriculum intentions through texts depends on its content. The method of content analysis therefore serves as a useful research tool in this study to investigate the themes and values that are transmitted to students.

6.3.1 Definitions of Content Analysis

The definition of content analysis has changed over time, from a more restrictive definition to a broader one. The classic and much quoted definition of content analysis comes from Berelson's (1952:18) *Content Analysis in Communication Research.* Berelson alleges that "content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication". Berelson stresses that the manifest content is analyzed and described in a quantitative way.

Wright's (1986: 125-126) *Mass Communication: A Sociological Perspective* adds a qualitative dimension to content analysis:

> Content analysis may involve quantitative or qualitative analysis, or both. Technical objectivity requires that the categories of classification and analysis be clearly and operationally defined so that other researchers can follow them reliably. For example, analysis of the social class

memberships of television characters requires clear specification of the criteria by which class is identified and classified, so that independent coders are likely to agree on how to classify a character ... It is important to remember, however, that content analysis itself provides no direct data about the nature of the communicator, audience, or effects. Therefore, great caution must be exercised whenever this technique is used for any purpose other than the classification, description and analysis of the manifest content of the communication.

Holsti (1969: 2) suggests that latent content and the implicit messages as well as qualitative analysis could also be included in the method of content analysis; the greatest insight is gained by moving between these approaches with each one supplementing the others. Hence, it is a multi-purpose research method developed specifically for investigating any problem in which the content of communication serves as the basis of inference. Content analysis is a research method which deals with texts, and converts the recorded raw phenomena into data to build up a body of knowledge in a scientific manner (Holsti, 1969: 2-3).

Moreover, Krippendorff (1980:21) regards content analysis as a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context. Hicks, Rush and Strong (1985) define content analysis as a procedure for identifying those attributes of a message which have the greatest likelihood of leading to an accurate inference of the intention of the message source. Bernard (1988) defines content analysis as a catch-all term covering a variety of techniques for making inferences from texts. The texts could be fiction, nonfiction, recorded folklore, newspaper editorials, advertisements or songs.

The issues of quantitative-qualitative dichotomy -- i.e. whether content analysis should be based on exact limits of frequency, and manifest-latent dichotomy -- i.e. whether content analysis should be based on appearance and non-appearance of attributes in messages -- have been debated.

Ou (1993: 230) after reviewing the scholarly literature on content analysis, views content analysis from a comprehensive perspective:

Content analysis is a research method employing both quantitative

and qualitative techniques to examine the content of communication in an objective and systematic way, so that both the implicit and explicit message could be derived from the text.

Ou further points out that quantitative and qualitative analysis are supplementary to each other in content analysis and they can both be applied in a single piece of research. Concerning this, Ou (1993: 233) gives the following suggestions:

1. Quantitative study is suitable for examining manifest content, whereas qualitative study is suitable for examining latent content;

2. Qualitative study can be used in a small or incomplete sample; quantitative study classifies the text into categories and it mainly deals with frequency counting, hence the size of sample should be large;

3. Quantitative study stresses the objective and systematic classification through well-defined categories, whereas qualitative study is more flexible, but subjective.

A more recent definition of content analysis sees it as a technique that enables researchers to study human behaviour in an indirect way, through an analysis of their communications. Textbooks, essays, newspapers, novels, political speeches, pictures -- in fact, the contents of virtually any type of communication can be analyzed. A person's or group's conscious and unconscious beliefs, attitudes, values, and ideas are often revealed in their communications (Albers, 2003: 268).

Based on different definitions of content analysis, several typical characteristics of content analysis can be generalized as follows:

Firstly, content analysis is objective -- "Content analysis is a research technique for the objective, systematic, and quantitative description of the manifest content of communication" (Berelson, 1952:18). With regard to the above definition, the researcher's personal idiosyncrasies and biases should not be injected into the findings. If replicated by another researcher, the analysis should yield the same results (Wilkinson, 2003: 72).

Secondly, content analysis is systematic -- "Content analysis is a systematic technique for analyzing message content and message handling -- a tool for observing and analyzing

the overt communication behaviour of the selected communicator" (Budd, Thorp and Donohew, 1967: 2). "Content analysis is a systematic procedure devised to examine the content of recorded information" (Wilkinson, 2003: 73). "Content analysis ... focused specifically on messages in a systematic, rule-governed rigorous way" (Sommer, 2002: 178).

According to the above definitions, the content to be analyzed is selected according to explicit and consistently applied rules. Sample selection has to follow proper procedures, and each item must have an equal chance of being included in the analysis.

Thirdly, content analysis involves both quantitative and qualitative methods. As far as "quantitative" or "qualitative" analysis is concerned, some researchers regard content analysis as a qualitative method. Berelson (1952: 126) emphasizes the qualitative nature for the "totality of impression, and not the atomistic combination of measurable units". Holsti (1969) suggests that both must be used to supplement each other and that the greatest insight is gained by moving between these approaches. Goetz and Le Compte (1984) view content analysis as a methodology used by ethnographers or qualitative researchers to analyze data. Howard (1985: 222) places the methodology of content analysis in the section of "Qualitative Methodology" in his book of research methods in spite of stating that "content is usually analyzed in some systematic and quantifiable way". Besides, according to Patten (1987, 1990), content analysis is the process of identifying, coding, and categorizing the primary patterns in the data. It is used by qualitative researchers to analyze the content of interviews and observations.

In sum, content analysis is typically called a "quantitative" methodology because it involves counting and summing phenomena. However, it can be used to support studies of a more "qualitative" nature (Stokes, 2003: 56). Content analysis is considered by one of its leading exponents, Krippendorff (1980), to be primarily a symbolic method because it is used to investigate symbolic material (media texts). Therefore, content analysis can be operated "quantitatively" and "qualitatively" (Fox and Hess, 1972: 34). Weber (1990) even argues that the best content analytic studies utilize both qualitative and quantitative operations on texts.

The content analysis methodology used in the present study consists of a mixture of qualitative and quantitative procedures. The procedures to classify the profile of values and attitudes into specific categories represent the qualitative aspects this study. The counting of occurrences in each category and the statistical analysis of the data constitute the quantitative aspects of this study.

Lastly, content analysis can serve many purposes, including the following:

1. Reflect attitudes, interests and values (cultural patterns) of groups, institutions or societies.

2. Describe trends in communication content.

3. Identify the intentions and other characteristics of the communicator.

4. Disclose international differences in communication content.

5. Code open-ended questions in surveys (Berelson, 1952: 29-108).

On the other hand, Buddenbaum and Novak (2001: 194) point out that content analysis has other functions in applied research:

1. Advocacy agencies use content analysis to monitor media portrayals of issues and groups and then use that information to promote their interests.

2. Legislators at all levels of government use their own content analyses and those conducted by others to set policy and justify new laws.

3. Media organizations use content analyses to refute charges of bias, identify lapses in coverage, improve representativeness, and make other adjustments in news coverage or program content.

4. Journalists use content analysis to report on societal trends and to examine the performance over time of businesses and government agencies.

5. In advertising and marketing, content analysis is frequently used to monitor competitors' strategies and to detect changes in advertising practices over time.

6. Businesses and nonprofit organizations use content analysis to evaluate the work

of their public relations and public information staff by examining the way media outlets use news releases and other information from their organizations. They also use it as an audit tool to evaluate their public image or monitor the environment.

Content analysis is the basis for historical and legal research. By studying records from the past, an organization facing problems can often determine what went wrong and what might or might not work to remedy the situation. By examining the legislative record and court decisions, an organization faced with a lawsuit or considering whether to file one of its own can decide how to proceed.

As the present study investigates the themes and values embedded in the Chinese Language texts, the methodology of content analysis thus appears to be an appropriate approach for this study.

6.3.2 Advantages of Using Content Analysis as a Research Method

A major advantage of content analysis is that it is a non-reactive and an unobtrusive research technique. Compared with other research techniques such as interviews, content analysis usually yields unobtrusive measures (Weber, 1990), and hence the results are more reliable. A researcher can "observe" without being observed, since the content being analyzed is not influenced by the researcher's presence. Information that might be difficult, or even impossible, to obtain through direct observation or other means can be gained unobtrusively through analysis of textbooks and other communications, without the author or publisher being aware that it is being examined (Domhoff, 2003: 98).

As mentioned earlier, content analysis is a research method with quantitative characteristics; researchers are enabled to summarize results and to report them with greater parsimony (Fishman, 2003: 129). Another advantage of content analysis is that the researcher can delve into records and documents to get some feel for the social life of an earlier time. He or she is not limited by time and space to the study of present events (Anastas, 1999: 413).

Moreover, content analysis accepts unstructured material. There is considerable virtue in

structuring a situation so that data is changed into analyzable forms. Also, content analysis can cope with large volumn of data (Krippendorff, 1980: 31).

Furthermore, the logistics of content analysis are often relatively simple and economical -- with regard to both time and resources -- as compared to other research methods (Stokes, 2003: 59). Generally, materials necessary for conducting content analysis are easily and inexpensively accessible (Berg, 1989: 125). This is particularly true if the information is readily accessible, as in newspapers, reports, books, periodicals, and the like. In addition, as the data are readily available and almost always can be returned to if necessary or desired, content analysis permits replication of a study by other researchers (Domhoff, 2003: 96).

Lastly, Berger (2000: 182) argues that "What is most important, however, as far as our interest in quantitative research methods is concerned, is that the data you collect from your content analysis can be expressed in numbers. These numbers provide detailed information that can be interpreted to gain insights into the mind-set of those who created the texts."

6.3.3 Difficulties Encountered in Using Content Analysis

Like any research method, researchers have to face certain problems when conducting content analysis. The first problem is determining what is a representative sampling of the textual material that one is going to study (Berger, 2000: 182). If the sampling is not representative enough, then the findings will not be convincing. In this study, as the research is on the secondary Chinese language curriculum of Hong Kong under the colonization period, the sample will be all the Chinese language texts selected by the Education Department of the colonial government under that period, i.e. the syllabi from the 1960s to the 1990s. There are 650 compulsory texts in total in the four syllabi (1961, 1971, 1978, 1990) during the period of the 1960s to 1990s in the Hong Kong secondary Chinese Language curriculum. Hence, the difficulty of finding a representative sample does not pose a problem.

Secondly, Berger (2000: 182) argues that determining measurable units will be the other problem. He suggests that with printed text, this is usually done in column inches or square inches or words in newspaper or magazine articles. In this study, the "theme" will be the unit of analysis. Both the major themes and minor themes of the Chinese texts will be the counting

units of this study. A detailed description of data analysis procedures will be presented in the following section.

6.3.4 Key Steps in Conducting Content Analysis

The process of content analysis in this study was broken down into a series of articulated steps. Figure 6.1 demonstrates a roadmap of the kinds of decisions that were considered in the process of mounting the content analysis.

Figure 6.1   Steps in the Process of Developing a Content Analysis

(Adapted from Hansen, et. al., 1998:98-99; Berger, 2000:184; Crano and Brewer, 2002:247)

```
┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│ Define   │   │ Explain  │   │ Explain  │   │ Describe     │
│ research │──▶│ basis for│──▶│ unit of  │──▶│ classification│
│ problem  │   │ selecting│   │ analysis │   │ system or    │
│          │   │ sample   │   │          │   │ analytical   │
└──────────┘   └──────────┘   └──────────┘   │ categories   │
                                             └──────────────┘
                                                    │
                                                    ▼
┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────────┐   ┌──────────────┐
│ Data     │   │ Code     │   │ Check    │   │ Piloting the │   │ Construct a  │
│preparation│◀─│ Materials│◀─│reliability│◀─│ coding system│◀─│ coding system│
│ and      │   │          │   │          │   │ and make     │   │              │
│ analysis │   │          │   │          │   │ necessary    │   │              │
└──────────┘   └──────────┘   └──────────┘   │ adjustments  │   └──────────────┘
                                             └──────────────┘
```
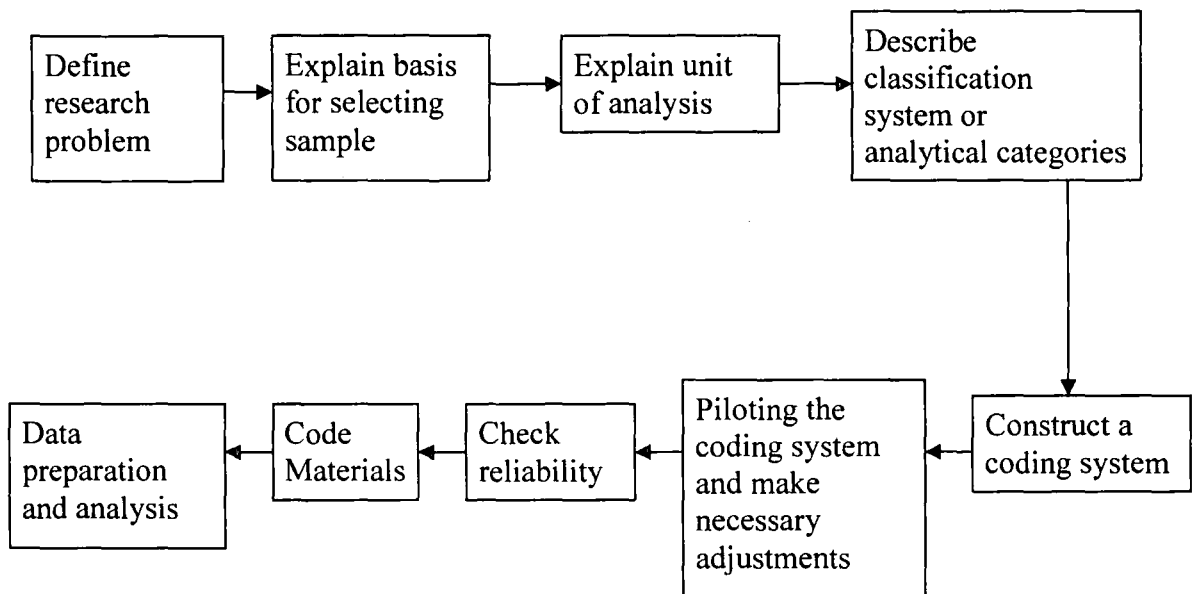
The research problem of the present study concerning the values and themes conveyed in the secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong from the 1960s to the 1990s was going to be explored by the method of content analysis. The following sections will describe the basis for selecting sample, unit of analysis, category construction, pilot studies and data coding.

6.3.4.1   Selection of Sample (Data Base)

This study attempts to explore the values and themes as reflected from the secondary Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong under the British colonial rule. Although Hong Kong had been ruled by the British since 1842, most textbooks used in Hong Kong before the 1950s were imported from China or England. Spurred by political concerns, the Syllabi and

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Textbooks Committee (STC) was set up in 1952 to tighten official supervision of syllabi and textbooks of Hong Kong. The earliest local official Secondary Chinese Language Syllabus was produced in the 1960s. From the 1960s to the return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to the PRC in 1997, four Secondary Chinese Language Syllabi were issued -- the syllabi of 1961, 1971, 1978 and 1990. The following table shows the distribution of Chinese texts in the four syllabi:

Table 6.1   Distribution of Chinese Texts in the Four Syllabi

Year of Syllabus	Number of Texts (Secondary 1-5)
1961	135
1971	182
1978	179
1990	154
Total	650

In total, there are 650 texts in the four syllabi. This study will examine all these 650 texts so as to find out the values and themes embedded in them.

6.3.4.2   Data Analysis Procedures

The objective of content analysis is to "convert recorded 'raw' phenomena into data which can be treated in essentially a scientific manner so that a body of knowledge may be built up" (Cartweight, 1953: 435). To conduct content analysis, the following four technical procedures will be carried out: defining the unit of analysis, constructing categories for analysis, coding data and analyzing the data.

Unit of Analysis

The "unit of analysis" refers to what is actually counted and assigned to categories in content analysis. Weber (1990: 21-23) argues that defining the unit of analysis is a fundamental and important step in analyzing text. No analyses should be done until the basic unit of text to be analyzed is defined. There are six commonly used units of analysis: word, word sense, sentence, theme, paragraph and whole text. In the present study, *theme* will be used as the basic unit of analysis. This study will analyze the *major themes* and *minor themes* of the Chinese texts so as to find out the values embedded in the secondary Chinese Language

curriculum. The major theme is the theme that drives the text. It is the motivation underlying the text, without which the text would lose its integrity. Minor themes are ideas which can stand out independently. Although they support the major theme, they are not indispensable to the integrity of the text.

According to Berelson (1952) and Holsti (1969), *theme* is the most useful unit of content analysis. It is almost indispensable in research on propaganda, values, attitudes, beliefs, and the like (Nachmias, 1987). Large units, which can be grouped into themes, are able to give results as reliably as smaller ones, when done carefully (Allerton, 1979). According to Bailey (1992: 317), the complete elucidation of a theme may take a few words or part of a sentence, or it may require several paragraphs.

Category Construction

Allerton (1979: 36) states that content analysis is a phase of information-processing in which communication content is transformed, through objective and systematic application of categorization rules into data that can be summarized and compared. Berelson (1952:147) suggests that "Content analysis stands or falls by its categories. Particular studies have been productive to the extent that the categories were clearly formulated and well adapted to the problem and to the content". The heart and the criterion for using content analysis is the construction of a category system for classifying the content.

The present study argues that the British colonial government employed the Chinese local culture of Hong Kong (i.e. Confucian values and ethics) as an implicit tool of political socialization to achieve social harmony and political stability. Indeed, the very nature of Confucianism is a ruling tool to restore social order and maintain political harmony by means of an ethical approach. Confucianism is not just a philosophy of ethics and human relationships, it is at the same time a blending of ethics and politics. For the Confucianists, ethics and politics are inseparably conjoined (Pott, 1925: 30). Moral cultivation is the panacea for all social disease as it is the foundation of society. It is the root of a well-balanced individual, a well-ordered family, a well-governed state, and a happy and harmonious world. Confucian moral cultivation is a process of working from within (internal *control) and then*

applying the internal qualities to external human relationships (external control). Confucianism stood for a rationalized social order through an ethical approach, based on personal cultivation. It aimed at achieving political order on the basis of a moral order, and it sought political harmony by trying to achieve moral harmony (Lin, 1938: 6). In fact, the tactics of internal and external control of Confucianism serve political ends for the benefit of the rulers. As Lin (1938: 21-22) points out personal cultivation in Confucian ideology is the basis of a world order:

> Confucianism traced back the ordering of a national life to the regulation of the family life and the regulation of the family life to the cultivation of the personal life. The Chinese preoccupation with moral maxims and platitudes becomes then intelligible, for they are not detached aphorisms, but are part of a well-rounded political philosophy.

The notion "cultivate oneself, manage one's family, administer one's country and bring peace to the world" signifies the Confucian categorization of values at the personal level, interpersonal level, and national level, but all with an ultimate political end. Since based on this understanding of Confucian philosophy, and the previously adopted framework in content analysis of the Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong by Au (1994) and Leung (1996), the following scale of categorization was constructed initially:

Personal Values
Interpersonal Values
Nation-oriented Values

6.3.4.3   Coding the Data

Coding is the placing of a unit of analysis into a content category. The present study analyzes the values of the Chinese texts by using the *theme* as the unit of analysis. Two kinds of themes, namely the *major theme* and the *minor theme* of a text were used.

Thematic analysis is commonly used in studies on values, attitudes, beliefs and propaganda and the like (Holsti, 1969). The methodology of thematic analysis is common in content analysis and it is frequently employed for analyzing the content of textbooks and texts. Themes can provide an important and useful unit in analyzing texts (Kerlinger, 1986). Language possesses a semantic content which is called meaning and is multidimensional in

nature (Albers, 2003). It consists of manifest and latent content. During the coding process, both the manifest and latent content will be coded whenever possible. According to Albers (2003: 270), "the manifest content of a communication refers to the obvious, surface content -- the words, pictures, images, and so on that are directly accessible to the naked eye or ear. No inferences as to underlying meaning are necessary. As for "latent content", Albers defines it as the meaning underlying what is said or shown. In order to raise the reliability of coding, the present researcher had consulted different sources, such as the teacher handbooks of the Chinese texts, asked some experienced Chinese teachers for opinions, and made reference to critiques related to the Chinese texts.

6.3.4.4 Pilot Studies

The First Pilot Study

The first pilot study was conducted by the present researcher, using the above scale. In the first pilot study, five texts were chosen randomly from each grade level of each syllabus. In total, 100 texts were selected for the pilot coding by the present researcher. After examining these 100 texts, a categorization scale with components of values was then constructed (please refer to Appendix I for the initial categorization scale of "personal values", "interpersonal values" and "nation-oriented values"). However, it was found that some content, related to the purely informational, nature/environment and foreign cultures, could not be covered by the above scale. Hence, three more types of values, i.e. **world-oriented values, nature-oriented values and informational values** were added to the initial scale (please refer to Appendix II for the revised categorization scale after the first pilot study of initial coding). As a result, a scale of categorization with 6 categories was constructed. Appendix IV provides specific examples showing how the data were categorized.

The Second Pilot Study

In order to enhance the reliability of the content analysis of the Chinese texts in this study, the reliability coefficients for coding procedures were established by measuring the inter-coder reliability. Apart from the present researcher, four experienced Chinese teachers who have been teaching Chinese Language for more than ten years were invited to code the sample texts. Inter-coder reliability of the present study was measured according to the

following procedures:

1. Two chapters of texts were randomly chosen from each of the 5 grade levels of each of the 4 syllabi, so in total 40 texts would be the sample texts for coding in this pilot study.

2. Before the coders started analyzing the sample texts, a thorough discussion of the analytical framework and the coding criteria was conducted.

3. The present researcher and the other coders worked independently on the sample texts by using the coding sheets.

4. After coding, an item-by-item comparison of the work done by the present researcher and the other coders was conducted (Refinements were made to the initial categorization scale e.g. some components were added to the initial scale, please refer to Appendix III.

5. The inter-coder reliability was calculated (98.61%).

In sum, the data analysis procedures and the categories of values in the present study are summarized in Figure 6.2:

Figure 6.2   Data Analysis Procedures and Categories of Values

Data Base	Methodology	Categories of Values	Interpreting the Data

Secondary Chinese Language Curriculum (4 Syllabi) → Content Analysis (Thematic Analysis) → Personal, Interpersonal, Nation-oriented→, World-oriented, Nature-oriented, Informational → Confucian Values → Discussion and Conclusion
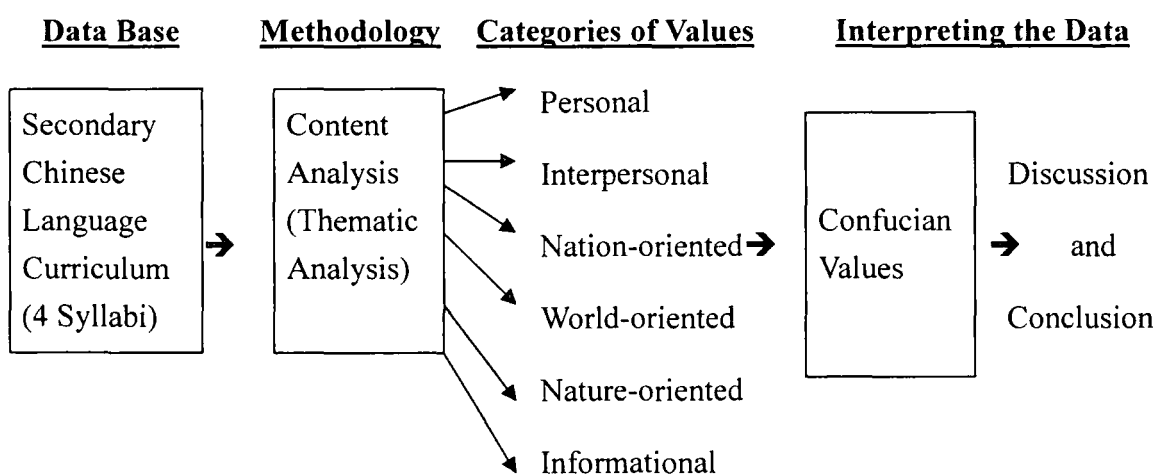
6.4 Reliability and Validity

The discussion of reliability and validity belongs to the topic of data collection (Anastas, 1999: 415). "Reliability is the degree to which the finding is independent of accidental circumstances of the research, and validity is the degree to which the finding is interpreted in the correct way"(Nitko, 2004: 63).

6.4.1 Reliability

According to Nitko (2004: 65), "reliability" refers to the consistency of scores or answers from one administration of an instrument to another, and from one set of items to another. Reliability in content analysis refers to replicability: would another person using

the same materials in pursuit of the same question or issue reach the same conclusions or coding decisions? (Anastas, 1999: 416). Boyatzis (1998: 147) defines reliability as consistency of judgment in observation, labeling, and / or interpretation. He notes that this can be based on "consistency of judgment among different viewers" or coders and / or "consistency of judgment over time, events, and setting". In order to enhance the reliability of the content analysis of the Chinese texts in this study, the reliability coefficients for coding procedures were established by measuring the inter-coder reliability. As mentioned earlier, apart from the present researcher, four experienced Chinese teachers who have been teaching Chinese Language for more than ten years were invited to code the sample texts, so as to find out the inter-coder reliability. The inter-coder reliability between the present researcher and the four experienced Chinese teachers was 98.61% in the second pilot study.

6.4.2 Validity

According to Holsti (1969: 142), "validity" is usually defined as the extent to which an instrument is measuring what it is intended to measure. "Validity" refers to the appropriateness, meaningfulness, correctness and usefulness of the specific inferences researchers make based on the data they collect. Validity depends on the amount and type of evidence that is to support the interpretations researchers wish to make concerning data they have collected Nitko (2004: 67).

Holsti (1969: 142) points out that valid inference depends upon careful planning of the comparisons to be made with content data. In the present study, three methods were employed to collect both the primary and secondary sources of data, they are namely the content analysis of the Chinese texts, documentary analysis and interview. These different research methods were used as a methodological triangulation to cross-check the data to ensure greater validity and reliability.

On the other hand, Holsti (1969: 143) argues that sampling and validity is closely related and, adequate sampling is a necessary condition for validity. Full sampling was used in this study, i.e. all the Chinese texts in all the four syllabi issued by the Education Department of Hong Kong. Hence the sampling here could be regarded as having a high degree of

representation.

As far as the category construction is concerned, the analytical framework employed in the present study was basically the scales used by several researchers in their studies of content analysis of Chinese texts (Au, 1994; Leung, 1996). However, after the two pilot studies (the first pilot study was conducted by the present researcher in constructing the scale of categorization for initial coding; the second pilot study was conducted by the present researcher together with four experienced Chinese Language teachers to compare inter-coder reliability), modifications were made and some new items were added to the initial categories (e.g. three more types of values, namely, world-oriented values, nature-oriented values, informational values and some components such as society-oriented values, "mourning for the death of a friend" and "ruler treating citizens well" were added to the initial scale. For the initial and revised scale of categories, please refer to Appendices I to III). These made the categories more comprehensive, so as to cover all the major themes and minor themes detected from the secondary Chinese texts. The findings from content analysis of the Chinese Language texts will be reported in Chapter 8.

6.5 Interview

Owing to the historical nature of this study, any interviews conducted would produce oral histories. Oral history is particularly important because it "can be used to preserve feelings and attitudes, shedding light on the emotional atmosphere in which decisions were made or actions taken" (Cutler, 1983: 95). The oral interview "puts flesh on the bare bones of written documentation" in helping to reveal tensions and vested interests in the process of policy development. It may serve to convey motives, attitudes and reactions to changes in the political climate as they impinge on educational policies (Hyams, 1997: 93).

Interviewing is a data gathering method for investigating policy implementation. Explanation and exploration are two other purposes of the present endeavour. Certain kinds of information can be obtained from interviews only, for instance, one's feelings, thoughts, intentions and interpretations of the world around them, and past events (Merriam, 1998: 72).

As defined by Rubin (1995:1-2), qualitative interview is "an intentional way of learning

about people's feeling, thoughts and experiences". Researchers guide the interviews, ask the interviewees a limited set of questions and request them to explore the questions in depth. After the interviews, the researchers put the information together and form explanations and theories that are grounded in the details, evidence, and examples of the interviews. Qualitative interviews resemble ordinary conversations in that both are interactive, and the content and flow change to match what the individual interviewee knows and feels. The interviewee can also talk back, clarify and explain his/her points. The researcher can follow up questions from both the verbal and non-verbal cues that indicate emphasis and emotional tone. Qualitative interviews allow us to share the world of others and 'understand experiences and reconstruct events in which we did not participate' (Rubin, 1995:3).

Fowler and Mangione (1990) assert that good interviews are those in which the subjects feel at ease and express their view freely. Thus, comprehensive information can be collected. In this connection, Mak (1996: 40) suggests the importance of explaining the content of the interview and giving an explanation of the reasons for the interview. Respondents can be given an opportunity to ask questions about the research before data collection. This aims to encourage respondents to give valid answers. Finally, they should be guaranteed that there will be no risk or harm to them for any kind of answers. During the interview, the interviewer should be neutral and nonjudgmental in his/her reactions to the answers. Sufficient time should be given for good quality of response in the interviews. Finally, standardized audio tape recordings of answers in the interviews can be made, subject to respondents' consent.

6.5.1 Types of Interview

With regard to the types of interview, it can be classified into informal interviewing, unstructured interviewing, semi-structured interviewing and formally structured interviewing according to the degrees of control over the interview as shown by the Table 6.2.

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Table 6.2 Types of Interview (Cheng, 1998:7)

Types of interview	Characteristics
Informal interviewing	--no control over the informant and the responses --after staying in the field, the researchers recall the conversation --no response to any formal question
Unstructured interviewing	--minimum control over the informant and the responses --friendly chat --a question to answer or a topic to discuss --informants can choose their own scope, depth, emphases, length and pace of the response
Semi-structured interviewing	--uses an interviewing guide --obtains data within the design scope --the questions are open-ended
Formally Structured interviewing	--informants respond to the same or similar set of questions or stimuli --uses a structured interview schedule with precise questions

6.5.2 Strengths and Weaknesses of Interview as a Research Method

The strengths of interview as a research method employed in this study are as follows: Firstly, interviews provide maximum opportunity for complete and accurate communication of ideas between the researcher and respondent, something difficult to achieve with a survey questionnaire (Cannel and Kahn 1968: 554).   As the purpose of interviewing is to know what people think, there are a number of advantages of interviews over questionnaires data collection.   Interviews usually obtain a better response rate than self-administered questionnaires.   As Bailey (1992: 26) says "... during interviews researcher can spot the verbal and non-verbal behaviour of the respondents that may supplement the written data". In addition, the interview is an especially effective method of collecting information

particularly when investigators are interested in understanding the perceptions of participants, or learning how participants come to attach certain meanings to phenomena or events (Berg, 1989: 19). Moreover, interviews allow people to find out things that cannot be observed directly. "We cannot observe feelings, thoughts, and intentions. We cannot observe behaviors that took place at some previous point in time. We cannot observe situations that preclude the presence of an observer. We have to ask people questions about those things" (Patton, 1990: 196).

With regard to the presentation of findings, "direct quotations" can reveal a respondent's views, perceptions, feelings, and attitude. In order to facilitate "direct quotation", Bell (1993: 96) stresses the strengths of using tape recordings: "to check the wording of any statement one might wish to quote and to check that the notes are accurate, ... the tape can be played several times to identify categories". However, tape-recording an interview has both advantages and disadvantages. It enables the research to record every available auditory detail of the interview, especially long verbatim quotations in semi-structured interviews, while still maintaining the flow of the conversation; nevertheless, the tape-recorder can be a threat to the interviewee and hold him/her back from freely expressing his/her views (Fetterman, 1989: 81). In addition, pitfalls in conducting interviews include: inaccuracies due to poor recall or poor articulation (Yin, 1994: 80).

There are some practical suggestions to tackle the limitations of interviewing, so that the reliability of interview can be enhanced. For instance, Arksey and Knight (1999) remind us not to indicate approval or disapproval of any answer, and not to answer for the respondent or probe in a non-directive manner if the answer is inadequate. "It is necessary to generate a kind of conversation in which the 'respondent' feels at ease. The distinctively human element in the interview is necessary to its 'validity'. The more the interviewer becomes rational, calculating, and detached, the less likely the interview is to be perceived as a friendly transaction, and the more calculated the response also is likely to be" (Cohen and Manion, 1994: 282).

6.5.3 The Present Study

<u>Data Collection through Interview</u>

Two groups of interviewees were identified according to the influences that they exerted on the decision making of the curriculum: subject officers of the Curriculum Development Institute (CDI) and Subject Committee members of the Secondary Chinese Language curriculum of CDI (including lecturers at local universities and secondary school teachers). However, as the last syllabus of Chinese Language curriculum under the British colonial rule was the 1991 syllabus, it was rather a long time ago. Those officers who were in charge of that syllabus are no longer working in the Chinese Language Section of CDI.

Three lists (the 1971, 1978 and 1990 syllabi) of Subject Committee members of the Secondary Chinese Language curriculum of CDI were found in the minutes of Chinese Language Subject Committee meetings. There were 24 Subject Committee members in total. The present researcher tried to contact them according to their correspondence addresses or their serving institutions/schools. Unfortunately, almost all of their correspondence information was no longer valid. The researcher was only able to contact five of the Subject Committee members. However, most of them were not willing to be interviewed. The main reason given was "could not remember what happened so long ago". Only one retired university professor, who had been a member of the Subject Committee of the Chinese Language of the 1971 syllabus (1969-1972), accepted my request for an interview. At that time, she was a secondary school teacher. She had taught in secondary school for more than 20 years. Later, she served in the universities as tutor, lecturer and professor respectively. As she had a profound knowledge of Chinese Language development in Hong Kong, the information given by her was an important source for the present study. Her information is useful for triangulation with the findings from content analysis in this study. Even though there was only one informant available for interview, I still regarded this as an important source of information and proceeded with the interview.

In this study, the researcher adopted an in-depth, informal, individual and semi-structured interview as this was most appropriate to the understanding of the role played by a key individual in the curriculum development process. Furthermore, the semi-structured interview allowed the researcher to collect data on open-ended responses or even unexpected

dimensions of the topic (Bernard, 1988). During the interview, the researcher assumed the role of a good listener and did not indicate approval or disapproval of any answer.

The interview was conducted on 6th February 2003 at the interviewee's home in Hong Kong. The interview lasted one hour and fifteen minutes. The interview was conducted in Cantonese (a dialect of Chinese) and was tape recorded with the consent of the interviewee. Notes were also taken during the whole process of the interview by the present researcher. These notes could reflect in truth what the interviewee wanted to say. The emotional state, tone, facial expressions and attitudes of the interviewee during the interview were also noted down as the non-verbal language might provide clues to a deeper understanding.

The interview transcript was later translated from Cantonese into English by the present researcher as the researcher was fluent in both Cantonese and English, and the translation was checked very carefully by the researcher. It would have been desirable to ask someone independent to translate the English version back into Chinese so as to see whether (both) translations were accurate. Since this thesis did not employ the approach of independent back-translation, therefore, in order to ensure the validity of the translation, the transcription was checked by my thesis supervisor, Prof. W. O. Lee as well as an experienced translator who had 20 years of Cantonese/ English translation experience. The transcript of the taped interview formed an important source of oral history. The findings from the interview will be reported in Chapter 8.

Generally speaking, a list of appropriate and well-ordered questions will ensure the quality of data collected through interview. However, it is not simply a matter of having good questions, but also of being able to probe responses, and raise follow-up questions on the spot that yield deeper understanding. In order to ask relevant questions that would yield good data, the researcher had to prepare a list of questions, as a guideline for interview construction (LeCompte *et al.*, 1993: 168; Merriam, 1998: 78). Since semi-structured interviews do not follow a pre-determined format and order, the actual questions asked in the interviews are not identical with the prepared list of questions. There are different approaches to categorize the kinds of questions asked in an interview (LeCompte *et al.*, 1993: 173; Patton, 1990:68):

1. background/demographic questions that elicit information about the age, education, race of the respondent.

2. knowledge questions that elicit factual information about the research topic from the respondent;

3. experience/behaviour questions that elicit descriptions of observable experience and behaviour;

4. opinion/value questions that try to find out people's opinions and values about an issue or the world;

5. feeling questions that try to understand people's emotional response to their experience and thoughts;

6. sensory questions that determine what sensory stimuli, i.e. sight, sound, touch, taste or smell, respondents are sensitive to;

On the other hand, another four types of questions also deserve our attention in stimulating responses from the interviewees (Merriam,1998: 23):

1. hypothetical questions that pose a hypothetical situation and ask what the respondent might do;

2. devil's advocate questions that deliberately challenge the respondent to consider an opposing view;

3. ideal position questions that ask the respondent to describe an ideal situation;

4. interpretative questions that advance tentative interpretation of what the respondent has been saying and ask for a reaction.

Furthermore, the arranging and sequencing of questions is another issue significant to conducting a good interview (LeCompte *et al.*, 1993: 175). Before conducting the interview, the researcher gave the interviewee a brief statement of the purpose of research, the assurance of protecting the interviewee's identity, and an outline of procedures of the interview. The interview then started with demographic questions although some researchers prefer leaving them to the end or spreading them throughout the interview (Patton, 1987).

6.5.4 Ethical Considerations

Mitchell (1995: 74) suggests that "research with people requires that all procedures are conducted with respect and consideration for the individuals involved in the study." Before conducting the interview, the interviewee was fully informed about the nature and purpose of the interview by phone. When meeting the interviewee, the researcher asked her specifically if she agreed with the interview and felt comfortable about it. I made sure to obtain consent from the interviewee and that her participation of the interview was entirely voluntary. In addition, the name and personal identity would not be disclosed in order to protect the interviewee.

6.6 Documentary Analysis

Although documentary analysis only provides second hand data, it is an important component in qualitative research. Moreover, in historical research, written or printed documents constitute the major source of data. "Document" such as materials relevant to the case, including archival records, personal papers, photographs, and physical artifacts are often used to help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding, and discover insights relevant to the research problem" (Merriam, 1998: 69, 118).

The strengths of documentary analysis are as follows (Merriam, 1998: 125-126): documentary data are very helpful in grounding an investigation in the context of the problem being investigated. Starting the inquiry with an analysis of documentary sources helped the researcher to place himself/herself in the real historical context of this study. In addition, a great advantage in using documentary materials is their stability -- that is, they are non-reactive. Unlike interviews, the presence of the researchers does not alter what is being studied. Also, the documentary materials can be reviewed repeatedly (Merriam, 1998: 108; Yin, 1994: 80). Moreover, documentary data has a degree of "objectivity" and "unobstructivity" as compared to interviews and observations since these will be affected by subjective elements within the research process (Merriam, 1998: 109; Yin, 1994: 80). Furthermore, documentation is relatively accurate since it contains exact names, references and details of an event, so it can be used "to corroborate and augment evidence from other

sources" (Yin, 1994: 82). Besides, the broad coverage of documentation in terms of time span and setting, and its comparatively easy and cheap access, are strengths of documents when compared with other sources of evidence (Merriam, 1998: 108; Yin, 1994: 83)

However, documentary analysis also has certain weaknesses: most documentary data have not been developed for research purposes and may therefore be *incomplete* (Merriam, 1998: 124). Hence the need for other methods, interviews in this case, to supplement the data from documents. Furthermore, the text in documentary sources can "say" many different things in different contexts. Once words are transformed into a written text the gap between the author and the reader widens and the possibility of multiple reinterpretations increases (Hodder, 1994: 394). The researcher has to determine carefully under what context the text was formulated.

6.6.1 The Present Study

In the present study, documents were collected with an attempt to trace the relationships between the promotion of the Chinese local culture and the British colonial rule in Hong Kong. Documentary data is a good basis to "offer historical understanding, track change and development" (Merriam, 1998: 108). All available official curriculum documents and manifestations of the implemented curriculum (official syllabi, examination questions, examination reports), as well as other supplementary sources (newspapers, annual reports of Education Department and minutes of meetings as well as public records), were collected and analyzed so as to reveal the nature of, and influences affecting the promotion of the Chinese local culture and development of Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong under British colonization. Documents that were examined in the present study are listed below:

Official Documents

Minutes of Meetings:

Chinese Language Subject Committee (Certificate of Education Examination, 1970-1991) (minutes were only available from 1970)

Policy Papers:

1. White Paper on Secondary Education in Hong Kong Over the Next Decade (Education Department, 1974)

2.   Overall Review of the Hong Kong Education System (Education Department, 1981)

3.   A Perspective on Education in Hong Kong: Report by a Visiting Panel (Llewellyn Report, 1982)

Reports:

1.   Report of the Chinese Studies Committee, 1953

2.   Education Department Annual Reports (1938-1991)

3.   Examination Reports (Education Department, 1972-93) (Examination Reports were only available from 1972)

4.   Report of the Chinese Language Seminar (Education Department, 1990)

5.   Hong Kong Hansard: Reports of the meetings of the Legislation Council of Hong Kong (1920-1960)

6.   Education Commission Reports No. 1-7 (1984-1997)

Teaching Syllabi:

Chinese Language Syllabi, Secondary 1-5 (1961, 1971, 1978 and 1990)

Examination Syllabi:

Chinese Language Examination Syllabi (1961-1992)

Public Records

1.   Great Britain (Colonial office).   Archives.   Public Record Office, London. (1920-1960)

2.   Hong Kong Record Services (1920-1960)

Newspaper Articles:

Sing Tao Yat Pao, Wah Kiu Yat Pao, Ming Pao, Wen Wei Bao, Da Gong Bao, Oriental Daily, and *South China Morning Post* (tracking from 1960 to 1992)

The findings from documentary analysis will be reported in Chapter 7.

6.7   Conclusion

Limitations of this Study

With regard to the interview methodology, with only one interviewee available, data obtained from this source of information are obviously limited, and the data from one interview cannot be triangulated with those from the other interviewees. However, the present

researcher tried to triangulate the information gathered from interview with other sources of information, such as documentary analysis and content analysis. Thus the interview data in this study is treated as supplementary information, rather than a major source of information.

Triangulation

Triangulation is part of data collection that cuts across two or more techniques or sources (Wiersma, 1995: 263). Triangulation can be a useful technique where a researcher is engaged in case study: "this is at the heart of the intention of the case study worker to respond to the multiplicity of perspectives present in a social situation. All accounts are considered in part to be expressive of the social position of each informant. Case study needs to represent, and represent fairly, these differing and sometimes conflicting viewpoints" (Cohen and Manion, 1994: 241).

Triangulation is used here to perform quality checks on data. Generally speaking, there are four kinds of triangulation: triangulating the sources of evidence, triangulating the method of collecting data, triangulating theories and triangulating investigators (Marshall and Rossman, 1989; LeCompte et al., 1993). "Triangulation of the sources of evidence" is relevant to this study. The present study is triangulated with three sources of data, i.e. the content analysis of the Secondary Chinese Language curriculum (the 1960s to the 1990s), the information gathered from interview and the documentary analysis of different documents, reports, as well as the minutes and official letters of the Colonial Office of Britain. The relevant data was cross-referenced and cross-validated to check their validity and reliability. Regarding the present research, in the process of data analysis, the researcher first explored the history of the development of Hong Kong under British colonial rule, especially in the aspect of educational policies, so as to identify issues relating to the development of Chinese education in Hong Kong. Then, the researcher cross-checked this with Colonial Office documents, minutes of meetings (Hansard, Hong Kong record Services, Annual Reports of the Education Department, etc). By doing so, it was found that the promotion of Chinese local culture (i.e. Confucianism) by the colonial government after the 1925 boycott and general strike was just a remedial measure to tackle the political crisis and aimed at nurturing a conservative attitude among the

Hong Kong students. The advocacy of the local culture of Hong Kong was only a political tool to achieve British political ends. The researcher also cross-checked this with minutes of meetings and newspapers to see if there was any news reports on these issues. As indicated by several sources, political factors affected substantially the shaping of the development of Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong during the colonization period. Findings from triangulation will be reported in the Discussion chapter (Chapter 9).

Chapter 7

Findings from Documentary Analysis:

British Colonial Rule and Promoting the Local Culture of Hong Kong

7.1 Introduction

This chapter reports the findings from documentary analysis in relation to the relationships between the British colonial rule and the promotion of local culture of Hong Kong. Documents such as minutes of meetings, policy papers, reports, teaching syllabi, examination syllabi, public records and newspaper articles were examined. The researcher will also incorporate literature from other sources e.g. journals, books, etc. as appropriate. During the period of British colonization in Hong Kong, the education policy implemented by the colonial government was different from that in other colonial territories. The colonial government encouraged identification with the indigenous Chinese culture, particularly the values of Confucianism. This contrasts with Watson's (1982: 37) argument that "much of the curriculum in colonial schools dismissed indigenous languages and culture as inferior while stressing the superiority of European civilization". Under British rule, the traditional culture of Hong Kong was not suppressed; on the contrary, Confucianism was preserved and even strongly promoted by the colonial government. This thesis considers whether such a move was closely related to the British colonial rule in Hong Kong. This chapter will explore the reasons why the colonial government strongly promoted the indigenous heritage and traditional Chinese culture in Hong Kong. Originally, the teaching objectives of the subject of Chinese Language were primarily for training students in language skills, and transmitting traditional Chinese cultural values as well as moral cultivation. However, the Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong under British rule bore an additional function -- it might serve British political interests of maintaining the stability of the colonial government and the consolidation of its colonial rule in Hong Kong. To understand the relationships between the Chinese Language curriculum and British

colonial rule, we have to investigate the historical development of education, particularly the Chinese Language curriculum development in Hong Kong in relation to political changes in China. This chapter will also examine the relationship between politics, colonialism and culture in shaping the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under British colonial rule.

Although the earliest official Secondary Chinese Language syllabus of Hong Kong was produced in the 1960s, the policy-related primary sources from the first half of the 20th century were used (e.g. Memorandum and letters written by British officers and the cultural politics of Governor Clementi in the 1920s), as they deeply affected the Chinese culture component of the Chinese curricula introduced from the 1960s to 1990s. This is evident from the guidelines proposed by the Report of the Chinese Studies Committee in 1953 showed a substantial continuity with the cultural policy of Governor Clementi.

In sum, the following documents provided the present study with useful and relevant information in exploring the relationships between British colonial rule and promoting the local culture of Hong Kong:

Chapter 1:

- Chinese Language Syllabi, Secondary 1-5 (the 1960s to the 1990s)
- Newspaper Articles:

  Wah Kiu Yat Pao (1951)

Chapter 7:

- Hong Kong Government Gazette (1866)
- Brewin Report (1902)
- Colonial Office documents (the 1920s)
- Hansard: Reports of the meetings of Legislative Council of Hong Kong (the 1940s)
- Hong Kong Record Services (the 1940s to the 1950s)
- Hong Kong Education Department Annual Reports (the 1940s to the 1950s)
- Report of the Chinese Studies Committee (1953)
- Chinese Language Syllabi, Secondary 1-5 (the 1960s to the 1990s)
- Newspaper Articles:

  Wen Wei Pao (the 1950s)

  Wah Kiu Yat Pao (1950-1953)

  South China Morning Post (1950)

Chapter 8:

- Chinese Language Syllabi, Secondary 1-5 (the 1960s to the 1990s)
- Report of the Chinese Studies Committee (1953)

Chapter 9:

- Brewin Report (1902)
- Colonial Office documents (the 1920s)
- Report of the Chinese Studies Committee (1953)
- Minutes of meetings of the Chinese Language Subject Committee (the 1970s to the 1990s)
- Newspaper Articles:

  Ming Pao (1995)

7.2 British Educational Policies Towards Hong Kong

Whitehead (1982) studied the changing nature of British educational policies in the colonial dependencies between the two World Wars and found that, far from pursuing a uniform policy such as that pursued by the French or the Portuguese, decisions were largely left to officers on the spot in individual territories.

According to Mills (1942: 380-381), the policy of the British colonial government had been based upon:

> the necessity of conducting a Western administration amongst a predominantly Chinese population with the maximum of harmony and co-operation and the minimum of friction and obstruction. To translate this general principle into practice had at times been difficult, owing to the wide divergence between the British and Chinese points of view on the duties and methods of government. The British had evolved a "modus operandi" which might be defined as Anglo-Chinese co-operation based on mutual explanations and persuasion and on respect, wherever possible, for Chinese wishes and customs. Where compromise was impossible the population was required to obey; but the administration had often modified Western standards and, above all, had tried not to move too far in advance of Chinese public opinion, ... In practice the Governor kept himself well informed of the wishes of the people, and proceeded towards his goal by compromise and persuasion rather than by using his legal powers.

At the beginning of the British government's taking over of Hong Kong Island,

Captain Charles Elliot, the second British Superintendent of foreign trade, promised that the natives of the island would be governed according to the laws and customs of China (Miners, 1975: 53). Later, most of the activities of the government were confined to providing the services needed for a port and business community to function. Regarding the provision of education, most of the schools were not directly operated by the government but by voluntary agencies. As a result, any policy changes in education had to be agreed upon by those bodies which largely had the responsibility of putting them into practice.

7.2.1 The Social Context and Education Development of Hong Kong

At the signing of Treaty of Nanjing in 1842, when Hong Kong became a British colony, the issue of education was totally neglected by the colonial government. At that time, schools in Hong Kong were mainly private, with the remaining ones run by religious organizations. The former were modelled on the traditional temple schools and there was no specified syllabus. The main curriculum was Chinese Classics (Wong, 1996: 80). For the religious schools, half of the curriculum was Bible study, and the remaining half was Chinese Classics (Wong, 1996: 106).

The colonial government played a very limited role in the provision of education in its early rule of Hong Kong. For instance, according to the official data indicated in the 1865 Annual Report submitted by the headmasters and inspectors of schools (Hong Kong Government Gazette, Public Record Office, 1866: 139), among a population of 14,000 school-age children, there were only twelve government schools with a total enrolment of 514 students. The colonial government at that time gave complete freedom to the voluntary organizations and private bodies to run and manage their schools with absolutely no government intervention. In addition, since there was no law or ordinance to regulate the operational system of government schools, the official control or supervision was inadequate and loose even in government schools. Hence, one special feature of the Hong Kong educational system was its heavy dependence on the private sector. The education of a large proportion of Hong Kong children rested upon

the haphazard functioning of market forces. For example, it was found that between January and September 1870, 40 private schools were closed because of financial difficulties, while 120 new private schools had been registered. By the end of 1870, the closure of 60 more private schools was reported (Yang, 1982: 22).

The initial educational policy in Hong Kong could also be described as a laissez-faire policy (Sweeting, 1995b). As a matter of fact, such educational policy in Hong Kong was consistent with the pattern practised in most other British colonies -- the colonial government offered very limited provision of education, whilst missionaries dominated the rest of the schooling system. It was the missionaries who first brought Western formal schools to Hong Kong (Sweeting, 1992).

In Hong Kong, the colonial government in the early years was content with the establishment of a dual system by which public education was provided in a small number of government schools and grant schools. Also, the policy of providing an English education for the Chinese middle classes left the bulk of fundamental education in the vernacular to the private schools and to the arrangement of parents. This practice remained for a long time, until the compulsory education policy was implemented in the late 1970s, twenty years before the end of colonial rule, in order to stop child labour, as a pre-requisite for Hong Kong to enter international trade (Ng-Lun, 1977).

The educational system of Hong Kong allowed little political and socio-cultural awareness due to its colonial status. Luk (1992: 114) argued that there was no other important purpose for a colonial government in ruling its colony apart from making profit. On the other hand, as most people of the last Hong Kong generation were peasants, they were hungry for opportunity for schooling and material rewards. The laissez-faire policy of the government was hence welcomed by both the ruling power and the ruled. Consequently, the colonial education policies aimed at channeling people's attention and concentration into achievement in examinations. The Hong Kong education system performed one major task, that of transmitting the spirit of free competition to young people. This hidden school agenda became one of its main

social functions and kept this free market economy running for decades in Hong Kong. Education for personal betterment and family betterment comprised the prevailing educational culture. Under the meritocratic system of Hong Kong, there were close relationships between educational qualifications and social status. Yeung (1990: 316) criticized the school ethos of Hong Kong for being materialistic and credential orientated. In 1982, a visiting panel reviewed the Hong Kong education system and pointed out that the crux of the problem in the Hong Kong education system was that it was "bound up with social status and labour market appeal" (Hong Kong Government Printer, 1982: 27-28). The dominant driving force of education in Hong Kong was aspiration for upward mobility.

7.2.2 The Important Status of English Language

Later, as Hong Kong gradually developed into an entrepot, owing to commercial needs and political factors, there was a great demand on those who could master English . Starting from 1866, the original constitution of the Central School, the only government school at that time, was changed to make the study of English Language obligatory (Yang, 1982: 23). In 1878, John Hennessy was appointed as Governor of Hong Kong. He argued that "political and commercial interest rendered the study of English of primary importance in all government schools in the Colony". Besides, he urged the Central School to promote the speaking of English and to make optional the attendance at Chinese lessons (Eitel, 1895: 561). Consequently, the study of the English Language became increasingly important in Hong Kong.

Governor Hennessy also proposed raising the Central School into a Collegiate Institution so as to provide a higher education in English and science for the wealthy members of the community. A commission was then appointed in 1880 to study the feasibility of the above suggestion. However, due to financial difficulties, the proposal was eventually turned down. Instead, the Commission suggested that the Hong Kong Government should channel more resources and effort into providing a sound elementary education for the majority of the population. The Commission also

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recommended that a competent knowledge of Chinese Language must be attained by every Chinese student before they were admitted to the upper grade of the Central School. In spite of the recommendations given by the Commission, the colonial government still continued to promote the study of English in Hong Kong, and paid very little attention to developing vernacular education. The combined effect of these policies was the gradual acceptance by the populace of the practical benefits of the study of English in the colony. For instance, only 19 per cent of the total student population in Government and grant schools were undertaking an English education in 1878; however, this had increased to 40 per cent by 1898 (Cheng, 1949: 127).

The importance of English was further emphasized by the 1902 Brewin Report. Education in Hong Kong at that time was to promote "British interest" and to cater for the wealthy members of the Chinese community. The Report stated:

> What education is given should be thorough and the better results will be obtained by assisting to enlighten the ignorance of the upper class of Chinese than by attempting to force new ideas on the mass of the people. Civilized ideas among the leaders of thought are the best and perhaps the only means at present available of permeating the general ignorance; for this reason much more attention has been paid to the Anglo-Chinese school than the vernacular schools... In imperial interest, it is desirable to offer instruction in the English language and Western knowledge to all young Chinese who are willing to study them ... The additional expense to the Colony is trifling, and the gain of British interest in China by the spread of English and of friendly sentiments towards our Empire should well repay the cost (Brewin Report, 1902: 5-6).

With the suggestions made by the Brewin Report, the colonial government got the official justification to concentrate her resources and effort into developing English education in Hong Kong. As a result, vernacular education was given less and less attention and encouragement by the Government.

Another policy to consolidate the status of English Language was the establishment of the University of Hong Kong in 1911. According to the "Report on

the University of Hong Kong" (Jennings and Logen, 1953), the establishment of the University of Hong Kong was "an instrument of British foreign and colonial policy" in the Far East. English was adopted as medium of instruction in order to promote British interest, so that her influence in the Far East might be extended. The setting up of the University of Hong Kong had a profound impact on the further expansion of English-medium education in Hong Kong. As parents realized that the English Language had a much higher market value in the colonial society, more and more children were sent to the English-medium schools. From 1901-1913, the average number of pupils in Government and Grant schools receiving instruction in English increased by 60 per cent, whereas the corresponding increase for vernacular schools was only 10 per cent (Cheng, 1978: 19).

7.3 British Colonial Rule and Promoting the Local Culture of Hong Kong

7.3.1 Promoting Chinese Culture for Economic and Pragmatic Reasons

Originally, Hong Kong was seized by Britain as a base for commercial activities with China at the very beginning of British colonization (Tsang, 1997a: 1-2). While Hong Kong was set up as a trading port colony, its educational and cultural development was at times neglected or was called upon merely as producing English-speaking Chinese as compradors for the purpose of trading (Poon, 2003: 34). Hong Kong then increasingly served as a linkage between China and the West in many other aspects -- some British expected Hong Kong to help develop long-term Sino-British relations by producing future leaders for China who would have affiliation with London (Luk, 1991: 656; Ng-Lun, 1983b: 11-12). Some missionary bodies took advantage of Hong Kong to prepare missionaries for evangelistic work in the Mainland China (Smith, 1985). On the other hand, the "cadet officers" and the administrative grade of civil servants within the Hong Kong colonial bureaucracy were trained to acquire competence in Chinese language (spoken Cantonese) to ensure effective governance over the colonial society (Lethbridege, 1970). Owing to the important role of Hong Kong and its close relationship with China, the colonial authority and

many other Western commercial, educational and religious bodies, refrained from entirely Anglicizing the Hong Kong Chinese. Consequently, the schools established in Hong Kong by both the British colonial government and Western missionary bodies almost always included Chinese studies in their curriculum (Fok, 1990: 30).

At that time, students were required to have a strong grounding in traditional Chinese studies before they were admitted to the colonial schools. In addition, students of the colonial schools were required to further their knowledge of Confucian texts and refine their Chinese literary skills through formal Chinese lessons. Many of the colonial school students even continued to attend private schools (*sishu*) after formal school hours to enhance their Chinese proficiency (Ng-Lun, 1984). Because of the necessity to promote the entrepot trade, the local Chinese culture and language were retained for economic reasons. Chinese studies, in nineteenth-century Hong Kong, had a pragmatic, more than a symbolic, value (Smith, 1985). At that time, colonial authorities did not interfere with the content of the Chinese lessons, but left them to the discretion of Chinese teachers. Chinese culture, from its status as the most important part of education for the literati in the traditional curriculum, had, in the colonial schools of Hong Kong, become one of the subjects with which to train aspirants to emergent professions (Luk, 1991).

In essence, Chinese education in Nineteenth-century Hong Kong mainly served the economic purposes of the British. As Hong Kong had to serve as the entrepot for Sino-British intercourse, producing bilingual and bicultural elites to operate in the Hong Kong-China continuum was therefore the chief objective of the provision of colonial education, and as such Chinese culture was important for pragmatic reasons (Ng-Lun, 1984).

7.3.2 Promoting Chinese Culture for Societal Coherence

On the other hand, as Chinese elites in Hong Kong were trained to be bilingual and bicultural, education also increased the importance of Chinese culture for the colonial government. The bilingual and bicultural nature of the educational system of Hong Kong did play an important role in the coherence of the colonial society and,

consequently, the consolidation of British colonial rule in Hong Kong. For instance, before World War II, almost all the Chinese recruited by the colonial government as unofficial members of the Legislative Council had adequate knowledge of both English and Chinese, since they had been educated at Anglo-Chinese institutions like the Government Central School and St. Stephen's Boys College, which emphasized learning Chinese while teaching chiefly in English (Cheng, 1969).

The Chinese elites produced by the colonial school system could maintain a relatively strong tie with the local Chinese community. As a result, many of these elites served as leaders of the chief charity associations of Chinese people in Hong Kong (such as the Po Leung Kuk and the Tung Wah Hospitals) and they sometimes spoke on behalf of the Chinese masses and defended the customary practices of the Chinese residents. These bicultural Chinese elites also played the role of narrowing the gap between the colonial government and the Chinese. Moreover, the bicultural nature of Anglo-Chinese schools in Hong Kong ensured that people educated in these institutions would not be categorically different from those from Chinese schools in terms of cultural and linguistic characteristics. This exempted the Hong Kong colonial government from a great deal of pressure to cope with social fragmentation (Wong, 1999: 125-126).

7.3.3 Promoting Chinese Culture for Political Reasons

The educational development of Hong Kong was closely related to political situations in China. Before Hong Kong was ruled by the British, Hong Kong already had a number of village schools operated by the local Chinese (Sweeting, 1990). These private Chinese schools (*sishu*), taught students the Confucian classics and Chinese primers. At first, in 1861, the British government supported 16 of them financially (Ng-Lun, 1983a). However, as the colonial government cut its assistance of vernacular education (Ng-Lun and Chang, 1989), all Chinese schools became private institutions outside the government's surveillance (Ng-Lun, 1977). Such laissez-faire policy towards Chinese schools made them vulnerable to political influences from China.

On the other hand, China had been defeated by Japan in the Sino-Japanese War in 1895. The Qing Empire was severely condemned by the whole nation as Japan

previously was China's tributary, a nation which Chinese had always looked down on as inferior. Such humiliation and the exposure of China's weakness prompted China to review its out-dated school curriculum and education. This defeat gave China a strong motivation to implement radical reform and modernization, as was attempted in the "Hundred Day Reform" of 1898. This revolution then led to the politicization and radicalization of school education. Admiring modern Western learning, the education field of China generally showed enthusiasm for setting up modern types of Chinese schools to replace the traditional ones. This trend in China also later affected the traditional Chinese schools in Hong Kong (Wong, 1982). Though the Reform Movement of 1898 eventually failed, the enthusiasm for modern Western learning and radical ideals had already been planted firmly in the minds of many intellectuals through the dissemination of new learning journals and participation in "study societies" which emerged during the years 1895-1898 (Li, 1970: 279-283). Articles published in these journals generally introduced Western law, politics and science, and at the same time, strongly criticized Chinese traditional culture and society. The previous predominant position of conservative Confucian ideology in Chinese education thus gradually faded away.

7.3.3.1 Political Upheavals in China and Education in Hong Kong

The Chinese Republican Revolution broke out in 1911 in Mainland China, and the Qing Empire was overthrown in the same year. The impact of Chinese politics on Hong Kong education was more far-reaching than ever before. The nationalistic fervour that accompanied the revolution gave rise to student agitation throughout the Chinese-speaking world. Hong Kong was one of the major bases of the revolutionaries and also the city where a number of the revolution's leaders had been educated. It experienced its share of agitation against foreign domination (Endacott, 1964; Ng-Lun, 1984). Appointed by the Hong Kong Government as the Supervisor of the Lower Grade Government schools in 1911, R.C. Barlow made an investigation of the existing private schools (over three hundred). According to his report

submitted to the Legislative Council in 1912 (Hong Kong Administrative Reports, 1912, Section 6), political propaganda in these schools was quite obvious and some schools even provided very strong nationalistic teaching to the students.

On the other hand, the Commissioner of Education of Guangdong, a province in southern China which was very close to Hong Kong, requested Chinese schools in Hong Kong to register with the new Chinese Nationalist Government in 1912. This would ensure that those students from registered schools could enter any government school in China to further their studies, and not be required to sit for an examination. However, the criteria for such registration was that all schools had to adopt the curriculum used in China (Ng-Lun, 1983a). In order to counteract this Chinese policy and to suppress the spread of political propaganda and student demonstrations in Hong Kong, an Education Ordinance was enacted by the Legislative Council of Hong Kong in 1913 to empower the Director of Education to approve, refuse, and remove registrations of schools. Those schools not registered under the Ordinance were regarded as "illegal" schools, whose managers could be liable to a fine or imprisonment. In addition, the Governor-in-Council was also empowered to make a new regulation regarding the efficiency and proper conduct of schools (Hong Kong Hansard, Section 1913). This Ordinance hence put all Chinese schools, which had previously been mainly private institutions, under the control and supervision of the colonial government in Hong Kong (Ng-Lun and Chang, 1989). It was the first legislation anywhere in the British Empire to require schools to be registered (Ng-Lun, 1984). It aimed at curbing political activities in schools and was the first act of the colonial government to systemically impinge on the previously uncounted private schools (called *sishu* in Chinese) in the territory. Such large-scale governmental involvement in education could be regarded as the precedent for Britain to consolidate administration and control of its schools. However, it had no noticeable effect on the curriculum of these schools, which remained as autonomous as before. Also, while the ordinance sought to limit the repercussions in Hong Kong schools of political change

in China, it was only partly successful. It did not separate or reduce the cultural or educational commonalities between Hong Kong and China. On the contrary, during the decades before World War II, improved transport and mass media, as well as the expansion of schooling in both places, allowed the free interflow of ideas, books, teachers and students across the border. Consequently, the cultural and educational connections between the Mainland and Hong Kong were further strengthened (Wang, 1983).

At that time, there were different modes of education coexisting in Hong Kong -- a small number of British colonial secondary schools, missionary secondary schools, modern Chinese schools and innumerable private schools (*sishu*). Many students continued to pursue their educational career partly in Hong Kong, and partly in China. The colonial policy of education for the entrepot trade remained basically unchanged (Wang, 1983; Lu, 1982).

However, in the mid-1920s, it was necessary to revise the former colonial policy of education. The 1920s was a decade of political instability in China when there was a growth of nationalist sentiments and protests against British imperialism and boycotts of British goods in Hong Kong and Guangzhou, notably the Seamen's Strike in 1922 (Poon, 2003: 54). Moreover, the anti-imperialist demonstrations by industrial workers and students in Shanghai in 1925 caused by the killing of Chinese by British police in Shanghai, had resulted in a massacre by British police there. This soon triggered widespread protests in all major Chinese cities. The colonial government in Hong Kong encountered a more serious nationalistic challenge -- an anti-British boycott and strikes commonly known as the "Canton-Hong Kong Big Strike" (Endacott, 1964; Hsu, 1975). These situations lasted more than a year and brought trade to a standstill. The strike eventually came to an end due to the dissension and preoccupation with military affairs of the two Chinese revolutionary parties (the Nationalists and the Communists) headquartered in Guangzhou. As Guangzhou was very near Hong Kong, the British in Hong Kong felt greatly

threatened. The big strike in 1925 placed the authority of the British colonial government in Hong Kong in a critical situation. Consequently, the British adopted a cultural policy that deeply affected the Chinese culture component of the curriculum thereafter (Hsu, 1975: 626-628).

7.3.3.2 Measures on Educational Policy after the Boycott and General Strike

After the unrest, the government in Hong Kong moved further to Sinicize the secondary and higher education of Hong Kong so as to soothe the resistance from the Hong Kong Chinese people (Miners, 1987: 15-19).

A Memorandum written by R.H. Kotewall, a colonial officer, made a remark on the 1925 general strike and boycott of British goods (in Colonial Office document 129/ 489) in the section on "Politics in Schools":

> One of the most serious and significant features of the recent disturbance is the part played by schoolboys and students. ... It is very necessary to learn from these events how to prevent the corruption of schoolboys in future, and particularly their attempts to interfere in politics. It was the students who started the strike in Hong Kong; and it was the students who created the shooting incident at Shameen as in Shanghai. The Hong Kong schoolboys were moved to their turbulent behaviour by some students from Shanghai.

With regard to the strike and boycott, the following recommendations are made in the latter part of the Memorandum:

> Obviously the first remedy is an increased watchfulness in the schools. Special care should be exercised in the supervision of the vernacular schools in particular, for these can the more easily become breeding-grounds of sedition. The teachers should be carefully chosen and supervised for this reason. ... It should be impossible for propaganda to get so long a start before it comes to the knowledge of those in charge. In future, as soon as a political or industrial trouble is brewing in the Colony, the school authorities should do everything possible to prevent their boys participating in the agitation. If necessary, the schools might be closed at once.

From these quotations, we can notice that strict supervision was imposed on schools,

especially the vernacular ones. Students were prohibited to participate in the agitation. However, Kotewall pointed out that Chinese education in Hong Kong did have some part to play in the elimination of radical behaviour of the students:

> The Chinese education in Hong Kong does not seem to be all that it should be. The teaching of Confucian ethics is more and more neglected, while too much attention is being paid to the materialistic side of life. ... great stress should be laid on the ethics of Confucianism which is, in China, probably the best antidote to the pernicious doctrines of Bolshevism, and is certainly the most powerful conservative force, and the greatest influence for good. ... money spent on the development of the conservative ideas of the Chinese race in the minds of the young will be money well spent, and also constitutes social insurance of the best kind. Finally, I suggest that careful instruction in Confucianism and its application to the problems of modern civic conditions should be given in all the schools where there are Chinese students.

From the above Memorardum written by R.H. Kotewall, Confucian ethics were highly valued. They were emphasized by the colonial government most probably for political reasons. Confucian ethics were regarded as an important tool to sustain conservative ideas among the Chinese people, and consequently could contribute to the stability of society as well as the consolidation of colonial rule.

On the other hand, a letter written by Sir S. Wilson to A.E. Collins (in Colonial Office document 129/491) on 20 October, 1925 revealed that "the British were losing ground socially in Hong Kong ... the British were becoming very unpopular with the Chinese in Hong Kong and that the latter were going in considerably for anti-British propaganda."

In his reply to Sir S. Wilson, A.E.Collins (dated 21 October, 1925, in Colonial Office document 130/491) mentioned that "the new Governor, Mr. Clementi, who arrives there (Hong Kong) at the end of this month, has an almost unrivalled knowledge of Chinese character and is persona grata with them. We have every hope therefore that he will be able to do something to restore confidence and friendliness and our general

prestige." The British government in London carefully selected a suitable person to be the new governor of Hong Kong at that time. Sir Cecil Clementi (1875-1947), who possessed a good knowledge of Chinese culture, became the governor of Hong Kong from November 1925 to February 1930.

Judging from the memorandum and letters between the Colonial officers, the promotion of local Chinese culture and the appointment of the new Governor, Clementi, were seemingly carefully planned by the British so as to strengthen its colonial rule in Hong Kong.

7.3.3.3 The Cultural Politics of Sir Cecil Clementi, the Governor from 1925-1930

As the British in Hong Kong felt greatly threatened by the boycott and general strike against the British during the 1920s, a cultural policy that would deeply influence the Chinese culture component of the curriculum was implemented (Hsu, 1975: 626-628). The proponent of this initiative was Sir Cecil Clementi, a longtime administrator in Hong Kong and a scholar of Chinese folk songs, who was appointed governor of Hong Kong (1925-1930) specifically to deal with the crisis (Miners, 1987: 15-20). In 1926, Clementi established the first Chinese government secondary school (renamed as Clementi Middle School in 1951 to commemorate him) in which the medium of instruction was Chinese. Inside that school, there was a teacher training section, which was meant to supply "politically reliable" teachers to Chinese schools (Wang, 1996: 263-265).

As the political situation in China during the 1910s and 1920s was rather unstable, many people of different classes and beliefs migrated to Hong Kong where there was greater freedom of expression and more political stability. Among those migrants, some were prominent literati as well as members of China's new intelligentsia who were educated in the modern schools of China. Some of them became prominent educators in Hong Kong (Wang, 1983).

In 1927, Clementi invited the former senior literati, who held imperial examination degrees and court ranks of the Qing Empire of China, to the Governor's House. Clementi delivered a speech there highly praising traditional Chinese culture and morality. He

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also emphasized that it was very important for the Chinese to treasure their ancestors' learning and live up to the ancestral moral code, rather than follow any fad from abroad. Later, Clementi invited these literati to join him in projects to interpret traditional scholarship for the younger generations so that they would know what to follow and be able to propagate Chinese morality and scholarship throughout the world. This would remove all barriers to understanding and friendship between foreigners and Chinese (Lu, 1982).

Clementi set up a Chinese Department at the University of Hong Kong in 1927 to clearly demonstrate that the colonial government did attach great importance to Chinese culture and studies. The most prestigious literati of the former Qing Dynasty of China were employed as lecturers in the Chinese Department of the University of Hong Kong. The senior literati were then appointed to positions of directors, teachers and librarians in these new Chinese-related institutions. In such capacities, these senior literati and their followers exerted considerable influence on the Chinese culture subjects in Hong Kong schools throughout the pre-World War II era. On the other hand, they provided a counter-balance to the influence of Chinese intelligentsia of the May Fourth Movement (1917) in China who advocated total Westernization, the adoption of Science and Democracy, Social Revolution, and putting an end to Confucianism and Feudalism (Luk, 1991: 658-659; Wang, 1996: 258-283).

The literati cherished the view of Chinese culture defined by traditionally orthodox Confucianism that emphasized hierarchy and subservience to patriarchal authority, whereas the intelligentsia was mostly advocates of nationalism. Hence, by patronizing the literati, Clementi made use of the Chinese Confucian cultural tradition. This counter-balanced the influence of Chinese nationalism by promoting a conservative tradition of Chinese education in Hong Kong (Luk, 1991: 658-660). Consequently, Chinese culture in the Hong Kong curriculum acquired a new political significance, in addition to its earlier status-symbolic and vocational-pragmatic values (Luk, 1991).

Clementi's cultural politics achieved multi-faceted purposes. First, the emphasis

on traditional Chinese culture pacified the Hong Kong residents, who felt that their cultural tradition was respected. Second, this helped to make Mainland China feel that she did not create anti-China sentiments among Hong Kong people, and this helped to maintain the relationships between China and the colonial government. Third, it also counter-balanced the radical Chinese intellectuals who were advocating science and democracy into the society under their total Westernization framework.

In the 1930s the British authorities were very concerned about the knowledge acquired by students and thus carefully selected the content of school subjects. A senior British official of the Colonial Office once made the following statement reflecting the nature of the school curriculum at that time:

> ... special local conditions justified more attention being paid to ancient civilizations than to current events. It is not considered desirable to interest Hong Kong students too much in political and administrative questions (Sweeting, 1990: 198).

As a result, the content of Chinese Studies was mainly on the ancient times rather than the current affairs.

The relationships between education and colonial rule were rather complicated. In some nations, the indigenous culture was suppressed under colonial rule. As Watson (1982: 37) notes, "much of the curriculum in colonial schools dismissed indigenous languages and culture as inferior while stressing the superiority of European civilization". However, in others, the indigenous culture was revived under colonial sponsorship and Hong Kong was one of the examples. For the case of Hong Kong, the underlying reason for appealing to the cultural tradition was most probably to achieve the political agenda of safeguarding the colonial rule from anti-Western nationalism, by shifting the public's attention to the Confucian tradition. Clementi's politics was meant to propose an idea of Chineseness that emphasized cultural heritage (Confucianism) over statehood and citizenship. Such traditional Chinese ideas of Chineseness had actually been losing ground rapidly to the more nationalistic ideas in Mainland China, and by the late 1920s, they had almost become an anachronism (Wright, 1957). During the 1920s and 1930s, intellectuals from China often criticized the education of Hong Kong for its "cultural

backwardness", "cultural conservatism", and even labeled Hong Kong as the "cultural desert" (Lu, 1985). "Cultural backwardness" and "cultural conservatism" actually referred to the prevalence of Confucianist thoughts in Chinese education.

7.4 Colonial Rule and Chinese Education in Hong Kong after World War II

7.4.1 The Development of Chinese Education in Hong Kong, 1945-1949

The impact of the Second World War on British colonial education policy deserves our attention here. After WWII , Britain had become a declining imperial power, being challenged by nationalistic movements in many of its colonies. The decline in colonial power was also affected by the United States' policy of supporting many colonies to become independent. In response to this, the British Government had to adjust her colonial policy. In the case of Hong Kong, it was reflected in her support of the vernacular language in education (Holford, 1988: 163-183; Whitehead, 1989: 267-293).

The issue of vernacular language was discussed in the Legislative Council meetings. For example, Dr. Chau Sik Nin, a Chinese unofficial member expressed his opinion regarding vernacular education in one of the meetings:

> ... on the subject of Education I note that little or almost no provision has been made for primary vernacular education which seems to me of utmost importance to the Chinese community. As the majority of the population in this Colony is Chinese who also constitute the greater portion of tax-payers, I think it fair and reasonable that there should be better facilities for providing their education in their native tongue (Hansard: Reports of the Meetings of Legislative Council of Hong Kong. Session on 5 September 1946, p.120).

The Final Report of the Education and Cultural Sub-committee in 1947 also had similar suggestions for the British government concerning the use of vernacular language for education development. This committee was set up by the Hong Kong government in 1946 to prepare a project proposal for spending one million pounds earmarked by London through the Colonial Development and Welfare Act (Sweeting, 1993: 84-89). Its final report submitted by the Development Committee made the

following comments and suggestions:

> In the past, the educational structure has become top-heavy with too much stress on secondary education in English ... any remedy for these defects naturally involves greater participation by government in primary education, the teaching of subjects where practicable or desirable in the vernacular in the primary schools (Hong Kong Record Services 41, D & S 1/3326).

T. R. Rowell, the Director of Education, issued a plan for the development of vernacular schools in April 1947. He proposed that the Anglo-Chinese schools, mostly government and grant institutions, should use the vernacular language as the medium of instruction up to Secondary 5. Moreover, the Subsidy Code would be expanded so that most of the existing private vernacular schools would have enough state support to reduce fees and maintain a high standard of education (Minutes, Board of Education, 8 April 1947. Hong Kong Record Services 1947, D & S 2/2(i)). In addition, the 1947 Education Department Annual Report revealed that "the government would fund fifty Chinese middle schools in the next ten years" (Hong Kong Education Department, Annual Report, 1946: 47-53).

In 1949, the Hong Kong government appointed a Committee on Chinese Studies in Anglo-Chinese Schools to draw up a suitable and fully detailed syllabus and to suggest the amount of time to be allocated to Chinese for all classes up to Secondary 2 in Anglo-Chinese schools, "bearing in mind the present needs of the average Hong Kong citizens" and "Hong Kong's position in relation to China". The report submitted by this committee recommended that Anglo-Chinese schools spend eight to ten hours per week on teaching Chinese language and to make Chinese subjects compulsory in both entrance and promotion examinations (Hong Kong Record Services 147, D & S: 2/2(i), 27 August 1949).

The above examples show increased attention towards the vernacular language by the colonial government in Hong Kong.

7.4.2 The Development of Chinese Education in Hong Kong, Post-1949

7.4.2.1 Political Changes in China and Curriculum Development in Hong Kong

Although Hong Kong became a British colony in 1842, according to the analysis by Choi (1990) and Luk (1991), there was a close relationship between the education of Hong Kong and the Mainland. In the early period, most of the Hong Kong residents came from Guangdong province. Their economic, social and cultural lives were closely linked to their origins. On the other hand, though ruled by Britain, Hong Kong did not have cultural affiliation with the colonizer. At that time, the majority of Chinese schools, and the administration of schools, was actually under the Education Divisions of the Nanjing Government and Guangdong Province, so as to facilitate Hong Kong students to further their studies in the Mainland (Choi, 1990: 157; Luk, 1991: 652-661).

In respect to school curriculum and textbooks, Hong Kong was also subject to Mainland influence, as many textbooks from the Mainland had been adopted. For instance, when the Nanjing Government changed the school academic system, the Chinese schools of Hong Kong followed suit. The Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong developed closely with the Mainland mainly because of the reliance on the supply of textbooks from the Mainland. There were very few publishers in Hong Kong at that time (Report of the Chinese Studies Committee, 1953: 10-13). As a matter of fact, Hong Kong basically adopted the curriculum issued by the Nanjing Government and textbooks published by the Shanghai Commercial Press (Luk, 1991: 611).

Most textbooks used in Hong Kong secondary schools, especially those of Chinese culture subjects, were imported from China up to the late 1940s. During World War II, as China fought for its survival against the Japanese invasion, the textbooks of Chinese literature and Chinese history were highly patriotic, written according to the syllabi disseminated by the Nationalist government in 1941 from the wartime capital of Chongqing. These textbooks continued to be used throughout the Chinese civil war period (1945-1949) in Hong Kong (Pang, 1987). After the victory of the CCP in China,

the Hong Kong leftists further criticized the curriculum designed by the KMT. For instance, a leftist newspaper (Newspaper *Wen Wei Pao*, 26 January, 1950) advocated that all schools in Hong Kong abandon the textbooks produced by the old KMT regime and replace them with textbooks from New China. This newspaper also suggested that educators in Hong Kong should seek assistance from Guangdong province (a southern province in China) for teaching materials.

However, the situation changed when the CCP defeated the KMT and established the PRC in 1949. Both the CCP government and KMT (Nationalist) government issued textbooks with highly patriotic contents. These textbooks became not only highly critical of each others' governments, but also of the Western countries for their invasion of Chinese territory. These teaching materials therefore were not acceptable to the Hong Kong government due to their advocation of ultranationalism and virulent anti-Communism (Sweeting, 1989).

The Communist takeover of China in 1949 constituted an immediate threat to the ruling authority of the British in Hong Kong. With the inauguration of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949, the Hong Kong colonial government had to encounter the difficult and dangerous situation of sharing the border with a unified and potentially belligerent Chinese state (Catron, 1971: 101). On the other hand, the Kuomintang (KMT) (the nationalists), although defeated by the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) and having retreated to Taiwan, always sought to win support from the Hong Kong Chinese for their anti-Communist movement. The potential hazard posed by Taiwan could not be underestimated, for if the sympathizers in Hong Kong joined the ex-KMT members, Taiwan could turn the tiny colony into an explosive battlefield between the two Chinas (Tsang, 1997b: 294-317). With the establishment of the PRC in 1949, there was an influx of Chinese from the mainland into Hong Kong, including many affiliated with the KMT or CCP. In order not to get involved in the political struggle between the two parties, the colonial government tightened its control of education. Education policy and administration were gradually centralized; the

Education Ordinance was formulated in 1948 and passed in 1952 (Sweeting, 1989).

Facing a critical situation, the colonial government had to curb the external influence of

Chinese politics by producing a local curriculum specifically for Hong Kong. Firstly, a

Special Bureau of the Education Department (SBED) was established to study the

Communist propaganda methods and check on Communist activities in schools. In 1950,

the SBED assisted in organizing training courses for teachers of Civics, advised on the

Civics curriculum, served on the Sub-Committee on syllabi for vernacular Schools, and

assisted with implementing a school leaving examination for Chinese middle schools

(Sweeting and Morris, 1993: 209).

The reasons for enhancing the teaching of Civics were to counteract the political

propaganda from the CCP and KMT on the one hand, and to improve the governance

over the ruled on the other hand. T. R. Rowell, the Director of Education, referring to

the new subject, made the following statement:

> Hong Kong is grossly overcrowded, and it is probably true to say
> that the greater part of the population is here to make money, to
> seek refuge, or to take advantage of the educational and other
> social services provided. Thus it is unusual to find a resident
> who shows an unselfish interest in any form of social welfare.
> The great majority of the inhabitants show an apathy from which
> it will not be easy to rouse them, but a start is being made in the
> schools to bring home to the children just what a good citizen
> means. A new subject, Civics, has been introduced (Annual
> Report, Hong Kong Education Department, 1948-1948:85).

In August 1950, a series of vernacular Civics textbooks without topics on the CCP,

KMT and China were available for the schools to use (Newspaper *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, 25

August 1950).

7.4.3 From De-Sinicization to De-Nationalization of Chinese Culture

In the process of tackling the political influences of the PRC and the KMT, the

colonial government initially attempted to adopt policies to de-Sinicize the school

curriculum in Hong Kong in order to minimize these external political influences. The

colonial government announced in April 1950 that from 1951 onwards a pass in Chinese

would no longer be compulsory in the Hong Kong School Leaving Certificate

Examination, a public examination for Anglo-Chinese secondary school graduates. Due to this new policy, the Senate of the University of Hong Kong later eliminated "Special Chinese" as a subject in its Matriculation Examination (Newspaper *South China Morning Post*, 20 April 1950). However, the education system was still not de-Sinicized in spite of the new policy as Chinese students in all government and aided schools had to take Chinese, unless they were exempted by the school principals (Newspaper *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, 21 January 1951). As a matter of fact, the number of candidates sitting for the Chinese paper of the School Leaving Certificate Examination grew constantly according to the Education Department Progress Report for the Quarter Ending 30 September 1951 (Hong Kong Record Services 41, D & S 1/1942(i)).

Although a series of de-Sinicization policies had been implemented, the colonial government realized that these policies could not effectively block the influences of the two rival Chinese governments. Worse still, these de-Sinicization policies would deprive the colonial government of the opportunity to build its authority over Hong Kong as anti-British sentiments would be provoked. Since the textbooks from PRC and Taiwan were not suitable for Hong Kong schools, the government of Hong Kong began to intervene in the school curriculum out of concern that the Communists and KMT would greatly influence the content of school curricula. Consequently, the colonial government changed its strategy by accommodating, but modifying, the Chinese culture of the official curriculum to achieve de-nationalization (Wong, 1999: 308-309). Two policies were then launched to implement the de-nationalization of Chinese culture in Hong Kong. The first one was to set up a Chinese Studies Committee in September 1952 and the second one was to localize the syllabi and textbooks.

7.4.3.1 The Establishment of Chinese Studies Committee

The Education Department of Hong Kong in 1952 appointed a Committee on Chinese Studies to review the curricula of Chinese Language, Chinese Literature and Chinese History for primary and secondary schools (Sweeting, 1989). The committee, consisting of ten members from a variety of backgrounds, was chaired by the Chinese

officer of the Education Department, with another Chinese school inspector serving as secretary. The committee members were almost all Chinese, the one exception being an Irish Jesuit priest who had been a professor of English at a Protestant university in Guangzhou. Most of them were educated at the University of Hong Kong or Christian universities in China. A few of them had academic, though apparently not political, connections with the Nationalists. Some were known to be Christians, and one was known as a Confucian scholar. In addition, some of them had served in the Chinese or Allied forces during the War of Resistance against Japan. The wide spectrum of background of the Committee helped to achieve certain political purposes. On the one hand, it represented broad interests in the society. On the other hand, it safeguarded the curriculum from being penetrated by patriotic contents, either from the Communist or from the Nationalists. Hence, it was a "safe" committee, one unlikely to approve "Communist propaganda" (Newspaper *Wah Kiu Yat Po*, 1953). The duties of this Committee were:

> To consider the position and aims of Chinese Studies (Chinese Language, Literature and History) in the educational system of the colony and to make recommendations, in the light of present-day needs, as to the general principles which should govern Chinese studies, the content of the courses, and the place which should be given to Kuo Yu (Mandarin or Putonghua), literary Chinese, and classical Chinese (Report of the Chinese Studies Committee, 1953: iii).

The purpose of setting up this Committee was to help consolidate the authority of the colonial government in Hong Kong as reflected by the members of the Committee so that they might take into consideration "the intimate ties that bind Hong Kong to Great Britain" when making recommendations (ibid, 1953: 1).

A comprehensive report (Report of the Chinese Studies Committee, 1953) was presented to the government in November 1953, reviewing the Chinese curriculum issue in depth and with great care. The report proposed to de-nationalize Chinese Studies in Hong Kong. As mentioned earlier, Hong Kong had previously imported textbooks mainly from China. The Report pointed out that the old curriculum of the KMT tended to

produce "arrogant and bigoted Chinese nationalists" and therefore, Hong Kong should produce its curriculum locally so as to cut its connection with Mainland China and Taiwan. In order to de-locate the nationalistic bias, the report strongly urged a "culturalistic emphasis on Chinese studies in order to counteract the nationalistic and revolutionary fervour in the Chinese culture textbooks from China". Two specific aims were highlighted in the Report:

i. to develop students' power of expression in their mother tongue and
ii. to foster students' appreciation of Chinese thought, literature and traditions (1953: 17).

In order to have the above suggestions accepted by the general public, the Committee tried to justify the principle of de-nationalization with the concepts of "democratic society" and "communication":

> In a free and democratic society, the act of communication has a special importance. A totalitarian state can obtain consent by force, but a democracy must persuade, and persuasion is through speech ... The function of Chinese Language lessons in local schools is, therefore, to develop Chinese pupils' power of expression and communication in their mother tongue, so as to fit them to make their way in Hong Kong (Report of the Chinese Studies Committee, 1953: 17).

In addition, the Committee further eliminated the themes of nationalism and anti-imperialism in relation to resisting foreign powers by redefining the "West" as a subject for academic investigation and a comparative yardstick to facilitate the Chinese to deepen their self-understanding -- rather than as the location of an enemy to be fought against. Furthermore, the Committee pinpointed particularly the function of Chinese Studies as a means to cultivate harmonious East-West relations:

> Having attained proficiency in their own language, literature and history, Chinese pupils should take another step further to utilize this as a basis for making comparative studies of Eastern and Western thought and language. It is only through such studies that Hong Kong children can become more Chinese, conscious of their own culture and at the same time having a liberal, balanced and international outlook (ibid, 1953: 19).

On the other hand, the Committee highly emphasized the good points and virtues of

the traditional Chinese culture, for the sake of the implementation of a conservative tradition of Chinese education afterwards:

> Before the Manchu Dynasty [1616-1911, the last dynasty of ancient China], China's weakness was arrogance. Since the end of that Dynasty, she had, however, suffered from an inferiority complex, and tended to imitate other people, forgetting their own good points and virtues. Therefore one purpose of teaching Chinese History to Chinese children would be to get rid of this complex by reviving what is good in Chinese culture, thereby instilling fresh confidence into, and restoring the self-respect of, her people (ibid, 1953: 33).

Throughout the whole report, there was no mention of cultivation of a sense of national identity or patriotism as one would have expected in a national curricular document. Instead, the Report placed much emphasis on the role of Hong Kong as the pivot of the interflow of Eastern and Western thought and language:

> Because of the geographical position and the unique nature of Hong Kong, the Committee feels that Chinese Studies lessons in local schools should, in addition to carrying out the aims enumerated (above), also contribute something towards ... the interpretation of China to the West and the West to China. ... In the past, Chinese Studies in China tended to aim at producing ignorant and bigoted Chinese nationalists. This is not educationally sound and should be strongly discouraged in Hong Kong. Here, after having attained proficiency in their own language, literature, and history, Chinese pupils should be guided another step further to utilize this as a basis for making comparative studies of Eastern and Western thought and language. It is only through such studies that Hong Kong children can become modern Chinese, conscious of their own culture and at the same time having a liberal, balanced and international outlook (ibid, 1953: 95-96).

The Report proposed that moral education was one of the major present-day needs of education in Hong Kong. "To the modern Chinese, the problem is even more realistic, for many of them have lost respect for most of the long-established Chinese virtues, but have not been able to assimilate the best of the Western virtues. There is indeed a vital need to have all the sound healthy elements in the fabric of Chinese social life and

culture to be revived" (ibid, 1953: 103).

With regard to the pedagogical principles governing the content and teaching methods of the Chinese culture subjects, the Report suggested that extensive outside reading was to be used in the teaching of Chinese Literature. However, it stressed that:

> "without proper guidance in this matter, pupils will easily be led astray by the books which they readily find in the local bookstores and many of which contain subversive propaganda and undesirable doctrines. It will be a great help to the schools if supplementary reading lists can be prepared and issued by the Education Department" (ibid, 1953: 133).

As seen from the above comment, the Hong Kong Government had the intention of preventing the pupils in Hong Kong from being influenced by the political ideas of both the Communists and the Nationalists.

Concerning the Chinese History textbooks, the committee placed emphasis on "international goodwill" rather than "hatred":

> Since the founding of the Republic, the Chinese politicians have striven hard to unite the nation by appealing to the people's patriotism, narrow nationalism and racialism. One handy shortcut to this end is to stir up hatred for foreign countries, and History textbooks have been looked upon as a very convenient tool to serve this purpose. This explains why History textbooks published in China usually contain anti-foreign allusions, comments, and propaganda, and are, therefore, not quite suitable for use in Hong Kong. There is indeed an urgent need to produce History textbooks with an unbiased and local outlook which will aim to promote international goodwill and understanding rather than hatred and misunderstanding (ibid, 1953: 141).

The Report of the Committee on Chinese Studies provided the guidance for the development of Chinese cultural subjects in the Hong Kong secondary curriculum from the mid-1950s until the end of colonial rule in 1997. On the whole, the guidelines proposed by the Report did show a substantial continuity with the cultural policy of Governor Clementi, made in 1927. Indeed, some members of the Committee had studied under the literati associated with Clementi.

Since the refugee scholars and teachers had their cultural and social roots in their

motherland in China, not in Hong Kong, the Report proposed that history teaching should be related to pupils' environment:

> Local History should be included at appropriate stages and occasions, and, whenever possible brought into organic relation with the whole process of man's history (ibid, 1953: 144).

Therefore, the Report, it seemed, did not suppress Chinese culture; on the contrary, the status of Chinese culture was highly valued. However, the Report did deliver a message that the Hong Kong Chinese were expected to cultivate a harmonious relationship with the West, and to preserve the traditional Chinese culture, i.e. the conservative and obedient types of values. This seemed to be demonstrated that the colonial government tried to consolidate its power by means of cultural incorporation. Such practices by the colonial government were very shrewd and astute as on the one hand, the antagonists would find it difficult to instigate an anti-British campaign by reprimanding the colonial government for oppressing Chinese education, whereas on the other hand, the conservative traditional Chinese culture could enable the ruling authorities to establish a harmonious and stable society.

7.4.3.2 Localization of Curricula and Textbooks in Hong Kong

The second policy to actualize the principle of de-nationalization of Chinese culture was the localization of curricula and textbooks in Hong Kong. As mentioned previously, most textbooks used in Hong Kong before the 1950s were imported from China. However, the concern of the colonial government from the 1940s onwards was to limit the political influence of Communist elements, inspired by the Communist Party of China, and that of Kuomintang (Nationalists). This concern drove efforts to centralize and bureaucratize the local education system, bringing curriculum development and textbook monitoring for all school subjects within the ambit of an expanded Education Department.

In 1952, the colonial government of Hong Kong enacted a new Education Ordinance which decreed that no textbook should be used without approval from the Director of Education (Newspaper *Wah Kiu Yat Pao*, 5 July 1952). Spurred by political

concerns, the colonial government tried to tighten official supervision of syllabi and textbooks in Hong Kong. She then speeded up the local production of syllabi and textbooks. The colonial government reshuffled the Standing Committee on Syllabi, Examinations, and Awards in Government Schools (SCSEAGS) into the Standing Committee on Examinations and Awards in Government Schools (SCEAGS) in 1952-1953. It also reorganized the Textbook Committee into the Standing Committee on Syllabi and Textbooks (SCST). The SCST performed the duties of drawing up model syllabi, giving advice to the Director concerning textbooks, and stimulating the local publication of suitable instructional materials (Annual Report, Hong Kong Education Department, 1952-53: 22-23, 56). These reorganizations enlarged the scope of state regulation in the curriculum. Sweeting (1993: 208) further points out that the first and last of tasks of the SCST were entirely new, while the second corresponded to the function of the pre-existing textbooks committee. Besides this, a new unit -- the Special Bureau -- was created within the Education Department with the specific aim of countering Communism in schools by utilizing "methods similar to those employed and proved effective by the Communists". These methods included newspapers articles, special news sheets, special school texts, broadcasting, films, and the formation of dramatic and singing groups. The strategy that emerged in practice and which came to characterize the colonial government's education policy for the next three decades, was one of depoliticization, or the exclusion of politics as far as possible from the Hong Kong school curriculum (Sweeting, 1993: 207-211).

In 1952, the first examinations for the Hong Kong Chinese School Certificate were held. Prior to the 1950s, many local students had pursued further studies in China, and hence followed the Mainland syllabi in numerous private local Chinese schools. The Education Department of Hong Kong was anxious to provide Hong Kong with a depoliticized-system of Chinese education.

For primary schools, in 1953-54, the SCST issued subject syllabi for Arithmetic, General Science, Social Studies, English, and Music for primary schools (Annual Report,

Hong Kong Education Department, 1953: 54:64).   In 1954-55, guidelines in Rural Studies, Art and Housecraft were issued (Annual Report, Hong Kong Education Department, 1954-55: 56).   Regarding the syllabi for secondary schools, in 1953-54, the SCST published syllabi for English, Geography, Science, Civics and Music for Anglo-Chinese secondary Schools.   The Education Department promised that they would translate and adapt these syllabi for Chinese institutions later (Annual Report, Hong Kong Education Department, 1953-54: 64).   In the next year, syllabi for secondary school Mathematics, Science, Chinese, History and Civics were produced (Annual Report, Hong Kong Education Department, 1954-55: 56). The earliest official Secondary Chinese Language Syllabus was produced in the 1960s.   That is the reason why the present study starts with the syllabus 1961.

7.5   The Impact of the Sino-British Joint Declaration (1984)

A Sino-British Joint Declaration, was signed jointly by the British and the government of the Mainland China in 1984, providing for British withdrawal from Hong Kong on 30 June 1997 and the restoration of Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997, and thus started the thirteen years' transition period from British colonial rule to local autonomy under Chinese sovereignty.   Hong Kong hence entered a new era and would then become a Special Administrative Region of China to be administered by Hong Kong people.

7.5.1   Curriculum Development before 1984: Depoliticization

According to Morris and Sweeting, before the 1980s, it was the central policy of the government to ensure the apoliticization of education (Morris and Sweeting, 1992: 144). The reason for launching such a policy was the colonial status of Hong Kong and its complex relationships with the Kuomintang (Taiwan Nationalist government) and the Communist government of Mainland China.

In addition to the above-mentioned reason for the colonial government to depoliticize the Chinese Language curriculum in order to avoid the penetration of patriotic elements into the curriculum, there were other factors that contributed to the

depoliticization of the curriculum of Hong Kong. Firstly, most Hong Kong people were refugees fleeing from China during the Chinese civil wars and the war with Japan in the early part of the century and cultural revolution in the 1960s. The traumatic experiences they had undergone predisposed most refugees to political quietism (Hoadley, 1970: 211). The refugee-status of many residents led them to prefer the status-quo. As long as the government could maintain social stability and the standard of living was improving, it would be acceptable to the citizens. Economic success became a common concern for both the government and the populace (Lau, 1983: 196-7).

Secondly, the traditional Confucian political attitude of passive submission and acquiescence towards government, and avoidance of contact with it, prevailed among the old Hong Kong residents. Hong Kong Chinese were mainly concerned with getting the greatest freedom and gaining the largest wealth. In addition, "family" was given high priority. All these factors led to a lack of interest in politics.

Thirdly, for a long time, there had been no effective official channels for Hong Kong people to take part in the political system. The lack of opportunities in political participation made the people of Hong Kong lose interest in politics and public affairs. The combined effect of individual concern for family well-being, the fear of politics and Communism, and the lack of opportunities for political participation in the colony led to general political apathy among the population, and this contributed greatly to form a depoliticized polity (Lau, 1983: 198).

Moreover, the colonial government had deliberately developed Hong Kong into a depoliticized territory. Being close to China geographically, Hong Kong had long been exposed to the influences of politics from China (Bray and Lee, 1993). In order to keep politics out of the school curriculum, an administrative framework had been set up for a long time. In the 1950s, the specific concern was to stop the curriculum being used to spread "Kuomingtang" ideology, whereas in the 1960's it was trying to stop the spread of Communist ideology (Morris, 1992: 25). In order to maintain the ruling

status of the colonial government, political participation was not encouraged. Instead, consensus politics was the ideal ruling mode that the colonial government pursued. Consequently, students of Hong Kong were educated to be "responsible", "sensitive" and "rational" citizens who would appreciate the government's effort in bringing economic progress and solving social problems. As Morris and Sweeting (1992) point out "A policy of apoliticization rather than the inculcation of a distinct political ideology was adopted by the government". An example is that education regulations were designed to ensure that schools would not discuss politics. No. 96 and No. 98 of the Education Regulations were used by the government to suppress political activities in schools. Politically sensitive topics such as the relations of the Hong Kong Government with China (PRC) or Taiwan were therefore prohibited from discussion in schools (Bray and Lee, 1993).

7.5.2 Curriculum Development after 1984: Politicalization

The signing of the Sino-British Declaration on the future of Hong Kong in 1984 had a profound impact on the political climate as the future of Hong Kong had been determined. Hong Kong became a Special Administration Region of the People's Republic of China (PRC) starting from July 1, 1997. Before the handover, there was a long transitional period of 13 years between 1984 and 1997. During this transitional period, the colonial government decided to expand the level of political participation by increasing the number of elected seats in the Legislative Council. The increased opportunity to participate in elections triggered the development of new political parties in Hong Kong. Hong Kong changed from a depoliticized social environment into a rather politically sensitized arena (Bray and Lee, 1993.)

According to Morris and Chan (1997), after 1984, the colonial government began to allow the study of previously politically sensitive materials, including documents related to relationships with the PRC. In education, new subjects with political orientations emerged, including Government and Public Affairs and Liberal Studies, which encouraged discussion of controversial political issues. In 1985, the Guideline on Civic

Education in school was issued. In addition, the content of some existing subjects such as History, Chinese History, Chinese Language as well as Economics and Public Affairs were amended in order to promote a greater awareness of China, Chinese culture and political institutions. In summary, there were significant changes in the school curriculum of Hong Kong after the signing of the Sino-British Declaration in 1984, which departed from the previously depoliticized orientation.

7.6 Conclusion

The educational development of Hong Kong can be described as being marked by a lack of long term planning in providing a well-designed education for her citizens. In retrospect, most educational policies were designed to meet the demands of different pressure groups, the needs of the industrial and financial sectors, or tackling political crisis, at a particular stage.

The policy implemented by Governor Clementi to raise the status of Chinese culture and to set up a Chinese Department in the University of Hong Kong in 1927 seemed to be a concession to the ruled. Such a conciliatory approach in fact helped to pacify the anti-British sentiments of the Chinese community in Hong Kong. Actually, Clementi adopted the approach of "cultural incorporation" with an intention to "de-nationalize" Chinese culture and studies (Apple, 1991b: 9-10; Wong, 1999: 228-300). The intention of Governor Clementi's establishment of a Chinese Department in the University of Hong Kong and employment of the most prestigious literati of the former Qing Dynasty of China to be the lecturers, was designed to promote a conservative tradition of Chinese education. The British colonial government shrewdly supported and extended its *hegemony* by accommodating and transforming the Chinese culture of the ruled (Gramsci, 1975:12; Mouffe, 1979: 179-181). Chapter 9 will explain how such "hegemony building" operated through cultural incorporation to consolidate British colonial rule over Hong Kong, and also how it outmaneuvered the Chinese nationalistic powers by means of mollification and pacification.

From 1949 to the 1980s, the colonial government adopted policies to ensure that controversial political issues were kept out of the curriculum. This resulted in the avoidance of content that focused on modern Chinese history or literature, the geography or economy of China, as well as the controversial social or political issues in Hong Kong. There was a belief that the inclusion of such materials could provide teachers with opportunities to politically indoctrinate pupils and encourage them to criticize the insecure colonial government (Morris, 1995). On the other hand, the colonial government wanted its people to concentrate their efforts on the economy and deliberately ignored politics which might lead to racial confrontation and social unrest. Consequently, the de-politicization of the curriculum in Hong Kong schools was very much encouraged (Morris, 1997b). The subject of Chinese Language before 1984 existed to supply students with a depoliticized and alienated vision of their national identity. After the signing of the Sino-British Declaration in 1984, the future of Hong Kong was determined. In order to prepare students to return to the motherland, curricula promoting a greater awareness of China and Chinese culture were encouraged. Thus, the development of Chinese education in Hong Kong was closely related to political factors.

Chapter 8
Findings from Content Analysis of Secondary
Chinese Language Curriculum and the Interview

8.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the content analysis of Hong Kong secondary Chinese Language curriculum from the 1960s to the 1990s and the interview. The chapter begins with the distribution of Chinese texts in the four syllabi (1961, 1971, 1978 and 1990) and then the results of content analysis of the four syllabi (the distribution of values categories). The distribution of values categories by grade level of each syllabus will also be presented. Comparison between the four syllabi in terms of different categories of values will also be made. From this analysis we can portray a summative profile of the types of values, attitudes and behaviour which the British colonial government tried to inculcate in Hong Kong students through the Chinese Language curriculum. Findings from the interview will be reported in the latter part of this chapter. The findings will then be discussed in light of wider political, social and economic factors in Chapter 9.

8.2 Findings from Content Analysis of the Chinese Language Curriculum

8.2.1 Many Overlapping Texts in the Four Syllabi

As from the data analysis in this study, there are 650 compulsory Chinese texts in total in the four syllabi (1961, 1971, 1978, 1990) during the period of the 1960s to the 1990s in the Hong Kong secondary Chinese Language Curriculum. Table 8.1 shows the distribution of texts in each syllabus:

Table 8.1 Distribution of Texts in the Four Syllabi (1961,1971,1978,1990)

Year	Total No. of Texts	No. of New Texts	No. of Old Texts Retained	% of Old Texts Retained from Previous Syllabus
1961	135	/	/	/
1971	182	57	125	92.59%
1978	179	63	116	63.74%
1990	154	84	70	39.11%

Texts chosen in the syllabi of 1971 and 1978 did not change much. A majority of the texts repeated those of the previous syllabus except the 1990 syllabus. The syllabus of 1971 retained 92.59% of the texts of the 1961 syllabus. The syllabus of the 1978 retained 63.74% of the texts of the 1971 syllabus. Although the most recent syllabus, i.e. the 1990 syllabus retained fewer previous texts, it still retained 39.11% of the 1978 syllabus. The following table shows the texts common to two or more syllabi:

Table 8.2   Occurrence of Chinese Texts in the Four Syllabi

Occurrence of Texts in No. of Syllabi	1 Syllabus	2 Syllabi	3 Syllabi	4 Syllabi
	212	79	52	31

Generally speaking, curriculum changes with the time. During the 1970s and 1990s, from an economic perspective, Hong Kong underwent great changes due to the economic boom. Hong Kong even enjoyed the prestige of being one of the "Four Little Dragons" and the financial centre of Asia. From the political perspective, the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration concerning Hong Kong's future had an enormous impact on every aspect of Hong Kong life. The Joint Declaration definitely confirmed that the sovereignty of Hong Kong would be returned to China after 1 July 1997. Such a huge change would be expected to have a great impact on the school curriculum of Hong Kong. However, judging from the Hong Kong Secondary Chinese Language Curricula throughout the 1960s to the 1990s, not much change was apparent in terms of texts selected.

8.2.2   Half of the Selected Texts were Ancient Texts

Table 8.3 shows the distribution of Chinese texts of the four syllabi by century, it was found that over half of the selected texts were before 20th Century (342 out of 650 pieces of texts, accounting for 52.62% of the total number of the four syllabi). Many of the texts were found to be dated prior to the 1st Century A D, reflecting ancient and established mores in Chinese society. For those texts of the 19th Century, most of them were written before the 1950s.

Table 8.3   **Distribution of Chinese Texts by Century**

Century	No. of Texts	%
7th Century (BC)	4	0.62
6th Century (BC)	10	1.54
5th Century (BC)	1	0.15
4th Century (BC)	8	1.23
3rd Century (BC)	24	3.69
2nd Century (BC)	15	2.31
1st Century (BC)	18	2.77
1st Century	12	1.85
2nd Century	8	1.23
3rd Century	19	2.92
4th Century	10	1.54
5th Century	13	2.00
6th Century	7	1.08
7th Century	8	1.23
8th Century	40	6.15
9th Century	6	0.92
10th Century	24	3.69
11th Century	25	3.85
12th Century	7	1.08
13th Century	18	2.77
14th Century	6	0.92
15th Century	4	0.62
16th Century	9	1.38
17th Century	12	1.85
18th Century	11	1.69
19th Century	23	3.54
20th Century	299	46.00
Unclassified/ Author unknown	9	1.38
Total	650	100

8.2.3 Analysis of Values Categories

Table 8.4   Distribution of All Values (major themes and minor themes) of the Four Syllabi (1961, 1971, 1978, 1990)

Categories of Values (All themes)	1961 135		1971 182		1978 179		1990 154	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Personal Values	419	41.78	489	46.09	699	47.84	578	39.16
Interpersonal Values	375	37.39	378	35.63	459	31.42	506	34.28
Nation-oriented Values	206	20.54	159	14.99	178	12.18	311	21.07
World-oriented Values	0	0	4	0.38	9	0.62	6	0.41
Nature-oriented Values	3	0.29	18	1.70	67	4.59	22	1.49
Informational Values	0	0	13	1.23	49	3.35	53	3.59
Total	1003	100	1061	100	1461	100	1476	100

Table 8.4 indicates the distribution of the six categories of values, and the frequency of occurrence and relative percentages with which personal values, interpersonal values, nation-oriented values, world-oriented values, nature-oriented values and informational values occur in the four secondary Chinese Language syllabi. As shown in Table 8.4, it is clear that "personal values" plays a major role throughout the four syllabi, accounting for around 40% of all themes in each syllabus. The "interpersonal values" rank second throughout the four syllabi, accounting for over 30% in each syllabus. With regard to the "nation-oriented values", this is the third most important category throughout the four syllabi, ranging from 12% to 21% of all themes. The pattern of values in the secondary Chinese Language is very

consistent. The ranking of the first three major values categories of the four syllabi is exactly the same, "personal values" being the first, "interpersonal values" being the second, and "nation-oriented values" being the third. For the other three categories, namely world-oriented values, nature-oriented values and informational values, their very low frequency of occurrence demonstrates that they did not play a significant role in the Chinese Language curriculum.

8.2.3.1 Analysis of Values Categories -- 1961 Syllabus

Table 8.5 **Distribution of Values by Categories (1961 Syllabus)**

Categories of Values	Major themes		Minor themes		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Personal Values	72	53.33	347	39.98	419	41.78
Interpersonal Values	37	27.41	338	38.94	375	37.39
Nation-oriented Values	26	19.26	180	20.74	206	20.54
World-oriented Values	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nature-oriented Values	0	0	3	0.34	3	0.29
Informational Values	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	135	100.00	868	100.00	1003	100.00

Table 8.5 shows the relative percentages with which personal values, interpersonal values, nation-oriented values, world-oriented, nature-oriented values and informational values occur in the 1961 syllabus. As seen from the table, it is clear that "personal values" plays a vital role in the fabric of the 1961 syllabus of the Chinese Language curriculum. It is found that 53.33% of major themes, 39.98% of minor themes and 41.78% of total themes are related to personal character cultivation. The "interpersonal values" rank second, with 27.41% of major themes, 38.94% of minor themes, and 37.39% total themes. Taking "personal values" and "interpersonal values" together, we have 79.17% of total themes, showing their dominant position in the 1961 syllabus. This demonstrates that the 1961 syllabus places great emphasis on nurturing morality. With regard to "nation-oriented values", this category ranks third

among the six major values categories. It is found that 19.26% of major themes, 20.74% of minor themes and 20.54% of total themes concern the values of one's society, country as well as the government.   The frequency counts of "nature-oriented values" are only minimal, with only 3 examples of minor themes, 0.29% of total themes.   The fact that no occurrence is recorded in the categories of "world-oriented values" and "informational values" shows that the 1961 syllabus did not place any importance on the knowledge of the outside world. Tables 8.6-8.11 show the coding results of the texts of the 1961 syllabus of the six major values categories.

Table 8.6 **Personal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1961 Syllabus)**

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Behaviour			
Self-cultivation	9	45	54
Enthusiastic about learning	9	43	52
Having indomitable spirit	8	30	38
Perseverance in studying	9	28	37
Deep Inquiry	3	24	27
Proper behaviour	7	20	27
Attentiveness	3	20	23
Industrious in working	4	18	22
Analytical thinking	1	16	17
Intelligence	0	11	11
Having responsibility	0	10	10
Bravery	0	8	8
Willing to correct one's mistakes	1	7	8
Well-plannedness	2	5	7
Competence	1	5	6
The doctrine of the mean	1	5	6
Striving for success	0	5	5
Having strategy	0	5	5
With initiative	0	5	5
Honesty	0	4	4
Strong-mindedness	0	2	2

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
B. Self-regard			
Trying to be blameless in one's private life	0	5	5
Self-awareness/ Self-reflection	0	3	3
Openness and aboveboardness	0	2	2
Belittling wealth	0	2	2
Passive acceptance, attempt nothing	1	1	2
The importance of staying aloof from politics and material pursuits	0	1	1
With one's mind firmly made up	0	1	1
Contentment with what one is	0	1	1
C. Undesirable Behaviour			
Not showing filial obedience	0	6	6
Not loving each other	0	4	4
Arrogance	1	1	2
Laziness	0	2	2
Not serious	1	1	2
Acting with undue haste	1	1	2
Impoliteness	1	1	2
Breaking one's promise	1	1	2
Killing each other	1	1	2
Greediness	0	0	1
Taking credit for someone else's achievements	0	1	1
Total	72	347	419

Table 8.7 Interpersonal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1961 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Personal Qualities in Group			
Modesty	1	16	17
Sincerity	0	16	16
Being equitable and orderly	0	14	14
Generosity	2	8	10

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Kindness	0	8	8
Respecting others	0	8	8
Compassion	0	8	8
Altruism	1	5	6
Having spirit of sacrifice	0	3	3
The "Five Human Relationships"	1	2	3
Politeness	0	2	2
Sharing with others	0	1	1
Considerateness	0	1	1
Universal love	0	1	1
B. Kinship Relationships			
Familial love	13	96	109
Filial piety	9	57	66
Mourning for the death of wife	1	5	6
Harmonious relationship between kinship	0	5	5
Great expectation of parents towards children	0	4	4
Regretting not repaying parents	0	3	3
Taking delight in relative gathering	0	3	3
Children deeply memorizing the teaching from parents	0	1	1
C. Attitudes Towards Others			
Keeping promise	1	21	22
Cherishing friendship	4	11	15
Harmony	1	12	13
Loyalty	0	8	8
Helpfulness	0	5	5
Hospitality	1	3	4
Mourning for the death of a friend	1	3	4
Making friends with good persons	0	4	4
Repaying one's kindness	1	2	3
Caring for others	0	1	1
Forgiving	0	1	1
Total	37	338	375

Table 8.8   Nation-oriented (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1961 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Society-oriented Values			
Observation of rites and social rituals	1	34	35
Social order	0	2	2
Resistance to corruption	0	2	2
Justice	0	1	1
All live in plenty	0	1	1
Stability	0	1	1
B. Politically-oriented Values			
i. Components Related to ruler			
Ruling the country in an orderly manner	0	14	14
Ruler should be well-cultivated	0	11	11
Ruler implementing a policy of benevolence	2	5	6
Ruler showing respect to officers	1	1	2
Governing people	1	1	2
ii. Components Related to the Country/ Government			
Patriotism	7	32	39
Loving one's compatriots	1	19	20
Contribution to country	6	14	20
Concern with the livelihood of one's compatriots	2	12	14
Standing up for one's country	2	10	12
Anti-war/ longing for peace	0	7	7
Reforming the country	1	5	6
Publicizing the prestige of one's country	1	1	2
Removing the corrupt officers	0	2	2
Expostulating the ruler	0	2	2
Hoping the country to be strong	0	2	2
Protecting one's country	1	1	2
Total	26	180	206

Table 8.9 World-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1961 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scenic spots/geographical knowledge of foreign countries	0	0	0
Historical sites of foreign countries	0	0	0
Cultures and customs of foreign countries	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0

Table 8.10 Nature-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1961 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
The beauty of the nature/scenery	0	2	2
Environmental protection	0	0	0
Attitude towards rural life	0	1	1
Total	0	3	3

Table 8.11 Informational Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1961 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scientific knowledge	0	0	0
Hygienic knowledge	0	0	0
Geographical knowledge	0	0	0
Writing skills	0	0	0
Development of Chinese letters/signs used in a system of writing	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0

Table 8.12 <u>Distribution of Values Categories by Grade Level (1961 Syllabus)</u>

Grade Level / Values Categories	1 No.	1 %	2 No.	2 %	3 No.	3 %	4 No.	4 %	5 No.	5 %	Total	%
Personal Values												
Major themes	24	33.33	16	22.22	13	18.05	13	18.05	6	8.33	72	99.98
Minor themes	125	36.02	58	16.71	28	8.07	38	10.95	98	28.24	347	99.99
Total	149	35.56	74	17.66	41	9.79	51	12.17	104	24.82	419	100
Interpersonal Values												
Major themes	4	10.81	8	21.62	7	18.92	12	32.43	6	16.22	37	100
Minor themes	31	9.17	97	28.69	36	10.65	94	27.81	80	23.67	338	99.99
Total	35	9.33	105	28.00	43	11.47	106	28.27	86	22.93	375	100
Nation-oriented Values												
Major themes	4	15.38	5	19.23	6	23.08	4	15.38	7	26.92	26	99.99
Minor themes	18	10.00	28	15.56	50	27.78	26	14.44	58	32.22	180	99.99
Total	22	10.68	33	16.02	56	27.18	30	14.56	65	31.55	206	99.99
World-oriented Values												
Major themes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minor themes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Nature-oriented Values												
Major themes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	100
Minor themes	0	0	1	33.33	2	66.67	0	0	0	0	3	100
Total	0	0	1	33.33	2	66.67	0	0	0	0	3	100
Informational Values												
Major themes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Minor themes	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

Table 8.12 shows the distribution of values categories by grade level of the 1961 syllabus.

It can be seen that "personal values" are much emphasized in Secondary One (149 total

themes, 35.56%). For the "interpersonal values", Secondary Four has the highest frequency

of occurrence (106 total themes, 28.27%). The "nation-oriented values" is emphasized most in

Secondary Five (65 total themes, 31.55%). The "nature-oriented values" only plays a very

minor role in the 1961 syllabus. No examples are recorded in the "world-oriented values"

and "informational values" categories.

8.2.3.2 Analysis of Values Categories --1971 Syllabus

Table 8.13 <u>Distribution of Values by Categories (1971 Syllabus)</u>

Categories of Values	Major themes		Minor themes		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Personal Values	96	52.75	393	44.71	489	46.09
Interpersonal Values	44	24.18	334	38.00	378	35.63
Nation-oriented Values	28	15.38	131	14.90	159	14.99
World-oriented Values	2	1.10	2	0.23	4	0.38
Nature-oriented Values	8	4.40	10	1.14	18	1.70
Informational Values	4	2.19	9	1.02	13	1.23
Total	182	100.00	879	100.00	1061	100.00

Table 8.13 shows the relative percentages with which personal values, interpersonal

values, nation-oriented values, world-oriented, nature-oriented values and informational

values occur in the 1971 syllabus. As seen from the table, it is clear that the "personal values"

also plays an important role in the fabric of the 1971 syllabus of the Chinese Language

curriculum. It is found that 52.75% of major themes, 44.71% of minor themes and 46.09% of

total themes are related to personal character cultivation. "Interpersonal values" ranks second,

with 24.18% of major themes, 38.00% of minor themes, and 35.63% total themes. Taking

personal values and interpersonal values together, we have 81.72% of total themes, and these

occupy a dominant proportion of the 1971 syllabus. This demonstrates that the 1971 syllabus

also places great emphasis on nurturing morality. With regard to "nation-oriented values",

this category ranks third among the six major values categories. It is found that 15.38% of

major themes, 14.90% of minor themes and 14.99% of total themes concern the values of one's society, and country as well as the government. As compared with the 1961 syllabus, the percentage of the "nation-oriented values" drops by a small amount. Although the frequency counts of "world-oriented values", "nature-oriented values" and "informational values" are increasing, their relative percentages are still very low, with 0.38%, 1.70% and 1.23% of total themes respectively. Tables 8.14-8.19 show the coding results of the texts of the 1971 syllabus of the six major values categories.

Table 8.14   Personal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1971 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Behaviour			
Enthusiastic about learning	8	51	59
Having indomitable spirit	1	54	55
Perseverance in studying	5	28	33
Industrious in working	3	25	28
Proper behaviour	3	23	26
Meticulousness	0	16	16
Deep inquiry	1	15	16
Self-cultivation	3	11	14
Analytical thinking	0	14	14
Intelligence	0	11	11
Having scientific attitude	1	10	11
A sense of shame	1	9	10
Bravery	0	10	10
Honesty	0	9	9
Apologizing for one's mistake	1	8	9
Distinguish between right and wrong	1	8	9
Striving for success	0	8	8
Having strategy	0	8	8
Having adventurous spirit	2	6	8
Well-plannedness	0	8	8
Good at diplomatic language	0	7	7
Integrity	1	4	5

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Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Cautious with words	1	3	4
With pragmatic attitude	0	4	4
Cherishing time	1	3	4
Righteousness	0	3	3
Attentiveness	0	3	3
Not superstitious	0	3	3
Ready to admit one's fault	0	2	2
Good temper	1	1	2
Having responsibility	0	2	2
Handling situations with ease	1	1	2
Writing literary works for spreading forever and ever	1	1	2
Thriftiness	0	1	1
Strong-mindedness	0	1	1
Observant	0	1	1
Accomplishment	0	1	1
Whole-heartedness	0	1	1
Aiming at high	0	1	1
Frankness	0	1	1
B. Self-regard			
The despair of not being put in important positions of the government	3	5	8
With one's mind firmly made up	0	5	5
Being a hermit (not involve in politics)	1	3	4
The importance of staying aloof from politics and material pursuits	1	2	3
Sighing the transience of human life	0	3	3
Openness and aboveboard	0	2	2
Belittling wealth	1	1	2
Self-awareness/ Self-reflection	0	1	1
Not dragging out an ignoble existence	0	1	1
C. Undesirable Behaviour			
Not willing to bear hardships	0	7	7
Only persuing a happy life	1	5	6

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Ridicule	0	3	3
Greediness	0	5	5
Selfishness	0	4	4
Laziness	1	1	2
Arrogance	1	1	2
Not being serious	1	1	2
Impoliteness	1	1	2
Breaking one's promise	1	1	2
Killing each other	1	1	2
Shamelessness	0	2	2
Flattering	0	2	2
Cheating	0	1	1
Unfriendliness	0	1	1
Jealousy	0	1	1
Sticking to established practice	0	1	1
Seeking wealth and high position	0	1	1
Not respecting others	0	1	1
Indifference to others	0	1	1
Total	96	393	489

Table 8.15 Interpersonal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1971 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Personal Qualities in Group			
Compassion	2	27	29
Modesty	2	24	26
Politeness	2	24	26
Having spirit of sacrifice	1	21	22
Cooperativeness	1	16	17
Generosity	3	10	13
Altruism	1	11	12
Helping others	1	6	7
Amiability	2	5	7

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Respecting for others	1	2	3
Sincerity	0	2	2
Broad-mindedness	0	2	2
Favouring collectivism	1	1	2
Dedication	0	2	2
Appreciating others' strength	0	1	1
The "Five Human Relationships"	0	1	1
Willing to accept advice	0	1	1
B. Kinship Relationships			
Familial love	9	54	63
Filial piety	4	28	32
Harmonious relationship between kinship	1	22	23
Deep affection between spouse	1	18	19
Suffering from separating with family members	1	2	3
Younger brother should respect elder brother	0	3	3
Taking delight in relative gathering	0	2	2
Father teaching children how to behave	1	1	2
Children politely advising parents	0	1	1
Children helping to do housework	0	1	1
C. Attitudes Towards Others			
Cherishing friendship	5	10	15
Sincerely advising others	0	8	8
Harmony	1	5	6
Forgiveness	1	4	5
Repaying one's kindness	1	4	5
Caring for others	0	4	4
Hospitality	1	2	3
Empathy	1	2	3
Patience	0	2	2
Loyalty	0	1	1
Trustworthiness	0	1	1
Warm-heartedness	0	1	1

Showing gratitude to teachers' teaching	0	1	1
Showing gratitude to one's help	0	1	1
Total	44	334	378

Table 8.16 Nation-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1971 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Society-oriented Values			
Observation of rites and social rituals	0	15	15
Social order	0	7	7
Justice	1	2	3
Law-abidance	0	2	2
B. Politically-oriented Values			
i. Components Related to Ruler			
Ruler implementing a policy of benevolence	1	8	9
Governing people	0	1	1
Ruler should be well-cultivated	0	1	1
Ruler should put the talented in important positions	0	1	1
Ruler treating officials with courtesy	1	1	2
ii. Components Related to the Country/ Government			
Patriotism	8	23	31
Contributing to one's country	5	15	20
Sacrificing for one's country	2	13	15
Caring for one's country	0	8	8
Concern with the livelihood of one's compatriots	2	5	7
Winning popular support from people	2	4	6
Fulfilling responsibilities towards one's country	0	5	5
Loving one's compatriots	1	3	4
Protecting one's country	0	3	3
Standing up for one's country	0	2	2

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Reforming the country	1	1	2
Removing the corrupt officers	0	2	2
Government officers should not disturb people	1	1	2
Wiping out the humiliation of the country	1	1	2
The shamefulness of serving another regime	1	1	2
Sighing regret towards the rotten political situation	0	2	2
Policy launched by government officers	1	1	2
Government officers should behave proplerly	0	1	2
Overthrowing despotic rule	0	1	1
Total	28	131	159

Table 8.17   World-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1971 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scenic spots/geographical knowledge of foreign countries	1	1	2
Historical sites of foreign countries	1	1	2
Cultures and customs of foreign countries	0	0	0
Total	2	2	4

Table 8.18   Nature-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1971 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
The beauty of the nature/scenery	5	7	12
Environmental protection	2	2	4
Attitude towards rural life	1	1	2
Total	8	10	18

Table 8.19   **Informational Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1971 Syllabus)**

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scientific knowledge	1	2	3
Hygienic knowledge	1	2	3
Geographical knowledge	1	2	3
Writing skills	1	3	4
Development of Chinese letters/signs used in a system of writing	0	0	0
Total	4	9	13

Table 8.20   Distribution of Values Categories by Grade Level (1971 Syllabus)

Grade Level / Values Categories	1 No.	1 %	2 No.	2 %	3 No.	3 %	4 No.	4 %	5 No.	5 %	Total	%
Personal Values												
Major themes	26	27.08	25	26.04	20	20.83	13	13.54	12	12.50	96	99.99
Minor themes	102	25.95	132	33.59	110	27.99	21	5.34	28	7.12	393	99.99
Total	128	26.18	157	32.11	130	26.58	34	6.95	40	8.18	489	100
Interpersonal Values												
Major themes	9	20.45	10	22.73	14	31.81	6	13.64	5	11.36	44	100
Minor themes	66	19.76	87	26.05	99	29.64	42	12.57	40	11.98	334	100
Total	75	19.84	97	25.66	113	29.89	48	12.70	45	11.90	378	100
Nation-oriented Values												
Major themes	5	17.86	9	32.14	4	14.29	6	21.43	4	14.29	28	100
Minor themes	23	17.56	34	25.95	24	18.32	30	22.90	20	15.27	131	100
Total	28	17.61	43	27.04	28	17.61	36	22.64	24	15.09	159	100
World-oriented Values												
Major themes	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Minor themes	1	50.00	1	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	100
Total	2	50.00	2	50.00	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	100
Nature-oriented Values												
Major themes	2	25.00	2	25.00	3	37.50	1	12.50	0	0	8	100
Minor themes	2	20.00	2	20.00	5	50.00	1	10.00	0	0	10	100
Total	4	22.22	4	22.22	8	44.44	2	11.11	0	0	18	100
Informational Values												
Major themes	3	75.00	0	0	1	25.00	0	0	0	0	4	100
Minor themes	6	66.66	2	22.22	1	11.11	0	0	0	0	9	100
Total	9	69.23	2	15.38	2	15.38	0	0	0	0	13	100

Table 8.20 shows the distribution of values categories by grade level in the 1971 syllabus.

The "personal values" is emphasized most in Secondary Two (157 total themes, 32.11%).

For the "interpersonal values", Secondary Three has the highest frequency of occurrence (113 total themes, 29.89%). The "nation-oriented values" is emphasized most in Secondary Two (43 total themes, 27.04%). "World-oriented values", "nature-oriented values" and "informational values" only play minor roles in the 1971 syllabus.

8.2.3.3   Analysis of Values Categories -- 1978 Syllabus

Table 8.21   Distribution of Values by Categories (1978 Syllabus)

Categories of Values	Major themes		Minor themes		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Personal Values	69	38.56	630	49.14	699	47.84
Interpersonal Values	49	27.37	410	31.98	459	31.42
Nation-oriented Values	27	15.08	151	11.78	178	12.18
World-oriented Values	3	1.67	6	0.47	9	0.62
Nature-oriented Values	21	11.73	46	3.59	67	4.59
Informational Values	10	5.59	39	3.04	49	3.35
Total	179	100.00	1282	100.00	1461	100.00

Table 8.21 shows the relative percentages with which personal values, interpersonal values, nation-oriented values, world-oriented values, nature-oriented values and informational values occur in the 1978 syllabus. As seen from the table, it is clear that the "personal values" plays a major role in the fabric of the 1978 syllabus of the Chinese Language curriculum. It is found that 38.56% of major themes, 49.14% of minor themes and 47.84% of total themes are related to personal character cultivation.   It should be noted that the minor theme (630 examples) of "personal values" in the 1978 syllabus outweighs the previous two syllabi in that category by a substantial amount. "Interpersonal values" ranks second, with 27.37% of major themes, 31.98% of minor themes, and 31.42% of the total themes. Taking "personal values" and "interpersonal values" together, we have 79.26% of total themes, which occupy a dominant proportion of the 1978 syllabus. This demonstrates

that the 1978 syllabus again places great emphasis on nurturing morality. With regard to the "nation-oriented values", this category ranks third among the six major values categories. It is found that 15.08% of major themes, 11.78% of minor themes and 12.18% of total themes concern the values of one's society, country as well as the government. As compared with the previous two syllabi, the percentage of "nation-oriented values" in the 1978 syllabus is the lowest. The "world-oriented values" remains a single digit, with 9 examples only (0.62%). Although the relative percentage of the "world-oriented values" is still very low, the trend is rising, from 0.38% to 0.62% as compared to the previous syllabus. Percentage of "nature-oriented values" and "informational values" are also increasing. Tables 8.22-8.27 show the coding results of the texts of the 1978 syllabus of the six major values categories.

Table 8.22   Personal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1978 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Behaviour			
Having indomitable spirit	5	65	70
Enthusiastic about learning	6	40	46
Having scientific attitude	3	35	38
Industrious in working	5	31	36
Perseverance in studying	5	26	32
Proper behaviour	3	25	28
Intelligence	0	18	18
Analytical thinking	0	16	16
Accomplishment	1	13	14
Placing great emphasis on education	1	12	13
Well-plannedness	0	11	11
Bravery	0	11	11
Attentiveness	0	10	10
Meticulousness	0	8	8
Good at diplomatic language	0	8	8

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Creativity	0	7	7
Whole-heartedness	1	5	6
Self-cultivation	1	4	5
Willing to correct one's mistakes	1	4	5
Having pragmatic attitude	0	5	5
Having responsibility	0	5	5
Cherishing chances of learning	1	4	5
Striving for success	0	4	4
Realizing one's aspiration	1	3	4
Righteousness	0	4	4
Honesty	0	4	4
A sense of shame	0	4	4
Ready to admit one's fault	0	4	4
Cherishing time	1	3	4
Making good use of life	1	3	4
Imagination	0	4	4
Handling situations with ease	2	2	4
Striving for progress	0	4	4
Having adventurous spirit	1	3	4
Leading a meaningful life	1	2	3
Being suppressed by morality	1	2	3
Having strategy	0	3	3
Apologizing for one's mistakes	0	2	2
Good temper	1	1	2
Thrifty	0	1	1
Integrity	0	1	1
Observant	0	1	1
Strong-mindedness	0	1	1
B. Self-regard			
Self-awareness/ Self-reflection	1	9	10
Confidence	1	8	9
Treasuring the life	1	9	10
Being a hermit (not involve in politics)	4	5	9
With one's mind firmly made up	0	5	5

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Suppressed by morality	1	2	3
Belittling wealth	0	3	3
Openness and aboveboard	0	2	2
The importance of staying aloof from politics and material pursuits	1	1	2
Willing to accept criticism	0	2	2
C. Undesirable Behaviour			
Not being serious	2	10	12
Flattering	0	12	12
Reluctance of bearing hardships	0	7	7
Pursuing a happy life only	1	5	6
Greediness	0	5	5
Hypocrisy	2	3	5
Selfishness	0	5	5
Ridicule	0	4	4
Impoliteness	1	3	4
Arrogance	1	2	3
Laziness	0	3	3
Cheating	0	3	3
Unfriendliness	0	3	3
Overcautiousness	0	3	3
Jealousy	1	2	3
Rudeness	0	3	3
Breaking one's promise	1	1	2
Killing each other	1	1	2
Being burden of the society	1	1	2
Showing off	1	1	2
Being shameless	0	2	2
Seeking wealth and high position	0	2	2
Not showing filial obedience	0	1	1
Sticking to established practice	0	1	1
Not respecting others	0	1	1
Low self-awareness	0	1	1
Quibbling	0	1	1

Bullying	0	1	1
Revenge	0	1	1
Total	69	630	699

Table 8.23   **Interpersonal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1978 Syllabus)**

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Personal Qualities in Group			
Compassion	2	37	39
Having spirit of sacrifice	1	25	26
Modesty	2	22	24
Politeness	1	19	20
Cooperativeness	2	13	15
Altruism	0	11	11
Generosity	2	6	8
Dedication	1	5	6
Broad-mindedness	0	3	3
Sharing with others	0	3	3
Respecting others	0	3	3
Sincerity	0	2	2
Praising the labourer	1	1	2
Favouring collectivism	0	1	1
Considerateness	0	1	1
Appreciating others' strength	0	1	1
B. Kinship Relationships			
Familial love	16	116	132
Hoping to be a good father	1	23	24
Filial piety	2	21	23
Harmonious relationship between kinship	1	7	8
Deep affection between spouse	0	5	5
Children helping to do housework	0	5	5
Younger brother should respect elder brother	0	3	3
Placing great emphasis on kinship relationship	1	2	3

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Parents teaching children patiently	1	1	2
Putting family concern to the first	0	1	1
C. Attitudes Towards Others			
Harmony	5	10	15
Caring for others	1	9	10
Sincerely advising others	0	8	8
Loyalty	1	6	7
Forgiveness	1	6	7
Cherishing friendship	1	6	7
Helpfulness	0	6	6
Amiability	2	3	5
Establishing good relationship with one's neighbour	1	3	4
Repaying one's kindness	1	3	4
Hospitality	1	2	3
Empathy	1	2	3
Showing gratitude to one's help	0	3	3
Taking care of others	0	2	2
Trustworthiness	0	1	1
Warm-heartedness	0	1	1
Patience	0	1	1
Showing gratitude to teachers' teaching	0	1	1
Total	49	410	459

Table 8.24   Nation-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1978 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Society-oriented Values			
Fulfilling responsibilities towards one's country	0	11	11
Observation of rites and social rituals	0	7	7
Disciplinary	0	7	7
Being a good citizen	0	3	3
Equality	0	2	2
Pursuiting of freedom	0	2	2
Social progress and reform	1	1	2
Justice	0	1	1
Social consciousness	0	1	1
B. Politically-oriented Values			
i. Components Related to Ruler			
Ruler should put the talented in important positions	1	11	12
Respecting the ruler	0	5	5
Ruler should listen to different opinions	0	2	2
Rules treating officials with courtesy	1	1	2
ii. Components Related to Country/ Government			
Patriotism	8	35	43
Concern with the livelihood of one's compatriots	4	24	28
Caring for one's country	2	11	13
Winning honour for one's country	1	5	6
Popular support from people	2	3	5
Loving one's compatriots	0	4	4
Standing up for one's country	0	4	4
Reforming the country	1	3	4
Removing the corrupt government officers	0	2	2
National achievement and prosperity	1	1	2

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
The shamefulness of serving another regime	1	1	2
Policy launched by government officers	1	1	2
Glad that Chinese ruled by Chinese	0	1	1
Support for the Revolutionary Army	0	1	1
Government officers should not disturb people	0	1	1
The great loss caused by democratic campaign	0	1	1
Total	27	151	178

Table 8.25 **World-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1978 Syllabus)**

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scenic spots/geographical knowledge of foreign countries	1	2	3
Historical sites of foreign countries	1	2	3
Cultures and customs of foreign countries	1	2	3
Total	3	6	9

Table 8.26 **Nature-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1978 Syllabus)**

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
The beauty of the nature/scenery	14	29	43
Environmental protection	3	7	10
Attitude towards rural life	4	10	14
Total	21	46	67

Table 8.27   Informational Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1978Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scientific knowledge	3	6	9
Hygienic knowledge	1	6	7
Geographical knowledge	3	14	17
Writing skills	3	13	16
Development of Chinese letters/signs used in a system of writing	0	0	0
Total	10	39	49

Table 8.28 Distribution of Values Categories by Grade Level (1978 Syllabus)

Grade Level / Values Categories	1 No.	1 %	2 No.	2 %	3 No.	3 %	4 No.	4 %	5 No.	5 %	Total %	
Personal Values												
Major themes	13	18.84	25	36.23	16	23.19	10	14.49	5	7.25	69	100
Minor themes	115	18.25	233	36.98	135	21.43	93	14.76	54	8.57	630	100
Total	128	18.31	258	36.91	151	21.6	103	14.74	59	8.44	699	100
Interpersonal Values												
Major themes	16	32.65	12	24.49	13	26.53	4	8.16	4	8.16	49	100
Minor themes	80	19.51	122	29.76	101	24.63	59	14.39	48	11.71	410	100
Total	96	20.92	134	29.19	114	24.84	63	13.73	52	11.33	459	100
Nation-oriented Values												
Major themes	7	25.93	10	37.04	3	11.11	2	7.41	5	18.52	27	100
Minor themes	30	19.87	53	35.10	20	13.25	14	9.27	34	22.52	151	100
Total	37	20.79	63	35.39	23	12.92	16	8.99	39	21.91	178	100
World-oriented Values												
Major themes	0	0	2	66.67	1	33.33	0	0	0	0	3	100
Minor themes	0	0	2	33.33	4	66.67	0	0	0	0	6	100
Total	0	0	4	44.44	5	55.56	0	0	0	0	9	100
Nature-oriented Values												
Major themes	8	38.10	3	14.29	8	38.10	1	4.76	1	4.76	21	100
Minor themes	15	32.61	7	15.23	15	32.61	1	2.17	8	17.39	46	100
Total	23	34.33	10	14.93	23	34.33	2	2.99	9	13.43	67	100
Informational Values												
Major themes	5	50.00	0	0	1	10.00	4	40.00	0	0	10	100
Minor themes	8	20.51	3	7.69	2	5.13	26	66.67	0	0	39	100
Total	13	26.53	3	6.12	3	6.12	30	61.22	0	0	49	100

Table 8.28 demonstrates the distribution of values categories by grade level of the 1978

syllabus. The "personal values" is mostly emphasized in Secondary Two (258 total themes,

36.91%). The highest frequency of occurrence of "interpersonal values" is also in Secondary Two (134 total themes, 29.19%). Again, Secondary Two also has the highest frequency of occurrence in the category of nation-oriented values (63 total themes, 35.39%). The "world-oriented values", "nature-oriented values" and "informational values" increase their frequency of occurrence compared to the previous two syllabi. In the 1978 syllabus, there are 67 examples of major themes and minor themes in the category of "nature-oriented values", which is the largest number among the four syllabi. The "world-oriented values" still has the lowest frequency of occurrence (only 9, or 0.62% of the 1461 total themes as shown in Table 8.21).

8.2.3.4 Analysis of Values Categories -- 1990 Syllabus

Table 8.29 Distribution of Values by Categories (1990 Syllabus)

Categories of Values	Major themes		Minor themes		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Personal Values	84	34.42	494	40.09	578	39.16
Interpersonal Values	67	27.46	439	35.55	506	34.28
Nation-oriented Values	66	27.05	245	19.89	311	21.07
World-oriented Values	3	1.23	3	0.24	6	0.41
Nature-oriented Values	9	3.69	13	1.06	22	1.49
Informational Values	15	6.15	38	3.08	53	3.59
Total	244	100.00	1232	100.00	1476	100.00

Table 8.29 shows the relative percentages with which personal values, interpersonal values, nation-oriented values, world-oriented, nature-oriented values and informational values occur in the 1990 syllabus. As seen from the table, it is clear that "personal values" still plays the most significant role in the fabric of the 1990 syllabus of the Chinese language curriculum. It is found that 34.42% of major themes, 40.09% of minor themes and 39.16% of total themes are related to personal character cultivation. The "interpersonal values" ranks

second, with 27.46% of major themes, 35.55% of minor themes, and 34.28% total themes. Taking "personal values" and "interpersonal values" together, we have 73.44% of total themes, and these occupy a dominant proportion of the 1990 syllabus. This demonstrates that the 1990 syllabus also places great emphasis on nurturing morality. With regard to the "nation-oriented values", this category ranks third among the six major values categories. It is found that 27.05% of major themes, 19.89% of minor themes and 21.07% of total themes concern the values of one's society, country as well as the government. As compared to the last syllabus (1978), the "world-oriented values" drops a little bit (with 6 total themes, 0.41%). The "nature-oriented values" also decrease (with 22 total themes, 1.49%), whereas the "informational values" increase slightly (with 53 total themes, 3.59%). Tables 8.30-8.35 show the coding results of the texts of the 1990 syllabus of the six major values categories.

Table 8.30 **Personal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1990 Syllabus)**

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Behaviour			
Perseverance in studying	7	42	49
Having responsibility	3	32	35
Industrious in working	5	32	37
Having indomitable spirit	2	25	27
Deep inquiry	3	23	26
Whole-heartedness	3	23	26
Having initiation	5	19	24
Intelligence	0	20	20
Enthusiastic about learning	3	16	19
Realizing one's aspiration	2	11	13
Righteousness	4	8	12
Bravery	3	9	12
Analytical thinking	1	10	11
Calmness	0	11	11

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Striving for success	2	8	10
Self-cultivation	1	8	9
Knowledgeable	0	8	8
Ready to admit one's fault	1	5	6
Foresightedness	1	5	6
Agility	1	5	6
Having strategy	1	5	6
Use one's head always	0	6	6
Thriftiness	1	4	5
Meticulousness	1	4	5
Integrity	1	3	4
Careful with one's words	0	4	4
Strong-mindedness	2	2	4
Making good use of life	0	4	4
Capablity	0	4	4
Endurance	0	4	4
Accomplishment	0	4	4
Unshakeability	1	3	4
A sense of shame	1	2	3
Good habit	1	2	3
Adaptability	1	2	3
Cherishing time	1	2	3
Striving for progress	0	3	3
Frankness	1	1	2
Willing to correct one's mistakes	1	1	2
Observant	0	2	2
Solution for dilemma	0	2	2
Good at martial arts	0	2	2
Having adventurous spirit	0	2	2
Steadiness/ sedation	0	1	1
Having good memory	0	1	1
Handling matters systematically	0	1	1
Having quick response	0	1	1
B. Self-regard			

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Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
With positive outlook on life	7	9	16
Non-materialistic	2	12	14
Dedication to career	1	7	8
Contentment with what one is	1	5	6
Contented with one's career	1	5	6
The importance of staying aloof from politics and material pursuits	1	4	5
Enjoying the leisure of life	0	3	3
Self-respect	1	1	2
Having sportsmanship	1	1	2
Confidence	0	2	2
Leading a simple life	1	1	2
Self-awareness/ self-reflection	0	1	1
Rationality and objectivity	0	1	1
C. Undesirable Behaviour			
Arrogance	3	22	25
Not being serious	1	8	9
Laziness	1	5	6
Indulgence	1	5	6
Impulsiveness	1	3	4
Showing off	1	2	3
Wasting time	0	3	3
Opportunistic	0	3	3
Not practical	0	3	3
Stubborn	0	2	2
Narrow-mindedness	0	2	2
Total	84	494	578

Table 8.31 Interpersonal Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1990 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Desirable Personal Qualities in Group			
Compassion	10	100	110
Modesty	3	12	15
Altruism	0	11	11
Respecting others	1	10	11
Cooperativeness	1	5	6
Having spirit of sacrifice	1	5	6
Politeness	1	4	5
Broad-mindedness	0	4	4
Favouring collectivism	1	3	4
Helping others	1	2	3
Morality and justice	1	2	3
Serving others	1	1	2
Sharing with others	0	2	2
Sincerity	0	1	1
Kindness	0	1	1
Dedication	0	1	1
Considerateness	0	1	1
B. Kinship Relationship			
Familial love	19	149	168
Filial piety	3	38	41
Parents care for children's academic achievement	0	10	10
Regretting not repaying parents	3	4	7
Mourning for the death of wife	1	4	5
Taking delight in relative gathering	1	2	3
Harmonious relationship between kinship	0	3	3
Father encouraging children	0	3	3
Father asking for son's forgiveness	0	3	3
Deep affection between spouse	1	2	3
Putting family concern to the first	0	2	2
Mother teaching children patiently	0	2	2

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Children deeply memorizing the teaching from parents	1	1	2
Mother sacrificing for one's family	1	1	2
Great expectation of parents towards children	0	1	1
Parent respecting children's opinion	0	1	1
C. Attitudes Towards Others			
Cherishing friendship	5	11	16
Hospitality	1	7	8
Loyalty	3	3	6
Extending love	0	6	6
Repaying one's kindness	1	4	5
Taking care of others	1	3	4
Caring for others	1	3	4
Forgiveness	1	3	4
Keeping promise	1	2	3
Harmony	1	1	2
Showing gratitude to teachers' teaching	1	1	2
Helping others but not expecting reward	0	2	2
Blessing others	0	1	1
Deep affection between employer and employee	0	1	1
Total	67	439	506

Table 8.32   Nation-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1990 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
A. Society-oriented Values			
Observation of rites and social rituals	1	15	16
Equality	1	2	3
Justice	1	2	3
Stability	1	2	3
Social order	1	2	3
Resistance to corruption	0	2	2

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Respecting authority	1	1	2
Pursuit of freedom	0	1	1
B. Politically-oriented Values			
i. Components Related to Ruler			
Ruler implementing a policy of benevolence	2	10	12
Ruler should listen to different opinion	1	2	3
Ruler being close to men of virtue	0	1	1
Ruler keeping away from villain	0	1	1
Ruler apologizing to subordinate	0	1	1
ii. Components Related to Country/ Government			
Caring for one's country	10	40	50
Concern with the livelihood of one's compatriots	7	35	42
Patriotism	7	26	33
Great passion with places/scenery in China	8	21	29
Passionately fond of Chinese culture	3	14	17
Anti-war/longing for peace	2	12	14
Contributing to country	3	9	12
Hate serving in the government	2	7	9
Satirize the scum of the government	1	6	7
An ideal state of society	1	4	5
Protecting one's country	2	2	4
Removing the corrupt government officers	1	3	4
Expostulating the ruler	2	2	4
Sufferings of the suppressed	1	3	4
Country full of hope	1	3	4
Standing up for one's country	0	3	3
Backwardness of China	0	3	3
All one's life was wasted as not being put in an important position	1	2	3
Political stability	1	2	3
Overthrowing despotic rule	1	1	2

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Not satisfying the darkness of society	1	1	2
Willing to serve the country	1	1	2
Willing to shoulder the suffering of the country	1	1	2
The ineffectiveness of trying to restore the old regime	0	2	2
Winning honour for one's country	0	1	1
With the mind of politician	0	1	1
Hate the Japanese	0	1	1
Gaining support by one's virtues	0	1	1
Total	66	245	311

Table 8.33 World-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1990 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scenic spots/geographical knowledge of foreign countries	2	1	3
Historical sites of foreign countries	0	0	0
Cultures and customs of foreign countries	1	2	3
Total	3	3	6

Table 8.34 Nature-oriented Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1990 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
The beauty of the nature/scenery	3	4	7
Environmental protection	4	6	10
Attitude towards rural life	2	3	5
Total	9	13	22

Table 8.35   Informational Values (both as Major Themes and Minor Themes) by Frequency of Occurrence (1990 Syllabus)

Components	No. of Occurrence		
	Major themes	Minor themes	Total
Scientific knowledge	5	10	15
Hygienic knowledge	2	6	8
Geographical knowledge	4	7	11
Writing skills	3	9	12
Development of Chinese letters/signs used in a system of writing	1	6	7
Total	15	38	53

Table 8.36   Distribution of Values Categories by Grade Level (1990 Syllabus)

Grade Level / Values Categories	1 No.	1 %	2 No.	2 %	3 No.	3 %	4 No.	4 %	5 No.	5 %	Total	%
Personal Values												
Major themes	37	44.05	31	36.90	11	13.10	5	5.95	0	0	84	100
Minor themes	131	26.52	147	29.76	110	22.27	106	21.45	0	0	494	100
Total	165	29.26	175	31.03	117	20.74	107	18.97	0	0	578	100
Interpersonal Values												
Major themes	33	49.25	11	16.42	16	23.89	4	5.97	3	4.48	67	100
Minor themes	153	34.85	52	11.85	100	22.78	49	11.16	85	19.36	439	100
Total	186	36.76	63	12.45	116	22.92	53	10.47	88	17.39	506	100
Nation-oriented Values												
Major themes	12	18.18	11	16.67	12	18.18	19	28.79	12	18.18	66	100
Minor themes	41	16.73	24	9.79	65	26.53	75	30.62	40	16.33	245	100
Total	53	17.04	35	11.25	77	24.76	94	30.23	52	16.72	311	100
World-oriented Values												
Major themes	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	1	33.33	1	33.33	3	100
Minor themes	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	1	33.33	1	33.33	3	100
Total	0	0	2	33.33	0	0	2	33.33	2	33.33	6	100
Nature-oriented Values												
Major themes	5	55.56	4	44.44	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	100
Minor themes	5	38.46	8	61.54	0	0	0	0	0	0	13	100
Total	10	45.45	12	54.55	0	0	0	0	0	0	22	100
Informational Values												
Major themes	5	29.63	6	33.33	0	0	3	22.22	1	14.81	15	100
Minor themes	8	18.60	16	41.86	0	0	6	13.95	8	25.58	38	100
Total	13	24.52	22	41.52	0	0	9	16.98	9	16.98	53	100

Table 8.36 indicates the distribution of values categories by grade level in the 1990

syllabus. The "personal values" is most strongly emphasized in Secondary Two (175 total themes, 31.03%). The greatest number of frequency counts of "interpersonal values" is in Secondary One (186 total themes, 36.76%). The "nation-oriented values" occur most frequently in Secondary Four (94 total themes, 30.23%). The "world-oriented values" and "nature-oriented values" still play minor roles in the 1990 syllabus. The "informational values" in the 1990 syllabus has 53 frequency counts; this is not a large number. However, it is the highest frequency of occurrence among the four syllabi.

8.2.4 Comparison of Personal Values of the Four Syllabi

Table 8.37 Personal Values of the Four Syllabi (Top Ten Components)

1961	No.	1971	No.	1978	No.	1990	No.
Self-cultivation	54	Enthusiastic over learning	59	With indomitable spirit	70	Persevering in studying	49
Enthusiastic over learning	52	With indomitable spirit	55	Enthusiastic over learning	46	Industrious in working	37
With indomitable spirit	38	Persevering in studying	33	With scientific attitude	38	Responsible	35
Persevering in studying	37	Industrious in working	28	Industrious in working	36	With indomitable spirit	27
Deep inquiry	27	Proper behaviour	26	Persevering in studying	32	Deep inquiry	26
Proper behaviour	27	Meticulous	16	Proper behaviour	28	Whole-hearted	26
Attentive	23	Deep inquiry	16	Intelligence	18	With initiative	24
Industrious in working	22	Self-cultivation	14	Analytical thinking	16	Intelligence	20
Analytical thinking	17	Analytical thinking	14	With accomplishment	14	Enthusiastic over learning	19
Intelligence	11	Intelligence	11	Place great emphasis on education	13	With positive outlook on life	16

Table 8.37 shows the ten most frequently emphasized components in the "personal values" of the four syllabi. Among the 40 items, they can be grouped into two groups: one related to "cultivation of personal life":

- "Self-cultivation" (1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi)
- "Proper behaviour" (1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi)
- "Responsible" (1990 syllabus)
- "Righteous" (1990 syllabus)

The other is concerned with "attitudes towards learning and working":

- "Enthusiastic over learning" (4 syllabi)
- "With indomitable spirit" (4 syllabi)
- "Persevering in studying" (4 syllabi)
- "Industrious in working" (4 syllabi)
- "Intelligence" (4 syllabi)
- "Deep inquiry" (1961, 1971 and 1990 syllabi)
- "Analytical thinking" (1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi)
- "Attentive" (1961 syllabus)
- "Meticulous" (1971 syllabus)
- "With scientific attitude" (1978 syllabus)
- "With accomplishment" (1978 syllabus)
- "Place great emphasis on education" (1978 syllabus)
- "Whole-hearted" (1990 syllabus)
- "With initiative" (1990 syllabus)

8.2.5 Comparison of Interpersonal Values of the Four Syllabi

Table 8.38   Interpersonal Values in the Four Syllabi (Top Ten Components)

1961	No.	1971	No.	1978	No.	1990	No.
Familial love	109	Familial love	63	Familial love	132	Familial love	168
Filial piety	66	Filial piety	32	With compassion	39	With compassion	110
Keeping promise	22	With compassion	29	With spirit of sacrifice	26	Filial piety	41
Modest	17	Modest	26	Modest	24	Cherishing friendship	16
Sincere	16	Polite	26	Hope to be a good father	24	Modest	15
Cherishing friendship	15	Harmonious relationship between kinship	23	Filial piety	23	Altruism	11
Equitable and orderly	14	With spirit of sacrifice	22	Polite	20	Respect others	11
Harmonious (with others)	13	Deep affection between spouse	19	Cooperative	15	Parents care for children's academic achievement	10
Generous	10	Cooperative	17	Harmonious (with others)	15	Hospitality	8
Kind/Respect others/ With compassion/	8	Cherishing friendship	15	Altruism	11	Regretting not repaying parents	7

Table 8.38 demonstrates the ten most frequently emphasized components in the

"interpersonal values". The component of "familial love" ranks first throughout the four

syllabi, with frequency of occurrence of 109 in the 1961 syllabus, 63 in the 1971 syllabus, 132 in the 1978 syllabus and 168 in the 1990 syllabus. The component of "filial piety" also occurs frequently in the four syllabi (66 counts in the 1961 syllabus, 32 counts in the 1971 syllabus, 23 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 41 counts in the 1990 syllabus). The component of "regretting not repaying parents" (7 counts in the 1990 syllabus) also relates to the component of "filial piety". Taking the components of "familial love" and "filial piety" together, it is found that relationships between family members are strongly emphasized in the whole Chinese Language curriculum. Below is the table showing the components that related to family relationships:

Table 8.39   **Components Related to Family Relationship (Top Five Components)**

1961	No.	1971	No.	1978	No.	1990	No.
Familial love	109	Familial love	63	Familial love	132	Familial love	168
Filial piety	66	Filial piety	32	Hope to be a good father	24	Filial piety	41
Mourning for the death of wife	6	Harmonious relationship between kinship	23	Filial piety	23	Parents care for children's academic achievement	10
Taking delight in relative gathering	3	Deep affection between spouse	19	Harmonious relationship between kinship	8	Regretting not repaying parents	7
Regretting not repaying parents	3	Suffering from separation with family members	3	Deep affection between spouse	5	Mourning for the death of wife	5
Total	187		140		192		231

Apart from the components related to relationship with family members as shown in Table 8.38, "attitudes towards others" also occurs quite often. Components of "modesty" and "with compassion" occur throughout the four syllabi; whereas "cherishing friendship" (in the 1961, 1971 and 1990 syllabi) also receives much attention. In addition, harmonious

relationships with others / between kinship are also emphasized (13 counts in the 1961 syllabus, 23 counts in the 1971 syllabus and 15 counts in the 1978 syllabus).

8.2.6 Comparison of Nation-oriented Values of the Four Syllabi

Table 8.40 <u>Nation-oriented Values in the Four Syllabi (Top Ten Components)</u>

1961	No.	1971	No.	1978	No.	1990	No.
Patriotic	39	Patriotic	31	Patriotic	43	Care for one's country	50
Observation of rites and social rituals	35	Contribution to country	20	Concern the livelihood of one's compatriots	28	Concern the livelihood of one's compatriots	42
Contribution to country	20	Sacrifice for one's country	15	Care for one's country	13	Patriotic	33
Love one's compatriots	20	Observation of rites & social rituals	15	Ruler should put the talented in important positions	12	Great passion with places/ scenery in China	29
Concern the livelihood of one's compatriots	14	Ruler implements a policy of benevolence	9	Fulfilling responsibilities towards one's country	11	Passionately fond of Chinese culture	17
Ruling the country orderly	14	Care for one's country	8	Observation of rites & social rituals	7	Observation of rites & social rituals	16
Standing up for one's country	12	Concern the livelihood of one's compatriots	7	Disciplinary	7	Anti-war/ longing for peace	14
Ruler should be well-cultivated	11	Social order	7	Win honour for one's country	6	Contribution to country	12
Anti-war/ longing for peace	7	Popular support from people	6	Popular support from people	5	Ruler implements a policy of benevolence	12
Ruler implements a policy of benevolence	7	Fulfilling responsibilities towards one's country	5	Respect the ruler	5	Hate serving in the government	9

Table 8.40 demonstrates the top ten most emphasized components in the "nation-oriented values". It is interesting to point out that "patriotic" ranks the first in syllabi for 1961, 1971 and 1978, with the frequency of occurrence 39, 31 and 43 counts respectively. Although "patriotic" ranks the third among the top ten items in 1990 syllabus, it still occupies a substantial proportion of the "nation-oriented values" theme, with the frequency of occurrence 33 counts. Indeed, when we take a broader sense of the meaning of "patriotic", components such as "contribution to country", "love one's compatriots", "concern the livelihood of one's

compatriots", "standing up for one's country", "sacrifice for one's country", "care for one's country", "fulfilling responsibilities towards one's country", "win honour for one's country", "great passion with place/scenery in China", and "passionately fond of Chinese culture" can be grouped into the components of "patriotism". Below is a table showing components that related to "patriotism" in the nation-oriented values:

Table 8.41 <u>Components of "Patriotism" in the Four Syllabi (Top Five Components)</u>

1961	No.	1971	No.	1978	No.	1990	No.
Patriotic	39	Patriotic	31	Patriotic	43	Care for one's country	50
Contribution to country	20	Contribution to country	20	Concern the livelihood of compatriots	16	Concern the livelihood of compatriots	42
Love one's compatriots	20	Sacrifice for one's country	15	Care for one's country	13	Patriotic	33
Concern the livelihood of one's compatriots	14	Care for one's country	8	Fulfilling responsibilities towards one's country	11	Great passion with places/ scenery in China	29
Standing up for one's country	12	Concern the livelihood of compatriots	7	Win honour for one's country	6	Passionately fond of Chinese culture	17
Total	105		81		89		171

As shown from Table 8.41, "patriotic" occupies a substantial proportion of the nation-oriented values in the four syllabi. This also shows that the Secondary Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong placed great emphasis on the cultivation of values and attitudes of "patriotism". However, *which* political entity people should pledge loyalty to was not clearly mentioned and specified. This may have been due to the political situation that the British colonial government was facing at that time. The researcher will explore in depth the issue of "patriotism" in the next chapter.

In addition, "observation of rites and social rituals" occurs quite often throughout the four syllabi as shown in Table 8.40, (35 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 15 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 7 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 16 counts in the 1990 syllabus). Besides these, components of "social order" (7 counts in the 1971 syllabus) and "disciplinary" (7 counts in the 1978

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syllabus) are also recorded (Table 8.40). These demonstrate that social order in the society is also treasured. These also echo with Confucianism's great emphasis on "propriety". According to Confucianism, "propriety/*li*" can be used as a tool to achieve the external control of an individual's behaviour. Elaboration on this point will be given in the next chapter.

From Table 8.40, regarding the policy of the ruler towards the subjects, the components of "ruler implements a policy of benevolence" appear in three syllabi (7 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 9 counts in the 1971 syllabus and 12 counts in the 1990 syllabus). As the ruler implements a policy of benevolence towards his subjects, rulers are portrayed as kind and thoughtful. In the ruling philosophy of Confucianism, a benevolent ruler will be supported by the people, while a despot will be overthrown promptly by the people. Throughout the whole Secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong, the images of rulers have nothing to do with stern, harsh, cruel or despotic. Instead, the rulers are described as very kind and filled with compassion.

On the other hand, components of "anti-war/longing for peace" appear at the beginning of and at the end of the whole Secondary Chinese Language curriculum, i.e. in the 1961 and 1990 syllabi, with 7 and 14 counts respectively. Why should such components mainly appear on the first and the last syllabi? Investigation will be launched in the coming chapter.

Furthermore, components of "great passion with place/scenery in China" (29 counts in the 1990 syllabus) and "passionately fond of Chinese culture" (17 counts in the 1990 syllabus) appear only in the last syllabus, i.e. the 1990 syllabus. These may have been intended to prepare the students to learn more about China as Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. Detailed explanation on this issue will be offered in the next chapter.

8.2.7 Characteristics of the Secondary Chinese Language Curriculum of Hong Kong

Throughout the four syllabi, in "personal values", the following aspects are strongly emphasized:

1. Self-cultivation and proper behaviour

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2. Teaching and learning
3. Indomitable spirit when facing difficulties
4. Industrious when both working and studying

The first two are important elements of "moral cultivation" according to Confucianism, while the last two are closely related to the economic development of a society.

As for the "interpersonal values", the "desirable personal qualities in the group" contribute to the establishment of harmonious relationships in society. With regard to "kinship relationships", values of "familial love" and "filial piety" are strongly emphasized. Besides this, the component of "friendship" occurs quite often. All these may also contribute to the establishment of social harmony and stability. In addition, according to Confucianism, a son who treats the father with filial piety will also be loyal to the ruler. Hence, political stability will be attained.

In the "nation-oriented values", the component of "observation of rites and social rituals" deserves our attention. According to Confucianism, such traits can be regarded as "external control" so as to maintain social order and stability, whereas the elements of "self-cultivation" can be regarded as "internal control". Both the "internal control" and "external control" are the tactics employed by Confucianism to achieve social harmony and political stability.

"Patriotic" is the most important component under the "nation-oriented values". The above mentioned "internal control" and "external control" are the implicit ways of governing a country. Although the component of "patriotic" rather explicitly promotes loyalty towards one's country, they cannot be regarded as direct indoctrination.

The "world-oriented values" are the least important throughout the four syllabi. The total number of such values in each syllabus is less than 10. "Nature-oriented values" only plays a minor role in the four syllabi; however, the frequency of occurrence increases to a peak in the 1978 syllabi with a total of 67 counts. In the 1990 syllabus, this values drops drastically, with the total of 22 counts. With regard to the "informational values", their frequency of occurrence increases gradually year by year. From the 1961 syllabus with 0

counts increase to 53 counts in the 1990 syllabus.

8.3 Findings from the Interview

This section reports the information gathered from the interview. Findings from content analysis of the Chinese Language curriculum revealed that most of the Chinese texts were ancient texts. Regarding selection criteria for the texts, the ex-member of the Chinese Language Subject Committee (serving in the 1971 Syllabus Subject Committee) explained that it was the deliberate policy of the colonial government to avoid political affiliation with any current polity. Moreover, she pointed out that the contemporary literature had to be excluded in order to avoid political controversy. She once proposed a contemporary text to replace one of the ancient texts with the intention of arousing learning interest in students. However, this was rejected by the Education officials on the grounds that no change would be accepted if the suggestion was initiated by someone other than the Education officials of the colonial government. Having no say in the Subject Committee and only acting as a rubber stamp, she resigned from her membership and did not serve in the 1978 Syllabus Subject Committee. She further pointed out that in the curriculum revision process, teachers were consulted, but more to ensure effective promotion and implementation, than to gather opinions for reference in decision making. Generally speaking, texts chosen in the past four syllabi did not change much; most of the texts repeated those of the previous syllabus, and there were even texts appearing in all the four syllabi. That ex-member explained that the Education officials adopted a very conservative and cautious attitude and would not change the texts rashly as they believed the chosen texts had been carefully scrutinized previously and were regarded as "safe" texts that would not provoke anti-British feelings in students. Students were expected to have a cultural identification with historical China while remaining politically detached from it. Therefore, she concluded that it was mainly due to a combination of the self-censorship and conservatism of members of the Subject Committee

that the Chinese Language curriculum remained largely unchanged for the first three syllabi.

On the other hand, she also mentioned the political reasons for setting up a Chinese Department at the University of Hong Kong, employing the prestigious literati of the former Qing Dynasty of China as university lecturers, by Governor Clementi in 1927. According to her, the real reason for patronizing these literati was to utilize them to promote traditional Confucian Classics in the Chinese curriculum, to be studied in the Chinese Department of the University of Hong Kong, since these literati cherished the view of Chinese culture defined by traditionally orthodox Confucianism that emphasized hierarchy and subservience to patriarchal authority. By promoting the traditional Confucianism values, this would facilitate British governance over Hong Kong. She also pointed out that some famous contemporary scholars, such as Lu Xun, criticized the colonial government for employing the policy of "cultural incorporation" by utilizing local culture (Confucianism) to rule the indigenous people. By emphasizing traditional Confucian Classics in the curriculum of the Chinese Department in the University of Hong Kong, this cultural policy was actually designed to socialize the Hong Kong Chinese into acquiescence with British colonial rule.

8.4 Conclusion

Generally speaking, as revealed from the findings of content analysis, "personal values" and "interpersonal values" occupy a substantial proportion of space throughout the four syllabi of the Chinese Language curriculum. This illustrates that the Chinese Language curriculum places great emphasis on moral cultivation of students. The findings exactly support the general belief that Chinese texts were seen as tools for promoting moral cultivation. This is a very important component in Confucianism. According to Confucianism, self-cultivation is the first step for everyone. Only after completing the process of self-cultivation, can one regulate the family, govern the country and bring peace to the world.

In previous research on the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong, the general conclusions have been that Chinese texts are full of Confucian ethics and are ideal tools for

moral education.   No one will deny that the Chinese texts in the syllabus can facilitate the implementation of moral education as they contain an abundance of the ethical values of Confucianism.   However, it seems that no one has raised the question why Confucian ethical beliefs in Hong Kong, a colony of Britain with a local Chinese culture, were not suppressed by the British.   On the contrary, Confucianism was strongly promoted by the colonial government.   This study explores the underlying reasons for the British colonial government promoting Chinese local culture.

The "nation-oriented values" do not occur very often when compared with the "personal values" and "interpersonal values".   However, their importance cannot be neglected.   The occurrence of the "nation-oriented values" themes has some important implications.   It may serve as evidence for reversing the general perception of the Hong Kong curriculum during the colonization period, as apolitical.   In fact, quite a lot of themes under "nation-oriented values" carry political elements. Detailed discussion of "nation-oriented values" will be presented in the next chapter.

On the other hand, the findings from the interview supported the view that both the promotion of Confucianism in the 1920s and the Chinese texts selection from the 1960s to the 1990s were closely related to political factors of consolidating the colonial rule.   Detailed explanation of the above findings will be offered in the next chapter.

Chapter 9   Discussion and Analysis

9.1 Introduction

Kelly and Altbach (1991: 1) argue in *Education and the Colonial Experience* that "...
those who ran the (colonial) schools wished to have them ... assist in the consolidation of
foreign rule."   Watson (1982: 37) further points out that "much of the curriculum in colonial
schools dismissed indigenous languages and culture as inferior while stressing the superiority
of European civilization."   However, under the British colonial rule from 1842-1997, the
indigenous culture of Hong Kong was not suppressed; on the contrary, the local Chinese
culture was preserved and even strongly promoted by the colonial government.   Interestingly,
the Hong Kong Chinese were neither taught to accept the inherent dominance of British
culture nor the superiority of European culture.   This contrasted with other colonial regions,
such as West Africa where all education was delivered in French or in English (Kelly, 1991:
13).   In East Africa, the situation was similar.   For example, as far as British colonial
education policy was concerned, Schilling (1972) points out that British colonial education
policy in Kenya during the period 1895-1930 was rooted in the political and economic
realities of life in Kenya which were influenced primarily by the aim of the British settlers to
create a "white man's country".   Schilling claimed that by the 1920s there was general
support for African education but only to stress discipline and the virtue of work.   It was not
seen as a means of social advancement and growing political awareness.   African education
policy in Kenya was designed to nurture and sustain a colonialism in which Europeans
retained the reins of power.   Moreover, Schilling also pointed out that the London-based
Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies had an overtly political objective -- to
stifle African nationalism in order to perpetuate British rule.   "From its very inception the
Advisory Committee had an overtly political object; and, while many of the issues with which
it dealt over the years appeared to be purely educational, this political object formed the

general context of its considerations" (Schilling, 1972: 298).

Moreover, Rodney (1972: 275) claims that colonial schooling in Africa sought to instill a sense of deference towards all that was European and capitalist:

> Colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion ... an instrument to serve the European capitalist class in its exploitation of Africa. Whatever colonial educators thought or did could not change the basic fact ... with regard to colonial education policy one comes closest to finding the elements of conscious planning by a group of Europeans to control the destiny of millions of Africans.

Furthermore, Amin (1975: 51) argues that colonial education had two basic goals: the destruction of traditional or indigenous forms of education "with a view to uprooting the national culture and consciousness", and the training of an elite of subordinate servants. Contrary to Amin's belief, it seemed that the first goal was not true in the case of Hong Kong. As seen from the British cultural policy in Hong Kong, the colonial government, far from wishing to destroy indigenous culture, expressly preserved and eagerly promoted the local Chinese culture in its colonial education policy in Hong Kong. However, this could be a political ploy of the British to achieve its political ends.

9.2 Findings from Triangulation between Documentary Analysis, Content Analysis and Interview

In the present study, the sources of evidence are triangulated to cross-check their validity and reliability. In the process of data analysis, the researcher first explored the history of the development of Hong Kong under British colonial rule, especially with respect to educational policies, so as to identify issues relating to the development of Chinese education in Hong Kong. Then, the researcher cross-checked this with Colonial Office documents, minutes of meetings (Hansard, Hong Kong record Services, Annual Reports of the Education Department,

etc).

By doing so, it was found that the promotion of Chinese local culture (i.e. Confucianism) by the colonial government after the 1925 boycott and general strike seemed to be a remedial measure to tackle the political crisis and aimed at nurturing a conservative attitude among the Hong Kong students. The advocacy of the local culture of Hong Kong was perhaps a political tool to achieve British political ends. On the other hand, concerning the setting up of a Chinese Department at the University of Hong Kong, employing the prestigious literati of the former Qing Dynasty of China as university lecturers, by Governor Clementi in 1927, the information given by the interviewee (an ex-member of the Chinese Language Subject Committee, serving in the 1971 Syllabus Committee) could perhaps provide a clearer picture of British political intentions. According to that Committee member, the real reason for patronizing these literati was to utilize them to promote traditional Confucian Classics in the Chinese curriculum of the Chinese Department of the University of Hong Kong, since these literati cherished the view of Chinese culture defined by traditionally orthodox Confucianism that emphasized hierarchy and subservience to patriarchal authority. Hence, promoting traditional Confucianism values would facilitate British governance over Hong Kong.

The findings of content analysis of the Chinese Language curriculum from the 1960s to the 1990s revealed that quite a lot of the texts selected were ancient texts and there were no texts that were to cultivate a sense of national identity in students. Regarding this feature, the researcher particularly raised this issue in the interview in order to find out the answer. The interviewee explained that it was the deliberate policy of the colonial government to avoid political affiliation with any current polity, and therefore, contemporary literature had to be excluded in order to avoid political controversy. Moreover, the 1953 Report of the Chinese Studies Committee also provides an account of this. As stated in the Report, establishing the Chinese Studies Committee was intended to encourage a cultural emphasis on

Chinese studies, emphasizing virtues of traditional Chinese culture, while at the same time eliminating the themes of nationalism and anti-imperialism so as to counteract the nationalistic and revolutionary fervour found in cultural textbooks from China. Hence the Chinese Language curriculum deliberately excluded the cultivation of a sense of national identity among the Chinese (a kind of de-nationalization). Evidence from the documents, content analysis and interview, is consistent in suggesting that promotion of Chinese culture and the development of the Chinese Language curriculum by the colonial government were closely related to political considerations.

9.3 Colonialism and Culture

Control of the school curriculum has long been perceived as a primary tool for maintaining and legitimising political power and the ideology of those in power (Morris and Sweeting, 1996:144). At the beginning of the British colonial rule, Chinese studies possessed a pragmatic value as the production of bilingual and bicultural elites played a significant role in serving entrepot trade between China and Britain. As mentioned earlier, before the upheaval in China in the 1920s, the colonial authorities did not interfere with the content of Chinese lessons, but left it to the discretion of teachers of Chinese schools. At that time, the colonial government did not particularly promote Chinese culture. Starting from the year 1842 when Hong Kong became a British colony, there was a great demand on those who could master the English Language as Hong Kong gradually developed into an entrepot. John Hennessy, who was appointed as Governor of Hong Kong in 1878, argued that "political and commercial interest rendered the study of English of primary importance in all government schools in the Colony" and urged the Central School to promote the speaking of English and to make optional the attendance at Chinese lessons (Eitel, 1895: 561). The study of the English Language hence became increasingly important in Hong Kong. The importance of English was further emphasized in the 1902 Brewin Report (1902:

5-6) stating that education in Hong Kong was to promote "British interest" and resources and effort should be put into developing English education. In addition, the setting up of the University of Hong Kong had a profound impact on stimulating the further expansion of English-medium education in Hong Kong. Consequently, the development of vernacular education received very little attention until the mid-1920s.

9.3.1 Achieving De-nationalization through Nationalization;
Achieving Politicization through De-politicization

In the mid-1920s, the colonial education policy required some revision, and the colonial authorities made an attempt to choose between different strands of Chinese culture for the curriculum. In 1925, anti-imperialist demonstrations by industrial workers and students in Shanghai, which had resulted in a massacre by British police there, soon triggered widespread protests in all major Chinese cities, which further culminated into a boycott and general strike in Hong Kong and Guangzhou against the British. These activities lasted more than a year and brought trade to a standstill (Hsu, 1975). The British in Hong Kong hence felt greatly threatened.

The 1925 boycott and general strike in Hong Kong marked the turning-point for British former colonial policy on education in Hong Kong. In order to tackle the political crisis arising from the 1925 boycott and strike in Hong Kong, the colonial government employed the policy of "cultural incorporation" by utilizing local culture (Confucianism) to rule the indigenous people, a way of "killing two birds with one stone". Such practice not only might pacify the anti-British emotions and win popular support, it might also further strengthen the colonial rule without provoking political unrest. In order to pacify the anti-British emotions, the ethics of Confucianism were highly praised by Governor Clementi in 1927. Governor Clementi highly praised the traditional Chinese culture and morality and emphasized the importance for the Chinese to treasure their ancestors' learning and live up to

the ancestral moral code, rather than follow any fad from abroad. In fact, Clementi's patronizing of the former senior literati aimed to utilize Chinese cultural tradition to counteract contemporary Chinese nationalism (Luk, 1991: 659).

Confucianism had been the official ideology since the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - 220 A.D.). Throughout the period of ancient China to the Qing Dynasty (1616-1911), the last dynasty of China, Confucianism was constantly highly valued by the rulers and the ruled. As a result, Confucianism did exert a considerable influence on Chinese culture in terms of values, attitudes and morality. It was believed by the colonial officers that the ethics of Confucianism could facilitate the development of conservative ideas among the Chinese people, and could hence contribute to the stability of society as well as the consolidation of colonial rule (R.H. Kotewall's Memorandum on the 1925 strike and boycott, in Colonial Office document 129/489).

As pointed out earlier, the promotion and advocacy of Chinese local culture by the colonial officer, R.H. Kotewall and Governor Clementi were not genuine and sincere. It was most probably a remedial measure to tackle the political crisis arising from the strike and boycott which took place in 1925. The promotion of Chinese education, particularly the traditional Confucian ethics in Hong Kong, was aimed at nurturing a conservative attitude among the students so as to soothe the students' radical and anti-British sentiments. Hence, Chinese culture in the Hong Kong curriculum acquired a new political significance, in addition to its earlier status-symbolic and vocationally pragmatic values (Luk, 1991: 659-660). Along the same lines, the 1953 Report of the Chinese Studies Committee strongly urged a culturalistic emphasis on Chinese studies to counteract the nationalistic and revolutionary fervour found in cultural textbooks from China, while deliberately excluding the cultivation of a sense of national identity among the Chinese (a kind of de-nationalization). All this seems to indicate that the promotion of Chinese culture by the

colonial government was politically intentioned. It could be interpreted that the advocacy

of the local culture was merely a political tool to achieve British political ends.

As mentioned above, the colonial government gained sovereignty over Hong Kong

through a number of unequal treaties. The Hong Kong colonial authorities had no

systematic, theoretical justification for their legitimacy as a governing power (Lau and Kuan,

1989). The colonial government thus appeared as an insecure government of questionable

legitimacy. Hence, the policy of the colonial government had been:

> based upon the necessity of conducting a Western administration
> amongst a predominantly Chinese population with the maximum of
> harmony and co-operation and the minimum of friction and
> obstruction. Thus, the British had evolved a "modus operandi"
> which might be defined as Anglo-Chinese co-operation based on
> mutual explanations and persuasion and on respect, wherever
> possible, for Chinese wishes and customs. The Governor kept
> himself well informed of the wishes of the people, and proceeded
> towards his goal by compromise and persuasion rather than by using
> his legal powers (Mills, 1942: 380-381).

In addition, Hong Kong was under considerable political influence from Kuomintang

and Communist ideologies (Bray and Lee, 1993; Morris, 1997a). Consequently, as Lau

(1982) argued, the colonial government pursued a deliberate policy of the "depoliticization"

of society, both to avoid offending the Chinese government and to preserve Hong Kong's

stability and prosperity, conditions favourable to the colonial government's continued rule

until 1997 and the economic development of Hong Kong society. In line with the idea of the

depoliticization of Hong Kong society, the strategy taken by the colonial government was to

depoliticize the curriculum in its educational policies (Bray and Lee, 1993; Leung, 1995).

The ruling power did not want to raise the political consciousness of a populace which might

question its authority, and it had a strong interest in maintaining order and social stability

(Chan and Morris, 1994). Similarly, Morris and Sweeting (1996: 145-146) argue that:

> Hong Kong's experience provides a situation where the general
> Politics of the colony have for a variety of complex reasons

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consciously stressed apoliticization and the colonial government has played the central role in achieving that goal. We are thus faced with a situation where the apolitical general politics of the territory were closely paralleled by an apolitical educational system and school curriculum ... Prior to 1982, such a link (between politics and the school curriculum) primarily involved the conscious pursuit of apoliticization as a counter to the intrusion of external political influences.

Judging from the above argument, the school curriculum of Hong Kong before 1982 was "apolitical". However, as revealed by the findings of the present study, the Chinese Language curriculum was not entirely apolitical.

With regard to the British cultural policy and ruling tactics towards Hong Kong, the colonial government wisely made use of a "nationalization" policy (i.e. adopting a policy of cultural incorporation -- promoted indigenous culture of Hong Kong) to achieve "de-nationalization" of Chinese culture (deliberately excluding the cultivation of a sense of national identity among the Chinese) and made use of a "de-politicization" policy (greatly promoting moral cultivation in the Chinese Language curriculum and discouraging people's active participation in politics) to achieve its political ends (political stability). It can be said that the colonial government employed a subtle procedure to promote the local culture, i.e. selectively chose those Confucian values that could facilitate its colonial rule. This practice echoes Apple's opinion as "Those in dominance almost always have more power to define what counts as a need or a problem and what an appropriate response to it should be" (Apple, 1993: 10). In Section 9.4, we will examine the values that were embedded in the Chinese Language curriculum as so to illustrate the British political intentions.

9.3.2 Culture, Politics and Colonialism

The cultural policy launched by the colonial government to promote the ethics of Confucianism was indeed a wise policy to gain the support of the ruled. On the one hand, such a mollification policy could "restore confidence and friendliness" (Colonial Office letter,

dated 21 October 1925) between the colonial government and the Hong Kong Chinese after the big strike in the 1920s which triggered anti-British sentiments in Hong Kong. On the other hand, the adroit promotion of the local culture (Confucianism) by the British not only easily acquired cultural legitimacy, winning the hearts and minds of the Hong Kong Chinese, it also gained moral legitimacy for political sovereignty by moralizing politics in the name of promoting Confucian ethics and virtues. The colonial government was successful in launching such a cultural policy whereby "the selection of culture is deemed as socially legitimate" (Giroux, 1981a: 94) and "certain ideas become dominant and are sustained, not through a simple imposition or through coercion and manipulation, but through the construction and winning of consent" (Whitty, 1981: 57). By promoting Chinese culture, the colonial government not only tackled the political crisis arising from the strike, it also raised its own political popularity, since "successful exercise of power requires legitimation" (Bourdieu, 1973: 84).

The very nature of Confucianism was to use tactics of control in order to serve political ends for the benefit of the rulers. Hence, the seemingly depoliticized Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under colonial rule, with strong traditional Confucian values, was actually very "political".

To analyze the content of a curriculum, one must take the socio-political factors into consideration; otherwise, one can only identify the features arisen from the content of the curriculum, but cannot explain why the curriculum is like this. As mentioned above, McClelland (1961: 202) stressed that there are close relationships between values contained in school texts and economic and political decisions. Previously, there had been several studies examining the content of the secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong under British colonial rule (e.g. Wan, 1987; Au, 1994 and Leung, 1996). All these studies revealed that there was an abundance of Confucian values in the curriculum, and the Chinese Language curriculum was therefore a good tool for implementing moral education. Moreover, the

study of Wan (1987) particularly points out that the whole curriculum generally presented a gloomy and depressed outlook in which people experienced lots of suffering and hardship. The texts that described the image of ancient China mainly concentrated on the negative aspects, such as the backwardness of farm villages, the sufferings of ancient Chinese people, and the grievances of demoted officials. However, none of the studies explained the reasons for these phenomena. In fact, these features were closely related to the ruling tactics of the British colonial government. The present study has hopefully shed light on this aspect. Its purpose is to analyze from an historical perspective the purposes and processes by which the Chinese Language curriculum was controlled in Hong Kong under British rule.

As revealed in our findings, themes related to personal and interpersonal values dominate the whole Chinese Language curriculum. This phenomenon exactly echoes the Confucian philosophy of control. Among the various virtues of Confucianism, "harmony" is the central concept. In his philosophy, Confucius advocated a peaceful and harmonious welfare society. To achieve this aim, one should begin with self-cultivation, and then harmonious family life, and then well-organized governmental organization. This will eventually lead to the realization of the global peace ideal.

As demonstrated in the "Findings" chapter in this study, themes relating to personal cultivation play a major role throughout the four syllabi, accounting for around 40% of all themes in each syllabus. The "interpersonal values" theme ranks second throughout the four syllabi, accounting for over 30% in each syllabus. This arrangement and distribution of themes in the Chinese curriculum matches well with the Confucian philosophy -- in order to have a harmonious society, one should begin with self-cultivation, then extend these general qualities to developing a harmonious family life. The purpose of the proper development of the individual is to promote the well-being of the society. According to the Confucian "Eight steps", after "regulating the family", one can further extend the general qualities to "governing the state". The Confucian ideal for an individual is indeed to

achieve "inner sagehood and outer kingliness". "Inner sagehood" refers to people who have perfected their inner moral qualities, whereas "outer kingliness" describes those with significant social and political achievements (Lu, 1983: 19). However, throughout the themes identified in the Chinese Language Curriculum, themes which emphasize the Confucian ethics of self-cultivation and harmonious human relationships dominate in the curriculum. Even though we can detect some themes related to "nation", these themes have nothing to do with "governing the state" or participation in politics. The most obvious components under the "nation-oriented" theme are "patriotism" and the attitudes of serving one's country, but absolutely not ruling the country. There are some texts which even discourage involvement or ambition in politics, and on the contrary, encourage people to adopt an attitude of withdrawing from political participation. This demonstrates that the colonial government, though actively promoting Confucian values, at the same time carefully selected those values that could facilitate its governance. The colonial government actually adopted a policy of "cultural hegemony", rather than the perceived policy of "cultural incorporation".

Williams (1976: 205) argues that we can only understand an effective and dominant culture if we understand the real social process on which it depends: the process of incorporation. The educational institutions are usually the main agencies of transmission of an effective dominant culture, and this is a major economic as well as cultural activity. Moreover, at the level of theory and at the level of the history of various practices, there is a process of "selective tradition": that which, within the terms of an effective dominant culture, is always passed off as "the tradition", the significant past. But always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible arena of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Schools, as educational institutions, not only "process people"; they "process knowledge" as well (Young, 1971a). They act as agents of cultural hegemony, as agents of selective tradition

and of cultural "incorporation" (Williams, 1976: 205). The concept of hegemony, according to Giroux (1981b: 94), refers to a form of ideological control in which dominant beliefs, values, and social practices are produced and distributed throughout a whole range of institutions such as schools, the family, mass media, and trade unions. Hegemony functions to define the meaning and limits of common-sense as well as the form and content of discourse in a society. It does so by positing certain ideas and routines as natural and universal. The complexity of hegemonic control is an important point to stress for it refers not only to those isolatable meanings and ideas that the dominant class "imposes" on others but also to those "lived" experiences that make up the texture and rhythm of daily life. Williams (1976: 110) thus further argues that hegemony has to be seen as more than ideological manipulation and indoctrination, but also a daily experience.

Confucianism places great emphasis on the maintenance of social harmony, social order and political stability (Wright, 1960: 4). In order to achieve the state of social harmony, Confucianism draws on an ethical focus, which is based on personal cultivation at the very beginning. As for political harmony, it will be attained through the moral harmony in the individual himself (Lin, 1938: 6). To Confucianists, personal moral training and character cultivation are the prerequisites of nation management and governance. Indeed, the management philosophy of Confucianism mainly concerns the tactics of "control". Confucianism indeed is not just a philosophy, it is also a tool for governing and control. Generally speaking, the tactics of Confucianism perform two functions, namely "internal control" and "external control". The former refers to the moral cultivation of a person. Misbehaviour and misconduct could be checked before they actually happen by means of moral cultivation. As for the "external control", it could be achieved by the observance of propriety (*Li*) towards others. In this way, social harmony could be sustained. Confucianism's emphasis on "*Ren*" and "*Li*" to achieve "harmony" is just a subtle way to

whitewash its real political intentions. As the observance of Confucian ethics can have the effectiveness of binding with regard to a person's behaviour and conduct, it is not necessary to use force to control the people. Confucianism is thus a brilliant tool for nation management and governance. However, the British colonial government was much cleverer, employing "cultural hegemony" in the Chinese Language curriculum to rule the colonized subjects without its political intentions being recognized.

In the following section, we will investigate the kind of cultural heritage that the colonial government wanted to emphasize in the Chinese Language curriculum, which was the official curriculum, so as to achieve its political ends of facilitating colonial rule. The official curriculum is significant not because of its explicit learning objectives, but because of the knowledge it legitimizes and delegitimizes (Posner, 1998: 95).

9.4 Political Socialization in the Chinese Language Curriculum of Hong Kong under British Colonial Rule

Perhaps some may believe that the most effective way to achieve political socialization would be direct promotion or indoctrination of related political values. Values related to nation, e.g. loyalty towards one's country, could truly facilitate the government's rule. However, as Hong Kong was a British colony, and due to the embarrassing position of the colonial government in ruling a territory far from Britain but adjacent to the China mainland, it would be better to use other indirect approaches to promote a sense of loyalty and devotion in the Hong Kong Chinese towards the British, so as not to provoke anti-British feelings among the colonized subjects and reaction from the PRC government. Hence, the colonial government wisely borrowed the traditional Chinese culture, i.e. Confucianism, to achieve its political ends. An in-depth examination of the texts of the secondary Chinese Language curricula from the 1960s to 1990s, revealed a number of themes related to political socialization. Political socialization is designed to preserve the social order and consensus as well as to maintain the political, economic and social status quo (Paulston, 1977; Morrow

and Torres, 1995). Political socialization is defined as "a developmental process by which adolescents acquire cognitions, attitudes and behaviours relating to their political environment" (Atkin and Gantz, 1978: 184). Almond (1996: 50) states that "socialization refers to the way children are introduced to the values of their society. Political socialization is the part of this process that shapes political attitudes."

According to the political philosophy of Confucianism, on the one hand promoting loyalty towards one's ruler is explicitly related to political socialization, but on the other hand, moral cultivation plays a significant role in the process of political socialization, though rather implicitly, by contributing to social harmony and political stability. One begins from moral cultivation, and then extends one's qualities to participation in politics as well as governance of the country. Confucianism indeed is a subtle way of implementing political socialization.

To achieve political socialization, the colonial government implemented an indirect approach. We have seen that the Chinese Language curriculum under the colonial rule placed great emphasis on moral cultivation, which mainly concerned good conduct and the desirable behaviour of an individual by using these tactics of "internal control". In this way, social harmony can be achieved naturally without involving force. Under the period of British colonization, the first secondary Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong that was systematically and locally produced began in the 1960s. The approaches used by the colonial government in implementing political socialization in the Chinese Language curriculum are found to be indirect and in various forms: the promotion of politically related values and moral cultivation; the description of someone's life philosophy; and the contrast of images of China and Britain.

After detailed presentation of the findings in Chapters 7 and 8, we are now in a better position to answer the questions raised at the beginning of the chapter. The following analysis will hopefully reveal the values and themes that embedded in the chosen Chinese texts of the secondary Chinese language curriculum during the period of British colonization.

9.4.1 Themes on Personal Values

As shown in Table 8.4, it is clear that the theme of "personal values" played a major role throughout the four syllabi, accounting for around 40% of all themes in each syllabus. The attempt to inform one's moral self-development by constantly probing one's inner self is neither a narcissistic search for private truth nor an individualistic claim for isolated experience. Rather, it is a form of self-cultivation which is simultaneously also a communal act harmonizing human relationships (Tu, 1985: 67). In developing human relationships, "individualism" is valued highly according to Confucianist philosophy. However, such "individualism" does not mean the Western concept of "individualism" which concerns mainly the rights and prerogatives of an individual. On the contrary, "individualism" in Confucian social thought emphasizes the obligations of an individual in relation to society (Mei, 1968b: 327). Then why did the status of the individual occupy an important role in the Confucian social thought? This was strongly associated with the times in which Confucius lived. Confucius (551-479 B.C.) lived in an age of growing confusion and chaos. In order to bring order out of chaos, Confucius was firmly convinced that a society could be in order only when all members of the society were properly behaved. Confucius considered the cultivation of the individual character as the "root" of social well-being and harmony (Mei, 1968b: 326-327). Confucianism places dual emphasis on the importance of the proper development of the individual for the well-being of society, and, at the same time, on the importance of social responsibility for the perfection of the individual (Mei, 1968b: 323).

In Confucianism, the collective experience of society and community overwhelms individual experience; the reality of individual life is dominated by concerns about the preserving of human relationships so as to secure one's place in society and community. This is how rites and virtue arose together in ancient Chinese culture. Hence, the primary concern of a human person has been one's ability to develop family and community order and harmony as a base for developing oneself as an individual. The primary concern of the self

has been that of virtue, for virtue has been conceived as the power of harmonization both within a person (in the form of mental attitudes) and outside a person (in the form of institutions); they thus take the form more of a duty than a right. For virtue to be virtue it must fit the individual into the social whole, to be achieved by cultivation and transformation of oneself. Virtue is precisely the power of self-cultivation and self-transformation toward the goal of social and even political integration (Cheng, 1998:145). Virtues, in Confucianism have always been community-oriented and community-based, serving the interests of the social order and community harmony (i.e. the common good) (Cheng, 1998: 148).

9.4.1.1 Self-Cultivation

As shown in Table 8.37, the components related to "cultivation of personal life" occur frequently. One of the outstanding characteristics of Chinese social thought is the emphasis on obligations rather than on rights and prerogatives of the individual in relation to society (Mei, 1968b: 327). Before making contributions to the society, and country, and bringing peace and order to the world, one has to cultivate oneself so as to achieve self-perfection (Lu, 1983: 9).

According to the philosophy of Confucianism, the cultivation of the character of the individual includes five inward steps towards self-perfection (i.e. the "investigation of principles", "extension of knowledge", "sincerity of the will", "rectification of the mind" and "cultivation of the personal life") and three outward steps of social extension from the family to the state, and to the whole world (i.e. "regulation of the family", "governance of the country" and "bringing peace to the world"). This eight-step scheme had served in China as a master plan of moral and educational development as well as a blueprint for social and political administration (Mei, 1968a: 326-327). For a person to be transformed into a Confucian gentleman, there are certain definite steps he should follow. First of all, he has to cultivate his moral qualities. Once he has accomplished this and become a moral person, he

is then in a position to regulate his family. As the family is put in good order, he will then be ready to administer the state. After the state is well governed, there will be peace and order throughout the world or at least the Chinese kingdom. Hence, for Confucianists, an educated man's first duty is to achieve his own moral goodness, and his ultimate aim is to bring about world peace (Lu, 1983:106).

In addition, according to Confucianism, an individual does not ask what society can do for him, instead one has to make contributions to society for the achievement of the good life. Among all the specific virtues conceived by the Confucians, most of them take the form of duty, since it is this sense of the harmonization of parts within a whole which preempts virtue as a duty. Consider the virtue of *Ren* (benevolence, humanity, human-heartedness, love or virtue). It is the expression of humanity as a sense of co-humanity with others. It is a duty from which the whole society will benefit. Even though it requires self-cultivation, its aim is not to secure the interests of the individual alone. On the contrary, it is a way of making the individual available to a society, possibly even, as Mencius would see it, to enable a man to become a sage-king. Even the virtue of proper behaviour in the form of ritual decorum *(li),* is cultivated out of a sense of duty to both self and society. So too with other Confucian virtues (Cheng, C.Y., 1998:145-146). The Chinese ideal for an individual is described as "inner sagehood and outer kingliness". "Inner sagehood" refers to one who has perfected their inner moral qualities, whereas "outer kingliness" describes one with significant social and political achievements (Lu, 1983: 19). Social well-being depends on the proper cultivation of the individual. The individual can achieve the full realization of one's destiny only through public services and social participation. In the fulfillment of these social responsibilities, the individual can realize one's complete personal fulfillment. In a very fundamental sense, the individual and society in Confucian social thought are mutually dependent (Mei, 1968b: 327-328).

Based on the philosophy of Confucianism, social services and participation are

indispensable to the perfection of the individual; his status in society is defined, not by social esteem or other external circumstances, but by one's inner sense of personal integrity and dignity. Confucius believed that "Man is born for uprightness". This is the key concept in Confucianism -- "ren". According to Confucianism, ren is not the special endowment of some privileged class, but the "spark of divinity" planted in every man without exception. For the seed of ren to grow into the full-blown virtue of ren, it takes cultivation and education. Having cultivation and education, an individual has an inner frame of reference and scale of values, and his life is ordered through self-control (Mei, 1968b: 328-329).

According to the "Three Items" of *The Great Learning*, Confucian moral cultivation is a matter of working from within and extending to external human relationships. The first item of the "Three Items" is "to demonstrate illustrious virtue". To "demonstrate illustrious virtue" means to manifest the character as it oughts to be if one simply acts in accordance with one's Heaven-bestowed nature. Moreover, for a Confucianist to achieve peace and order throughout the world, he has to cultivate his personal life first. According to Tu (1985: 55-57), self-cultivation means "learning for the sake of the self". The purpose of learning is to cultivate oneself as an intelligent, creative, independent, autonomous, and authentic being, who is becoming more fully human in the process of learning. The process of learning is an inner-directed process. When one has fulfilled the above aim, i.e. after demonstrating illustrious virtue, he can go to other steps and make further extension of demonstrating illustrious virtue, such as regulation of the family, governance of the country, and bringing peace to the world, which is "loving the people", the second of the "Three Items". As love is fully extended, there is the complete realization of "ren", which is tantamount "to rest in the highest excellence attainable", the third of the "Three Items" (Lu, 1983: 8-9). On the other hand, Mencius, who was famous for his theory of the goodness of human nature, analyzed the moral components of human nature in the following way (Lu, 1983: 11):

The heart of commiseration is the beginning of

humanity *(ren)*; the heart of shame and dislike is the
beginning of righteousness *(yi)*; the heart of deference
and compliance is the beginning of propriety *(li)*; and
the heart of right and wrong is the beginning of wisdom
(zhi).

In Mencius's view, these "four beginnings" are the inborn moral qualities of man and

therefore the moral components that make up human nature. If properly nurtured, they can

grow and develop into the four virtues, i.e. humanity *(ren)*, righteousness *(yi)*, propriety *(li)* and

wisdom *(zhi)*.

As the "self" is the source and the focus of motivation, "self" does constitute a significant

reference point in a person's value system. Human relationships are extended from the self.

If a person has cultivated oneself well enough, he will then seek to influence the outside world.

That is to say, a person should cultivate oneself first before seeking to govern the state (Lee,

1994b: 9). Moreover, Wm. Theodore de Bary (1996: 33) claims that "Confucian ethics ...

starts with self-cultivation, and works outward from a proper sense of self to the acceptance of

reciprocal responsibilities with others in widening circles of personal relationship concentric

with that self". In fact, Confucianism has twin goals: the moral perfection of the individual

self as well as that of society. The relation between the two goals is one of interdependence

rather than a one-way passage in either direction (Chang, 1996: 74).

Throughout the four syllabi of the secondary Chinese Language curriculum, the themes on

personal values are dominant (actually, the category of "Desirable personal qualities in groups"

under the themes of "Interpersonal Values" could also be regarded as personal values).

Themes on personal values account for around 40 percent in each syllabus. Among those

categories of personal values themes, components of behaviour (including desirable behaviour

and undesirable behaviour) such as "self-cultivation" and "proper behaviour" are highly

emphasized. Furthermore, components related to "learning", "education", "hardworking", and

"with indomitable spirit" deserve our attention. All these traits match the philosophy of

Confucianism. As mentioned above, Confucianism places great emphasis on "self-cultivation" which means good conduct and proper behaviour. According to Mencius's view, though human nature is inborn with moral qualities, these moral qualities, if properly nurtured, can grow and develop into virtues. As a result, "education" and "learning" are highly valued. In order to achieve the desirable results, qualities such as "having indomitable spirit", "perseverance in studying", "analytical thinking", "intelligence", and "deep inquiry" are the prerequisites.

The above themes emphasized by the Chinese texts can somehow match the "Eight Steps" advocated in *The Great Learning*, which are the ways and means of achieving the aims of the "Three Items" mentioned previously. According to Confucianism, man is born with intrinsic moral qualities. So whether one is actually moral or not depends on the extent to which one develops these intrinsic qualities. That is why for the Confucianist, there is a universal demand for moral values. In short, Confucian self-cultivation is a process of moral transformation of the self (Chang, 1996: 73). Confucian moral cultivation tends to nourish what is within and then gradually extends these internal moral qualities to external human relationships (Lu, 1983: 9).

The Chinese Language curriculum places great emphasis on the cultivation of one's personal aims to foster an individual to be self-controlled on the one hand, and then extend the internal moral qualities to external human relationships on the other, so as to achieve social harmony. In this way, it was much easier for the colonial government to govern Hong Kong despite its weak political legitimacy.

9.4.1.2 Education Has Important Roles in Cultivating Moral Truth

The opening statement of the *Doctrine of the Mean* states that:

> What man receives from Heaven is his nature; to act
> in accordance with his nature is the moral truth (*Dao*);
> to cultivate this moral truth is education.

Thus we learn from the doctrines of Confucianism that human nature is what Heaven (the

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metaphysical source of the universe) imparts to man. Furthermore, this human nature embodies moral standards originated in Heaven. To cultivate and develop the moral truth within human nature is the Confucian concept of education. Hence the Confucian theory of education has its foundation in Confucian moral philosophy. That learning can improve one's character and raise one's capabilities is universally true for different times and societies. According to Confucius, emphasis on learning and continuous self-improvement is universally effective and important in raising man's consciousness and improving his independent personality and character (Kuang, 1991: 10). Moreover, for the extension of *ren* or self-enlargement, learning is indispensable. In Confucian tradition, learning is basically moral learning, for moral learning is a direct way of leading people to the right course of action so as to manifest *ren* (Lau, 1991: 214-215). Confucius believed that social political progress has its foundation in education. Without education the mass of the people would be ignorant; they would not know the road to progress. Without an educated populace, even a good government and sound doctrines could not guarantee success. The fundamental value of education to progress is to make the mass understand humanistic principles and move them towards social ideals. For Confucius, education does not just mean schooling in a narrow sense; anything that would train the behaviour and character of the individual or that would increase one's knowledge and skill is a form of education. Thus education takes place also in family discipline, hunting, social meetings and personal interviews (Sprenger, 1991: 457). In this connection, the concepts of "perseverance in studying", "effort" and "academic achievement" have been deeply rooted in the heart of Chinese people for a long time. As shown in Table 9.1, the texts in the Chinese Language curriculum carry lots of such components (e.g. "enthusiasm about learning" appears 52 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 59 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 46 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 19 counts in the 1990 syllabus), "having indomitable spirit" (38 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 55 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 70 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 27 counts in the 1990 syllabus), "perseverance in studying" (37

counts in the 1961 syllabus; 33 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 32 counts in the1978 syllabus and

49 counts in the1990 syllabus), "deep inquiry" (27 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 16 counts in the

1971 syllabus and 26 counts in the 1990 syllabus), "analytical thinking" (17 counts in the 1961

syllabus; 14 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 16 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 9 counts in the

1990 syllabus) and "intelligence" (11 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 11 counts in the 1971

syllabus; 18 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 20 counts in the 1990 syllabus).

Table 9.1   **Themes on Personal Values (Components related to attitudes and performance of learning)**

Components	Syllabi (No. of Occurrence)			
	1961	1971	1978	1990
Enthusiasm about learning	52	59	46	19
Having indomitable spirit	38	55	70	27
Perseverance in studying	37	33	32	49
Deep inquiry	27	16	-	26
Analytical thinking	17	14	16	9
Intelligence	11	11	18	20

There is a close relationship between education and human perfectibility, effort and

academic achievement based on the philosophy of Confucianism.   The concept that everyone

is educable, everyone can become a sage, and everyone is perfectible, forms the basic

optimism and dynamism towards education in Confucian tradition.   And this explains why

education is viewed as significant in such a tradition.   The concept of the attainability of

human perfectibility is expressed in terms of sagehood in Confucian tradition, and is closely

related to education.   For Xunzi (one of the important thinkers of Confucianism), sagehood

can be attained through learning and effort.   Since human perfectibility, learning, effort and

will power are so interrelated, this sheds lights on how Eastern learners view education, and

explains why effort is seen to be important in the process of human perfectibility.   As there is

a strong belief in attainability by all, there is also a strong belief that one's failure is not due to

one's internal make-up or ability, but to one's effort and will power.   A person making no

effort and with a weak will is doomed to fail. On the contrary, despite one's level of intelligence, if one tries and keeps trying, one will certainly reach the target sooner or later. This tradition seems to have influenced many of the modern Asian learners in a Confucian society (Lee, 1994b).

On the other hand, a strong and pervasive preoccupation with achievement and accomplishment is commonly observed among people in the family and related social settings in Chinese (Bond, 1986). In the Chinese Language curriculum, related components such as "realizing one's aspiration" (6 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 11 counts in the 1990 syllabus), "accomplishment" (1 count in the 1961 syllabus; 1 count in the 1971 syllabus; 14 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 4 counts in the 1990 syllabus), "striving for success" (7 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 5 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 6 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 10 counts in the 1990 syllabus) occur quite often (Table 9.2). The colonial government selected so many texts related to perseverance in study and being diligent in work Table 8.37 so as to facilitate economic growth. With improved living standards, the colonized subjects would be satisfied with the ruling authorities. And this would contribute to the consolidation of colonial rule.

Table 9.2 Themes on Personal Values (Components related to "striving for success")

Components	Syllabi (No. of Occurrence)			
	1961	1971	1978	1990
Realizing one's aspiration	-	-	6	11
Accomplishment	1	1	14	4
Striving for success	7	5	6	10

On the other hand, a survey on "achievement motivations" found that the achievement motivation of Asian students was very high, especially for those students of Mainland China and Taiwan (Lee, 1994b). As for Hong Kong, the community and the parents are deeply concerned with success, because it has a free enterprise laissez-faire educational system characterized by a high degree of competition and a heavy premium on success. Hong Kong

students have high achievement motivations as the Hong Kong community is very examination and certificate oriented. Higher level jobs and careers are especially oriented towards successful completion of certain educational programmes. Success is defined by passing recognized examinations. Hence, it seems that achievement criteria are very important features of Hong Kong student culture. However, it is not only the students themselves who encourage this phenomenon. As valuing academic achievement is acceptable and respectable in Hong Kong, the values of parents are fairly strongly influenced by this social culture. Most students' aspirations to attend university are highly associated with the perceived aspirations of their parents (Lou and Eberhard, 1972). Here, we have to distinguish two basic varieties of achievement motivations: individual orientation and social orientation. "Individual-oriented achievement motivation" is a kind of functionally autonomized desire, in which the course of achievement-related behaviour, the standards of excellence, and the evaluation of the performance or outcome are defined or determined by the actor himself. The "social-oriented achievement motivation", on the other hand, is a kind of functionally "unautonomized" (hence still extrinsic and instrumental) desire in which the course of the achievement-related behaviour, the standards of excellence, and the evaluation of the performance are defined or determined by significant others, the family, the group, or the society as a whole. According to Bond (1986:114), the former type is conceived of as resulting mainly from independence-emphasizing socialization in an individualistic society and the latter type from dependence-emphasizing socialization in a collectivistic society. The motive structure of collectivists reflects receptivity and adjustment to the needs of others. The basic motive structure of individuals reflects their internal needs and rights. Bond (1986: 116) found that the Chinese were inclined to have a much stronger social-oriented need for achievement, and a much weaker individually oriented need for achievement, aggression and exhibition than Americans. Achievement motivation tends to be socially oriented among collectivists and individually oriented among individualists.

In sum, social well-being in the Confucian society depends on the proper cultivation of the individual, and the individual can achieve the full realization of his destiny only through public services and social participation. Social obligations and responsibilities of an individual are not chains and burdens to be escaped from, or to be borne and suffered. On the contrary, it is in the fulfillment of these social responsibilities that the individual realizes his complete personal fulfillment. In a very fundamental sense, the individual and society in Confucian social thought are mutually dependent upon each other (Mei, 1968b: 327-328). In order to govern a nation successfully, social well-being, social harmony and political stability would be the major concerns of the ruling authorities. As the Confucian moral cultivation was widely accepted in the Chinese society, the British colonial government's use of this philosophy to construct a harmonious society was actually suited to the time and a way of adroitly guiding action according to circumstances.

9.4.2 Themes on Interpersonal Values

It is found that the "interpersonal values" theme ranks second throughout the four syllabi, accounting for over 30% in each syllabus (Table 8.4). As demonstrated in Tables 8.38 and 8.39 the components related to family relationships are strongly emphasized in the whole Chinese Language curriculum. Familial love and filial piety are the two components that receive most of our attention.

9.4.2.1 Familial Love and Filial Piety

Confucianism stresses filial piety and human relationships, particularly relationships within the family (Lu, 1983: 94). Lu (1983: 111) further points out that another way to manifest *Ren* is through filial piety and fraternal love. Confucius says, "Filial piety and fraternal love are the foundation for practising *Ren*"(*The Analects*, 1: 2). As shown in the Tables of "Themes on Interpersonal Values" (Tables 8.38 and 8.39), the component of "familial love" occurs most frequently in all the four syllabi with frequency counts of 109 in the 1961 syllabus, 63 in the 1971 syllabus, 132 in the 1978 syllabus and 168 in the 1990

syllabus. The component of "familial love" is the most outstanding component in the whole Chinese Language curriculum. The second most frequently occurring item is "filial piety" (66 counts in the 1961 syllabus, 32 counts in the 1971 syllabus, 23 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 41 counts in 1990 the syllabus.)

Filial piety is the root of all virtues in Confucianism. If one does not have a sense of gratitude and affection towards one's own parents, one cannot be expected to harbour love and concern for others. Confucius believed that the primary moral duty of filial piety must be upheld even at the expense of other secondary moral obligations such as social justice. Moreover, filial piety is not just a moral concern within the family; it affects the moral climate of the whole society (Lu, 1983: 66).

The Chinese tradition places a high value on group goals and production (Abbott, 1970). The Chinese tradition accentuates a sense of group rather than individual orientation. It inclines towards collective rather than independent behaviour, and consequently towards cooperation rather than deviance (Wilson, 1970). One main feature of Chinese culture is an emphasis on social groups, especially domestic groupings, rather than on the individual. This is related to the centrality of the concept of filial piety and leads to the consequences that the physical, emotional, and financial security of the individual are ensured by others, mainly by the family and other associations based on kinship. Chinese culture also emphasizes the orderly social relations and the intensity of intergenerational bonds represented by genealogy, ancestor worship, and filial piety. The role of family is crucial, with such concepts as "*guo jia*" (nation) which combines the ideographs for country and family, and "*min zu fu mu*" (the appellation for the emperor), literally meaning "the people's father and mother" (Devos, 1976: 48). Family, in the Confucian perspective, is the indissoluble basic unit of any civilized society. Primordial ties in the human community such as the five cardinal human relationships (*Wu Lun*, between ruler-subject, parent-child, husband-wife, siblings and friends) are taken seriously as defining characteristics of being human. The centrality of the family

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in Confucian political, social and religious thought is a neutral consequence of the Confucian imperative that self-realization takes communal participation as its point of departure (Tu, 1991: 38). Furthermore, according to the Confucian perception of human nature, it is natural for any individual first to manifest *ren* towards his parents and siblings, i.e. in the family. Therefore, it is not unnatural and unreasonable that Confucianism emphasizes the virtues of filial piety and fraternity and considers the family as the basic unit of society. For Confucians, the family is indeed the threshold for further extension of one's benevolence or *ren* (Lau, 1991: 214).

9.4.2.2 Filial Principle Extends to Social Ties and Political System

Confucian doctrine takes "family" as the most fundamental unit in human society and other social institutions are merely projection or even replication of familial structure and relationship. Hence, the family has been the basic unit of identity for Chinese for more than two thousand years (Tsang, 1994b).

Furthermore, the filial principle extends to all important family and social ties. Of the "Five Cardinal Human Relationships", three were within the family, and the other two were social extensions of the family relationship. One of these, the relationship between ruler and subject, has special importance for us. It was conceived as an extension of the relationship between parent and child; from the way in which one serves one's father, one learns how to serve one's ruler. The respect shown to them is the same (Lifton, 1961: 362).

The Confucian moralization about the family, the stress on filial piety and the need for solidarity among brothers, all underlie the importance of domestic harmony -- these reflect a political view in which units standing at the base of the social pyramid are expected to control themselves in the interest of the state (Skinner, 1979: 242). It has been found that "family" retains its function of inculcating values, and continues to be seen both in Taiwan and on the Mainland as the basic unit of national society. Evidence lies in the significance of the Confucian dictum of the importance of the effective functioning of families for the effective

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functioning of the nation in today's society. According to Confucianism, the family unit is important because it is the training ground for morality, whereas the significance of filial piety is that it is the root of morality. Theoretically, the Confucianist after fulfilling one's love to one's family, should extend it to the country as a whole and even the world at large (Abbott, 1970: 166).

The family is the best institution for the training of individual character, virtue and wisdom. Family virtues may be transformed into political virtues. For instance, filial piety towards parents may be transformed into loyalty to the sovereign; and fraternal duty to the elder brother may be transformed into kindness to fellow-citizens (*The Analects*, Book II, chapter xx). To rightfully fulfil duties as a member of the family is to teach one how to rightfully fulfil the duties of citizenship. Likewise, knowing how to govern a family well is a prerequisite of knowing how to govern a state (*The Great Learning*, Commentaries, chapter ix).

The family is the primary school for training in political organization. As Confucius says, "Be dutiful to your parents, be brotherly to your brothers. These qualities are displayed in government" (*The Analects*, book II. chapter xxi). Actually, in both family and state, there are elements of governance, and this governance should be based upon virtue. "In both there is an organization of work and a distinction of superiors and inferiors. The regulation of the family, therefore, offers much valuable political experience; and so the wise man learns his statecraft within the doors of his own home" (*The Great Learning*, Commentaries, chapter ix; Hsu, 1975: 69).

Moreover, the family is an agency of rectification in human relationships. Rectification, which is the main function of government, should begin with family. If the parent is kind to the child, the child will be filial to the parent. If the elder brother is fraternal to the younger, the younger will respect the elder. If the husband is just to the wife, the wife will be devoted to the husband. When all keep their proper place in the family, the family will be rectified. If

the family is so rectified, the entire state will be rectified (*Book of Change*, part ii; Hsu, 1975: 68-69). Among the functions of the family, surely one of the most important is its position as the intermediate point between the individual and the larger society. It is here that one is trained in the adjustments he will have to make throughout life between himself and other men. This is the reason harmony has been stressed as a cardinal virtue for the family (Chan, 1968: 26). In the well-ordered family, the adults learn how to manage community affairs and direct others for the common good while the young gradually learn to obey and to play their proper roles in the kinship hierarchy. The family is thus seen as a microcosm of the socio-political order; the wise father is a model for the wise ruler or minister and dutiful children are the models for properly submissive subjects who know their place, their role, and their obligations to others (Wright, 1962: 6-7).

Chinese culture's emphasis on the family unit rather than on the individual and on harmony as the highest good seems to curtail individual aggressiveness (DeVos, 1976:100). In the Chinese Language curriculum, "filial piety" is much emphasized in the lower forms of the syllabi that have been studied. "Filial piety" is taught so early because it is the basis on which political authority is built. If students are fostered with the virtue of filial piety, they will not dare to challenge authority and will become colonized easily. In Chinese society, subjects tend to respect the government because they treat the government officials as their "parents". Out of filial piety, a good son will never fail to obey. Likewise, he will not offend his government. Consequently, nurturing filial piety is the best way to consolidate one's rule (Tu, 1993:16).

In the Chinese Language curriculum, apart from the above-mentioned "familial love" and "filial piety", components concerning family relationships such as "harmonious relationships between kinship", "deep affection between spouse" and "mourning for the death of a wife" occured quite often (Table 8.39). In the theme of "Interpersonal Values", the frequency counts of the category of "kinship relationships" are very high (Tables 8.7, 8.15,

8.23 and 8.31). These demonstrate that values related to family and kinship play a significant role in the Chinese Language. If the relationship between family members is harmonious, this will also contribute to social harmony and political stability as well. That was why the Chinese Language curriculum under colonial rule placed great emphasis on the values related to family.

In the past, the Confucian ethic of filial piety was correlated with the placing of great emphasis on strictness of discipline and behaviour, and less emphasis on the child's expression of opinions, independence, self-mastery, creativity, and all-round personal development (Bond, 1986). The image of "*yan*" (stern, strict) father was always presented in Chinese culture (Abbott, 1970:160). Yet, such a conception is not obvious in the Chinese Language curriculum under the colonial rule. This seemed to reflect a hidden policy on the part of the British colonizers to portray the picture of benevolent dictator (rather than an autocratic parent), and as such it demonstrated that the British were selecting their curriculum materials with an end in mind. And in this case the end was to inculcate into the younger generation a sense of their colonizer as a benevolent and caring ruler. Thus, fatherhood is presented in the curriculum, not in the traditional image of a "*yan*" (stern) father, but rather a father who shows tender affection for his child, as in the texts entitled "*Perhaps*" (Secondary 4, the 1978 and 1990 Syllabi), "*A Sudden Turn*" (Secondary 4, the 1990 Syllabus), and "*A Man on a Lonely Trip*" (Secondary 4, the 1978 Syllabus). In addition, components such as "hope to be a good father" (24 counts, the 1978 Syllabus) also deserve our attention. Although components like "parents teach children patiently" (2 counts, the 1978 Syllabus) and "father encourages children" (3 counts, the 1990 Syllabus) did not appear frequently as compared with "hope to be a good father", all these did demonstrate images of good parents. Studying these texts, students might have a feeling of being concerned and loved by parents. In such an atmosphere, students would be less likely to develop a rebellious character. This might contribute to social harmony. Furthermore, "father asks for their son's forgiveness" (3

counts, the 1990 Syllabus) and "parents respect their children's opinion" (1 count, the 1990

Syllabus) appeared only several times, these more or less indicated a breakthrough in the

relationships between parents and children. These start to demonstrate some elements of

democracy. It can be said that they are very different from the authoritarian style of

parenthood of the past. By 1990, subservience to patriarchal authority was no longer

emphasized in the Chinese Language curriculum. The selected texts concerned with

relationships between parents and children all showed a picture of tender-heartedness and

loving care for one's children. This may have been intended to facilitate the harmony of a

society, which was in the interest of the colonial government to maintain in Hong Kong.

One of the main features of filial piety, the basic ethical doctrine governing familial

relationships, has been defined by Confucius as to enhance and uphold the family name, or at

least not to disgrace it. Thus the Chinese have been socialized for centuries to strive for the

goal of "glorifying the ancestors" or "to get oneself known in order to glorify one's parents"

(Tsang, 1994b: 8). There is clearly a strong moral responsibility for achievement through

studying and working hard in the Chinese culture (as shown in the theme on "Personal

Values"). Children are taught by teachers and parents at a very early age that one can learn

study skills by working hard in order to develop higher ability. In Chinese culture, working

hard to glorify one's parents is simply a social expectation. As pointed out by Lambert and

Weisbrod (1971: 92), "Chinese culture has traditionally emphasized conformity to role

expectations and social rules. This is particularly pronounced within the family where duties

and the proper forms of behaviour between family members are defined in specific detail. In

short, in interpersonal behaviour, Chinese seem to be guided by expectations and rules more

than by individual inclination, compared with members of Western societies." In the

Chinese Language curriculum, components like "great expectations of parents towards

children" (4 counts, the 1961 syllabus), "parents care for children's academic achievement"

(10 counts, 1990 Syllabus) occur quite often. These show that the findings of this study

match the view of Lambert and Weisbrod. In fact, "working hard" can not only glorify one's parents, but it can also promote economic growth. This might be the expectation of the colonial government too.

On the other hand, as *The Classic of Filial Piety* puts it: "Filial piety at the outset consists in service to one's parents; in the middle of one's path, in service to his sovereign; and, in the end, in establishing himself as a mature man" (*Book of Filial Piety*, I.). With genuine and comprehensive love towards one's own parents, one may naturally learn to be benevolent to all living creatures, being affectionate towards humankind as a whole, loyal to his country and to the duties of a free citizen, faithful in keeping obligations, righteous in action, peaceful in behaviour, and just in all dealings. A survey in 1994 in Hong Kong found that an overwhelming majority of Hongkongese (92.9 percent) agreed that everyone should respect traditional Chinese moral values. A vast majority of Hongkongese (96.3 per cent) said they respected people who performed filial duties to their parents (Lau, 2000: 264).

9.4.2.3 Compassion

Confucius paid great attention to human relationships. He expressed his philosophical ideas with "*ren*" (benevolence), a word with a special connotation. The Chinese character "*ren*", when cut into two, means "two men", and since it is "two men", it involves one's relations with other people and how to handle these relations. To Confucius, the core of human relationship is "love", "love of people at large". With respect to "a loving man", he proposed, first, that it is necessary to be considerate and understanding. Second, one should be delighted to help others. Third, one should know clearly who to love, and not to be a hypocrite by trying to please all sides (Kuang, 1991: 11). On the other hand, according to Mencius, the greatest exponent of Confucius' thought, human nature is originally good and every man has the moral potential to become a morally perfect man. The ultimate moral ideal is "*ren*", the virtue of compassion and benevolence. To attain the ideal, a person must develop his moral potential as fully as possible. And then he should try to establish a rapport

with others through love and considerateness (Lu, 1983: 94).

The component of "compassion" appears frequently in the whole Chinese Language curriculum with frequency counts of 8 times in the 1961 syllabus, 29 times in the 1971 syllabus, 39 times in the 1978 syllabus and 110 times in the 1990 syllabus (Table 9.3). There is a trend for the component of "compassion" to increase in importance especially in the 1990 syllabus. This may be due to the fact that, as the 1997 handover was approaching, the colonial government wanted to promote a harmonious society for the sake of the smooth transfer of Hong Kong sovereignty. Mencius believed that "a man without the heart of compassion/commiseration, is not a man" and "the heart of commiseration is the beginning of humanity (*ren*)" (Lu, 1983:10-11). Actually, "*ren*/humanity" is the core value of Confucianism. It is the root of all other moral standards and is the foundation of all other virtues. "*Ren*" is the virtue of the highest order in the value system of Confucianism. It gives "meaning" to all the other ethical norms that perform integrative functions in a Confucian society (Tu, 1993:6). It generates from our innermost being and extends to relationships with others -- "love the people". Only when one feels commitment to loving one's fellow men, can one be considered a man. As embodied in man's conduct, benevolence is called in the path of duty (Gong, 1991:315). With regard to Confucius's core teaching, to practise "*ren*/humanity", which is the key concept of Confucianism, one must first of all be honest with one's inborn moral qualities by developing them as fully as possible. In order to illustrate the concept "everyone has the feeling of compassion", Mencius cited the following example:

> When anyone suddenly sees a child about to fall into a
> well, he is bound to have the feeling of compassion;
> whether or not he knows the child, he will try to save that
> baby from falling into the well. That is the feeling of
> compassion, which is the beginning of humanity.

Mencius argues that man is a moral animal and thus possesses inborn moral qualities. If man does not display them in his daily conduct, he is no different from other animals. Any

student who has acquired and accepted this Confucian perspective would be expected to proceed along the moral path and individual Confucian virtues would be gradually manifested in his behaviour (Lu, 1983:77). Secondly, one must be able to extend them to others through love and considerateness. Mencius further explained the concept of "*ren*": "all men have the mind which cannot bear to see the sufferings of others". This mind is what he called the feeling of "compassion". Some people are able to develop and manifest this feeling whereas others are unable to do so. Here lies the difference between a Confucian gentleman and a morally inferior person (Lu, 1983:81).

Ren is perhaps best expressed in Western thought as "agape" or unselfish love, concern for one's fellow man, particularly as in goodness of personal relationships and to be genuinely concerned with their welfare (Abbott, 1970: 57-58). In short, to Confucius, "a man of *Ren* wishing to establish his own character also establishes the character of others, and wishing to be prominent himself also helps others to be prominent" (*The Analects*, 6:28). The concept of "*ren*" in Confucianism, apart from involving the feeling of compassion, as shown in Table 9.3, includes other behaviours and attitudes appearing in the Chinese Language curriculum such as "generosity" (10 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 13 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 8 counts in the 1978 syllabus), "kindness" (8 counts in the 1961 syllabus), "altruism" (6 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 12 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 11 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 11 counts in the 1990 syllabus), "spirit of sacrifice" (22 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 26 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 6 counts in the 1990 syllabus), "helping others" (7 counts in the 1971 syllabus) can also be regarded as the components of humanity and compassion.

Table 9.3 Themes on Interpersonal Values (Components related to "compassion")

Components	Syllabi (No. of Occurrence)			
	1961	1971	1978	1990
Compassion	8	29	39	110
Generosity	10	13	8	-
Kindness	8	-	-	1
Altruism	6	12	11	11
Spirit of sacrifice	3	22	26	6
Helping others	-	7	-	3
Favouring collectivism	-	2	1	4

Taking all those components related to "*ren*/humanity" together, it is found that the Chinese Language curriculum placed great emphasis on the traditional Confucian values, especially those ethics concerning the loving of others. If everyone is nurtured with such ethics, the whole society will be in a harmonious state. Consequently, *ren* becomes the expression of harmony in the area of human relationships (Abbott, 1970:58). As promoting "*ren*/humanity" could contribute a lot to create a harmonious state, it was understandable that the colonial government placed great emphasis on promoting such values in the Chinese Language curriculum.

9.4.2.4 Modesty

Modesty is another important virtue in traditional Confucian moralities. Modesty is displayed through the way one gets along with people -- respects others, is polite to others and has an attitude of humility and sincerity. If every member of the society were to behave with the virtues of modesty and politeness, then conflicts would be minimized and the society would be in harmony. Harmony is a central concept in Chinese thought, and is closely related to the collectivist orientation of the Chinese, who are especially concerned with harmony among people, and who strive to maintain it in their social relations. Humility, as a result, occupies a central and prominent position in human interactions among Chinese, for group harmony can be maintained, and sometimes enhanced, by the humility of

individual members. Therefore, it is not surprising that humility is a valued and model characteristic in Chinese interpersonal relations. A humble person makes self-effacing attributions, whereas a boastful one makes self-enhancing attributions. Given the norm of humility, then, a person making self-effacing attributions should be better liked than one making self-enhancing attributions (Bond and Leung, 1982: 56).

Values related to "modesty", "sincerity" and "politeness" in the whole Chinese Language curriculum occur quite often. For the component of "modesty", as indicated in Table 9.4, there are 17 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 26 in the 1971 syllabus; 24 in the 1978 syllabus and 15 in the 1990 syllabus. The component "politeness" appears 26 times in the 1971 syllabus and 20 times in the 1978 syllabus. For the component "sincerity", there are 16 counts in the 1961 syllabus. Furthermore, to achieve a harmonious relationship, "cooperation" is also an important element. The component "cooperativeness" occurs quite often in the Chinese Language curriculum -- 17 counts in the 1971 syllabus and 15 in the 1978 syllabus.

Table 9.4 Themes on Interpersonal Values (Components related to "modesty")

Components	Syllabi (No. of Occurrence)			
	1961	1971	1978	1990
Modesty	17	26	24	15
Politeness	2	26	20	5
Sincerity	16	2	2	1
Cooperativeness	-	17	15	6
Respect for others	8	4	3	11

9.4.3 Themes on Nation-oriented Values

With regard to the "nation-oriented values" theme, this is the third most important category throughout the four syllabi, ranging from 12% to 21% of all the themes. There are two categories under the "Nation-oriented values", namely the "society-oriented values" and "politically-oriented values".

9.4.3.1 Society-oriented Values

"Social orientation" in the Confucian tradition may be defined as a predisposition towards maintaining harmony through social conformity, non-offensive behaviour and submission to social expectations on the one hand, and avoidance of punishment, conflict, rejection and retaliation in a social situation on the other. Basically, it represents a tendency for a person to act in accordance with external expectations or social norms, rather than internal wishes or personality, so that he would become an integral part of the social network. Here solidarity and social consciousness are more decisive as determinants of behaviour than individuality and self-assertion. As a result, social consistency is closely intertwined with self-consistency. More specifically, to be social-oriented is usually to behave in consonance with social expectations and / or role imperatives at the expense of one's personal feelings, opinions, or will (Yang, 1981: 159-160).

Observation of rites and social rituals (*Li*)

Throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum, the component of "observation of rites and social rituals/*li*" attracts most of our attention in the category of society-oriented values, with 35 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 15 in the 1971 syllabus and 16 in the 1990 syllabus (Table 8.40). "Observation of rites and social rituals/*li*" greatly contributes to the social order and stability of a society. Thus Tu argues that "*li*" is the most important system of social control as "*li*" generally refers to norms and standards of proper behaviour in a social, ethical, or even religious context (Tu, 1993: 5-6). Tu further explains the concept of "*li*":

> ... a comprehensible concept *li* denotes a variety of rituals concerning personal conduct, social relations, political organizations, and religious behaviour. It includes virtually all aspects of human culture: psychological, social and religious. In the Confucian context it is inconceivable that one can become truly human without going through the process of "ritualization", which in this particular connection means humanization (Tu, 1993: 29).

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If every member of the society observes the proprieties and social rituals, the whole society will be in harmony and stable. In addition, Lu (1983: 10) argues that *ren* (benevolence) and *li* (rites) are the two complementary concepts in Confucius' thought. *Ren* is the guiding principle of *li* and *li* is the concrete expression of *ren*.

The attainment of harmony occurs through the acceptance of socially approved rules of behaviour based on ordered hierarchy. These rules are contained in *"li"* or principles of behaviour (Silin, 1976). *"Li"* serves the function of maintaining order and has great importance in the structural harmony within Chinese society. *"Li"* is the "right conduct in maintaining one's place in a hierarchical order". A common Chinese expression underscores the issue, "seniors and juniors have their ranking" (Bond, 1986). In order to let people of all classes and strata in the society live in harmony, Confucius put forward the general principle of rites in dealing with interpersonal relationships. "The function of the rites is at its best when dealing with everything with propriety, which the sovereigns did excellently in governing the state. They did everything, important or trivial, with propriety" (*The Analects – Xue Er*). "Propriety" means to handle matters appropriately and not excessively, and make them suitable for all and acceptable to all. "Propriety" means to act in accordance with a set of codes of behaviour so that there is mutual understanding and harmonious co-existence between people (Fu, 1991:186-187). In the 1971 and 1978 syllabi of the Chinese Language curriculum, components such as "younger brother should respect elder brother" (3 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 3 counts in the 1978 syllabus) can perhaps support this principle although this component did not appear frequently. Through education, people are aware of *"li"* and thus capable of behaving properly and acting accordingly with the understanding of his position. As *"li"* is a means of checking the tendency to disorder in human nature, a harmonious relationship in society can be established.

In addition, Sprenger (1991: 463) explains that for Confucius, *li* not only builds, strengthens and educates, it also tames power and as such may establish the basis for a social

order in which the individual might expect his "rights" to be insured by "rite". That is, he might expect the respectful treatment of himself and others according to the norms of civilized behaviour. Sprenger further points out that in order to govern properly and effectively, Confucius suggested that the ruler should stress propriety to support the elements of virtue in humanity. As written in *The Analects* (II.III), "If the people be led by laws, and uniformity sought to be given them by punishments, they will try to avoid the punishment, but have no sense of shame. If they be led by virtue, and uniformity sought by the rule of propriety, they will have the sense of shame, and moreover will become good" (Sprenger, 1991:464). On the other hand, components of "fulfilling responsibilities towards one's country" (11 times in the 1978 syllabus), "discipline" (7 counts in the 1978 syllabus), "social order" (7 counts in the 1971 syllabus) are promoting a message that members of the society should be disciplined, and should behave well and perform their social responsibilities.

9.4.3.2 Politically-oriented Values

Before Hong Kong was returned to the PRC in 1997, its education policy was always described as a kind of educational manipulation which was deliberately used to maintain firm colonial control over the subjects in Hong Kong. There were tight controls over curricula and syllabi designed by the Education Department to make sure that the subjects of Hong Kong were educated in the way the colonial government saw fit. Chinese people in Hong Kong are generally described as politically apathetic. Lau (1997) points out that a colonial society such as Hong Kong with its apathetic Chinese majority group exhibited a low level of political activism and hence, a high level of political stability. However, contrary to the previous findings that the curriculum of Hong Kong was apolitical, the findings of this study on the whole Chinese Language curriculum reveal that there are quite a lot of themes related to nation as well as politics.

1. Promoting Patriotism and Loyalty

As mentioned previously, the core of Confucian ethics is "*ren*/humanity/benevolence", which is "love of man". Benevolent love can be manifested in various ways. For instance, "filial piety" shows one's love for parents; "fraternity" expresses one's love for one's brothers, and "loyalty" indicates one's love for the country and the king, etc. The concept of "loyalty" is generally regarded as the "Golden Rule" of Confucius, which goes like this: "(Now the man of perfect virtue), wishing to be established himself, seeks also to establish others; wishing to be enlarged himself, he seeks also to enlarge others" (*The Analects*, 6:28; Lu, 1983:111). Of the components under politically-oriented values in this study, "patriotism" appears most frequently throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum (39 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 31 counts in the 1971 syllabus; 43 counts in the 1978 syllabus and 33 counts in the 1990 syllabus as shown in Table 9.5). Besides, other components concerning the loving of one's country and one's compatriots, and making contribution to one's country or even sacrifice for one's country are also frequently mentioned in Table 9.5.

Table 9.5 Themes on Nation-oriented Values (Components related to "patriotism")

Components	Syllabi (No. of Occurrence)			
	1961	1971	1978	1990
Patriotism	39	31	43	33
Loving one's compatriots	20	4	2	-
Concern with the livelihood of one's compatriots	14	7	16	42
Caring for one's country	-	8	13	50
Contributing to one's country	20	20	-	12
Standing up for one's country	12	2	2	3
Making sacrifice for one's country	-	15	-	-
Protecting one's country	1	3	-	4
Honouring for one's country	-	-	6	1

All of the above components demonstrate a clear picture of patriotism and loyalty in the whole Chinese Language curriculum. They demonstrate how the Chinese texts are used to

propagate such values as loyalty and patriotism under the colonial rule in Hong Kong. However, pledging loyalty was only subtly mentioned so as not to arouse anti-British sentiments. The political socialization of the Chinese Language curriculum took the form of indirect transmission and learning. The texts did not advocate explicitly such values as patriotism and loyalty to any particular nation. Those themes related to the nation were presented by means of stories of traditional heroes or loyal subjects. Apart from promoting loyalty and patriotism which present the themes in a positive way, there are many other texts that present the messages related to politics by using negative examples. For instance, by describing an official's career as fraught with difficulties and danger, the texts convey the message that "avoidance in participating in politics can avoid troubles". In addition, throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum, only two texts related to Britain were selected. However, these two texts portray an entirely good image of Britain. In contrast, China was portrayed as backward, poor and the lives of people were full of suffering. The remarkable contrast between the two countries might foster in the Hong Kong Chinese an affection towards Britain. Below we will examine in greater detail the texts related to "Nation-oriented values".

A text titled "*A Letter to the King before Dispatching Troops*" was selected for the four syllabi, demonstrating the values of "loyalty" and "patriotism". This was a letter presented to the king by a prime minister in 227 AD with a very humble tone. Before the former king died, the prime minister had been asked by the former king to rule the state. However, being the loyal prime minister of the former king, his loyalty was so great that he did not take the kingdom; on the contrary, he helped and advised the present king on how to rule the country. In the letter, he sincerely thanked the former king for inviting him several times to be the prime minister. In order to repay the loving-kindness and grace of the former king, he explained to the present king that he would try his very best to help him rule the country even though he needed to sacrifice his own life. The whole letter was written in a very modest tone showing

great loyalty to the nation. The author even declared that the present king might punish him if he was defeated in the battle. Such a "self-effacement" mode of discourse appears quite often in Chinese verbal behaviour, showing one's modesty (Bond, 1995: 53).

Another text showing the virtues of "loyalty" and "patriotism" was a text entitled "*The Anecdote of the Duke of Zuo Zhong-yi*". This text also occurred in all the four syllabi. Being a senior official of the dynasty, Zuo Zhong-yi (1575-1625) criticized the bad behaviour of corrupt officials in order to improve the rotten political situation. Unfortunately, he was put into jail due to his failure in the political struggle. However, he placed the fate of the country as his top priority and demonstrated a spirit of steadfastness and loyalty towards the nation, though he eventually died in the jail.

A poem entitled "*All over the River is Red*"(appearing in the 1961 and 1990 syllabi), written in 1134 by a famous general called Yue Fei of the Song Dynasty (960-1279) in ancient China, vigorously demonstrated his indignation over the failure to recapture some lost territory and his determination to achieve the unification of the whole country as well as his hatred for the enemy. This poem, written with a high spirit, could certainly arouse in readers the sentiment of loyalty to their country.

In the above examples of texts containing themes of loyalty and patriotism, the common element was that example of loyalty were drawn from ancient China. The focus was neither on the current ruling authorities in Hong Kong nor contemporary China. The reason was that even though the colonial government wished the colonized subjects to be loyal to Britain, she still could not explicitly state her power as ruler for the fear that it would arouse anti-British sentiments. As a result, the colonial government could only choose ancient texts with discreet political messages to inculcate the colonized subjects with values of loyalty and patriotism so as to attain political stability.

On the other hand, texts showing the intelligence and astuteness of officials in handling crises and critical situations are numerous. For instance, a text entitled "*Zhu Zhi-wu*

Dissuading the Army of Chin from Attack" (appearing in all four syllabi) demonstrates how an ambassador of a small state successfully dissuaded a stronger state from invading it by the strategies of explaining the pros and cons, alienation, persuasion by bribery. A text entitled "*Xin Ling Save Zhao*" (appearing in the 1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi) portrays the bravery and intelligence of an official in saving the state from attack by another state. "*Biographies of Lian Po and Liu Xiang-ru*" (appearing in the 1978 and 1990 syllabi) also describe the story of how an official named Lian Po used his qualities of both intelligence and courage to get back some precious jade, retrieve the country's reputation and check the invasion by a strong neighbouring state. A text entitled "*Discussing the Strategies on the Battlefield by Cao Gui*" (appearing in the 1971 and 1990 syllabi), describes in detail an official's profound knowledge and brilliant tactics used in a battle as well as his spirit of patriotism. Education under the colonial government aimed at cultivating a group of elitists to help administer the colony. In these texts, students were encouraged to be smart and brilliant in handling situations of crisis. However, they were not encouraged to be too brilliant and intelligent to outdo or outwit the superior and higher authorities.

2.   **Retreating from political ambition**

"*The Death of Yang Xiu*" (appearing in four syllabi) tells us the story of Yang Xiu who was killed by his master because Yang always showed his cleverness and saw through the motives of his master. "*Biography of Jing Ke*" (appearing in the 1961 and 1971 syllabi) describes how a brave man failed in the attempt to assassinate the ruler. A text entitled "*Story of a Man with a Big Hammer*" (appearing in four syllabi) portrays a man who was good at martial arts with a big hammer as his weapon, he could kill many opponents easily within a short period of time. Unfortunately, such a brave man did not have opportunities to work for the country. Likewise, the "*Story of a Man with a Curly Beard*" (appearing in the 1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi) also tells the story of a capable man who adopted the attitude of retreating from political ambition.

3. Encouraging passivity in accepting failure in a political career

Texts that describe unhappiness in failing to achieve one's political ambitions and aspirations are numerous. The "*Story of Fong Shanzi*" (appearing in the 1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi) tells the story of Fong who wanted to serve the government, but no chances were given to him. Eventually, he lived in the countryside and led a life as a hermit. Another text entitled "*Tian Jing Sha -- Temple of Lu Qing*" (appearing in the 1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi) tells a similar story. The "*Narcissus -- Looking for Plum Blossom*" (appearing in the 1961, 1971 and 1978 syllabi) describes the beauty of plum blossom on the surface, but actually expresses the depression of the author who was not given the chance to serve in the government.

4. Political career fraught with difficulties and danger

"*Fisherman*" (appearing in the 1971 and 1978 syllabi) and "*Nian Nu Jiao -- Recalling the past in Chi Bi*" (appearing in the 1961 and 1990 syllabi) are written by the same author -- Su Shi (1037-1101), who was a famous poet in the Song Dynasty in ancient China. He became a government official in his early twenties. However, his career path was not smooth politically. He was demoted on several occasions to serve as an official in remote provinces since he was an upright person and always spoke out whenever he found anything wrong. "*Fisherman*" tells the story of a fisherman who drank a lot of wine in order to drive out his unhappiness. As a matter of fact, it was the author himself who wanted to get rid of the unhappiness resulting from being demoted by means of drinking wine. The author sighed with regret in the text of "*Nian Nu Jiao -- Recalling the past in Chi Bi*" as he was getting old and could not achieve success in political circles.

Many texts written by authors who had been demoted were chosen for the secondary Chinese Language curriculum. A text titled "*A Chance to Play in the West Hill*" (appearing in the 1961, 1971 and 1990 syllabi) describes how the author discovered a place of exceptional beauty to drink with friends and be united with nature. Another text entitled "*The Old*

Drunkard's Pavilion" (appearing in the 1978 and 1990 syllabi) was written by an official named Ou-Yang Xiu (who was also a famous prose writer) of the Song Dynasty in 1046. Actually, the author was only forty when he wrote this prose and was still in his mid-life. He called himself "the old drunkard" as an act of self-ridicule, implying that he could not gain any chances to attain great achievement in political circles. As a result, he went with the people to play and drink in the countryside, so as to drive out his unhappiness at being denoted. The prose portrays a very beautiful picture of a scenic spot, with people enjoying the fun of an excursion in the countryside. The writing of the text was intended to please the author himself, and at the same time teach the people to take pleasure in the beauty of landscape and scenery with the help of wine.

Throughout the texts that appeared in the secondary Chinese Language curriculum, there are many pieces describing the joy that wine and beautiful scenery bring. Wine could help people escape from unhappiness, whereas beautiful scenery provided a haven for lonely people to escape into. Another famous poem related to wine was written by a great poet named Li Bai of the Tang Dynasty of ancient China in 752. The poem expresses the poet's unhappiness at being exiled to a remote area even though he possessed a vision to serve the country. Consequently, he wrote down the famous poem "*Propose a Toast*" to sooth his sadness at under-achievement in political circles.

With regard to the "poems of exile", the most representative one is perhaps the one written by Cao Zhi (192-232) to his brother entitled as "*Letter to White Horse Prince Biao*" (appearing in 1961 and 1971 syllabi). Cao Zhi had undergone two different stages in his political life. The first stage was the one before his elder brother became king; the second stage was the one after. In the first stage, he led a happy life. As he was the most clever son in the family, he was most loved by his father. He always accompanied his father to fight great battles and he had great ambition to serve the country. His poems at that time were lively and filled with optimism (but these poems were never chosen for the Chinese Language

curriculum). After his elder brother became king, he was sent into exile. His poems consequently expressed a melancholic and sad feeling. He was depressed as he had never been given a chance to serve the country though he hoped to unite the three warring kingdoms into one. The selected poem was written to say a last good-bye to another exiled brother, Biao; it expresses his sorrow, anger and helplessness:

"Calamity may suddenly come, who can be sure of a long life?"

The only comfort he could give himself was:

"What is the use in sighing, fate is always against me."
"Our life is as short as the morning dew, it vanishes as soon as the sun comes out."

As a matter of fact, Cao Zhi was not pessimistic and passive at all, his suffering was caused by his ambition to serve his country. Yet, this text seems to transmit a message that we should not participate or interfere in politics, otherwise they will bring troubles to us.

5. Avoiding troubles incurred from involvement in politics

In order to avoid the troubles incurred from involvement in politics, some people chose to resign from officialdom. The best example would be the case of a poet named Tao Yuanming (365-427). Tao preferred to lead a simple pastoral life rather than being an official. In the secondary Chinese Language curriculum, Tao's poems describing the joy of pastoral life were numerous. *"Going Home"*(appearing in the 1990 syllabus) was written by Tao at the age of 41. He took up a post as a provincial official for only about 80 days, then he quit. The reason for his resignation was that he did not accept the vile and corrupt practices of officialdom. In the poem *"Going Home"*, Tao revealed his great happiness and freedom gained from abandoning the government post. Another three of Tao's poems were grouped as *"Back to Country Life"* (appearing in all four syllabi) to show the satisfaction and feeling of joy gained by leading a simple, pastoral life. Though the quality of life was rather low, he was still very satisfied with the current situation. Actually, before he died, he was almost leading the life of a beggar. From the poems of Tao, we can see that he showed great integrity in his rejection of worldly honours and wealth. Instead, he preferred to live in a calm and rustic home. Tao

was identified as "the poet unstained by worldly dust", "the most reclusive poet of all times" and "the father of pastoral poetry" (Tan, 1992: 3-4). Tao's poems seem to deliver a message telling people to stay away from politics, to keep one's integrity by not meddling with government affairs.

Another text embedded with the message of not meddling with politics is a passage entitled *"Love of Lotus"* (appearing in four syllabi). The lotus is praised not just for its freshness and fragrance, but also for its growth from dirty mud without being dirtied by it. It is a flower that can only be appreciated from afar but not held in the hand. By describing the elegance of the lotus, the author implicitly states that he indeed yearns for the clean life of an upright gentleman without wealth, fame and honour, and being remote from any political ambitions.

6. Not to put up resistance

In the story *"The Cook Butchering a Cow"* (appearing in the 1971 and 1990 syllabi), written by a famous Taoist, Zhuangzi, we are taught not to forcefully fight against any difficulties or put up any resistance since that will cause us injury. Our lives are just like a blade used by a cook to cut up a cow. If we force the knife to cut across the sinews and bones, the knife will become blunt. In order to preserve our lives, the cook suggests the following procedures as the blade of his knife was still very sharp even after nineteen years of usage:

> there are spaces at the animal's joints, and the knife blade is
> thin ... and whenever I come to a bundle or knot, when I see it
> is going to be difficult, I go slow as if I were warming up; my
> gaze is fixed, my progress is slow, I move the knife gently,
> laying it open, and suddenly it comes apart like a clod dropping
> to the ground (McNaughton, 1974: 113-115).

The text tells us that when we encounter obstacles or difficulties, we have to accept them and not put up any resistance.

In connection with the above attitude to life, the text entitled *"Yu Meiren"* (appearing in

four syllabi) describes a king's feeling of helplessness at having no alternative, but to accept the fate of his country being conquered. As a slave without a country, recalling the splendid palace and happy days of the past only increased his sorrow. The king bemoaned his sad fate but had no intention of recapturing his previous country from the enemy. Students having read this text might have a feeling that we should not do anything, but simply accept our fate. Being influenced by such a philosophy of life, the political ambitions of the colonized subjects could be curbed to a certain extent.

Another text that describes the desolate scene and bleak landscape of a once prosperous city of China is the text entitled "*Song of Yang Zhao*" (appearing in the 1961 and 1990 syllabi). The author passed through the famous city of Yang Zhao; however, it was no longer as prosperous as before as it was constantly being ruined by the attack of neighbouring countries. Throughout the song, the author only expressed his sighs and grief since the scene of a flourishing and booming city would never come back. The message that is transmitted to the readers was to accept the current situation as that they could do nothing to change the prevailing situation.

7. Advocacy of peace/anti-war

The desire to achieve a state of harmony is proved by the emphatic advocacy of "peace" and "anti-war" from the texts of the Chinese Language curriculum. "*Poem of Warriors*" and "*Condolence of Battlefield in the Past*" (both appearing in the 1990 syllabus) have obvious themes of desiring peace and strongly opposing war. In "*Poems of Warriors*", the author Du Fu, a famous patriotic poet in the Tang Dynasty, described in detail the sorrowfulness of separation among family members as the fathers or sons had to go to the battlefield under the conscription policy of the government. Furthermore, the author continued by describing vividly the disasters that were brought along with the war. As many soldiers died, the river was turned to blood, fields were abandoned and overgrown with weeds. Many human bones and skeletons were left throughout the battlefield of Qing Hai without being buried.

Similarly, in the text of *"Condolence of the Battlefield in the Past"*, the author described the suffering and misery of the soldiers who were conscripted into the army. Wars caused many valuable human lives to end. In the last part of the text, the author proposed measures to avoid the outbreak of wars, that is to promote education and practise a benevolent governmental policy towards those minorities around the borderland of China to enable them to safeguard the mainland along the frontier.

These two texts with anti-war messages were chosen in the last syllabus before the return of Hong Kong to China and may imply that the colonial government wished to preserve social and political stability, particularly in the transitional period. A smooth handover was strongly desired by the British colonial government. A detailed description of the suffering and misery of the wars might have the effect of deterring the outbreak of a riot or anti-government protests by the colonized.

8. Texts related to Britain

Though Hong Kong was a British colony, texts related to Britain were minimal. Only two texts among the 650 pieces of texts throughout the four syllabi in the past four decades dealt with aspects of life in Britain. They are the texts entitled *"The Zoo of London"* (appearing in the 1971 and 1978 syllabi) and *"Farewell to Cambridge Once Again"* (appearing in 1978 and 1990 syllabi). The content of *"The Zoo of London"* describes the size of the zoo in London and different kinds of animals.

These two texts related to Britain have nothing to with the advocacy of political propaganda. However, as *"The Zoo of London"* describes the huge size of the zoo, the comprehensiveness of the facilities, the variety of animals; all these give us an impression that Britain is a big, rich and advanced country.

"Farewell to Cambridge Once Again" describes the student life of a Chinese poet in the University of Cambridge. The poet had studied in that university twice. The poem was written before he left the university for the second time. In the poem, the author expressed his

deep feelings towards the university and cherished the memory of his student days in the University of Cambridge. These two texts generally help portray a positive image of Britain by praising the Zoo of London and showing the deep affection felt by the poet towards Cambridge, as expressed in the poem.

Generally speaking, the approaches to political socialization in the "politically-oriented themes" employed by the colonial government towards the Hong Kong Chinese can be divided into two parts. One involved the promotion of patriotism towards one's country, whereas the other conveyed a message of avoidance of participation in politics. Although the components concerning the "avoidance of participation in politics" only occupied a small proportion when compared with the components related to "promotion of patriotism", these more or less could reflect that the colonial government did not encourage the colonized subjects to be involved in politics. As shown in Table 9.6, components such as "the shamefulness of serving another regime" (2 counts in the 1971 Syllabus; 2 counts in the 1978 Syllabus), "the great loss caused by democratic campaign" (1 count in the 1978 Syllabus), "the ineffectiveness of trying to restore the old regime" (2 counts in the 1990 Syllabus) are transmitting a message of non-involvement in politics.

In addition, in the themes related to "Personal Values", there are also components that discourage involvement in politics and aggression and ambition. For instance, "passive acceptance, attempting nothing" (2 counts in the 1961 Syllabus), "the importance of staying aloof from politics and material pursuits" (1 count in the 1961 Syllabus; 3 counts in the 1971 Syllabus; 2 counts in the 1978 Syllabus and 5 counts in the 1990 Syllabus), "the despair of not being put in the important position of the government" (8 counts in the 1971 Syllabus), "contentment with what one is" (1 count in the 1961 Syllabus; 6 counts in the 1990 Syllabus), "being a hermit (not involve in politics)" (4 counts in the 1971 Syllabus; 9 counts in the 1978 Syllabus).

Table 9.6 Themes of Nation-oriented and Personal Values (Non-involvement in politics)

Components	Syllabi (No. of Occurrence)			
	1961	1971	1978	1990
The shamefulness of serving another regime	-	2	2	-
The great loss caused by democratic campaigns	-	-	1	-
The ineffectiveness of trying to restore the old regime	-	-	-	2
Passive acceptance, attempting nothing	2	-	-	-
The importance of staying aloof from politics and material pursuits	1	3	2	5
The despair of not being put in important position of the government	-	8	-	-
Contentment with what one is	1	-	-	6
Being a hermit (not involve in politics)	-	4	9	-

9. Components Related to Ruler

The theme "ruler implementing a policy of benevolence" appears quite often throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum. Being a humane government and practising a benevolent policy towards one's subjects is central to the political philosophy of Confucius. In the best of Confucian tradition, moral values and political ideas are closely related: the former serve as the foundation of the latter. Confucius proposed a political recipe for good government: the ruler must first of all set a good moral example. For even a ruler himself is not exempt from performing his moral obligations. A ruler ought to be humane to his ministers. From the Confucian viewpoint, political leaders should have their moral qualities more fully developed than ordinary people. They should be willing to sacrifice their personal interests for the common well-being of the people (Lu, 1983). In addition, the moral or ethical commitment of leaders is considered crucial to success (Silin, 1976). The Confucian moral definition of the state has emphasized the aspect of the benevolent conduct of a leader or the state authority (Hsiao, 1988:18). To Confucius, a morally uncultivated person can never serve society. Because the superior man is like the wind and the vulgar person (the commoner) is like the grass; in whichever direction the wind blows, the grass will

bend. This Confucian political philosophy is fundamentally based upon Confucian moral philosophy (Lu, 1983: 9-10).

Pye (1988:84) in his discussion of "The East Asian Political Model" points out that in East Asian political cultures, authority is expected to combine, with grace and benevolence, both elitism and sympathy -- i.e. aloof dignity and nurturing concern. The cultures revere hierarchy and accept gradations of rank and merit as natural, but they also expect rulers to be concerned about the livelihood of the masses. In addition, the Confucian ideal of rule by an educated elite has given way to rule by technocrats who are assumed to be knowledgeable about, and sympathetic toward, the interest of all segments of society.

On the other hand, Mencius and Xunzi argued that an inhumane and unjust sovereign who did not pay attention to the expostulation of the officers, would lose his identity as a sovereign. He should then not be regarded as a ruler, but just a criminal (Paul, 1990: 63). Moreover, Mencius also affirmed that the people are more important than the ruler and that the people have the right to oppose tyrannical rulers (Wilson and Wilson, 1979).

Chang (1991: 236) points out that according to Confucius, "loving people, cultivating people, benefiting people, enriching people, educating people, pacifying people, and conferring extensive benefits on the people" are the essences of a "benevolent government". In Confucian tradition, the "benevolent government" has tended to use affirmative measures to promote social ethics and the improvement of the people's livelihood. To be a benevolent government, Mencius further proposed moderation in the use of fines and other penal measures, reduction of taxes and levies, and policy designed to encourage the people to make the best use of their own time and energy, to improve the people's standard of living and to alleviate poverty and suffering. In Mencius' view, an emperor who governed in accordance with these principles was a benevolent monarch. The component "ruler implementing a policy of benevolence" appears in three syllabi (namely in the 1961 syllabus (5 counts); 1971 syllabus (9 counts); 1990 syllabus (8 counts)) and far exceeds the occurrence of the

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component "overthrow despotic rule" (appearing only 1 count as minor theme in the 1971 syllabus) in the whole Chinese Language curriculum. The rulers were mostly portrayed as benevolent governors who were very much concerned for the livelihood of the people and accepted advice of officers who advocated a policy of benevolence towards the people. These ruling authorities were intended to make a good impression on the colonized Hong Kong people. Consequently, they would minimize the resistance of Hong Kong people towards the existing government even though they were under the British colonial rule. As a matter of fact, when compared to the PRC, the livelihood and political situation of Hong Kong people were much better even though Hong Kong was under the British colonial rule. In the first place, the colonial government had been able to maintain security, order and justice, while at the same time considerable freedom was given to her people to make individual economic decisions as the colonial government practised a kind of laissez-faire economic policy. Secondly, the colonial government appointed officials on the basis of merit, not patronage. This matches quite well with the component of "ruler should put the talented in important positions" (12 counts in the 1978 syllabus). Such a method of selection ensured that the civil bureaucracy at least had the potential to be efficient and effective. Thirdly, the rapid economic development of Hong Kong during the 1970s to 1980s had improved the living standards of most people. In addition, Hong Kong even enjoyed the fame of being a financial centre and her economy became one of the "Four Little Dragons" of Asia in the 1970s (Ngo, 1991).

The component of "ruling the country in an orderly manner" appears quite often in the Chinese Language curriculum (14 counts in the 1961 syllabus). This may have given readers a good impression of a capable ruler who rules the country in an orderly way. This is the ideal of good government. Under the British colonial rule, Hong Kong not only had rapid economic development, the society was also in a stable condition. Most people living in Hong Kong were satisfied with such an environment. Hong Kong's public administration,

was consistent with the traditional Chinese ideals of good government though it was largely a Chinese society increasingly subject to Western influence. Studying Chinese texts with components like "ruling the country in an orderly manner", readers might develop a feeling of satisfaction towards the British colonial government. Furthermore, the component of "respecting the ruler" (4 counts in the 1978 syllabus) also promotes a good image of the colonial government by encouraging students to respect the contemporary ruler.

9.5 Approaches Employed by the Colonial Government for Achieving Political Socialization

9.5.1 Confucianism as a Ruling Ideology

It should be noted that the promotion of Chinese culture, or to be more specific, Confucianism, by the colonial government in Hong Kong was most probably an expedient and remedial measure; as has been pointed out in Chapter 7, the colonial government was threatened by the 1925 strike and boycott against the British. Therefore, in order to develop the conservative ideas of the Chinese race in the minds of the young, and also to provide social insurance of the best kind, Confucianism was promoted by the colonial government to act as "the best antidote to the pernicious doctrines of Bolshevism" (Kotewall's Memorandum after the 1925 strike, in Colonial Office document 129/489). The priority of the colonial government at that time was to soothe the political unrest among the Hong Kong Chinese. It was the British wisdom to make use of the local culture of Hong Kong, i.e. Confucianism, to tackle the political crisis. As was mentioned earlier, the emergence of Confucianism aimed at restoring the social order and maintaining political harmony by means of an ethical approach. Confucianism had been accepted as the orthodox statement of China's entire thought and practice since the Han Dynasty (87B.C.) and until the 1910s. It was deep-rooted in the Chinese mind. Promoting Confucianism in Hong Kong Chinese society, made the Hong Kong Chinese grateful to the colonial government for allowing the indigenous culture

to be continued; in addition, for the British colonial government, it also gained a high degree of legitimacy among the Hong Kong Chinese without provoking anti-British sentiment. However, the most significant issue was not just gaining the legitimacy, it was the effectiveness of promoting Confucianism for curbing political unrest that the British would be most concerned about.

Confucianism is not just a philosophy of ethics and human relationships, it is at the same time a blending of ethics and politics. For the Confucian, ethics and politics are inseparably conjoined (Pott, 1925: 30). By means of moral cultivation, according to Confucianism, a well-ordered family, a well-governed state and a harmonious world can be achieved. Confucius' prescription for the well-ordered society included emphasis on hierarchical relationships: child subordinate to parents, wife to husband, subject to ruler, and so forth. The Confucian ruler is a sage-king, a highly moral man whose exemplary behaviour would inspire the people he ruled to emulate him. Confucius' ideal is the multigeneration family living together under the same roof, with its members paying respect to their common ancestors (Dreyer, 1996: 26). That is why Confucianism has been preserved from the Han Dynasty even up to the last empire of China, i.e. the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Though the Qing Empire was alien, the Qing administration still adopted Confucian doctrine as part of their policy for controlling and administering an expanding empire. Emperor Yong Zheng (1723-1735), a very capable and brilliant Qing emperor, once praised the utility of Confucianism as an instrument of social control and expressed his view that the one who benefited the most was the ruler himself (Cleverly, 1991: 11). Hence, it can be seen that Confucianism is indeed an ideal tool to govern a country. The reason why the colonial government allowed the Chinese local culture in Hong Kong to be preserved or even promoted might have been a real respect for the Chinese culture, but more importantly, the political consideration was to make use of this respect for political ends, because Confucianism itself contained elements that could facilitate the ruling of the colonial

government over Hong Kong. In retrospect, the colonial government was not the first alien ruler who employed Confucianism as the ruling tactic in the governance of Chinese society. However, the colonial government was very shrewd and astute in identifying the Chinese traditional culture as contributing to stability rather than upsetting it. Such subtle tactics of "achieving de-nationalization through nationalization and achieving politicization through de-politicization" were very successful. The colonial government did not need to use force to achieve such political ends. Initially, the colonial government's promotion of Confucianism seemed to be a remedial measure to deal with the political crisis in the 1920s; however, this unexpectedly produced a good result -- social harmony, political stability as well as economic prosperity in Hong Kong for a long period of time. Even after Hong Kong had been returned to its motherland, many Hong Kong people are still grateful to Britain for bringing Hong Kong economic prosperity.

9.5.2 Promotion of Social Harmony

As revealed by our findings, the Chinese Language curriculum emphasizes those values that can contribute to social harmony, thus facilitating British colonial rule. According to Confucianism, social harmony can be achieved by means of advocating "humanity/benevolence" (*ren*), the Five Cardinal Human Relationships" (*wu lun*), "propriety/ritual/courtesy" (*li*) and "modesty" (*qian*). These values appear frequently throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum. Indeed, one of the central values of Confucianism is "harmony". A general scheme of "harmony" can be applied to everything -- material and human (Abbott, 1970: 56). In Confucian philosophy, "harmony" means peace and order. Harmony entails the uniting of diverse interests into a cohesive whole. To achieve social harmony, there must be common values, a common social, political, and ethical ground (Peerenboom, 1998: 244). "Harmony" is a central concept in Confucian thought, and is closely related to the collectivist orientation of the Chinese, who are especially concerned with harmony among people, and who strive to maintain it in their social relations.

That is why components of "harmonious relationship between kinship" (5 counts in the 1961 syllabus; 25 in the 1971 syllabus; 8 in the 1978 syllabus and 3 in the 1990 syllabus) and "harmonious with others" (13 counts in the 1961 syllabus and 15 in the 1978 syllabus) often appear throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum.

9.5.3 Five Cardinal Human Relationships (*Wu Lun*)

Throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum, the so-called "Five Cardinal Human Relationships" appear frequently. According to the philosophy of Confucianism, the "Five Cardinal Human Relationships" (*Wu Lun*, between ruler-subject, parent-child, husband-wife, siblings and friends) define the hierarchical order and social relationships of every individual, with a deep respect for, and obedience to, their superiors. Thus every individual has one's proper position to observe, be it in the family, society or state. As Mencius says "Between father and son there should be affection; between ruler and minister, righteousness; between husband and wife, attention to their separate functions; between old and young, a proper order; and between friends, good faith" (*The Book of Mencius*, III A.4). On the other hand, with the observance of the five relations, the hierarchical structure of authority could be upheld and harmonious social order could be maintained. It is conceived as an extension of the relationship between father and son; from the way in which one serves one's father, one learns how to serve one's sovereign. The respect shown to them is the same (Lifton, 1961:362). Regarding the way in which one serves one's father, how one learns to serve one's sovereign, the "Interpersonal Transfer Model" suggested by Hess and Torney (1967: 19-21) can illustrate political socialization. According to Hess and Torney, by virtue of his experience as a child in the family and as a pupil in the school, he will develop multifaceted relationships to figures of authority. In subsequent relationships with figures of authority, he will establish modes of interaction which are similar to those he has experienced with persons in his early life.

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The doctrines of "Five Cardinal Human Relationships" are based on loyalty (to the emperor) and filial piety (individuals are bound by the patriarchal clan system), and as such, could, on the one hand, serve the political needs of the state, while on the other hand, conforming to the social needs of a conservative agrarian economy, the basic unit of which was the patriarchal clan. In other words, the Confucian doctrines are able to help maintain a stable social order (Liang, 1999: 80). It was no wonder that from the Han Dynasty (206B.C.) to the end of the Qing Dynasty (A.D. 1911), for more than two thousand years, Confucianism was the official philosophy of imperial China. Consequently, the Confucian classics formed the core of the traditional curriculum followed by scholars aspiring to official careers, and the influence of Confucian doctrines permeated Chinese society and culture (Liu, 1992: 218).

9.5.4 Cultural Hegemony

Freire (1970) and Ota (1985) point out that educators do not operate in a political vacuum and educators are not neutral. Educators occur in the context of power relations and distributions of symbolic and material resources, and what action (or inaction) educators are engaged in, has political implications for themselves and others. As seen from the above analysis, a large part of the "inclusion" (Anyon, 1979) of values to be studied in the Chinese Language curriculum were politically intentioned, with the aims of achieving social harmony and political stability. On the other hand, the "exclusion" (Anyon, 1979) of content also deserves our attention as this also serves political purposes.

With regard to "Nation-oriented values", "patriotism" is most frequently mentioned. Promoting a feeling of patriotism in the colonized towards one's ruler (i.e. the British colonial government) would of course facilitate British governance over Hong Kong. Anti-government sentiments would then be minimized and political stability could be maintained. As for the ultimate aim of the political philosophy of Confucianism, i.e. active participation in politics and governance of the country, this was never mentioned. On the

contrary, texts concerning "political career fraught with difficulties and danger" were often chosen. It seemed that for the Confucian philosophy of "Inner sagehood and outer kingliness", the colonial government intentionally chose cultural values that could facilitate its colonial rule, i.e. "inner sagehood"/moral cultivation; and deliberately avoided those values related to "outer kingliness"/governance of the country.

The first three syllabi (i.e.1961, 1971 and 1978) of the Chinese Language curriculum, never mentioned the cultivation of Chinese national identity, the fostering of pride in Chinese culture or the glories of Chinese civilization and achievements. Hence, the nationalistic feelings among the Hong Kong Chinese could not be aroused. This kind of "cultural incorporation" can only be termed as "selective tradition" (Apple, 1986) which carefully selected those values that could facilitate its colonial rule. The Chinese culture and Confucian virtues embedded in the Chinese Language curriculum mainly aimed to nurture in students a sense of passivity, pessimism and feelings of inferiority, while at the same time moulding them to be contented, apathetic towards politics, cooperative, and accept their fate. The colonial government wanted students to inherit values from the Chinese culture of being filial and obedient, of working hard and being smart, being contented with a simple life, and being happy with the beauty of nature. At times of tension, they should be quiet, be tolerant, selfless, but absolutely not be ambitious in politics.

However, there were some differences in the 1990 syllabus. The 1990 syllabus was issued after the future of Hong Kong had been confirmed by the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration in 1984. It prepared for British withdrawal from Hong Kong on 30 June 1997 and the restoration of Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997. Hong Kong then entered into a transitional period of 13 years before returning to China. As Hong Kong was not independent after British withdrawal, she did not need to undergo a period of de-colonization. In fact, Hong Kong entered a period of "re-colonization" after returning to China. Morris (1992: 131-132) observes that the impending return of Hong Kong's sovereignty to China

was having a marked effect on the formal curriculum of secondary schools, in ways that appeared to indicate substantial collaboration between the outgoing British administration and incoming Chinese authority:

> ... it has influenced both the content and treatment of topics within the existing secondary school curriculum. The two specific influences identified were a distinct Sino-centrification and/or politicization of some subjects ... an attempt to try and ensure a smooth and trouble free period of transition prior to 1997.

In response to the impending reunion with the motherland, China, the Chinese Language curriculum of Hong Kong intentionally increased the China elements in the 1990 syllabus. As revealed by our findings in Table 8.40, the components related to places in China and Chinese culture appeared much more frequently (with 29 counts of "great passion with places/scenery in China" and 17 counts of "passionately fond of Chinese culture" respectively). By comparison, no such component was recorded in the syllabi of 1961 and 1971, and only 7 counts of "great passion with places/scenery in China" were found. The considerable increase in the components related to China aimed to foster more knowledge as well as affection towards the motherland among the students.

In addition, the component of "with positive outlook on life" (16 counts in the 1990 syllabus) attracts our attention. In the previous syllabi, a gloomy picture was presented, whereas in the 1990 syllabus, students were encouraged to have a positive outlook on life. One of the contemporary texts entitled "*Flowers*" (appearing in the 1990 syllabi) implicitly delivered a message of the "future of China was full of hope and the living standard of the people was rising". The above text could therefore portray a good image of contemporary China. It paved the way for Hong Kong to be returned to China. Hence, we can see that the selection of texts for the 1990 syllabus was carefully considered.

On the other hand, as the texts were mainly ancient Chinese texts, and did not have any associations with the regime of contemporary China (i.e. the PRC), they would not lead to any

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out-break of nationalism towards the PRC. The regime to which loyalty was pledged was only an abstract and remote polity. It is understandable that under the colonial rule, the cultivation of a sense of local/national identification had been a sensitive issue and one which had been carefully avoided in the Chinese Language curriculum. There was an increasing mainland Chinese influence on the 1990 syllabus, but not markedly any strengthening Hong Kong people's nationalism. Politics hence played a significant role in determining the content of Chinese Language curriculum, as Sweeting (1991: 32-33) recounts how a local official reported to the Colonial Office in London that "Special local conditions justified more attention being paid to ancient civilizations than to current affairs", while a Colonial Office mandarin noted that "it is not considered desirable to interest Hong Kong students too much in political and administrative questions". These comments were made during the 1930s -- a period when China was in the grip of a nationalist ferment which alarmed the British authorities in Hong Kong.

Hence, selection criteria placed emphasis on ancient Chinese texts and avoided contemporary texts. An ex-member of the Chinese Language Subject Committee (serving in the 1971 Syllabus Committee) pointed out in the interview that it was the deliberate policy of the colonial government to avoid political affiliation with any current polity. Moreover, she pointed out that the contemporary literature had to be excluded in order to avoid political controversy. She once proposed a contemporary text to replace one of the ancient texts with the intention of arousing the learning interest of students. However, this was rejected by the Education officials on the grounds that no change would be accepted if the suggestion was initiated by someone other than the Education officials of the colonial government. In other words, the government officials exerted a dominant influence in the decision making process, and hence defined the content of the Chinese Language curriculum. Furthermore, this further verified the sensitivity to and the avoidance of modern Chinese politics in the school curriculum. The reasons for such a curriculum arrangement -- emphasizing ancient Chinese

texts while neglecting contemporary ones -- could be attributed to the sensitivity in Hong Kong to the internal politics of China. Having no say in the Subject Committee and only acting as a rubber stamp, she resigned from her membership and did not serve in the 1978 Syllabus Subject Committee.

Moreover, as demonstrated from the minutes of meetings of the Chinese Language Subject Committee from the 1970s to the 1990s (minutes of meetings before 1971 were not available), most of the initiatives and proposals for the Chinese Language curriculum came from the government officials. Members from the tertiary institutions exerted only little influence during the meetings. With regard to the members who were school-teachers, they actually made no recommendation or proposals. In short, the influence of school-teachers was not explicit as they seldom expressed views in the meetings since they realized that their proposals would not be accepted. These incidents clearly illustrated the highly centralized and top-down approach to Chinese Language's curriculum development, in which government officials played a dominant role in the decision making process as well as shaping the curriculum. The ex-member of Chinese Language Subject Committee further pointed out that in the curriculum revision process, teachers were consulted, but more to ensure effective promotion and implementation, than to gather opinions for reference in decision making.

As for the findings of this study, there are not many differences between the four syllabi and some texts even appear in all the four syllabi. The ex-member explained that the Education officials adopted a very conservative and cautious attitude and would not change the texts rashly as they believed the chosen texts had been carefully scrutinized previously and were "safe" texts that would not provoke anti-British feelings in students. As a result, even though the economy of Hong Kong had been developed rapidly in the 1970s to 1980s, the Chinese Language curriculum still retained its old appearance and features. No attempt had been made to restructure the curriculum in order to meet changing socio-economic needs.

In addition, she concluded that it was mainly due to a combination of the self-censorship and conservatism of members of the subject committee that the Chinese Language curriculum remained largely unchanged for the three syllabi. Students were expected to have a cultural identification with historical China while remaining politically detached from it.

A survey conducted by the Hong Kong Federation of Youth Groups (1987) found that adolescents in Hong Kong had a weaker sense of ethnic identity than those in Guangzhou and Beijing. About 35 per cent of the respondents in Hong Kong did not feel pride in being Chinese. Also young people in Mainland China were more patriotic than their counterparts in Hong Kong. Furthermore, Weng Xinqiao, the former Head of the Education, Science and Technology Department of the New China News Agency once broadcast to the public that patriotism was inadequate in the education of Hong Kong. He further stated that Hong Kong youths did not have "a sense of their roots" (Newspaper *Ming Pao*, 30 March, 1995). Another survey also revealed that attitudes of Hong Kong students towards their schools, Hong Kong and the world were relatively more positive than their interest and concern for China (CDC, 1995).

Moreover, according to that survey, the Hongkongese identity was adopted by more respondents than the Chinese identity. The percentage of respondents who said that they had a strong sense of belonging to Hong Kong was 79.5 (Lau, 2000: 257). Lau suggested several factors for the formation of Hongkongese identity even though Hong Kong is a Chinese society in which a majority of the populace are ethnic Chinese. First and foremost was the fact that, since 1949, the social regime in China set up a barrier that prevented the movement of people between the mainland and Hong Kong. Consequently, Hong Kong Chinese became isolated from the social and cultural changes in China. Second, the path of development of Hong Kong has been different from China throughout the territory's history. The divergence in developmental experiences between the two societies since 1949 -- with Hong Kong pursuing laissez-faire capitalism and China experimenting with Maoist socialism

-- had been critical to the rise of the Hongkongese identity. Third, while China became an inward-looking and closed society after 1949, Hong Kong rapidly transformed itself into an active member of the international economy and became quite westernized. Fourth, the wide disparity in the levels of development and standards of living between Hong Kong and the mainland generated a sense of superiority among the Hong Kong Chinese, many of whom manifestly held the mainland Chinese in contempt. Lastly, the dominance of vernacular Cantonese among the Hong Kong Chinese and the gradual emergence of a distinctive popular culture based on that dialect played a significant role in moulding the Hongkongese identity.

In the Chinese Language curriculum, a text describing the perseverance and hardwork of Sun Yat Sen during his school days was selected for three syllabi (the 1971, 1978 and 1990 syllabi). In fact, his contribution to the overthrow of the Qing Empire (an alien sovereignty ruling China from 1644 to 1911) actually had great impact on Chinese people as he was named the "National Father" of modern China. However, the Chinese Language curriculum did not select texts related to his political life. This deliberate exclusion/ "silence of curriculum"/null curriculum, might be closely related to the political considerations of the colonial government. Promoting the overthrow of an alien sovereignty would produce an adverse effect on the rule of the British over Hong Kong.

9.6 Contribution to Knowledge

Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory is generally concerned with how dominant cultures are reproduced through the education system. In some countries, the colonial government achieved this by discouraging the subordinate's culture, and promoting the culture of dominant class. Under the colonial rule, the Chinese cultural heritage was allowed to be preserved in the Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong. In the case of Hong Kong, the means of achieving cultural reproduction is different from that of the conventional theory of cultural reproduction. It is interesting and important that the dominant culture was reproduced by encouraging a minority language. Table 9.7 compares the conventional cultural

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reproduction theory with the cultural reproduction in Hong Kong in relation to "intentions", "strategies" and "outcomes", so as to demonstrate the uniqueness of the cultural reproduction policy implemented by the British colonial government in Hong Kong. The theory of conventional cultural reproduction is mainly focused on analyzing how the education system works for privileged students from the dominant classes, while at the same time discrediting the social and cultural background, experiences and dreams of subordinate groups through the hidden curriculum. Hence, the education system performed the external function of reproducing social-class relations. It reinforced the unequal distribution of cultural capital and thus performed a social reproduction function (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Freire, 1985).

In the case of Hong Kong, it was not a matter of reproducing the culture of the dominant classes (i.e. the British culture); on the contrary, it was government policy to "reproduce" the culture of the subordinate groups (i.e. the Chinese culture). Conventional theory of cultural reproduction primarily aimed at explaining the reproduction social-class relations, which were more related to the social-economic status. However, for the case of Hong Kong, the advocacy for reproducing the Chinese culture by the colonial government was primarily for political reasons. As mentioned earlier, in order to tackle the political crisis, the colonial government wisely made use of "nationalization" (i.e. cultural incorporation) to achieve the "de-nationalization" of Chinese culture (deliberately excluding the cultivation of a sense of national identity among the Chinese) and made use of "de-politicization" (greatly promoting moral cultivation in the Chinese Language curriculum) to achieve its political ends (political stability). Henceforth, the kind of cultural reproduction involved the reproduction of the local culture for the colonizer's benefits. Unlike the conventional cultural reproduction theory that the dominant cultural groups tend to reproduce their own cultures through the education system, the Hong Kong case shows a reverse strategy, i.e. reproducing the subordinate's cultures to sustain the benefits of the dominant social and political groups. The outcome

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proved to be satisfactory as reflected in the colonial government's in maintaining social harmony and political stability in Hong Kong society in the past few decades.   However, the key for British success in its ruling tactics towards Hong Kong depended heavily on a special kind of *cultural hegemony*.   This kind of *cultural hegemony* is indeed more correctly a kind of *political hegemony* over cultural policy.   In fact, the colonial government promoted the subordinate's culture for its political benefits and convenience in governance and, therefore carefully selected those Confucian values that could facilitate its colonial rule.

Table 9.7 Comparison of Cultural Reproduction Theories

Types of Reproduction Theories	Intentions	Strategies	Outcomes
Cultural Reproduction Theory (Pierre Bourdieu)	• to reproduce class-based power and privilege • to maintain social-economic status	• the dominant class manipulate the education system/ curriculum to reproduce their own culture to maintain power • discrediting the social and cultural background, experiences and dreams of subordinate groups through hidden curriculum • by appearing to be an impartial and neutral "transmitter" of the benefits of a valued culture, schools are able to promote inequality in the name of fairness and objectivity	• reproduce social-class relations • reinforce the unequal distribution of cultural capital • enhance social inequalities
Cultural Reproduction in Hong Kong under British Colonial Rule	• not aimed at reproducing class-based power and privilege • to tackle political crisis and achieve political stability	• reproduce the culture of the subordinate groups (i.e. the Chinese culture) • by employing cultural hegemony to produce a hegemonic curriculum to achieve de-nationalization, social harmony and political stability	• won the support of the Hong Kong Chinese as their own culture was respected and promoted • the Chinese Language curriculum reduced students' political consciousness and avoided arousing their national sentiments • interest in political participation was discouraged • the seemingly depoliticized Chinese Language curriculum played a significant role in consolidating British colonial rule and serving its implicit political interests • British colonial government succeeded in maintaining a stable and harmonizing society, creating a population that supported both their own traditional culture and the colonial rule.

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Regarding the localization of curricula and textbooks, the case of Hong Kong is probably unique in the literature on curriculum development. Generally speaking, a national curricular document would promote the cultivation of a sense of national identity or patriotism. However, as proposed in the Report of Chinese Studies Committee (1953), Hong Kong aimed to produce its curriculum locally so as to cut its connection with Mainland China and Taiwan. Moreover, the report strongly urged a "culturalistic emphasis on Chinese studies in order to counteract the nationalistic and revolutionary fervour in the Chinese culture textbooks from China". The emphasis of the localization of curricula and textbooks was primarily on the elimination of the themes of nationalism and anti-imperialism. In addition, the report particularly pinpointed the function of Chinese Studies as a means for cultivating harmonious East-West relations. The localization of curricula and textbooks in Hong Kong under the colonial rule actually played a significant role in de-nationalizing the Hong Kong Chinese in order to achieve the implicit political ends of the colonial government.

On the other hand, the initiation of the production of local curricula and textbooks in Hong Kong was rather passive and largely subjected to the external political influences of Mainland China and Taiwan. Although Hong Kong produced the syllabi and textbooks locally starting from the mid-1950s, they were subjected to tight official supervision to ensure that the exclusion of politics was strictly observed in the school curriculum until 1984, the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration.

9.7   Conclusion

The colonial government was anxious to prevent Hong Kong students being exposed to nationalist and anti-foreign interpretations of Chinese literature from the 1920s (anti-British strike and boycott) to the 1940s (anti-Japanese war) on the Chinese mainland. As a result, the development of a curriculum for Chinese Language that focused mainly on periods of ancient texts was formulated.   Moreover, a traditional and moral approach in the curriculum, designed

to nurture "cultural" rather than political values, was adopted. The Chinese Language curriculum plays a role of transmitting a sense of "correct" and "incorrect" values to students, by encouraging them to emulate or condemn the good or bad behaviour of certain historical personalities. Through learning the Chinese texts and culture of the Chinese Language curriculum, it was doubtful whether the students' sense of belonging and affection to the Chinese race could be enhanced.

In sum, judging from the texts chosen for the whole Chinese Language curriculum, the colonial government seemed to exert its *"cultural hegemony"*, rather than "cultural incorporation", in the construction of the Chinese Language curriculum, so as to produce a hegemonic curriculum to achieve its political ends of de-nationalization. Hence, education was not a neutral enterprise; by the very nature of the institution, the educator was involved, whether one was conscious of it or not, in a political act (Giroux, 1981b: 110). In the case of Hong Kong, it should be noted that this *"cultural hegemony"* was not imposing the colonizer's own culture, instead, it was the culture of the subordinate group, i.e. the Chinese culture. Besides, the structuring of knowledge and symbolism is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control in society (Bernstein, 1975: 158). The whole Chinese Language curriculum actually was designed to reduce students' political consciousness and avoid arousing their national sentiments. Hence, interest in political participation was discouraged. As the whole Chinese Language curriculum promotes the ethics and moral values of Confucianism, it creates an impression that the Chinese Language curriculum is only functioning as moral cultivation and has nothing to do with politics (Morris and Sweeting, 1996). Generally speaking, whether these Confucian values are personal values, interpersonal values, society-oriented values, or nation-oriented values, they all serve political purposes. This superficially "depoliticized" curriculum might have the function of "politicization" in a subtle way, largely without being recognized by the colonized subjects.

Luk (1991: 650) identifies the nature of the Chinese cultural curriculum and the intention of the British in providing such a curriculum:

> The British administrators and Chinese educators in Hong Kong have selectively used Chinese cultural heritage in the curriculum. While it honours the cultural heritage and transmits the sense of Chinese identity, the curriculum also fosters the sense of being at the periphery of both the Chinese and the Western worlds -- which, no doubt, assists the consolidation of outside rule.

Luk further argued that the Chinese cultural curriculum fostered a cultural rather than national identity in students since such an identification was in itself a political need:

> Thus generations of Hong Kong Chinese pupils grew up, learning from the Chinese culture subjects to identify themselves as Chinese but relating that Chineseness to neither contemporary China nor the local Hong Kong landscape. It was a Chinese identity in the abstract, a patriotism of the émigré, probably held all the more absolutely because it was not connected to tangible reality (Luk, 1991: 668).

In fact, the "hidden curriculum" of the Chinese Language curriculum tends to have a deeper and more durable impact on students (Posner, 1998:11). The seemingly depoliticized nature of the Chinese Language curriculum indeed played a significant role in consolidating British colonial rule and serving her implicit political interests. In short, the colonial government skillfully employed indirect and implicit approaches to political socialization to achieve her intentional political aims, generally without these being recognized by the colonized. It was a very successful approach in having maintained a stable and harmonizing society during the whole of her colonial rule, creating a population that supported both their own traditional culture and the colonial rule for a lengthy period of 150 years before the handover of Hong Kong to Chinese sovereignty. And the handover was a political agreement between the two sovereignties, without the participation of the Hong Kong people. A massive migration movement taking place before the handover, and the strong urge for

democratization after the handover, further shows the success of the governing policies of the colonial government, in nurturing a population that supports its own culture on the one hand, but the colonizer's political standpoint on the other.

Chapter 10   Conclusions

10.1   Introduction

The present study demonstrates the close relationship between politics and the curriculum.   Some regimes have employed an explicit approach to achieve political socialization, for instance, the People's Republic of China (Ridley et al., 1971; Martin, 1975). In contrast, other regimes have employed an implicit approach to achieve their political ends. Hong Kong under British colonial rule is an example.   Contrary to the argument of Morris and Sweeting (1992: 145-146) that in Hong Kong the apolitical general politics of the territory were closely mirrored by an apolitical educational system and school curriculum, the present study found that the seemingly depoliticized secondary Chinese Language curriculum was not entirely apolitical during the period of colonialization.   That this was not widely understood, may be due to the British subtly implementing the tactic of "cultural hegemony" by means of the hidden curriculum.   The success of the British in ruling Hong Kong was largely related to its success in politically socializing Hong Kong people to be apathetic towards politics (Miners, 1987: 42) and the special cultural reproduction policy implemented by the colonial government in Hong Kong.

10.2   Culture and Reproduction

The theory of conventional cultural reproduction is mainly focused on analyzing how the education system works for privileged students from the dominant classes, while at the same time discrediting the social and cultural background, experiences and dreams of subordinate groups through the hidden curriculum.   Hence, the education system performed the external function of reproducing social-class relations.   It reinforced the unequal distribution of cultural capital and thus performed a social reproduction function (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Freire, 1985).   Bourdieu's cultural reproduction theory is generally concerned with how dominant cultures are reproduced through the education system. In some countries, the

colonial government achieved this by discouraging the subordinate's culture, by promoting the language and the knowledge system of the dominant class in the education system. However, in the case of Hong Kong, under the colonial rule, the Chinese cultural heritage was allowed to be preserved in the Chinese Language curriculum in Hong Kong. The colonial government achieved cultural reproduction by supporting the local language while still insisting on English as the language for the elites, as the official language in government (and, increasingly, as the language of commerce). From the findings of the present thesis, the data supports Bourdieu's theory. The Chinese Language curriculum was used to help maintain the status quo, and to keep the mass quiet. The Chinese Language was taught in education system in a way to support colonial hegemony, rather than upsetting it.

Henceforth, in the case of Hong Kong, the means of achieving cultural reproduction is different from that of the conventional theory of cultural reproduction. It is indeed interesting and important to note that the dominant culture was reproduced by encouraging a minority language. It was not a matter of reproducing the culture of the dominant classes (i.e. the British culture); on the contrary, it was government policy to "reproduce" the culture of the subordinate groups (i.e. the Chinese culture). Conventional theory of cultural reproduction primarily aimed at explaining the reproduction social-class relations, which were more related to the social-economic status. However, for the case of Hong Kong, the colonial government's advocacy of Chinese culture was primarily for political reasons. Henceforth, cultural reproduction meant the reproduction of the local culture for the colonizer's benefits. Unlike the conventional cultural reproduction theory that the dominant cultural groups tend to reproduce their own cultures through the education system, the Hong Kong case shows a reverse strategy, i.e. reproducing the subordinate's culture to sustain the benefits of the dominant social and political groups. Hence, maintaining ruling power of the dominant class does not necessarily reproduce their own culture, as suggested in the

conventional Cultural Reproduction Theory. The case of Hong Kong under British colonization demonstrated that by reproducing the culture of the subordinate class (i.e. Confucianism), British colonial rule over Hong Kong could also be further consolidated. The outcome proved to be satisfactory as judged by the success in maintaining social harmony and political stability in Hong Kong society in the past few decades.

10.3   Promoting Local Chinese Culture as a Ruling Tactic

It was widely accepted that the Chinese Language curriculum was a good instrument with which to implement values education and moral education as it contained an abundance of Confucian values. However, the findings of the present study revealed that apart from an abundance of Confucian values were embedded in the Chinese Language curriculum, there were quite a lot of politically related elements inside the curriculum under the period of British colonization. It could be interpreted that all these were related to the ruling tactics of the British over Hong Kong. Hence, there were close relationships between the promotion of the Chinese local culture and the British rule in Hong Kong.

The colonial government played a very limited role in the provision of education in its early ruling of Hong Kong. Its initial educational policy in Hong Kong could be described as laissez-faire (Sweeting, 1995a). By the 1880s, after the Governor of Hong Kong, John Hennessy urged the Central School to promote the speaking of English, the study of English Language became increasingly important in Hong Kong (Eitel, 1895: 561). In addition, with the suggestions of the Brewin Report (1902), the colonial government had official justification for concentrating its resources and efforts into developing English education in Hong Kong. As a result, very little attention was paid to developing vernacular education until the mid-1920s (Cheng, 1949).

The anti-imperialist demonstrations by industrial workers and students in Shanghai in 1925 resulted in a massacre by British police there. This soon triggered widespread protests

in all major Chinese cities and culminated in a boycott and general strike in Hong Kong and Guangzhou against the British (Endacott, 1964). In order to tackle the political crisis and restore the relationships between the British (the colonizer) and Hong Kong locals (the colonized subjects), a "policy of cultural incorporation" was implemented by the British (Hsu, 1975: 626-628). Under such a cultural policy, traditional Chinese values, particularly Confucian ethics, were strongly promoted, in the hope of nurturing conservative attitudes among Hong Kong students and eliminating their radical behaviour. Such a move aimed not only to pacify the anti-British emotions and win popular support; it also aimed to further strengthen colonial rule without provoking political unrest. Although the promotion of Chinese culture (Confucianism) by the British colonial government in Hong Kong was an expedient and remedial measure, the outcome was desirable. Social harmony and political stability were maintained throughout the colonization period. By implementing Confucianism, the British were accidentally able to "turn crisis into opportunity". It was British wisdom to make use of Confucianism to tackle the political crisis. In fact, the very nature of Confucianism was a ruling tool to restore social order and maintain political harmony by means of an ethical approach. The tactics of internal and external control of Confucianism served political ends for the benefit of the rulers. As Confucianism had been accepted as the orthodox form of Chinese thought and practice for over 2000 years, it was deep-rooted in the Chinese mind and people would accept it naturally. Consequently, promoting Confucianism in Hong Kong Chinese society not only made the Hong Kong Chinese grateful to the colonial government for allowing the indigenous culture to be preserved, it also allowed the colonial government to gain a high degree of legitimacy among the Hong Kong people.

The adroit promotion of the local culture (Confucianism) by the British not only bestowed cultural legitimacy, winning the hearts and minds of the Hong Kong Chinese, it also gained

the moral legitimacy for political sovereignty by moralizing politics in the name of promoting Confucian ethics and virtues. The colonial government was successful in launching such a cultural policy whereby "the selection of culture is deemed as socially legitimate" (Giroux, 1981b: 94) and "certain ideas become dominant and are sustained, not through a simple imposition or through coercion and manipulation, but through the construction and winning of consent" (Whitty, 1981: 57). By promoting the Chinese culture, the colonial government could not only tackle the political crisis arising from the strike, it could also raise its political popularity as well, since "successful exercise of power requires legitimation" (Bourdieu, 1973:84). However, the key to British success in its ruling tactics towards Hong Kong depended heavily on a special kind of *cultural hegemony*. This kind of *cultural hegemony* is indeed more correctly a kind of *political hegemony* over cultural policy. In fact, the colonial government promoted the subordinate's culture for its political benefits and convenience in governance and, therefore carefully selected those Confucian values that could facilitate its colonial rule.

10.4 Achieving De-nationalization through Nationalization; Achieving Politicization through De-politicization

The wisdom of the colonial government was not only demonstrated in its promotion of Confucianism ("cultural incorporation") to gain the cultural legitimacy of the Hong Kong Chinese, but also in its adoption of "cultural hegemony" to include and exclude certain values to be put into the Chinese Language curriculum. Throughout the whole Chinese Language curriculum under British colonization, the "colonial" feature was not obvious. On the contrary, the Chinese Language curriculum appeared to be very conservative with a great abundance of traditional Chinese values. Generally speaking, the indigenous language of a country, in addition to training students with language skills, provides students with an awareness of their national identity. In Hong Kong, by contrast, the subject of Chinese

Language existed to supply students with a depoliticized and alienated vision of their national identity. As revealed by our findings, the Chinese Language curriculum emphasized those values that contributed to social harmony as well as political stability, thus facilitating British colonial rule. As for the ultimate aim of the political philosophy of Confucianism, i.e. active participation in politics and governance of the country, this was never mentioned. Throughout the Chinese Language curriculum, the colonial government seemed to have intentionally selected those values that could facilitate its colonial rule, i.e. the values of "inner sagehood" / moral cultivation; and deliberately avoided those values related to "outer kingliness" / governance of the country. The Chinese Language curriculum was mainly concerned with developing the moral virtues of good citizens and promoting a cooperative relationship with the government, rather than promoting a more reflective and critical approach to political literacy.

Moreover, on the whole, the Chinese Language curriculum encouraged the promotion of a strong sense of cultural Chineseness, while avoiding the cultivation of nationalism toward China and political awareness. A sense of pride in being a Chinese national was never mentioned. Luk (1991: 663-665) points out that in the colonial period from 1842 to the 1950s, the focus of Chinese studies was on "cultural heritage over statehood". He further argues that this kind of curriculum emphasis gave rise to the following characteristics of Chinese identity:

> What emerged, then, among those refugees and their children was
> a sense of Chinese identity that was more cultural than political ...
> Theirs was an identification with the China of history, more than
> with the Chinese state or regime headquartered on either side of
> the Taiwan Straits.

The Chinese Language curriculum reinforced a desire to maintain Hong Kong's separateness from the mainland, especially amongst the younger generation who had grown up in Hong Kong. Generally speaking, the key to British success in consolidating its rule

depended heavily on its tactics of achieving "de-nationalization" of Chinese culture (deliberately excluding the cultivation of a sense of national identity among the Chinese) through "nationalization" (i.e. adopting a policy of cultural incorporation by promoting Confucianism to tackle the political crisis in the 1920s) and making use of "de-politicization" (greatly promoting moral cultivation in the Chinese Language curriculum and discouraging people's active participation in politics) to achieve its political ends (political stability).

In order to achieve de-nationalization, two policies were launched to implement the de-nationalization of Chinese culture in Hong Kong. The first one was to set up a Chinese Studies Committee in September 1952 and the second one was to localize the syllabi and textbooks. The purpose of setting up this Committee was to help consolidate the authority of the colonial government in Hong Kong by taking into consideration "the intimate ties that bind Hong Kong to Great Britain" when making recommendations (Report of the Chinese Studies Committee, 1953:i). The report also proposed to de-nationalize Chinese Studies in Hong Kong by producing its curriculum locally so as to cut its connection with Mainland China and Taiwan. In order to de-locate the nationalistic bias, the report strongly urged a "culturalistic emphasis on Chinese studies so as to counteract the nationalistic and revolutionary fervour in the Chinese culture textbooks from China.

It is understandable that under British colonial rule, the cultivation of a sense of local/national identification was a sensitive issue and one which was carefully avoided in the Chinese Language curriculum. However, when the future of Hong Kong was determined in 1984 with the signing of the Sino-British Joint Declaration, the relationships between Hong Kong and China became closer as Hong Kong would be returned to China in 1997. The Chinese Language curriculum then played an important role in building such relationships by selecting more texts that contained information about China.

10.5   Recolonization rather than Decolonization

In September 1982, British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher visited Beijing to pave the way for formal negotiations on Hong Kong's future.   China eventually agreed to maintain Hong Kong's existing system of government after the transfer of sovereignty.   This was achieved in the form of the Sino-British Joint Declaration signed on 19 December 1984 by British Prime Minister, Mrs. Thatcher and Chinese Premier Zhao Ziyang. It provided for British withdrawal from Hong Kong on 30 June 1997 and the restoration of Chinese sovereignty on 1 July 1997.

According to the usual British approach to decolonization, when the British prepared to depart from a colony, they willingly and steadily handed over power to the local residents. However, what happened in July 1997 was not decolonization but a retrocession of Hong Kong to China.   Some scholars even regarded it as recolonization (Law, 1997; Leung, 1992). The decline of the British, however, did not lead to the usual result of Western decolonization process: independence.   China replaced the United Kingdom as Hong Kong's new sovereign master.   Hong Kong became a "Special Administrative Region" of the People's Republic of China.   Consequently, the speed and the extent of the transfer of power to the local people, through democratization of a kind, were in the last decade of colonization limited more by what the Chinese would permit than by what the British were prepared to concede (Tsang, 1995: 4).

In the aftermath of the Joint Declaration, the political situation in Hong Kong altered. This gave an added impetus to the drive for increasing knowledge about China so as to enhance students' understanding of their motherland, and to activate the search for and interest in cultural heritage.   As revealed in our findings, there was an increasing mainland Chinese influence on the 1990 syllabus of the Chinese Language curriculum.   However, this still did not reinforce a sense of Chinese identity and strengthen Hong Kong people's nationalism.

On the whole, the Chinese Language curriculum did not foster a sense of belonging to any political regime. The lack of a sense of identity, which generates a sense of belonging, is one of the most common comments made about the citizens of Hong Kong (Sweeting, 1974: 16). The heavy emphasis on the "cultivation of a sense of cultural identity" had traditionally been seen by government officials as a relatively safe alternative to engagement with the sensitive question of Hong Kong people's political identity. Curriculum developers seemed to have been deterred by political considerations from including in official syllabi those issues that related to any political regime.

As revealed by our findings, the curriculum served political interests. The development of Chinese Language curriculum had much to do with politics, no matter whether it was under British colonial rule or in the period of preparation for returning to Chinese rule.

10.6 A Remedial Measure with Good Outcomes

When the colony of Hong Kong was founded, it was meant to be the base for supporting British trade with China, for which purpose in the mid-nineteenth century Hong Kong had to be a naval and military station as well. From the very beginning, Hong Kong was an outpost of the British Empire and was never meant to be a settlement colony. It was not, at least in the first century, devised by the British with a deep understanding of what the Chinese wanted in a government. The British merely did what seemed sensible at the time; they had no master plan when they founded the colony of Hong Kong (Tsang, 1995: 1-2). Similarly, British promotion of Confucianism to tackle political issues was most probably a remedial measure to soothe anti-British sentiment. However, such mollification not only could win the hearts and minds of the Hong Kong Chinese, alongside the implementation of British "cultural hegemony" in Hong Kong, it also allowed Hong Kong to evolve from a fishing village to a major international commercial and financial centre in Asia with social harmony and political stability.

Generally speaking, British colonialism in Hong Kong could be regarded as "the best government possible within the Chinese tradition"-- a moderately benevolent autocracy governing with the passive acquiescence of the population, while successfully discouraging their active participation in politics (Tsang, 1997a: 26). Ngo (1991: 7) also agrees that "there is a high degree of consensus that the benevolent policy of the colonial state was the major determinant of Hong Kong's developmental success". The image of colonial government was quite good as real progress was made on the welfare front, including the introduction of compulsory free education and a public assistance scheme. The colonial government gradually gained a caring reputation. The government had on the whole become an efficient, effective, conscientious, fair, honest and responsive government. Its widespread yet limited welfare provisions, and its ability to stay one step ahead of public opinion most of the time had made it appear like a good paternal figure in the traditional Chinese sense. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that by 1997 the Hong Kong government had reached the standard of as good a government as possible in the traditional expectations of the Chinese (Tsang, 1995: 9). No wonder many Hong Kong people still treasured the memory of British rule after Hong Kong had been returned to China. A survey conducted by Lau in 1994 found that quite a lot of Hongkongese (55.1 percent) had a favourable image of colonial rule and supported the retention of Hong Kong as a British colony after 1997 (Lau, 2000: 271).

Britain detached the island of Hong Kong from China and turned it into a Crown Colony in order to serve British interests, which initially were primarily commercial. Advancement of the interests of the Chinese Empire or of the Chinese inhabitants there was certainly not part of the British motive. Equally certainly the British had no objection to it should their occupation prove to be advantageous to the Chinese as well. It is ironic that despite Hong Kong being the symbol of China's humiliation at the hands of Britain, there was not one major movement initiated by the Chinese residents of this Crown Colony for its retrocession

to China in a century and a half, even though there had been several upsurges of Chinese nationalism. This is as good proof as one can get of how much the Chinese of Hong Kong felt they had benefited from British rule. The lack of any indigenous rebellion against the alien British rule in over 150 years, and Hong Kong's continuous attraction to Chinese immigrants, suggest they voted with their deeds and feet (Tsang, 1995: 1-5). Therefore, although the promotion of Chinese culture by the colonial government in Hong Kong seemed to be a remedial measure and a pragmatic adjustment to circumstances (political crisis), it fitted the existing perceptions of Hong Kong people. In addition, British rule in Hong Kong had been proved to be a considerable source of political stability and economic prosperity. The colonized Hong Kong people were contented to have political stability and good social order as well as economic prosperity. All these were indeed enjoyed by the colonized in Hong Kong under British governance. Hence, even after Hong Kong had been returned to its motherland, many Hong Kong people were still grateful to Britain for bringing Hong Kong economic prosperity.

In sum, the brilliance of the British was shown in its promoting of local Chinese culture (Confucian values) as an implicit tool of political socialization to achieve its unstated political ends. Such tactic not only allowed the British to gain cultural legitimacy and create a favourable impression on the Hong Kong Chinese, it also helped the British to consolidate its colonial rule without provoking anti-British sentiment. As mentioned earlier, Confucian culture prefers order, consensus, harmony and strong political authority to individual rights. These cultural elements are also well-received by most other Asian regimes, as Huntington (1991: 24) puts it:

> Classical Chinese Confucianism and its derivatives in Korea, Vietnam, Singapore and Taiwan emphasized the group over the individual, authority over liberty, and responsibilities over rights. Confucian societies lacked a tradition of rights against the state; to the extent that individual rights did exist, they were created by the

state. Harmony and cooperation were preferred over disagreement and competition. The maintenance of order and respect for hierarchy were central values.

Lau (1978) argues that the preservation of the cultural values of Confucianism in Hong Kong can largely account for the effective functioning of the regime in Hong Kong. He points out that the majority of Hong Kong Chinese were family-centred and politically apathetic. They demonstrated a passive adoption to the political system and resolved their problems through their own familial resources and networks. Social demands were accommodated through private networks and hence were atomized and depoliticized. This was accompanied by a strong sense of political powerlessness, and an ethos of upholding harmony and authority (Lau and Kuan, 1989). Consequently, political participation was not eagerly demanded by the general public. Hong Kong people have been described as politically apathetic and characterized by "familial traditions of obedience and loyalty to autocratic authority and a shared belief in hard work and economic gain" (Lau and Kuan, 1989: 2). This phenomenon may be partially due to the nurturing effect of the Chinese Language curriculum.

On the whole, the stability and effectiveness of British colonial rule in Hong Kong relied not on coercion or force, but on making use of the local culture to further raise its political popularity and legitimacy, and also successfully discouraging the colonized subjects to participate in politics. Therefore, the promotion of Chinese culture as an implicit approach of political socialization could be regarded as an effective way of governing Hong Kong by the British.

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Personal Values (Initial Scale)   **Appendix I**

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
A. Desirable Behaviour													
i. Personal Traits													
Righteous													
Thrifty													
Integrity													
Honest													
Frank													
A sense of shame													
Brave													
Ready to admit one's fault													
Apologizing for one's mistake													
Willing to correct one's mistakes													
With indomitable spirit													
ii. Competence													
Intelligent													
Talented													
Knowledgeable													
Foresighted													
Adaptable													
With leadership													
Analytical thinking													
With scientific attitude													
Well-planned													
Industrious in working													
Persevering in studying													
Enthusiastic over learning													
Agile													
Strive for success													
Meticulous													
Calm													
Responsible													
Strategic													

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
With accomplishment													
Strive for knowledge													
Attentive													
Inquire deeply into													
Solution for dilemma													
Cherising time													
iii. Progressiveness													
With initiative													
Strive for progress													
Realizing one's aspiration													
With adventurous spirit													
Whole-hearted													
Unshakeable													
Innovating													
iv. Self-regard													
Open and aboveboard													
Aiming at high													
Self-respect													
With sportsmanship													
Contented													
Aloof from politics & material pursuits													
Belittle wealth													
Determined													
Dedication to career													
Contented with career													
Optimistic													
Confident													
Self-aware / Self-reflect													
Not dragging out an ignoble existence													
Arrogant													
Lazy													
Not serious													

Grade Level Components	1		2		3		4		5		Sub-total		Total
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A&B
Acting with undue haste													
Cheating													
Unfriendly													
Impolite													
Breaking one's promise													
Killing each other													
Not showing filial obedience													
Greedy													
Take credit for someone else's achievements													
Not loving each other													

Interpersonal Values (Initial Scale)   Appendix I

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
A. General Personal Traits in Group													
Cooperative													
Sincere													
Kind													
Modest													
Polite													
Broad-minded													
Generous													
With compassion													
With spirit of sacrifice													
Altruism													
Dedication													
Considerate													
Universal love													
Equitable and orderly													
B. Kinship Relationship													
Familial love													
- parental love													
- fatherly love													
- motherly love													
- love of sibling													
-affection of kinship													
Grateful to parental love													
Filial piety													
Reciprocity to parents													
Putting family concern to the first													
Taking delight in relative gathering													
Concern for kinship													
Harmonious relationship between kinship													
Mother teaches kids patiently													
Father encourages kids													

Grade Level	1		2		3		4		5		Sub-total		Total
Components	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A&B
Children miss parents													
Children concern for parents													
Missing one's family													
Wife misses husband													
Praising parental love													
Great expectation of parents towards children													
Children deeply memorize the teaching from parents													
Mother sacrifices for one's family													
Mourning for the death of wife													
Regretting not repaying parents													
C. Friendship													
Loyal													
Keeping promise													
Taking care of others													
Helpful													
Caring for others													
Harmonious													
Warm-hearted													
Hospitality													
Establishing good relationship with one's neighbour													
Amiability													
Blessing others													
Empathetic													
Patient													
Forgiving													
Showing gratitude to teachers' teaching													
Showing gratitude to one's help													
Repaying one's kindness													
Extending the love													
Cherishing friendship													
Sincerely advise friends													
Making friends with good persons													

Nation-oriented Values (Initial Scale)   Appendix I
(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
A. Society-oriented Values													
Equality													
Justice													
Peace													
Order / social order													
Stability													
Law-abidance													
Observation of rites & social rituals													
Social consciousness													
Social progress & reform													
B. Politically-oriented Values													
Patriotic													
Protect one's country													
Love one's citizen													
Practise benevolent government by promoting ethics & education													
Reciprocation													
Close to men of virtue													
Away from villain													
Publicize the prestige of one's country													
Care for one's country													
Overthrow despotic rule													
Save the nation													
Sacrifice for one's country													
Win honour for one's country													
Reform the country													
Improve the living of the citizens													
Remove the corrupt officers													
The ruler treats worthy men with courtesy													

Grade Level Components	1		2		3		4		5		Sub-total		Total
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A&B
Expostulate the ruler													
Hope to put an end to war													
Anti-war													
Governing people													
To establish world peace													
Ruling the country orderly													
Ruler should be well-cultivated													
Rules shows respect to officers													
Ruler encourages all officers													
Getting along harmonious with other nationalities													
Missing one's country													
Hoping the peaceful day to come													
Expressing sorrow for one's country being conquered													
Ruler should be thrifty													
Ruler should comply with the will of people													
Ruler should listen to different opinion													
Ruler should put the talented in important positions													

World-oriented Values

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Components \ Grade Level	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
Scenic spots/geographical knowledge of foreign countries													
Historical sites of foreign countries													
Cultures and customs of foreign countries													

Nature-oriented Values

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Components \ Grade Level	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
The beauty of the nature/scenery													
Environmental protection													
Attitude towards rural life													

Informational Values

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Components \ Grade Level	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
Scientific knowledge													
Hygienic knowledge													
Geographical knowledge													
Writing skills													
Development of Chinese letters/signs used in a system of writing													

Personal Values (Revised Scale) Appendix III

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
A. Desirable Behaviour													
i. Personal Traits													
Cultivated													
Righteous													
Thrifty													
Steady / sedate													
Integrity													
Honest													
Frank													
Good conduct													
A sense of shame													
Brave													
Try to be blameless in one's private life													
Ready to admit one's fault													
Apologizing for one's mistake													
Willing to correct one's mistakes													
With indomitable spirit													
The doctrine of the mean													
ii. Competence													
Intelligent													
Talented													
Knowledgeable													
Foresighted													
Adaptable													
With leadership													
Analytical thinking													
With scientific attitude													
With pragmatic attitude													
Well-planned													
Industrious in working													
Persevering in studying													

Components \ Grade Level	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
Enthusiastic over learning													
Agile													
Strive for success													
Strong-minded													
Meticulous													
Calm													
Responsible													
Observant													
Strategic													
With accomplishment													
Strive for knowledge													
Attentive													
Inquire deeply into													
Solution for dilemma													
Cherising time													
Making good use of life													
iii. Progressiveness													
With initiative													
Strive for progress													
Realizing one's aspiration													
With adventurous spirit													
Whole-hearted													
Unshakeable													
Planning for future													
Innovating													
iv. Self-regard													
Open and aboveboard													
Aiming at high													
Self-respect													
With sportsmanship													
Contented													
Aloof from politics & material pursuits													

Grade Level / Components	1		2		3		4		5		Sub-total		Total
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A&B
Belittle wealth													
Determined													
Dedication to career													
Contented with career													
Non-materialistic													
Optimistic													
Confident													
Self-aware / Self-reflect													
Not dragging out an ignoble existence													
Arrogant													
Lazy													
Not serious													
Acting with undue haste													
Cheating													
Unfriendly													
Impolite													
Breaking one's promise													
Killing each other													
Not showing filial obedience													
Being the burden of the society													
Greedy													
Take credit for someone else's achievements													
Not loving each other													

Interpersonal Values (Revised Scale)   Appendix III

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
A. General Personal Traits in Group													
Cooperative													
Sincere													
Kind													
Modest													
Polite													
Broad-minded													
Generous													
With compassion													
Favouring collectivism													
With spirit of sacrifice													
Altruism													
Dedication													
Sharing with others													
Considerate													
Universal love													
Equitable and orderly													
B. Kinship Relationship													
Familial love													
- parental love													
- fatherly love													
- motherly love													
- love of sibling													
-affection of kinship													
Grateful to parental love													
Filial piety													
Reciprocity to parents													
Putting family concern to the first													
Taking delight in relative gathering													
Concern for kinship													
Harmonious relationship between kinship													

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
Mother teaches kids patiently													
Father encourages kids													
Children miss parents													
Children concern for parents													
Missing one's family													
Wife misses husband													
Praising parental love													
Great expectation of parents towards children													
Children deeply memorize the teaching from parents													
Mother sacrifices for one's family													
Mourning for the death of wife													
Regretting not repaying parents													
C. Friendship													
Loyal													
Keeping promise													
Taking care of others													
Helpful													
Caring for others													
Harmonious													
Warm-hearted													
Hospitality													
Establishing good relationship with one's neighbour													
Amiability													
Blessing others													
Empathetic													
Patient													
Forgiving													
Showing gratitude to teachers' teaching													
Showing gratitude to one's help													
Repaying one's kindness													
Extending the love													
Cherishing friendship													
Mourning for the death of a friend													

Sincerely advise friends														
Making friends with good persons														

Nation-oriented Values (Revised Scale)   Appendix III

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1		2		3		4		5		Sub-total		Total
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A&B
A. Society-oriented Values													
Equality													
Justice													
Peace													
Order / social order													
Stability													
Law-abidance													
Observation of rites & social rituals													
Social consciousness													
Social progress & reform													
B. Politically-oriented Values													
Patriotic													
Protect one's country													
Love one's citizen													
Practise benevolent government by promoting ethics & education													
Reciprocation													
Close to men of virtue													
Away from villain													
Publicize the prestige of one's country													
Care for one's country													
Overthrow despotic rule													
Save the nation													
Sacrifice for one's country													
Win honour for one's country													

Grade Level Components	1		2		3		4		5		Sub-total		Total
	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A&B
Reform the country													
Improve the living of the citizens													
Remove the corrupt officers													
The ruler treats worthy men with courtesy													
Expostulate the ruler													
Hope to put an end to war													
Anti-war													
Governing people													
To establish world peace													
Ruling the country orderly													
Ruler should be well-cultivated													
Ruler treating citizens well													
Rules shows respect to officers													
Ruler encourages all officers													
Getting along harmonious with other nationalities													
Missing one's country													
Hoping the peaceful day to come													
Expressing sorrow for one's country being conquered													
Ruler should be thrifty													
Ruler should comply with the will of people													
Ruler should listen to different opinion													
Ruler should put the talented in important positions													

World-oriented Values (Revised Scale)

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
Scenic spots/geographical knowledge of foreign countries													
Historical sites of foreign countries													
Cultures and customs of foreign countries													

Nature-oriented Values (Revised Scale)

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
The beauty of the nature/scenery													
Environmental protection													
Attitude towards rural life													

Informational Values (Revised Scale)

(A: Major theme   B: Minor theme)

Grade Level / Components	1 A	1 B	2 A	2 B	3 A	3 B	4 A	4 B	5 A	5 B	Sub-total A	Sub-total B	Total A&B
Scientific knowledge													
Hygienic knowledge													
Geographical knowledge													
Writing skills													
Development of Chinese letters/signs used in a system of writing													

The Pavilion of Yue-yang (Text of Secondary 3, Syllabi 1978,1990)

In the spring of the fourth year of the Qing-li era (1044), Teng Zi-jing was demoted to the post of prefect of Pa-ling. Two years later, his administration was well ordered and the people lived in harmony; numerous affairs that had languished were revived with success. Then he had the Pavilion of Yue-yang restored, expanding its original design. Poems and prose by worthies of the Tang as well as by men of the present dynasty were inscribed upstairs. I was asked to write a piece in commemoration. **(1)**

I have observed the magnificent scenery of Pa-ling at this lake named "Grotto", which bites the distant mountains and swallows up the River Yangtze, surging restlessly as it extends beyond the horizon. Between the radiant mornings and the shadowy twilight, its atmosphere undergoes myriad transformations. This is the grand view from the Pavilion of Yue-yang, which ancient writers have described in detail. Because the water routes lead north to Shaman's Gorge and stretch south all the way to the Xiao and Xiang rivers, exiled officials and tragic poets have always gathered here. Did they not have various feelings upon viewing this scene? **(2)**

When it rains constantly in heavy showers and the sun does not shine through for months on end, cold winds howl, and muddy waves strike at the sky. The sun and stars hide their radiance; the hills and mountains conceal their forms. Merchants and travelers cannot set sail, for the masts would break and the oars snap. At twilight, all turns to darkness: tigers roar and gibbons cry. Ascending to the pavilion now, one feels remote from the capital and longs for home, worried about slander and fearful of ridicule. A bleak vista fills one's eyes; regrets intensify and turn to melancholy. **(3)**

When it turns to balmy spring and the entire scene brightens, the waves are no longer aroused. The sky above and its reflection below form a single, vast expanse of blue-green.

Seagulls soar about and gather to rest; colorful fish swim and submerge. Angelica by the banks and orchids on the islets diffuse their fragrances as they flourish. **(4)** And sometimes, when the blanketing mist vanishes, the luminous moon shines for a thousand miles. Floating light beams shimmer like gold; the moon's quiet reflection forms a submerged jade disc. Fishermen's songs respond to one another. How could one ever tire of such joy? **(5)** Ascending to the pavilion now, one's heart opens and one's spirit is delighted. Favor and disgrace are both forgotten as one faces the breeze with a cup of wine in boundless satisfaction. **(6)**

Ah! I have often sought to attain the mind of those ancient paragons of humaneness, for some of them did not experience these two kinds of feelings. Why was this? They took no delight in external things, nor felt sorry for themselves. **(7)** When they occupied a high position at court, they felt concern for the people. When banished to distant rivers and lakes, they felt concern for their sovereign. **(8)** When serving at court, they felt concern, when forced to withdraw they felt concern. Then when did they enjoy happiness? Would these ancients not have said, "First feel concern for the concerns of the world. Defer pleasure until the world can take pleasure." Alas! If there were not such people, then whom could I follow? **(9)**

Categorization of Data

Major theme: Nation-oriented Values/ Care for one's country

Minor themes:

(1) Nation-oriented Values/ Ruling the country orderly

(2) Nature-oriented Values/ The beauty of the scenery

(3) Nation-oriented Values/ Missing one's country

(4) Nature-oriented Values/ The beauty of the scenery

(5) Nature-oriented Values/ The beauty of the scenery

(6) Personal Values/ Contented

(7) Personal Values/ Contented

(8) Nation-oriented Values/ Care for one's country

(9) Nation-oriented Values/ Care for one's country